



**CHALIMBANA UNIVERSITY**

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**BACHELOR OF EDUCATION – (SECONDARY)**

**HIS 3100: HISTORY OF ZAMBIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO PRESENT**

**FIRST EDITION 2019**

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First Edition

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## **MODULE OVERVIEW**

This module introduces you to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia. In particular the module focuses on the history of Zambia before and after the introduction of colonial rule (1980). The module explores the introduction of the British South African Company rule and the British colonial administration including their forms of administration in Northern Rhodesia. The module further examines the colonial system of rule and its implications in influencing African consciousness and political mobilisation against foreign rule. In exploring the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial history of Zambia from the social, economic and political perspectives, an attempt has been made to link events of different time period and demonstrate the continuities with changes over time.

### **Aim**

The aim of this course is to provide students with knowledge on the social, economic and political transformations of the history of Zambia from the pre-colonial times to the post-colonial period. This module intends to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia. It is hoped that students of history will be able to develop analytical skills to connect historical events from the pre-colonial to colonial and post colonial periods.

### **Learning outcomes**

At the end of the course students will be expected to:

- Evaluate the sources used for the reconstruction of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia including their limitations and strengths.
- Explore the evolution of man from the Stone Age stage to the Iron Age cultures including the role of the environment and ecology in their transformation.
- Examine the debates on the origins of the Bantu speaking people and their dispersal into Central Africa.
- Debate the factors that influenced state formation in pre-colonial societies of Zambia.
- Analyse the impact of foreign rule and rise of nationalism in colonial Zambia.
- Assess the key socio-economic and political aspects and events that contributed to the establishment of the First, Second and Third Republics of Zambia.



## **Study Skills**

As an adult learner, your approach to learning will be different to that of your school days: you will choose when you want to study. You will have professional and/or personal motivation for doing so and you will most likely be fitting your study activities around other professional or domestic responsibilities.

Essentially you will be taking control of your learning environment. As a consequence, you will need to consider performance issues related to time management, goal setting, stress management, etc. Perhaps you will also need to reacquaint yourself in areas such as essay planning, coping with examinations and using the internet as a learning resource.

Your most significant considerations will be *time* and *space* i.e. the time you dedicate to your learning and the environment in which you engage in that learning. It is recommended that you take time now before starting your self-study to familiarise yourself with these issues. There are a number of excellent resources on the web. A few suggested links are: <http://www.how-to-study.com/> and <http://www.ucc.vt.edu/stdysk/stdyhlp.html>

## **Time frame**

You are expected to spend at least three terms of your time to study this module. In addition, there shall be arranged contact sessions with lecturers from the University during residential possibly in April, August and December. You are requested to spend your time carefully so that you reap maximum benefits from the course. Listed below are the components of the course, what you have to do and suggestions as to how you should allocate your time to each unit in order that you may complete the course successfully and on time.

## **Course Material**

Text books, rulers and pencils

## **Need help?**

**Contact Miyanda Simabwachi (Dr)**

**8:00hr -17: 00hrs (Monday-Friday)**

**Mobile: 0969689253**

**Email:** [miyanda74@gmail.com](mailto:miyanda74@gmail.com)

**New office block building, room 8**

You are also free to utilise the services of the University Library which opens from 08:00 hours to 20:00 hours every working day.

**Assessment**

Continuous Assessment	50%
One Assignment	25%
One Test	25%
Final Examination	50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

# UNIT 1

## KEY SOURCES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ZAMBIA'S HISTORY

### 1.1 Introduction

This unit focuses on the main sources used to reconstruct the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia. In particular, the unit explores and evaluates the sources of history in the light of their origin, limitations and functions in order for students to define their authenticity and accuracy. All sources of history have limitations of relevance, reliability and accuracy which should be known to students of history. Every so often, facts have been accepted by incautious historians who have not been critical of the bias and inadequacy of historical sources. Thus, unwarranted generalisations have been made from sources whose limitations and functions have not been critically assessed. It is only after the sources have been critically evaluated that students can establish meaningful interpretations of historical facts.

### Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;

- Discuss the available sources used for the reconstruction of Zambia's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history.
- Evaluate the origins, limitations and functions of the sources of Zambia's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history.
- Trace the location for the key sources of Zambia's colonial and post-colonial history.

### 1.2 Sources Used to Reconstruct the Pre- Colonial History of Zambia

There are a number of sources that can be used to reconstruct the pre-colonial history of Zambia. Among them are Oral Traditions, Archaeology, Written Records (missionary records, travellers and traders records, and Portuguese records), Anthropology, including Linguistics. All these sources have limitations of relevance, reliability and accuracy which present a challenge to historical research. Thus, Comprehensive historical fact cannot be concluded from any one type of source.

#### 1.1.1 Oral Traditions

Zambia's pre-colonial history is mostly reconstructed oral sources. Oral traditions are testimonies communicated verbally from one generation to another. Oral traditions have been important in the communication of people's culture, customs, norms and institutions. In another

way, it is the traditional history which is remembered by the chiefs and elders of an ethnic group. Some of this history has since been recorded by chiefs, individuals and historians who have taken an interest in the history of ethnic groups, such as history of the Bemba for example.

Oral traditions have contributed to the reconstruction of neglected histories (history from below). They have facilitated the writing of ordinary people's history or marginalised groups which had been neglected by the early historians who had focused on writing about the influential in Society. At the same time, oral traditions are considered as primary sources of historical information because they are viewed as eyewitness accounts. Oral traditions convey what in the informant's view was significant about the past and how he or she arranges relations between the various historical facts.

However, Oral traditions as a source for the reconstruction of Zambia pre-colonial history have a number of flaws or limitations. The verbal form of oral traditions makes it fragile and vulnerable because it can easily be distorted from one accounting to the other. In this process, the accurateness of information may be lost or misrepresented.

Oral traditions also lack adequate or accurate chronology because dates of historical events are not usually recalled in verbal account. This makes it impossible to distinguish the sequence of historical events. This challenge has been resolved through establishing relative Chronology which is expressed in terms of natural phenomena e.g. periods, or leading figures or the length of the reign of particular rulers. Some informants may remember long lineages for their rulers which is used as a rough guide either by estimating the length of reigns or by counting generations. Nevertheless, this method can be misleading if the ruler has been forgotten or relationships between rulers become confused. The practice of telescoping lineages is common. For instance, the names of early rulers may have been forgotten and their accomplishment accredited to the first remembered ruler, who may have reigned only a few generations.

Additionally, oral traditions can sometimes serve a social function of perpetuating the history or point of view of the individual giving the historical account. Largely, the detail of oral traditions is mainly remembered by those few people who have positions of power and prestige in traditional society, such as chiefs, traditional councillors, keepers of royal graves and relics, and their families. Unfortunately the traditional history of the common people is often not preserved, as the main institutions for preserving history are those connected to authority and power. This can be at the expense of other underprivileged groups e.g. conquerors and the conquered. Oral history gathered is not necessarily the history of the people of the area, for



they may have had a different view about wars and other events. For this reason, it is important for history researchers to gather information from different versions of the same oral traditions.

Another weakness of oral traditions is its dependence on human memory. A number of old people who remembered a great deal of detail have died without passing on their memories to the next generations. As a result many important facts have been lost. Hence a lot of historical data may be lost to historians wishing to reconstruct the history of Zambia. Correspondingly, the process of social change such as labour migration, urbanization and literacy among other factors has made the preservation of detailed oral history less important and more difficult.

### **1.1.2 Archaeology**

This is another important source for the reconstruction of pre-colonial history of Zambia. It is basically the study of fossil remains or the study of societies and people of the past through investigating their cultural and material relics such as buildings, tools and other objects such as pottery remains. Archaeology does not present a complete historical fact, but it remains the main record for such a long period of man's existence. Archaeology can tell how people lived and can indicate something of their economic organisation; imported objects for instance, indicate the extent of trade, e.g. Ingombe Ilede. Since Archaeology this largely depends on the material culture of a people, it has limited use for revealing political or social history. One limitation of archaeology's historical source is that people who left their material remains cannot always be exactly identified. More so, in Zambia, few excavations have been undertaken which deal with the earliest years, the period dealt with in oral history. Archaeology is a highly technical field with expensive equipment. Apart from these limitations, archaeology has the additional handicap in Zambia because very few excavations have been undertaken.

