

## CHAPTER 16

January 1960 brought a visit to the Territory by the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan<sup>1</sup>, fresh from his "Winds of Change" speech to the South African Parliament. The African nationalist parties staged demonstrations for his benefit. MacMillan handled the demonstrators well at Livingstone Airport, walking a little towards them and waving as if, according to one report, "he was receiving an ovation from his constituents". The crowd loved it and there was much cheering and good humour.

On 15 February 1960 the 26-member Advisory Commission on the future of the Federation, known after its chairman as the Monckton Commission, assembled at Victoria Falls. Lord Monckton of Brenchley<sup>2</sup> had been an adviser to King Edward VIII at the time of the Abdication crisis and to the Nizam of Hyderabad when that prince was attempting to avoid his state's absorption into the Republic of India. Prospects for the future of the Federation were not good! The Northern Rhodesia Police escorted members of the Commission who toured the Territory taking evidence from all who cared to approach them. The Commissioner of Police gave evidence of intimidation and violence by the African nationalist movements, particularly by the United National Independence Party, of which Kenneth Kaunda had become president on his release from prison in January. Kaunda and his followers declared that the Monckton Commission was biased in favour of Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister. UNIP boycotted the Commission raising the slogan "Independence by October". They got it in October, but four years later.

The Monckton Commission left Northern Rhodesia on 21 March and on the 27th Ian Macleod, the newly appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, landed at Lusaka Airport<sup>3</sup>. His arrival in Nyasaland a few days earlier had resulted in allegations of brutality against the Nyasaland Police. A European inspector had accidentally trodden on the bare foot of a woman demonstrator. In Lusaka a detachment of the Mobile Unit was positioned at the Longacres Hostel, but the police presence at the Airport was deliberately kept to a minimum. All European officers were ordered to wear shoes rather than boots! The United National Independence Party had decided that Macleod should be greeted by a major demonstration, the stars of which were to be a number of women, naked except for G-strings. Macleod tried to emulate his Prime Minister, but he was no 'Super Mac' and a Lusaka crowd was a different proposition to a Livingstone crowd! Macleod approached too close to the barriers. An African leapt over and ran towards him shouting "I will kill you!" A large number of yelling men and women burst through the thin police cordon. Macleod wisely withdrew to the safety of the official party and was bundled into the Governor's car and driven off down Jubilee Road. At one stage a banner was stretched over the windscreen so that the driver could not see and the vehicle had to come to a halt. The Commissioner of Police, himself, was seen plucking Africans from the front of the car so that it could proceed. Soon the reinforcements arrived from Longacres and the way was speedily cleared. Mr Fforde

followed the Governor and his guest to Government House. Here a crowd of several hundred soon gathered. Several arrests were made before it dispersed peacefully.

The uncertainty following the departure of the Monckton Commission and the visits of the British ministers led to an increase in politically motivated intimidation and violence, including arson and stone throwing. The United National Independence Party applied for a permit to hold a public meeting at Ndola on Sunday 8th May. Because of the likelihood of violence, and interference with police recording teams at recent meetings, the application was refused. On the evening of 7 May the beating of drums was heard in Chifubu, accompanied by announcements that the meeting would be held the next day. An attempt was made to hold the meeting but the crowd was dispersed at 10 a.m. by two platoons of the Northern Rhodesia Police Mobile Unit. Agitators formed gangs from those leaving the scene of the meeting to set up road blocks and stone cars on the Mufulira and Kitwe roads. In Chifubu, houses, a clinic, welfare premises and beerhalls were attacked as well as police patrols. Beer was looted from the beerhalls. Attempts were made to burn two generating plants. The police had not been totally unprepared. 127 arrests were made that day and night.

At about 10 a.m on 8th May Lillian Burton was driving her children home from Ndola to Kaniki Plots on the Mufulira Road. Near the five mile peg she was forced to stop by a mob. The windows and windscreen of Mrs Burton's Morris Traveller car were smashed and petrol was splashed over her and ignited.

Mrs Burton's two daughters, aged twelve and five, managed to escape from the rear seat, although the younger girl suffered minor burns. Their mother had locked the driver's door but succeeded in rolling out of the blazing car through the nearside door. She landed on the ground with her hair and clothes alight. Lillian Burton and her daughters were brutally assaulted. Their pet spaniel was burnt alive in the car. A forest ranger found Mrs Burton in the Bush a short distance from the road. A passing motorist took her and the children to Ndola Hospital where they were admitted at 1.50 p.m. The mother was then wearing only shoes and a brassiere. She was in shock and suffering from 75% burns, mostly third degree, and fairly extensive bruising.

Mr Denis Brockwell, Senior Superintendent, Divisional Criminal Investigation Officer, Western Division, received the report of Mrs Burton's admission at 3.00 p.m. Having arranged for the necessary immediate action to be taken at the scene of the crime, he went to the hospital with Mr G D Patterson, Superintendent, of Ndola CID. The two children were able to give the officers a brief description of the incident. Mrs Burton never recovered sufficiently to give her account, although women police officers were stationed at her bedside until her death a week later.

An African, Amon Nikusulumani, reported to Ndola Police Station and at 5 p.m, accompanied Brockwell and Patterson to the scene of the crime. Darkness was approaching as they examined the burnt out car. The door handles, steering wheel, dashboard, bonnet hinges and gear linkage had all melted in the intense heat. Molten solder was visible on the tarmac. A toolbox and certain articles from a vanity bag were

missing from the car.

The Morris Traveller was about 350 yards from the junction of the Ndola-Mufulira Road with a dirt road from Chifubu, three miles away. On this dirt road were found three abandoned vehicles, a petrol driven Bedford lorry, a Ford Mercury saloon and a diesel Thames panel van. The Mercury had no petrol tank cap, merely a cloth bung.

Nikusulumani told the police that he had been delivering meat for his employer and was driving home from Mufulira to Chifubu in the panel van. At about 12.15 he was stopped on the dirt road by a group of Africans and forced to join them. He said he had escaped before observing any further action.

On 9 May the examination of the scene continued. A metal screw cap was found. Photographs were taken from the air to show the positions of the various vehicles. The owner of the Ford Mercury was identified as Balaboza Mutenge, who admitted running an unlicensed taxi service to Chifubu. The driver of the Bedford lorry, Fixon Mulenga, and two passengers, Banda and Kazembe, were also traced. All described being stopped and forced to join the group moving down the Chifubu Road.

It became clear that activists had recruited or press-ganged members of the crowd leaving Chifubu for Kabushi and elsewhere, and others encountered en route, and led them in two main groups. One had beset the Mufulira Road. The other had moved on to the Kitwe Road before attacking Kabushi Beerhall at 5 p.m. Twelve cars had been stoned on the two main roads, resulting in shattered windscreens and injured passengers. All except the Burtons had managed to get past. The difficulty was going to be to identify those directly responsible for the attack on the Burtons amongst so many.

There was widespread alarm and revulsion, with talk of forming vigilante groups among the Whites. Led by the United Federal Party and the European Mineworkers' Union they called for the proscription of the United National Independence Party. Riots and other disturbances had continued for several days. Swift action was taken to bring the unrest to a halt before it could be made worse by European reprisals. On 11 May the Governor, in accordance with the Preservation of Public Safety Ordinance, banned UNIP in the Western Province and declared all its Copperbelt branches unlawful. Kenneth Kaunda was away in London, but on 12 May orders were made banning him, Simon Kapwepwe, Munu Sipalo and two others from entering Western Province.<sup>4</sup>

Shock and indignation was not confined to Europeans. 600 people of all races attended the burial of Lillian Burton. One bouquet of flowers sent to her in hospital had borne the message "From the Africans of Chifubu, the vast majority of us are horrified at the incident".

Denis Brockwell and his superiors were well aware that the best way to reassure the public was by speedily bringing Mrs Burton's murderers to justice. The widespread shame at what had occurred was in his favour, but fear was against him. In 1964 he

was to write in the Police Journal, "Never during my twenty-seven years police career in Africa have I experienced such profound fear as prevailed in witnesses' minds during this investigation".<sup>5</sup>

On 12 May he moved the base for the investigation from the Western Division Headquarters building to a vacant house in Wilkinson Police Camp, Ndola. Here the investigators worked in complete secrecy. Windows were blanketed and guards posted night and day. Nikusulumani and other witnesses were given police protection and initially housed under guard at the Mobile Unit Camp at Bwana Mkubwa. On 8 July 1960 they were moved to a wired enclosure built to house emergency detainees in Wilkinson Camp. Twenty-two witnesses with their wives and children were housed here until after the prosecution closed its case in January 1961. Detectives lived with them and, as far as possible, witnesses were prevented from communicating with each other. The task of cross-checking statements was thus made easier. Witnesses prevaricated for fear of implicating themselves as accomplices as well as out of fear of reprisals by African nationalists.