### **1.1.3 Anthropology**

This is amongst the important sources for the reconstruction of colonial history which focuses on the scientific study of people, society and culture, especially the dynamics of culture. Anthropology also studies the material culture of a particular group of people in its natural setting. Anthropological work began in Zambia in the 1930s with the establishment of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute. This has been one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of the History of the Bantu and their migrations. Through the study of similarities in Bantu cultures, historians were able to use the anthropological data to reconstruct

the history of the Bantu. However, anthropology is vital the reconstruction of the social aspects of people but cannot provide adequate data on the political and economic aspect.

#### **1.1.4 Linguistic**

This is the study of languages and relationship between languages. Linguistic evidence has been useful in the reconstruction of the history of the Bantu speaking people. Through the use of lexicostatistics, historians were able to reconstruct the history of the Bantu people, their place origins including the routes of migrations. Linguistics has a limitation as they cannot provide comprehensive facts of the Bantu people.

### **1.3 Written Records**

These are equally important sources for the reconstruction of Zambia's pre-colonial history. In Pre-colonial Zambia, the recording of history was dominated by foreigners for most part Portuguese and European travellers, traders and missionaries. It is noteworthy that during this period there was more of producing historical sources mainly unintended for posterity research purposes.

#### **1.3.1 Portuguese records**

The earliest people to record sources for Zambian history were Portuguese travellers mainly giving accounts of their journeys and observations of tribes and culture. In particular, beginning from the 15th century, there was an increase in European interest in Africa. The Portuguese embarked on the Voyages of discovery and eventually created written documents in the form of journals, dairies, and descriptive accounts. In consequence most of what was recorded amounted to travelogue and narratives were often dominated by their perceptions of Africans. The historical accuracy of narratives was minimal as descriptions were superficial and often did not go beyond random references. Largely, Portuguese written records were connected to trade and warfare conducted between the late sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, they are mainly based on fa small part of Zambia. Portuguese sources reveal only limited information related to Kazembe and Undi's kingdoms, as well as North-western Zambia. The cultural and political bias of Portuguese on African societies including their reliance on questionable hearsay evidence occasionally distorted historical facts. This was because the Portuguese lacked understanding of African Traditional societies. In addition, they depended much on hearsay meaning they did not use correct methods of compiling information as they were not trained historians. Nevertheless, when well applied, these sources can indicate the existence of individual rulers and suggest something of the political and economic organisation of particular territories. Occasionally, these records provide a reliable chronology for

information derived from oral sources which cannot be dated. More frequently, early sources mention events not remembered in oral sources.

### **1.3.2 European travellers' records**

In the nineteenth century European travellers and traders such as George Westbeech (Western Province) came into Zambia and recorded detailed accounts of their observations about the social, economic and political way of life of the people in areas they explored in Zambia. These accounts are most valuable for the early history of Zambia as they can often be correlated with oral sources referring to the same period. Unlike the Portuguese, Europeans travellers were generally in direct contact with the African people and did not just rely on hearsay or unconfirmed reports. These sources have made a substantial contribution to the chronological framework, which is the weak point in oral sources. However these sources are not without bias and misunderstanding. For example, Europeans have been instrumental in perpetuating inaccuracies in pre-colonial history as a result of their misinterpretation of certain African traditions.

### **1.3.3 European missionaries' records**

Among the earliest entry point for missionaries in Zambia was present day Western Province. These included Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (P.E.M.S.), Frederick Arnott of the Plymouth Brothers in North-Western Province and David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society. The first European missionaries took a close interest in African religions. Since the missionaries needed to have a command of African languages to advance Christianity, they attempted to understand the social contexts of African societies (whose development they sometimes illustrated by compiling collections of oral traditions). Livingstone, for example, compiled written sources on diseases and the food security on the areas he visited especially western Zambia. Although missionary sources are mostly valuable for the study of precolonial African societies they contain biases and misinterpretations.

## **1.4 Sources Used to Reconstruct the Colonial History of Zambia**

### **1.4.1 British South Africa Company (BSAC) records**

By the mid- 1890s the BSAC assumed responsibility for the administration of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) on behalf of the British Government. In the process of administrative activities, the BSAC structures of the Administrator, civil service and judicial systems pioneered the creation of official records in the form of reports, correspondences, memoranda and minutes. These have provided an invaluable source for administrative history of colonial Zambia. Since the BSAC records were created in pursuit of the routine administrative activities

and responsibilities of a private enterprise, their nature was informed by political circumstances in Northern Rhodesia, coupled with British imperial policies. The limitation of these sources is that not much of local histories were recorded in these sources.

Additionally, there were also secondary sources produced in the early 1900s by the BSAC officials and administrators. They recorded ethno histories for administrative purposes and are relevant to the writing of local history. These sources were recorded by company officials through the aid of local informants and oral traditions recorded though usually dominated with Eurocentric tendencies. For example, Gouldsbury and Sheane officials of the BSAC working amongst the Bemba of North Eastern Zambia compiled an ethno history in *The Great plateau of Northern Rhodesia* in 1911. They give an account of the discovery of Northern Rhodesia and a history of the Bemba in the context of religious beliefs, tribal laws and folklore. Similarly Bertrand compiled an ethno history of the Lozi people in *The Upper Zambezi: The Kingdom of the Baroste* while Doke wrote *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* and Smith and Dale wrote ethno histories of the Ila People of North Western Rhodesia. Like travellers and explorers, these are well placed in describing customs of African societies, but often overlooked things superficially, from the outside. However, with time it came to be realised that there existed the complicated pattern of relationships and mutual obligations in the internal structure and dynamics of African societies. These records are preserved at the National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka).

#### **1.4.2 British Colonial Government Records**

Like the BSAC administration, the British colonial government generated records (letters, reports, minutes, memoranda) through its administrative activities of the structures of a Governor, executive and legislative councils, civil service, provincial and district commissioners. Records created during the company's administration, including those generated by the British colonial government itself, provided important and useful information, which formed an indispensable foundation for greasing the proverbial wheels of a colonial administration. Past colonial records created a sense of stability and continuity and were important for reference and precedents in the administrative process. Consequently, local histories were not comprehensively recorded but only for administrative purposes. These records are preserved at the National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka).

#### **1.4.3 District Note Books**

District Commissioners were placed in charge of local administration during the British colonial government. These district officers as powerful instruments of colonial governments

compiled District Note Books. District commissioners also worked as magistrates, tax and revenue collectors and assumed all powers necessary for the enforcement of law and order. The degree of agricultural, social and economic development of the villages and native authorities depended on the dictates of the district commissioner. The District Notebooks are important sources unfolding the administrative, ethnological, anthropological, economic history of colonial districts. Although District Notebooks have a limitation of misspellings and other infelicities this does not make them less useful. They have remained the main primary sources for the study of the colonial tribal way of life. These records are preserved at the National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka).

#### **1.4.5 Federal Records**

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed in 1953 combining the governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The established Federal government structure comprised of a parliament, ministerial structure under the elected prime minister who was also responsible to the Colonial office in London. The merging of political, social and economic activities of the three governments in the period 1953-1963 facilitated the creation of federal ministerial, departmental and personal records such as reports, minutes, correspondence and memoranda among others. These records were held in regional departmental offices (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), while other records were held in head offices of ministries and departments in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, where both the federal government and the ministerial headquarters were situated. The federal records are important sources for the colonial administration history of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The main limitation of these sources is accessibility. These records are all not centralised in a common location or archival institution but scattered in present day Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Although an attempt was made later in the 1980 by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) to microfilm these federal records for all the former federal territories (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), they have remained preserved in old technology formats ( Microfiche format) which in most cases (especially for Zambia) has not been updated. This has posed a challenge for researchers to access them. These records are preserved at the National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), National Archives of Zimbabwe (Harare) and National Archives of Malawi (Lilongwe).