Information was received that a Central African Road Services bus conductor, Marko Mwansa, had mentioned being with a gang which stopped one of his company's buses. Other witnesses had described a tall man leading such a gang. Mwansa's evidence enabled this man to be identified as Cresta Ngebe, a former teacher, absent from his employment with Lafferty and Company at Ndola since 7 May.

Inquiries revealed that Ngebe had returned to Ndola after a mysterious absence, but had not returned to work. Mwansa related how Ngebe had stopped the three vehicles on the Chifubu Road and ordered the occupants to join his party. Mwansa had heard Ngebe demand petrol from Nikusulumani and Balaboza and told how Ngebe had removed a two gallon petrol tin from Nikusulumani's van. The charred remains of such a tin had been found 20 feet from Mrs Burton's car. The screw cap found earlier fitted it. Nikusulumani conceded ownership of the tin and corroborated Mwansa's account.

A suitcase and a piece of plastic tubing had been recovered from Balaboza's Ford Mercury. The owner of the suitcase, Chidule Aston, was located in Southern Rhodesia and brought back to Ndola. He had been Balaboza's passenger. Both now further corroborated Mwansa's story. They said a short man had used the tubing to syphon petrol into a two gallon tin similar to that recovered. Ngebe had commandeered the Bedford lorry to transport some of his party to the Mufulira Road junction, whilst others had been ordered there on foot.

The driver of the CARS bus was identified as Tennis David. On 8 May he had been driving a football team to Chifubu. He was now on scheduled service to Mbeya. His bus was intercepted by an aircraft of the Northern Rhodesia Police Reserve Flight before it entered Tanganyika. David was flown back to Ndola. He said he had been stopped from entering the Chifubu Road by a group which included the tall man, Ngebe, and also Mwansa and one Chanda, both of whom he recognised, and who had persuaded the crowd not to attack his bus. He had thus been able to turn back to

Ndola.

On 25 May the Solicitor General was informed of the evidence collected. Plans were laid to pick up 14 suspects including Ngebe. Their homes were kept under observation and at 3 a.m. on 28 May 1960, Patterson, Brockwell and 14 teams of detectives set out to make the arrests. Cresta Ngebe was arrested in Chifubu. He claimed to have been in Elisabethville on 8 May and to have received treatment there for injuries received in tribal fighting. One Congo franc was found in his possession. An identification parade was held, with the witnesses hooded for their protection. Ngebe was identified, formally charged and remanded in custody by the court.

Brockwell flew in a Reserve Flight plane to Elisabethville. Assisted by the Katanga Judicial Police, he established that Ngebe had stayed at the Hotel Congolese there from 10 to 24 May. His accommodation had been arranged by the Conikat Party of Patrice Lumumba, who was also visiting Elisabethville at this time<sup>6</sup>. There was no record of any tribal fighting or of Ngebe having received medical treatment in Elisabethville. Immigration and Customs registers showed no record of Ngebe's entry into the Congo. Eventually information was received that on 9th May a man answering Ngebe's description had obtained a lift from Sakania to Elisabethville in a car belonging to a Conikat member, Symphorien Mwansa. On 11th June Symphorien and his other passenger, Kiola, also of Conikat, picked out Ngebe at an identification parade.

Marko Mwansa named the short man as Bulyo and said he had seen one Winter Kaponda on 8 May struggling for possession of the vanity bag at the scene of the murder. On 6 June Kaponda was found at Luanshya. He was intemperate and a drug addict, but after five days patient interrogation Kaponda had named the short man who syphoned petrol as Robin Kamima. Kaponda said he had seen a man called Chanda carrying a toolbox when they moved from the scene through the Forest Reserve to the Kitwe Road. He pointed out a house frequented by a youth with whom Kaponda had struggled for possession of the vanity bag.

Watch was kept on this house and after his identity had been confirmed by Kaponda, the youth was tailed to a house in Chifubu. It was searched and a black notebook, a jar of Pond's cream and a purse were found. The youth, James Paikani Phiri, was arrested. He claimed to have been in Kitwe on 8 May and refused to take part in an identification parade. Information from Phiri's room-mates led to the recovery of a Croxley notebook and a headwrap from the house of one of his relatives in Chifubu, and a powder compact which he had given to a girl friend. The two notebooks, the purse, headwrap, compact and jar were all identified by Mrs Burton's mother as originating from the vanity bag.

Kamima was finally located and arrested on 17 June. His claim to have been away from Ndola on 8th May was disproved. On the same day Bernard Chanda's house and car were searched without result. Chanda was brought in for questioning and admitted leaving the toolbox in the Bush. Next morning he took the detectives about five miles down the Ndola-Luanshya/Kitwe Road where motorists had been stoned on the

afternoon of 8 May. On top of an anthill he showed them a toolbox which he said he had carried from the scene of the murder and left to collect later. Once the box had been identified as from Mrs Burton's car, Chanda was arrested and charged with murder. He admitted being with Ngebe at the Chifubu turnoff and having chased and stoned the car.

On 18 June the preliminary inquiry opened before Mr John Cronin, Resident Magistrate, Ndola. By 28 June it had reached the stage for evidence from eyewitnesses. For their protection the court adjourned to Solwezi, 300 miles away. The transport, accommodation and feeding of the accused, the witnesses, their families, the press, CID and court officials was a major operation. Patrol car escorts were provided for the journey and the Mobile Unit found guards at Solwezi. 400 statements had been recorded, analysed and cross-checked. Twelve eye-witnesses from groups which had included the four accused, Ngebe, Chanda, Kamima and Phiri, had been found. Considerable effort had been required to obtain the truth from these witnesses, mainly accomplices to some degree. European and African detectives had worked round the clock to secure the evidence so quickly. Between 1 and 6 July the depositions of these witnesses were taken at Solwezi. All came up to proof.

On 13 July the inquiry resumed at Ndola. On 20 July all four accused were committed to the High Court for trial. Ngebe had been represented throughout the preliminary inquiry. The other three had declined legal aid. Chanda, Phiri and Kamima elected to give evidence. Phiri and Kamima retracted their alibis but endeavoured to shift responsibility on to certain Crown witnesses, alleging that these had coerced them into going to the scene.

On 17 August the trial opened at Ndola before Mr Justice Anthony Somerhough OBE and four assessors. Chanda, Phiri and Kamima had now accepted legal aid, being represented by Messrs David Houston-Barnes, Fin Burke and Brian Gardner. Cresta Ngebe continued to be represented by Mr Syd Pearce. All four pleaded not guilty to the joint charge of murder. Tape recorders and microphones were installed to supplement the work of a palantypist. The trial record was played back and corrected in the presence of counsel at the close of each day's proceedings. Prosecution witnesses were subjected to lengthy cross-examination. Some, as accomplices, had been granted immunity from prosecution. Two perjured themselves. Inquiries revealed that, despite all security precautions, they had received threats.

On 26 September Mr Paul Counsell, appearing for the Crown, had to withdraw through illness. The trial was adjourned until 3rd October to enable Mr Desmond O'Connor to take over the case. The Crown case was approximately three-quarters through, 11,605 pages of evidence having been recorded from 61 witnesses. On 2 October Mr Justice Somerhough died after an unexpected stroke<sup>7</sup>. His sudden and tragic death threatened to bring all the efforts of Brockwell and his men to nought. Witnesses were becoming more and more restless in their conditions of quarantine. They now had to undergo the ordeal of giving evidence in court for the third time.

The new trial opened on 8 November before Mr Justice John Blagden OBE TD<sup>8</sup> with four fresh assessors. Due to the situation in the Katanga, the attendance of five Congolese witnesses could not be secured, but statutory provisions enabled their evidence recorded at the first trial to be placed before the court.

Ngebe now retracted his alibi and all four accused tried to place the blame on Crown witnesses. The accused called no witnesses. All four were convicted of murder. On 13 March 1961 Ngebe, Chanda and Kamima were sentenced to death. Phiri tried to avoid the gallows by claiming to have been under 18 years of age at the time of the murder. There was no compulsory registration of African births in Northern Rhodesia, and therefore no relevant birth certificate, but medical evidence of bone fusion showed that he was at least 22 years old. On 5 April Phiri too was sentenced to death.

On 14 July 1961 the appeals of all four were dismissed by the Federal Supreme Court. Petitions to appeal to the Privy Council and, for clemency, to the Governor, were rejected. On 23 November 1961 Cresta Ngebe, Bernard Chanda, Robin Kamima and Paikani Phiri were hanged at Livingstone Central Prison. They were later declared martyrs of the struggle for the independence of Zambia and had streets named after them in Lusaka.

Denis Brockwell was awarded the Queen's Police Medal for Distinguished Service and 'Paddy' Patterson the Colonial Police Medal for Meritorious Service for their work on this case.

18 May 1960 had brought a welcome visitor, when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother arrived at Livingstone to be greeted by a guard of honour of 106 officers and men of the Mobile Unit under the command of Mr R S Monteith, Superintendent. On 17 May Her Majesty had officially opened the Kariba Dam from the Southern Rhodesia side, while members of the Northern Rhodesia Police, drawn from Mazabuka District, the Police Training School, Lilayi, and Lusaka Division, performed crowd control duties on the North Bank. She now paid a flying visit to Barotseland and the Copperbelt before travelling to Lusaka where she unveiled a plaque on the statue "Physical Energy" outside the new High Court building. The erection of this statue, a duplicate of that commemorating Cecil Rhodes at Groot Schuur in the Cape, had not been without controversy. It was said to represent the Federal concept of partnership with the European as the rider and the African as the horse! The Queen Mother took advantage of the occasion to announce that Lusaka was to be granted the status of a 'city' in September. From the capital Her Majesty went on to visit Fort Jameson.

On 30 June 1960 the Belgian Congo was granted independence. On 4 July the Force Publique, the army of the new state, mutinied. Chaos ensued. Murder and rape of whites led to a mass exodus of Europeans from the Congo. Emergency refugee centres were set up by the Northern Rhodesia Government and voluntary organisations. The main aim was to pass the fleeing Belgians through to the south with all speed. The Public Works Department provided free vehicle servicing and petrol to facilitate the rapid passage of the majority who came by car. The Northern Rhodesia Police were

much engaged with traffic control and giving guidance.

On 11 July Moise Tshombe<sup>9</sup> took the opportunity to declare the secession of the Katanga Province from the turbulent Congo. He paid the police forces of Southern and Northern Rhodesia the compliment of requesting the services of 5,000 Rhodesian police to ensure law and order and maintain the integrity of his new state. This request was politically and practically impossible to grant. Tshombe began to recruit mercenaries instead. Meanwhile a United Nations Peacekeeping Force had arrived in the Congo where it was to remain for four years with varying fortunes.

Northern Rhodesia's frontiers with the Congo and Katanga had to be watched for many months by police and troops to prevent incursions by the various official and private armies which sprang up in the former Belgian colony. The breakdown of law and order there led to an increase in car thefts in Northern Rhodesia as the vehicles disappeared into the vacuum. Rabies among household pets became a problem for the first time in many years.

In September it was announced that a conference would be held the following year to discuss constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia. This was in spite of demands by the United Federal Party that the 1959 constitution should run its full course until 1963. Kenneth Kaunda had made good use of his overseas tour. In October the report of the Monckton Commission was published stating: "The strength of African opposition in the Northern Territories is such that Federation cannot, in our view, be maintained in its present form". Relations between the Federal and United Kingdom governments reached an all time low, while the African nationalists were elated.

Also in September 1960 the African National Congress leader, Harry Nkumbula, was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment on conviction for dangerous driving and leaving the scene of a road traffic accident. He had knocked down and killed Constable Zulu. Released on bail pending appeal, Nkumbula, was able to travel to London for the constitutional talks before being committed to prison in April 1961 when the Federal Supreme Court dismissed his appeal. The case further lowered Nkumbula's reputation with the African public and was another severe set-back in Congress's power struggle with the United National Independence Party.

It was not all strife on the Copperbelt. On 2 October 1960 an athletic competition was held at Nchanga Mine Sports Stadium between the Northern Rhodesia Police of Chingola District and the employees of the Mine for the 'Copperfields Trophy'. The police won the tug-of-war. Assistant Inspector Mike Beaves was the winner of the hundred yards sprint and Inspector John Lawrence won the longjump. A football match in the afternoon in front of 4,000 spectators ended in a draw, but overall the police lost the competition by 63 points to the Mine's 102. The day was brought to a conclusion by the drum and fife band of the Mobile Unit beating retreat, with Mr Gordon Layne, Officer Commanding Chingola District, taking the salute.

The end of Sir Arthur Benson's governorship and the instances of disorder in the

Luapula Province had led to the reopening of Kawambwa Police Station under Inspector Les Bardwell in January 1960, Kashiba, ceremonially reopened by Senior Chief Mwata Kazembe on 30 April, with Inspector Brian Soulsby as Officer in Charge, and Samfya under Inspector Michael Mylod in May. Kashiba was to be renamed Mwense in 1963.

There were also new stations on the Line of Rail. Prospect in the farming area of Central Division opened under Assistant Inspector Jim Wilkinson in February 1960. Riverside in the Kitwe District opened on 15 August with responsibility for the Buchi, Kamitonda and Kwacha townships, a combined population of about 30,000, while Kitwe East Police Station opened in October 1960. On 1 January 1961 the post at Ngwerere in Lusaka Rural District was upgraded to a station.

It was during 1960 that Constable Tsikari, while checking for stolen bicycles, attempted to make an arrest and received fatal stab wounds.

In January 1961 there was rioting at Roan Antelope in which four people were killed and seventeen wounded. Chief Inspector A R Kirby and constables Mulumpa and Mukangwa were awarded the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry and Assistant Inspector M Hugh-Jones received a special commendation for "outstanding discipline and courage in the face of a riotous mob" as a result of this action.

In January the price of copper was œ200 per ton. Its peak for 1961 was œ242. In December 1961 it stood at œ230. Economy was the watchword and from January until August all police recruiting was suspended. This was in the year that Northern Rhodesia was to experience its worst period of lawlessness and internal strife since the beginning of European administration. The year started with a constitutional crisis when the United Federal Party boycotted the review conference as did the Dominion Party, leaving only the two African nationalist parties and the liberals, led by Sir John Moffatt, at the table. Kenneth Kaunda threatened that if majority rule was not granted there would be disorder "which by contrast would make Mau Mau look like a child's picnic"<sup>10</sup>. On the other side there were rumours that Sir Roy Welensky intended to unilaterally declare the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland independent. During the year there was light hearted discussion between members of the Federal Army and the Northern Rhodesia Police as to which force would succeed in disarming the other in the event of a breakdown in relations between the United Kingdom and Federal governments!

Iain Macleod announced the British proposals for Northern Rhodesia's legislature - fifteen members elected by voters on the upper roll, fifteen elected by lower roll voters and fifteen elected on a proportional basis on the votes cast on both rolls. Neither side was happy. At a United National Independence Party rally at Mulungushi early in July, Kaunda accused the British Government of a breach of faith. In August serious disorders broke out centred at first in the Northern and Luapula provinces where bands of up to 300 armed men roamed at large through the Bush.

Roads were blocked, bridges destroyed, and schools and other buildings burnt. Mass destruction of Situpas (African identity certificates) was organised. Meetings were held

in defiance of the Law. There were attacks on police and much intimidation. After a few days the disturbances spread to the Copperbelt. Before long few parts of the Territory were unaffected. On the Copperbelt and in Lusaka explosives were used for the first time as a means of sabotage, albeit to little effect. European special constables were enrolled and used in large numbers to patrol the residential areas in the major towns.

Between 24 July and 1 September 1961, 901 incidents were recorded resulting in total of 1,400 arrests. 38 schools were burnt down, including 34 in Northern Province. More than 60 road blocks were reported and 24 bridges destroyed or seriously damaged. 27 people were killed. By the end of October more than 3,000 persons had been arrested and 2,691 convictions obtained in the courts, 2,158 involving known supporters of UNIP.

On Tuesday 8 August 1961 at about 1800 hours the Officer Commanding, Northern Division, received a report that an American mission doctor and his family were trapped on the road about 65 miles north of Mpika. The Officer Commanding informed Chinsali Police Station from where Detective Inspector J A Coates, in charge of CID there, and Acting Inspector F K Buckingham, Head Constable Luchembe, a driver constable and 8 constables of the Mobile Unit, set out immediately down the Great North Road in two landrovers. They were armed with two pistols, a Sterling sub-machine gun, 4 rifles, a 1½ inch riot-gun and a signal pistol also capable of firing tear smoke projectiles.

On the way the police party had to clear a number of road blocks and repair several damaged culverts. At one point a landrover tipped over and had to be righted. After 30 miles they came upon a burnt out bus. At about 0600 hours on 9 August about 8 miles south of Matumbo the patrol was approached by about 50 men armed with spears and axes. These claimed responsibility for blocking the road and announced that they were UNIP which was now the government! While the police were attempting to persuade them to return to their villages, they were joined by another very militant crowd of about 70 armed youths. After argument the crowd was partially dispersed and the patrol continued on its way south.

After repairing another large culvert the police reached Phillipo School 54 miles south of Chinsali at 0815 hours. Here they found Dr and Mrs J Foust and their sons aged 12 and 11, together with Mr and Mrs R Wright, Mrs Wright's mother and their children aged 5 years, 3 years and 18 months. These people had been travelling north in a long wheel base landrover and a Chevrolet vanette. The school had been burnt down. The African headmaster, another male teacher, his wife, mother, brother, 5 small children, and a female teacher all asked to accompany the police.