## **1.5 Sources for the Reconstruction of Zambia's Post-colonial History**

### **1.5.1 Zambian Government Records**

With the attainment of independence in 1964, there was a shift in the government and ministerial system in Zambia. Various different ministries and government structures, some which did not exist in the colonial period (Permanent Secretaries for example) were established. Thus the government ministries of agriculture, community development, ministry of communication and Transport, education including the Cabinet office and various government departments generated records for post-colonial administrative history of Zambia. These records are preserved at the National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka).

### **1.5.2 Non-Governmental Organisation Records**

In 1969, the National Archives Act was passed which declared the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) as the sole legal authority for the care and preservation of archives and records in the country. The Act provided a broadened definition of post-colonial records which included the collection and preservation of both government and non-governmental archives under state control. The collection policy facilitated the preservation of private, personal and corporate records created during the colonial and post-colonial periods at NAZ. Among other records non-government organisation preserved at NAZ include those of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Northern Rhodesia later renamed as Commercial and Industrial Association of Northern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia Society on Alcoholism (later Zambian National Council on Alcoholism and Addiction, Northern Rhodesia European Civil Servants' Association, Northern Rhodesia African Trades' Union Congress and Railway African Workers Union

Worth mentioning, are other non-government records that are not preserved at NAZ but accessible at the offices of their creation. For example, such as those of the Zambia Council for social Development located in Lusaka and Zambia National Farmers Union (Lusaka),

### **1.5.3 Political Party Organisation records**

Political party records are also a valuable source for the compilation of political history of Zambia. The available and accessible political records for historical research Preserved at NAZ comprise of those of generated by the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Liberal Movements, Northern Rhodesia African Congress (later African National Congress) and Zambia National Congress (ZANC). These are in the form of correspondence, minutes, reports, speeches, circulars, memoranda and newsletters. Apart from a smaller collection under the custody of NAZ, the majority of political party records in particular those generated by UNIP

and the ANC during the struggle for independence are preserved at the UNIP Archives in Lusaka.

#### **1.5.4 Personal Records**

These are other valuable sources for both colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia. They are mostly in form of correspondence, registers, diaries, manuscripts, photographs, certificates, agreements and contracts. They include personal or private papers of colonial and post-colonial administrators', politicians, missionaries and settlers for those who have made a significant contribution to the colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia. Some of the colonial administrators papers preserved at NAZ include those of J Bisset, W.V. Breslford, F.V. Bruce-Miller, E.A. Copeman, N.S. Knight, C.W.G. Stuart. Those of missionaries comprise of F.S. Anort and W.Fisher while those for politicians include R.C kamanga, B.F. kapulu, A.S. Sardanis among others. Some of the settlers' papers include those of Bruce-Miller, A.C Fisher, J.E. Stephenson

#### **1.5.5 Missionaries and Church records**

The religious records are valuable sources for the study of colonial African societies and post-colonial Zambia's past. While some missionary and church records can be found at NAZ, the majority remain outside the preserve of the national institution. Among those accessible at NAZ include those of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia (later United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia, General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia (later Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia), Nyasa Industrial Mission (later South African Baptist Mission) and the Zambian Anglican Council.

Others not preserves at NAZ but accessible at the offices of creation include those of the Brethren in Christ located in Choma, Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation in Kitwe, Reformed Church of Zambia in Lusaka and those of the Roman catholic Church widespread in various regions in Zambia such as Chipata, Lusaka, Livingstone and Ndola among others.

#### **1.5.7 Mining Records**

These contain information on the history of mining activities in Zambia before and after the colonial period. These records have been created since the 1920s when mineral deposits were discovered in some parts of Zambia such as the Copperbelt. The available records were created by Roan Selection Trust (RST), Anglo American Corporation (AAC) and later Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM). These provide valuable information on especially on trends in copper production, copper prices, cost and value of sales, net profits and dividends.

Other aspects of information included in the records deals with labour organisation, political, economic and social life of the Copperbelt.

### **Summary**

This unit discussed the main sources of information that can be consulted for the reconstruction of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Zambia. In particular, the unit discussed Archaeology, Written records, Oral traditions, Anthropology, Linguistic evidence, Photographic as some of the major sources that can be used to write the history of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Zambia. The unit demonstrated that these sources are not completely reliable for constructing a comprehensive history of Zambia because they all have limitations of relevance, reliability and accuracy which should be known to students of history. Further, the units emphasised the importance of critical analysis of the bias and inadequacy of historical sources to avoid unwarranted generalisations.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Trace the location for the key sources of Zambia's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history
2. Examine the origins, strength and weakness (limitations) of the sources used to reconstruct Zambia's pre-colonial history.
3. Discuss in detail the significant of sources that are consulted for the writing of Zambia's acolonial and post-colonial history

## **UNIT 2**

### **THE EVOLUTION OF MAN, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The initial evolution of man started with the development of man from primates (genus Homo) to Homo sapiens as a distinct species of the hominid family, the great apes. In this module, the concept of Evolution of man will mean the morphological (biological changes) and cultural transformation (human behaviour) of man over a period of time. And, environment will refer to human interaction with the landscape, plants, animals, water among others while Technology means the study of various techniques man used to adapt to the environment such as stone, wood, bronze, and iron tools for example.



This unit explores the development and significance of archaeology and stages of human development in Zambia. It specifically focuses on the Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age, the Late Stone Age and the Iron Age periods and how archaeology was used to reconstruct pre-colonial history of Zambia. The unit provides archaeological explanations of the early man's technology, socio-economic and political advancements.

### **Learning outcomes**

Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;

- Describe the development of archaeology in Zambia and discuss its significance to the early history of Zambia
- Examine the evolution of man and the different technological, socio-economic and political phases involved.
- Explain the value of Ecology in the evolution of man

### **2.2 Origins and Expansion of Archaeological Investigations in Zambia**

Archaeology is the scientific study of ancient remains of man, culture, technology and the environment. Archaeology is meant to understand the time and place of man's initial existence and environments to which man was subjected. Archaeology provides understanding of the environmental effect on man's behaviour patterns and the classes of tool kits innovated by ancient man to adapt to different environments. It contributes to the Knowledge on the transformation of ancient man from being hunter and gatherer to the establishment of permanent settlements.

In Zambia, J. Desmond Clark, David W. Phillipson, Brian M. Fagan, J. Joseph Vogel and Lewis Leaky pioneered the advancement of archaeological investigations. However, it is worth to note that the earliest phase of archaeological investigations were carried out by European amateur archaeologists. These were colonial administrators, geologists and military personnel. In this phase, archaeological practice largely involved excavations for ancient relics including their description and categorisation. These earliest 'archaeologists' having the advantage of European training were able to define the sequence of human and cultural development. By this time, however, local societies were already aware of their past which was regularly conveyed from one generation to the other through oral traditions. Archaeological

investigations discovered that places, such as caves and rock shelters, were once inhabited by past human groups. This marked the pioneer stage of Zambia's prehistory.

In the early colonial period, the government was not much interested in promoting archaeological investigations. However, the British South Africa Company (BSAC), then in charge of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) enacted the *Bushman Relics Proclamation of 1912*. This was the initial archaeological legislation which prohibited illegal removal of any relic or remains, without permission from the BSAC administration. Thus in 1925, formal archaeological excavation was started in Zambia, Mumbwa by F.E. Macrae, a colonial administrator. He initiated a trial test pit. Another excavation effort was carried out by the Italian Scientific Expedition under Commander Gatti and Raymond concentrating on rock art and excavations at Mumbwa Caves.