Phillipo School was 15 miles from Sir Stewart Gore-Brown's homestead, Shiwa Ngandu, but John Coates knew that the Post Office telegraph there was out of order. He had no information as to the condition of the road south to Mpika. With 33 people and much luggage the convoy of four vehicles set off back to Chinsali at about 0930 hours.

Five miles up the road was the large culvert the police had repaired, but their work had now been undone. The crossing was barred by a crowd of about 150 Africans armed

with spears, axes and bows and arrows. Coates halted the convoy about 100 yards away and walked some 40 yards towards the mob accompanied by Buckingham, Luchembe and four constables. He pronounced in a loud voice the words of the Riot Act, which all officers carried written inside the covers of their notebooks, "All persons here assembled are commanded in the Queen's name to disperse peacefully to their homes.....". Head Constable Luchembe translated. The mob ignored repeated warnings and advanced slowly on the handful of police shouting and waving their weapons.

At Inspector Coates' order constables Kaluba and Silungwe fired 5 tear smoke shells from the riot-gun and signal pistol. Several men in the crowd were seen to try to cover the shells with earth to stop the smoke discharge. The crowd came on until Coates ordered Buckingham and Luchembe to fire. Frank Buckingham fired 5 rounds from his Sterling and Luchembe 2 from his rifle. Noone appeared hit but the crowd divided leaving the roadway clear. The vehicles were brought up to the broken culvert.

Most of the mob were to the east of the road. They now closed in threatening the vehicles. Others approached from the West. The police shouted repeated warnings but the crowd came on, harangued by certain ringleaders. They were about 15 yards away when Coates shouted a final warning. Jacob Kapanga, Secretary of the Muchinga Constituency Branch of UNIP, was directly in front of him and shouted back "Shoot me then, shoot me." Coates gave the order "Prepare to fire" and the police raised their weapons. The crowd continued to press forward so that its leaders were only 10 yards away when John Coates shouted "Fire", and fired one round from his .38 revolver. As soon as he saw the crowd beginning to turn round he ordered "Cease Fire" and was immediately obeyed. He checked the ammunition expenditure finding that Buckingham had fired 6 rounds from the Sterling and the Head Constable and constables Lungu and Mahango had fired a total of 6 rounds from their rifles. The Driver Constable, armed with the fourth rifle, had been guarding the vehicles and was not engaged.

It was now 1030 hours. Guards were posted while the rest of the police and their charges set to work filling the culvert. The bulk of the crowd had fallen back into the trees and after some shouts of defiance began to drift away. Detective Inspector Coates took Dr Foust out to examine the casualties. Jacob Kapanga was lying fifteen feet from the roadway with a wound in his right thigh and another in the lower chest. He was treated by the doctor and placed in a vehicle. The same distance from the road was a man dying from a wound in the groin. There were two other casualties, both dead, one at the very edge of the road about six feet from Dr Foust's vehicle. Four spears, an axe, two bows, a club and four arrows were with the bodies.

By about 1100 hours the convoy was able to move on north. Two hours later, near Matumbo, they met another crowd of about 100 to 150 persons. Two men came forward and demanded to inspect the vehicles. This was, of course refused. The men returned to the crowd and after some argument amongst themselves the crowd moved back into the village. The convoy approached the village slowly over several roadblocks. In the village the crowd lined the road many of them armed. The police

dismounted and escorted the vehicles through. Small groups of armed men detached themselves from the crowd and kept pace with the vehicles. While negotiating a roadblock the last vehicle turned over. As this vehicle was being righted the crowd closed in. They were warned to keep away but caught sight of the wounded Kapanga. Several men and a female were seen to hurry ahead, with the obvious intention of assembling a larger crowd.

At about 1320 hours approximately two miles north of Matumbo a crowd of some 250 was encountered coming down the road towards the convoy. With some difficulty they were prevailed upon to halt, while two leaders were permitted to approach. These demanded to search the vehicles for the wounded man. They were sent back to the crowd with a warning to disperse or the police would be compelled to fire. The crowd advanced in a hostile manner. Eventually they were cajoled into clearing a narrow lane down the centre of the road but refused to move off it. John Coates ordered Buckingham to fire down the cleared passage. He fired 14 rounds of Sterling in short bursts. The mob sullenly pulled back to about ten feet from each side of the road. Escorted by the police on foot the convoy drove through.

The remainder of the journey was without incident apart from the necessity to make culverts passable. At about 2000 hours, five miles south of Chinsali they met another party of police sent out to their assistance.

The question of whether the police were justified in firing is best answered by the medical missionary. Dr Foust said "I thought John had left it too late!"<sup>11</sup>

On 29 August Inspector G I Walford and part of his platoon of the Mobile Unit were returning across the Zambesi at Chavuma, near Balovale in North-Western Province, after a successful dawn patrol, when their boat capsized. "Taffy" Walford was drowned together with constables 1649 Musa, 2007 Mayengo, 3171 Tembo, 4696 Shumbwamuntu, 5645 Muboboto, 5818 Banda and 5853 Njoru. Mr Alan Milne, Assistant Superintendent, saw the disaster, and, although not a strong swimmer, and despite the danger of crocodiles, immediately dived into the river. He succeeded in rescuing one constable and a prisoner. Mr Milne and Constable Kamboyi were subsequently awarded the Royal Humane Society's Bronze Medal. A Dean's Chair and kneeler were presented by the Force to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross at Lusaka in memory of the dead men.<sup>12</sup>

On 17 October 1961 "The Voice of U.N.I.P." published a special issue - "A Grim Peep into the North" - making allegations of brutality against the security forces. In January 1962 the Government issued a 78-page reply - "An Account of the Disturbances in N.R.- July to October 1961". Some 500 huts had been burnt by the security forces, mainly Army units, deliberately or by accident in the course of operations "particularly in areas which were most disaffected and where violence and intimidation were rife". About 320 of these were in the Chinsali District. Matumba Village, said by the District Commissioner to be the worst in the district, was, according to a report quoted by David

G Mulford, cordoned off by the Mobile Unit and forty-four of its sixty-four huts, pointed out as belonging to troublemakers, burnt on the DC's orders. Mulenga Chenaeka Village in Mporokoso District was burnt on the orders of Chief Chitoshi, because it had been a constant source of trouble and its inhabitants had refused to obey the Native Authority laws or to acknowledge their chief.<sup>13</sup>

Seven complaints of rape were made against members of the security forces. All except one were found to be false on inquiry or failed to result in the identification of a suspect. In one case a soldier was convicted and sentenced to two years imprisonment, but his conviction was quashed on appeal.

As a result of the operations in Northern and Luapula provinces, Mr J D O Bird, Superintendent, a future commissioner of the Gibraltar Police, was awarded the MBE and Mr J F Fitzgerald, Superintendent, Mr J D Williams, Assistant Superintendent, Detective Inspector J A Coates, Assistant Inspector F K Buckingham, and Head Constable Luchembe were all awarded the Colonial Police Medal for Meritorious Service.

The President of the United States of America, John F Kennedy, had appointed George Mennen "Soapy" Williams to the new post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in his "new look" administration<sup>14</sup>. On 27 and 28 August 1961 Williams honoured Northern Rhodesia with his first and only visit. The Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, accompanied the American to Lusaka Airport at the end of this flying visit. As they were saying their good-byes on the tarmac, a white resident of long standing, Stewart Finlay Bisset of Northern Fisheries, left the Airport Bar, strode towards the VIP party and punched Williams on the jaw.

Finlay Bisset, known to Africans as "Kamamanya" from his involvement in labour recruiting, was prosecuted for assault at Lusaka Magistrate's Court. Williams was safely back home in America. The Governor, as the Queen's representative was constitutionally barred from giving evidence in the courts of Northern Rhodesia. His Aide de Camp, Senior Inspector Jeremy Hawkins, was under no such disability. Bisset was duly convicted and fined œ50.

In September 1961 the United Nations troops in the Congo began an operation to end the secession of Katanga. The United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, decided to meet Moise Tshombe, the Katanga president, for conciliatory talks on neutral ground at Ndola. A member of the British Government, Lord Lansdowne, was acting as an intermediary. At about 1300hrs on 17 September news of the intended meeting having reached Western Division HQ Senior Superintendent Bob Read, the Second in Command visited Ndola Central Inspectors Mess to co-opt off duty officers for security

duty at the Airport. At about 1700 hours on 17 September Lansdowne took off from Ndjili Airport, Leopoldville, to fly to Salisbury via Ndola. It was Hammarskjold's wish that he should not be present at the meeting with Tshombe who landed at Ndola at approximately 1700hrs to be accommodated at the house of the Provincial Commissioner. Lord Alport, British High Commissioner in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, waited at Ndola Airport.<sup>15</sup>

At 1751 hours Hammarskjold's DC-6B four engined jet chartered by the United Nations from the Swedish Transair Company, left Ndjili in conditions of great secrecy. The aircraft, designated SE-BDY, known as "The Albertina", was piloted by Captain Halonquist, who was assisted by a crew of five other Swedes. With Hammarskjold travelled Heinrich Wieschhoff of his New York Staff, Vladimir Fabry, legal adviser to the United Nations in the Congo, Alice Lalande, a Canadian secretary, William Ramallo, the Secretary-General's personal aide and five security men - two Swedish soldiers, a Frenchman, an Irishman and an American, Sergeant Harold M Julien, Acting Chief Security Officer ONUC.