In 1930, yet another archaeological legislation known as *The Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance* was enacted. The ordinance stipulated the protection of archaeological sites such as caves, buildings, ruins, graves of archaeological or palaeontological interest from destruction and mining prospects. The enactment of these laws created awareness of the country's heritage. More so, although mining and prospecting interests was a priority, areas declared as archaeologically or paleontologically valuable were reserved areas' under Government notices.

Later, in 1931 Herbert Young then Governor of Northern Rhodesia also conducted investigations a few sites such as Nsalu Cave near Serenje among others. Findings from this work laid a significant foundation for future archaeological research. In 1937, Young initiated the establishment of the Livingstone museum. In 1938, J. Desmond Clark was employed to reorganise archaeological and ethnographic collections. Clark began a programme of archaeological research that established a comprehensive sequence for archaeological findings. And this was the beginning of professional archaeology in Zambia.

Subsequently, J. Desmond Clark conducted yet another investigation of Mumbwa Caves in 1939. The purpose was to examine an ecological link between the earliest man and the environment. And to elucidate how the earliest man used plant and animal resources, and in what way seasons dictated settlement patterns. Clark was the first to use the term Middle Stone Age (MSA) to describe the Mumbwa stone tool assemblages. Clark was also able to establish a typological sequence of stone artefacts. This was done through the introduction of a more scientific approach to recovering, dating and interpreting the context and distribution of cultural

remains and culture stratigraphic issues. In 1948 a Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics (National Heritage Conservation Commission) was specifically to control archaeological research and provide protection for heritage sites and artefacts.

In 1957, there was another development in archaeological research. Ray Inskip was employed as the first Curator to conduct Iron Age research in Zambia but stationed at the Livingstone Museum. At this point, oral traditions began to be used in archaeological investigations which largely facilitated the discovery of Iron Age archaeological sites in Zambia. Several archaeological excavations were conducted at the Batoka Plateau where a long Iron Age cultural sequence was discovered. This represented sequential communities whose lifestyles seemed similar to the present-day Tonga-speaking people. These findings provided a significant foundation for future systematic work in the country.

Towards the end of the colonial period, Multi-disciplinary dominated the archaeological scene. Archaeologists such as Desmond Clark collaborated with geologists, morphologists, historians, soil and vegetation scientists. There was also a transformation from excavation and artefact analysis approach to interpretation of information in relation to the environment. At the same time, the use of radio metric dates on archaeological site such as Kalambo Falls stone tool technologies was minimised.

In the post-colonial period, Prehistoric studies continued but with a considerable shift towards the study of Iron Age Societies. In 1964, David W. Phillipson and Joseph D. Vogel came to Zambia as Secretary/Inspector and curator of Iron Age at the Commission and Museum, respectively. Similarly, Vogel undertook extensive excavations of Early Iron Age sites in the Upper Zambezi and Victoria Falls region, resulting in a comprehensive reconstruction of the settlement patterns and history of this part of Zambia. Archaeology became much broader and embracing in approach. It now included a wide range of issues, paying detailed attention to archaeological, linguistic and ethnographic evidence on iron smelting, food production, the origin and spread of Iron Age people, pottery stylistic traditions, hunting, gathering and fishing communities. A systematic study of Iron Age communities was undertaken. There was a strong shift towards research into the settlement history of Bantu-speakers.

These archaeological excavations helped popularise Iron Age studies and provided an understanding of population dynamics in pre-colonial Africa. The synthesis of the Early Iron Age pottery into the Kalambo Group, Kapwirimbe Group, Chondwe Group and Dambwa

Group was perhaps the most influential in setting the stage for future Iron Age studies in southern Africa. In the explosion of Iron Age studies, Southern Zambia was the most intensively studied region followed by the Lusaka and Copperbelt provinces. The remaining parts of Zambia, particularly Northern Zambia, were less well studied. This is interesting, because these areas provided clear archaeological evidence for the late survival of Later Stone Age peoples well into the present millennium. At this time, Linguists, historians and archaeologists brought their evidence together to argue that Bantu-speakers had a common origin and that they settled in sub-Saharan Africa at least by the first millennium AD. This synthesis of the origins and dispersal of Bantu-speakers provided an explanation of how Early Iron Age groups arrived in Zambia during the first millennium AD.