A flight plan had been filed giving the Albertina's destination as Luluabourg. The captain flew over Lake Tanganyika to avoid Katanga and maintained radio silence until two hours from Ndola when he contacted Salisbury Air Traffic Control. At 2338 hours Halonquist requested descent clearance for Ndola for 2357 hours. At 2347 hours he reported his aircraft abeam of Ndola. At 0010 hours the pilot reported "lights in sight" and a number of those on the ground saw and heard an aircraft. Due to the circumstances of secrecy surrounding Hammarskjold's movements there was no great concern when the aeroplane appeared to have flown off and radio communication was lost. It was assumed that the Secretary-General had merely changed his plans. Police on duty at the airport were stood down. Assistant Inspector A E Begg returned to normal duty at Ndola Central Police Station.

At about this time people saw flashes in the sky but assumed them to be lightning or bushfires. A number of police officers were on standby duty at the Provincial Commissioner's house. One of these, Assistant Inspector M Van Wyk, reported to Adrian Begg at Ndola Central that he had heard a large aircraft overhead and a few minutes later saw a red flash in the sky. Being unable to get a response from Ndola Airport on the telephone, Begg drove there with A/Insp Keith Pennock. The airport was closed and in darkness but the officers managed to rouse the duty radio operator in the control tower. The operator confirmed the assumption that there was nothing amiss and that Hammarskjold had decided to go elsewhere. He suggested they should inform the Airport Manager of Van Wyk's report. Having got no answer to a telephone call to the Rhodes Hotel where Mr Williams was staying, the officers drove there and woke him, but he advised leaving the matter until daylight. A search from the air in darkness would serve no useful purpose. Williams remained of the opinion that the Albertina would be found to have landed safely elsewhere. Nevertheless the police officers sent out vehicle patrols on their own initiative. These found nothing to report, as did patrols sent out from Mufulira Central after Assistant Inspector Vaughan had reported a sudden light

in the sky and having the impression of something falling.

In the early hours of 18 September Salisbury Air Traffic Control put out an alarm and requested the Royal Rhodesian Air Force to commence a search at dawn. In the late morning the crash site was located by an RRAF pilot. At about the same time Detective Constable Sicimo had found three charcoal burners at Twapia Beerhall trying to sell what they assumed was a typewriter. This turned out to be a cypher machine that they had found at the scene of the crash in the forest reserve about nine and a half miles from Ndola in the direction of Mufulira. Sicimo arrested them and arrived with them at Ndola CID offices in the early afternoon. Mr M T Cary, Assistant Superintendent, Senior Inspector T E A Wright, Detective Inspector G R Lowes and Trevor Nuns, a police photographer, set out for the scene immediately by Landrover guided by one of Sicimo's prisoners. Progress was slow on a rough track obstructed by fallen trees. Clearly no other vehicle had used that track for a long time. Ian Colvin in his book "The Rise and Fall of Tshombe" says that he flew over at 0900 hours and saw police already there on the ground, while Colonel Ben Matlick, the United States Air Attache from Leopoldville, claimed to have been the first to have reached the scene by motor vehicle. Be that as it may the police found utter desolation. The aircraft had cut a swathe 800 feet long through the trees, tearing itself to pieces and finally bursting into flames of such intense heat that the metal of the fuselage fused together.<sup>16</sup>

The only survivor was Sergeant Julien. He was quickly removed to hospital, but his burns and other injuries had been aggravated by his exposure to the blazing sun. Harry Julien never recovered consciousness. He died five days later with Senior Inspector A V Allen at his bedside. All the bodies had been badly burned except that of Hammarskjold himself. It was found by Ray Lowes lying a few feet outside the burnt area. Near the Secretary-General's body were several playing cards. He must have been playing cards when the end came. The standby platoon of the Mobile Unit under Insp John Dickinson arrived to secure the site in accordance with Force Standing Order 547.3. This platoon was relieved by that of Insp Ian Ross the following day and the site remained under such guard until investigations were completed. On that day, 19 September, A/Insp Begg, assisting with a further search of the area found the body of the Swedish soldier, Per Edvald Persson. When Hammarskjold's body lay in state at St Andrews Church Ndola Insp Ross was among the European and African police officers who with Rhodesian and UN servicemen provided the guard and later carried the coffin to the hearse.

Not surprisingly this tragedy caused a worldwide sensation. There were suggestions of sabotage and attack from the ground or air. Those hostile to the Federation took the opportunity to try to cast the blame on Roy Welensky and the Rhodesian forces. An intensive police investigation began immediately in conjunction with the aviation authorities. The Governor-General appointed a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Clayden.

The report of this inquiry was published in February 1962. The time of the crash was established from the stopped watches of the victims at 0013 hours 18 September. The

Albertina was found to have crashed while at the normal angle for descent with its engines running and wheels locked in the landing position. From this it was deduced that the pilot had been turning to land at Ndola, but that for some reason he had misjudged his height from the ground and the plane struck the treetops.

The Commission thoroughly investigated the other possibilities, including sabotage, error in ground/air communications, mechanical failure, defective altimeters and attack by other aircraft. All were finally dismissed. Major Delin the pilot of Katanga's only warplane, a Fougar fighter, voluntarily appeared before the Commission to give evidence that his aircraft was grounded at the relevant time.

It was suggested that Captain Halonquist might have confused the altitude of Ndola Airport, for which no approach chart was found in the wreckage, with that of Ndolo, near Leopoldville, an approach chart for which was found. However there was evidence that the captain had been heard to mention the correct altitude of Ndola some days before the fatal flight.

During the investigation all the parts of the Albertina were laid out in position in a hangar at Ndola and in due course cut into pieces about eight inches square to see whether any trace of hostile missiles could be found. Still later, during the United Nations sponsored inquiry, all parts of the fuselage were melted down with the same object. Nothing was found.

Although the United Nations' inquiry agreed with the Clayden Commission that pilot error was the most likely cause, it chose, whether or not from ulterior motives, to leave open the possibilities of a time bomb having been placed aboard at Ndjili, incomplete landing instructions and attack by the Katangese Fougar or other aircraft.<sup>17</sup>

A memorial was subsequently erected at the site of the crash which is now a national monument and park. A library and sports stadium at Ndola were named after the late Secretary-General.

In late 1961 concern was expressed in the UN that the UK should do more to prevent arms being smuggled into Katanga from Northern Rhodesia. The Federal Customs Department claimed to lack the necessary manpower, so in early 1962 A/Insp Colin Baker with a sergeant and a handful of constables camped ten miles from Mwinilungu on the Solwezi Road to watch a track from Kolwezi. A similar post was established at Kansanshi. (letter to the author from Colin Baker 26.11.1986)

On 10 December 1961 Assistant Inspector J W Maxwell of Chingola was off duty enjoying a swim in the Kafue River with the three sons of a farmer friend, when he spotted a large crocodile between the children and the riverbank. Maxwell shouted a warning and directed the boys to a rock in midstream. One, aged nine, managed to reach the rock and scramble to safety. The others, aged twelve and seven, were unable to scale its slippery sides. John Maxwell placed himself between the boys and the crocodile and lifted the eldest onto the rock. As he was helping the seven year old up,

the policeman was seized by the legs by the reptile. Although grievously injured he hit the crocodile on the snout and gouged out one of its eyes, obtaining a temporary release. Before Maxwell could reach the safety of the rock the beast returned to the attack and dragged him down to the riverbed in deep water. Almost out of breath Maxwell managed in desperation to find the crocodile's other eye and gouge it out.

With one leg practically severed and the other badly mauled, the police officer surfaced and reached the rock. The boys dragged him up and helped him tear up a towel to make a tourniquet. The two elder boys waded ashore and ran a quarter of a mile to their home where they met Mrs Belina Maloni. Mrs Maloni hurried to the river where she saw Assistant Inspector Maxwell still on the rock while the infuriated crocodile thrashed about in the water nearby. The African woman could not swim but, regardless of the danger that the blood in the water would attract other crocodiles, waded out to the rock. She helped Maxwell onto her back and, crawling on hands and knees, bravely carried him through the water to the shore. He was then placed in the front passenger seat of his motor car. While he manipulated the gears, Dorothy Kathleen Cox, a fourteen year old who had never before driven a car, steered the vehicle until they reached Nchanga Hospital.

On 20 December a full dress parade was held at Chingola Police Camp in honour of Mrs Maloni who was presented with a bicycle purchased through donations from all ranks in the District. On 17 March 1962 Maxwell left Ndola by air for the United Kingdom where he received further treatment and was fitted with an artificial leg at Queen Mary's Hospital Roehampton. The immediate award of the George Medal to Belina Maloni and Assistant Inspector John William Maxwell was announced in the London Gazette of 10 April 1962.<sup>18</sup>

Also in December 1961 a man stabbed the District Commissioner, Kabompo, and several members of his staff, before fleeing into the game reserve. D4 Platoon of the Mobile Unit under Inspector Paul Moller was called in to track the man down. The police flushed him out and the offender was shot by five district messengers only 300 yards from the border with Angola.

During 1961 Detective Sergeant Bwalya was stabbed to death while making inquiries concerning a spate of burglaries. In January 1962 Reserve Constable Kacha was attacked by a mob and fatally injured while on patrol in Wusikili Township. Reserve Constable Ndiweni of Raylton, Broken Hill earned a commendation for arresting a six foot two European man who had escaped from prison earlier in the day.

Colonel J D Stewart, Assistant Commissioner (Training) resigned in 1961. The post lapsed with his departure.<sup>19</sup>

In 1961 new "Local" Conditions of Service were introduced. Henceforth all admissions to the permanent and pensionable establishment were to be on these conditions. Serving officers were invited to transfer to local conditions with a higher retirement age

and no entitlement to free passages to and from the United Kingdom for vacation leave.

Qualifications for promotion remained unchanged except in one respect. Under the old conditions an assistant inspector grade I who had passed the examinations in Force Standing Orders, Police Duties, and a local language at Government Lower Standard, would, if he had completed three years service in that rank and was recommended, be promoted inspector. After two years in rank an inspector who had passed the Northern Rhodesia Government examination in a local language at Higher Standard, a second language at lower standard, or in Criminal Law and Procedure and Local and Applied Law, was eligible for selection for promotion to chief inspector. Before he could be selected for promotion to assistant superintendent an officer required a pass in both law and a second or higher language. Officers serving on local conditions were not to be required to sit the language examinations. Transfer to local conditions was therefore attractive to those European officers whose careers were held back by their inability to pass these examinations.

In mid-1960 Michael Mataka became the first African to be promoted Assistant Inspector Grade I. In 1961 the rank of Assistant Inspector Grade III was abolished all holders of the rank being upgraded. On 1 December 1961 fourteen Africans were promoted Assistant Inspector Grade I. In April 1962 there were 75 Africans serving as assistant inspectors grades I or II. With the introduction of local conditions of service suitably educated young Africans became eligible for direct recruitment in the rank of Assistant Inspector Grade I.

In April 1962 Force Headquarters moved from the Hart Road site it had occupied since 1946 to an imposing new purpose-built building on the Ridgeway. On 25 April a new police station was opened at Nega Nega in Mazabuka District with Assistant Inspector R A Bull as officer in charge. The introduction of the "Centralised Train Control" system, making the control of rail traffic far safer, developments in improved construction on the line, and the growth of the Rhodesia Railways Security Guard Unit, made it possible for the last of the Northern Rhodesia Police railway detachments to be closed during the year.

In March 1962 it was announced that elections under the "Macleod" constitution would be held at the end of October. While, as far as public order was concerned, 1962 was a less dramatic year than 1961, political intimidation remained at a high level. Some Africans took to carrying party cards for both the United National Independence Party and the African National Congress in order to avoid attack by either. Party bully boys countered this by pretending to be from the opposing party. When the unfortunate person they had accosted produced what he had been led to believe was the required card, his tormentors revealed their true persuasion and beat him up.

Nomination day was 9 October. From mid-October sporadic violence became regular. UNIP's Youth Brigade members harrassed ANC canvassers and Congress activists reciprocated where they could.

Registration of voters had started slowly but the Northern Rhodesia Government was anxious that the elections should be meaningful and properly reflect the extension of the franchise. The combination of government encouragement and publicity, and the efforts of the nationalist parties, resulted in the registration of 37,152 upper roll voters, including 7,321 Africans, and 91,942 lower roll voters, almost all African, out of an estimated adult population of 1,275,768.

The complicated arrangements for the "national constituencies" for which both upper and lower roll votes were cast, necessitated bye-elections on 10 December 1962. In the end no party was left with a majority in the Legislative Council. The United Federal Party had won 16 seats, the United National Independence Party, 14, and the African National Congress, 7. ANC and UFP had to a large extent worked together in the hope of neutralising UNIP, but now UNIP and Congress formed an uneasy alliance to form a ministry. Kenneth Kaunda became Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, while Harry Nkumbula took the African Education portfolio. Responsibility for the Police remained with the Chief Secretary, and the ministries of Finance, Native Affairs and Justice remained in the hands of officials.<sup>20</sup>

On 3 December 1962 the Commissioner of Police, Mr J P I Fforde CBE CPM KPM, left on retirement. Mr E H Halse OBE KPM CPM succeeded him in command. Mr Fforde's departure was preceded by a series of farewell visits and parades. On his final visit to the Police Training School, Mr Fforde was presented with an engraved silver tray on behalf of all the other ranks of the Northern Rhodesia Police. In his eleven years in command he had put his personal stamp on the Force and brought it successfully through times of great constitutional and economic change. Despite the difficulties and setbacks caused by events and considerations outside his control, he had created an efficient, well founded and organised police force in pace with the development of the Territory. The Northern Rhodesia Police now consisted of 133 gazetted officers, 788 subordinate police officers and 5,126 other ranks. There were sixty-six police stations and fourteen posts in the Territory, apart from CID units, traffic sections and other supporting and specialist groups. There were 16 gazetted officers and 67 subordinate police officers, five of them African, in the Criminal Investigation Department. The estimated expenditure for the 1962-63 financial year was œ4,479,000.

The population of Northern Rhodesia was said in the mid-fifties to be 60,000 Europeans, 20,000 Asians and Coloureds and 2½ million Africans. A Census in the early sixties showed there were more than four million Africans in the Territory.

The new Deputy Commissioner was Mr J C Day QPM CPM who had been Senior Assistant Commissioner (Headquarters) since 1957. He had served in the Northern Rhodesia Police since 1938, for the first nearly twenty years mainly in the CID and Special Branch.

On 23 December 1962 A3 Platoon of the Mobile Unit, under Inspector Peter Lendrum, returned from patrol in Northern Province where it had been deployed in connexion with the elections. The platoon managed to enjoy Christmas and New Year back at Bwana

Mkubwa, but on 2 January 1963 was back on the road, this time to Solwezi. Katanga was again in turmoil and refugees were fleeing into Northern Rhodesia. There was danger of incursions by Katangese, Congolese or United Nations Troops, some of whose records for humanitarianism were not too good. The platoon patrolled the Border in conjunction with units of the Army of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No.1818 Sergeant Banda arrested an armed mercenary, while 4109 Driver Constable Mafulo earned a Commissioner's Commendation by disarming and arresting 24 Katangese gendarmes he found in a tearoom on the Northern Rhodesia side of the Border. Mafulo was alone and unarmed. Among the weapons he seized were 22 sub-machine guns! A3 Platoon returned to Bwana Mkubwa on 29 January.<sup>21</sup>

The Mobile Unit now consisted of Headquarter Company, with the motor transport, corps of drums, training wing, administrative staff and stores, and four operational companies each of 150 men divided into four platoons. Permanent camps with one platoon each were maintained at Livingstone, Broken Hill and Chingola. Platoons, accompanied by their families, were detached to these stations for six months or so at a time in turn.

For some time there had been rumours that mining operations would recommence at Bwana Mkubwa, and a new site had been selected for the main Mobile Unit camp at Kamfinsa, some nine miles from Kitwe on the Ndola Road. During 1963 sufficient accommodation was completed at this new camp, named the Neville Halse Camp, for C Company to move in under Mr R M Gavin, Assistant Superintendent. Besides more modern housing and better amenities, the new site had the advantage of a more central position on the Copperbelt.

The Dog Section had started in 1956 with tracker dogs, mainly dobermans, under S/Insp S J Dippenaar who was joined by another veteran of the South African Police, S/Insp Tom Deetlefs. In 1959 A/Insp Jeff McLean returned from leave having attended a dog handlers course in the United Kingdom. Patrols with dogs commenced. In 1960 a dog training establishment was opened at Lilayi under Insp James Ford, formerly of the Royal Air Force Police, training dogs and handlers for the police and security guards for Key Point installations such as the mines and railways. By 1962 patrol dogs and their African police handlers were regularly on the beat in Lusaka, Ndola and Chingola while new kennels were under construction at the other main centres on the line of rail. In early 1963 on the Copperbelt 5589 Const Ndemanga was on patrol with his dog Simba II when he saw a man who appeared up to no good in a sanitary lane. On being challenged the suspect fled. After the third unheeded challenge Ndemanga released his dog who quickly made an arrest. When the constable began to search the prisoner, he was stabbed and the man again fled. Without further order from his incapacitated master, Simba gave chase, re-arrested the man and held him until help arrived. Dog and handler received commendations.<sup>22</sup>

Large numbers of Chokwe and Luchazi from Angola had crossed into Kabompo District complaining of ill-treatment by the Portuguese. They were permitted to stay on

condition of compliance with the law and obedience to the Lunda Native Authority. Not all complied and Senior Chief Sikoafeli and the District Commissioner, John Beck, were attacked. B1 Platoon, Mobile Unit, under Insp I C Ross and A/Insp J D J Boyd was sent. On 2 February 1963 an operation was mounted to arrest dissidents at Chamunika Village. A District Officer, Progress Mulala and four messengers were sent to arrest a wanted person some distance from the village, but while returning with two prisoners were attacked by a mob with machetes, spears and axes, left hors de combat, and their prisoners released. The Platoon advanced on the village prepared for any eventuality. After a tense stand off the mob began to waver and were sent on their way by a baton charge. 23 arrests were made and many weapons seized. On 11 February the Platoon was back at Bwana Mkubwa for a day of rest before the next callout.

The Eastern Province had been one of the last areas to come under nationalist influence. Few of the prominent men in either the United National Independence Party or African National Congress came from the province so there was no natural tribal loyalty involved. Nevertheless, since 1961, UNIP had taken steps to strengthen its position in the area and the success of Dr Hastings Banda and his followers in Nyasaland had impressed those living near the Border.

In January 1963 it was suddenly announced that Kenneth Kaunda, Wesley Nyrenda, MLC for Eastern Province, Hayden Banda, UNIP's Director of Youth, and James Skinner, an Irish lawyer practising in Lusaka who had become UNIP's legal and campaign adviser, were about to visit Lundazi<sup>23</sup>. Lundazi had no police station. At the Provincial Headquarters, Fort Jameson, were not more than 60 police. The Officer Commanding, Eastern Division, despatched an inspector and four constables to Lundazi. There was no reason to believe that the Minister for Local Government would wish to stir up trouble, nor that his party would attract opposition. A number of political meetings were held at which party members marched in procession, some in uniform. Disrespect for the chiefs and government officials appeared to be increased if, not encouraged, by the speeches.

After two days Kaunda, Skinner and Nyrenda left for Lusaka. A meeting was scheduled for the following day at Magodi's Village. Robin Short, the District Commissioner, feared for the safety of Chief Magodi and his staff. With only three district officers, the five police, eight district messengers and a handful of kapasus, the authorities had been careful to take no action which might provoke a disturbance. Now Short decided that things had come to a head. He informed the Chief that he was cancelling the meeting. The District Commissioner sent out parties on each of the approach roads to tell the people to go home. They refused to accept that Kaunda had gone or that the meeting was not to take place. After some disorder and stone throwing Hayden Banda arrived and sensibly agreed to persuade the people to disperse. However he called a meeting for the following Thursday.

By that day the Officer Commanding, Eastern Division, Mr Harry Taylor, Superintendent, had arrived at Lundazi. The Government forces amounted to 15 police and 15 district messengers. As a crowd approaching Magodi's from one direction was stopped and

turned back, another would be reported coming on a different road. Stones and knobkerries were used against the authorities and one man tried to cut the throat of a sub-inspector with a sickle. Frequent charges had to be made in order to maintain the initiative and freedom to manoeuvre. Finally the agitators appeared to lose heart, one group meekly obeying an order to sit down and later assisting to rebuild a bridge and remove tree trunks from across the road.<sup>24</sup>

As a result of these disturbances and a subsequent riot at Nthembwe, where an inspector and seven men were attacked by Youth Brigade members and forced to open fire with buckshot, two platoons of the Mobile Unit were sent to restore order. On 20 May 1963 the police station at Lundazi was reopened under Inspector P H Gillies assisted by Sub-Inspector Chipongoma, Detective Sub-Inspector Kazeze, sergeants William and Nyakadzino, driver constables Banda and Mbewe and constables Munganda, Mwelwa, Chiwembo, Mhango, Sambo, Tembo, Jere, Sitali, Chisenga and Kumasa, and Detective Constable Theo. Peace was brought to the district but only for a year.

The coalition of the United National Independence Party and African National Congress was never cordial and brought no improvement in relations between supporters of each party outside the Legislative Council. Between 20 March 1963 and 23 April 1963 no less than 1,366 offences attributable to political causes, were recorded in the Territory. 124 of these occurred in the Lusaka District<sup>25</sup>. On 21 September Assistant Inspector L A Chito was bludgeoned to death while on duty at Mikomfwa Location, Luanshya. Three men were arrested and tried for this murder.

African National Congress was still in disarray, beset by both disunity and financial problems. Creditors, now certain that ANC would not be the post independence ruling party, no longer felt inhibited from court action. A meeting on 3 August to promote party unity, ended with an assault by pro-Nkumbula youths on Job Michello, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources and ANC National Secretary. Michello resigned as National Secretary and on 5 August announced the formation of his own party, the People's Democratic Party. Pedco, as the new party soon became known, started boldly with the purchase on credit of a fleet of vehicles with talk of a subsidy from Tshombe.

On 28 August 1963 it was announced that there would be a further General Election in Northern Rhodesia in January 1964, with universal suffrage for those over 21 years of age. Federation was to end on 31 December 1963.

Nkumbula, Michello and John Roberts, the United Federal Party's territorial leader, all tried to persuade the Governor that the elections should be delayed. Each hoped that he could enhance his following given time. There was a great deal of uncertainty and unease among the white population, but heated words by factions such as the short-lived Rhodesia Republican Party were not turned into deeds.

Violent clashes between supporters of the three African parties increased towards the end of the year. Immediately before nomination day, 20 December, ANC and Pedco announced that they were reunited. Nkumbula petitioned the Governor, claiming that ANC-Pedco candidates had been prevented from submitting their papers on time by UNIP thugs. An extension was granted until 28 December but UNIP candidates were left unopposed in 24 of the 64 constituencies, while in four ANC and Pedco competed against each other<sup>26</sup>. After the elections a number of prosecutions were launched for forgery of nomination papers.

Although much police time and effort over the years had been taken up in combatting politically motivated crime, it must be remembered that, except for brief periods, as in August 1961, such work never engaged the main effort of the majority of the Force. Normal life went on for the bulk of the population, accompanied by normal crime and death and injury on the roads. Like any other police force in the World, it was with this that members of the Northern Rhodesia Police were primarily engaged

The police were not concerned with trying to stop any party gaining a following or coming to power, but they struggled to ensure that all parties did so peacefully and in accordance with the Law.

## NOTES CHAPTER 16

1. Maurice Harold MACMILLAN 1st Ld Stockton 84 OM 76 PC 42 FRS 62 ed Eton Balliol 2Lt Gren Gds ADC Gov Gen Cda 19-20 MP Stockton 24-9.31 Dir MacMillan & Co MP(C) Bromley 11.45-9.64 Parly Sec Supply 40 Colonies 42 Min Res AlliedHQ NWAfrica 42 SofS Air 45 Minstr Housg & LGovt 51 Defnce 10.54 Foreign Sec 4.55 Chancllr Exchequr 12.55 PM 1.57-10.63 d29.12.86
2. MONCKTON of Brenchley Walter Turner Monckton 1st Viscount 57 PC 51 G(64K37)CVO KCMG 45 KC 30 MC MA b17.1.91 ed Harrow Balliol 2Lt 4QORWK, Bar Innr Temple'19 Rcdr Hythe 30-7 AG to PofW 34 AG Duchy of Cornwall 36-47,48-51 DG Press & Censorshp Bureau 39 DG Min Info 40 SolrGen 45 MP(C) Bristol W 2.51-1.57 Min Lab & NS 51 Defence 12.55 PMG 10.56-1.57 d9.1.65
3. Iain MacLEOD PC 52 BA MP(C) Enfield W'50 b11.11.13 ed Fettes Cam, Bar Innr Temple'38 enl 39 w40 DAQMG 50Div'44 Chancellor Exchequer 50 Min Health 52 Lab & NS 12.55 SofS Colonies 10.59 Chancellor Duchy of Lancaster 61-63 d20.7.70
4. Mulford, Zambia, The Politics of Independence p153  
Simon KAPWEPWE bChinsali Dist ANC resgnd 10.58 Treasr ZANC UNIP Min Af Agriculture 12.62 Home Affrs 1.64 VPres Zambia 24.10.64  
Munukuyamba SIPALO, Lozi ed India to NR'57 ANC Exec expelled 12.57 Gen Sec ZANC/UNIP 11.58-62 Min Natural Resources 1.64
5. Brockwell "The Burton Atrocity" Police Journal Feb 1965 p61 this account is largely based on his article
6. Patrice LUMUMBA b Kasai 2.7.25 emp PO BCongo fdr Mouvement National Congolaise'58 PM'60 murdered 7.1.61
7. Anthony Geo SOMERHOUGH OBE 48 b15.12.06 ed Dover Cllge, HMS Worcstr, PO RAF'27 Bar Grey's 36 Deputy to JAG'36 LegalSO RAF BEF'39 Wg Cdr DJAG MEF'40-Gp Capt Oi/c War Crimes Gp NWE 45-8 MBE'46 Crown Counsl Kenya'49 DepPP'50 Judge NR'54 d2.10.60
8. Sir John Ramsay BLAGDEN Kt 70 OBE 44 TD MA b Davos 25.7.08 s/o PhD ed Marlboro Cam 2Lt 7Essex TA'28 Bar Lincoln's 34 Capt 35 Maj'38 CO 644 HAARegt'43 Col PP Mil Govt Cts BAOR 11.45 Judge Control Comm'47 Sen Mag Sarawak 12.11.50 Judge Trinidad'56 NR 16.9.60 Appeal Judge Zambia'64 CJ'65-9 d3.6.85
9. Moise TSHOMBE Pres Katanga ltr Pres Zaire
10. Observer 12 Feb'61 quoted by Mulford "Zambia, the Politics of Independence" p183  
Sir John MOFFATT MLC for African interests, Mmbr Federal Assembly & Chmn African Affrs Bd'53 fdr CAP ltr Liberal Party NR, unsuccessful UNIP candidate Ndola'64
11. Coates' report in the author's possession
12. Nkhwazi Vol 9 No 2 Dec 1961 p25
13. "Zambia, the Politics of Independence" p205
14. John FitzGerald KENNEDY b Mass 20.5.17 ed Harvard USN Lt'41 Corres INS'45 Congress'47 Senate'53 Pres 20.1.61 murdered 22.11.63
15. Dag Hajalmar Agne Carl HAMMARSKJOLD BL DPhil b Sweden05 ed Uppsala StockholmU AProf Stockholm 33 Sec Comm Unemploymt 30 Sec Bank of Swedn 35 USofS Fin 36 & Chmn Bk of Swedn 41 Fin Advsr FO & Swedish Delegate UN 49,51-Sec Gen 53 d17.9.61  
Geo John Chas Mercer Nairne Petty-Fitzmaurice 8th Marquess of LANSDOWNE b27.11.12 edEton Christchurch 2Lt Sch, Greys 40 Maj 44 PS Ambassador Paris 44-5

PUS FO 58 Min of State Colonial Affrs 62-4 & Cmmnwth Reltns 63  
Cuthbt Jas McCall Ld ALPORT PC 60 TD MA b22.3.12 s/o Prof MD FRCS ed Haileyby  
Cam, Artist Rifles TA & Bar 34 Hon Lt Col MP(C) Colchstr 50 APostMG 12.55 PUS  
Cmmnwth Reltns 57 Min State 10.59 HC Rhod & Nyasald 61-3 Life Peer 61 d98  
16.Colvin "The Rise and Fall of Tshombe" Leslie Frewin London 1968  
Heinrich WIESCHOFF UN Staff NY Deputy to Undr Sec Dept of Political & Secy Council  
Affrs

17.Nkhwazi Vol 12 No.1 Apr'64 pp48-51; Nkkhwazi NRPA Newsletter No.84 Winter  
2011-12 pp16-20, No.85 Summer 2012 pp25-31, No.86 Winter 2012-13 pp24-6, No.87  
Summer 2013 pp24-30, No.88 Winter 2013-14 pp20-22 , correspondence Ian Ross -  
Rosalyn Higgins "United Nations Peacekeeping 1946-1967 Documents & Commentary  
3 Africa" OUP 1980 p407 says "while not ruling out the possibility the Commission found  
no evidence that pilot error could have been the possible cause"; Susan Williams' book  
'Who Killed Hammarskjold? The UN, The Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa,' C  
Hurst & Co 2011 led to the (unofficial) Hammarskjold Commission, which issued its  
amended report on 15 Sept 2013 . This in turn caused the UN Secretary-General Ban  
Ki-moon to appoint a 3 person panel of experts in March 2015.

Paul Speich in the April 1964 Nkhwazi at pp49-50 wrote that a charcoal burner,  
Mazibisa reported at about 2.30pm on 18 Sept 1961 that he had found the crashed  
aircraft, leading to the despatch of A/Supt Carey and party. Like this author, Speich was  
not at Ndola at the time. Both David Williams and, of course, Ray Lowes, were. Susan  
Williams (no relation) in her book at p75 says three charcoal burners reported to Ndola  
District HQ while information was received that a fourth had also reported seeing the  
wreckage and would wait at the signpost to Dola Hill Forest Station to direct searchers  
to the site. Susan Williams indicates that Farie Mazibisa was President of the African  
Charcoal Burners Association. Whether he was this fourth charcoal burner or himself  
went to Ndola District HQ, it is clear that Carey's party was despatched as a result of the  
information from D/Const Sicimo's prisoners. Apart from Trevor Wright all were CID.  
At the Rhodesian inquiry in 1961 the evidence of Timothy Jiranda Kankasa, Secretary  
to the Twapia Township Management Board was that between 1100 and 1200hrs on 18  
Sept he had reported to Mr T N C Garfit, a district officer of the Provincial  
Administration, that he had seen and heard aircraft acting strangely late in the evening  
before. In October 1979 Kankasa told Ettore Botta in connexion with a proposed  
Swedish TV programme, that, alerted by charcoal burners, he had been to the crash  
site in the early morning of 18 Sept 1961, and between 0900hrs and 0930hrs had  
reported to the 'Officer in Charge of Western Division' with whom he had had  
satisfactory dealings in the past. This time nothing happened. His evidence to this effect  
in 1961 had been ignored. (Who Killed Hammarskjold pp117-8.). Kankasa must have  
known this officer's name or at least the name by which he was known to Africans. In  
1979 it would not have been difficult to identify him and seek corroboration. Now that is  
not possible. That an experienced police officer, whether or not under political pressure,  
should have been so grossly negligent as to ignore a police officer's first duty, 'the  
preservation of life and property', is difficult to believe. Unlike Dr Williams, I do not see  
that the fact that Kankasa was a politician enhances his credibility.

Jan Eliasson, UN Deputy Secretary General was quoted in the New York Times of  
March 17 2015 as saying the new UN Inquiry was 'probably our last chance. The more

clarity we have on this tragedy, the better' but Judge Mohamed Chande Othman was only given until 30 June 2015 to complete its task. It is not surprising that despite the offers of assistance by Ian Ross and others, no great effort was made to identify and locate all surviving persons whose evidence was not, for whatever reason, recorded at earlier inquiries, but could cast further light on the way the various searches and investigations were conducted in September 1961 and the instructions of the various governments and senior officials as received and implemented by those on the ground. It is difficult to imagine that any operatives would be endangered or technical devices would be compromised by the release of any relevant material held in the US National Security Archives or any other contemporary intelligence files, but the UN panel was not granted the access thereto it sought. Whether or not these show that something more sinister than pilot error caused the disaster there will soon be no-one left who can speak of what happened on the ground. It will soon be impossible to enhance the clarity of what happened on the ground.

18.Nkhwazi Vol 10 No.1 Aug'62 p43

19.Nkhwazi Vol 12 No.1 Apr'64 p52

20..Mulford "Zambia, the Politics of Independence" Chap VII

21.Nkhwazi Vol 11 No.1 May'63 p80

22.Nkhwazi vol 9 No.2 Dec 61 p20, Vol 11 No.2 Oct 63 p18

23.Jas SKINNER b Dublin Solr Lka Legal Advsr & Campaign Organsr UNIP 62 MP 64 AG Zambia'64, CJ Malawi

Wesley NYRENDA BA(Hons) ed London U, Prin Munali Secondary Sch; UNIP MLC Eastern'62 Speaker'64

Hayden Dingiswayo BANDA b Lundazi Dist. Dist Chmn Ndola ANC 58 Pres ANC Western Province; ZANC 58 DYouth UNIP 11.61 Minister Housing & Social Development'64

24.Short "African Sunset" Chap XII

Robin SHORT b Jersey 2.27 s/o Lt Col ed Wellgtn Rfn RB 1.45 2Lt 1.46 Pal 47 Secy Offr AHQ Pal 48 Colonial Office Cse Qn's Cllge Cam 49 Cdt NR 50 DO Kasempa DC Ft J rtd 65 Ministry of Lab UK 65-8 Jersey Bar Innr Temple 72

25.Evidence by Oi/c Chilanga Police Station quoted in Northern News 24.4.63

26.Mulford "Zambia, The Politics of Independence" pp304-327

Job MICHELLO Sec ANC Sthn Province 12.58 Gen Sec 59 MLC 1.62 Parly Sec Land & Natural Resources 12.62 Pres People's Democratic Party 5.8.63 Gen Sec ANC 64