## **2.3 The Stone Age in Zambia**

### **2.3.1 Early Stone Age**

The history of man in Africa has been linked to the different development stages of early man in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa whose stone remains (pebble tools) were discovered more than four million years ago. In Zambia, the archaeological investigations conducted in the colonial and post-colonial period provide evidence of the existence of Stone Age communities. Although there are no known sites in Zambia that can be traced back to such an early date, pebble tools were made in later times.

The initial evidence of human existence in Zambia are stone tools such as cleavers and chopping tools known as hand axes. These were excavated in the valley of the Kalomo River and the gravels which had formed the bed of the Zambezi River. Other tools were found above and below the Victoria Falls. These tools represent the ‘Chelles-Acheul phase of the Early Stone Age technology: named after a place in France where similar tools were first found. It is presumed the makers of these stone implements belonged to the species *Homo erectus* (upright man), who made hand axes at Olduvai Gorge in Northern Tanzania.

The other stone tools of the Acheulian type or Industry were excavated south of the lower Kafue, Copperbelt and Victoria falls. Nonetheless, the most finely Acheulian collection was found at Kalambo falls which is one of the important archaeological sites in Zambia. This is because it has presented evidence of human settlement from all phases of technological development. Desmond Clark undertook a series of excavations of Kalambo Falls between 1953 and 1966. His investigations revealed one of the finest archaeological sequences obtained in Africa. It was also there that the first evidence for the control of fire was discovered south

of the Sahara. This was in the form of ashes and charcoal at a fire place. The other important discovery at Kalambo was a semi-circle of stones, indicating the base of a windbreaker. Throughout most of the Stone Age, man-made settlements were established besides the Kalambo River, above the Falls. In fact, the earliest tools from Kalambo came from the water-level and were estimated at over 100,000 years old.

The Victoria Falls was another important archaeological site, there, bones of warthog, elephant, and giraffe were found. These were linked with Acheulian tools. The Acheulian stone tool kit consisted mainly of three types of tools: the hand axe, the cleaver and the scrapper. All these tools came about by removing flakes from the complete surface of the core stone. The most significant of these tools was the hand axe. It was made from a core stone of which flakes were removed until two sharp cutting edges appeared which converged into a point. The hand axe was used for stabbing and cutting meat. The cleaver was used for digging and slicing. The scrapper, the smallest of the three, was for peeling or scrapping.

### **2.3.2 Way of Life of the Early Stone Age**

The Early Stone Age people survived by gathering wild vegetable foods, hunting wild animals and perhaps by fishing. The gravels beds in the Victoria Falls area yielded bones of warthog and hartebeest, and extinct varieties of elephants and giraffe. Probably Man obtained meat by scavenging but he was slowly increasing his ability to kill game. This is because the main weapons used had been natural stones suitable for throwing. However, by late Acheulian times man was also making simple wooden spears and clubs and he had made a new discovery of immense importance: the use of fire. Fire only enabled man to cook food and warm himself, it also scared away wild animals and could be used in hunting by burning grass and driving game through the blinding smoke.

The stone tool kit comprising of flake knives, scappers, choppers and cleavers-were used to skin and carve up animal carcasses and to collect and prepare vegetable food from trees and bushes; various edible fruits, nuts and seeds have been found on the Acheulian levels at Kalambo. A semicircle of stones at the same site may mark the base of a wind-break, though the tree grass-lined hallows at this site suggest that people slept out in the open.

## **2.4 The Middle Stone Age**

Regional variation within Zambia became pronounced during the Middle Stone Age. The tool kits of the Early Stone Age culture were eventually replaced by rather different range of stone

tools which were classified as belonging to the Middle Stone Age. The tools showed a mastery of the environment, increased specialisation and considerable local variation. In the Early Stone Age the Acheulian technique to make tools was the only one that existed. However in the Middle Stone Age there emerged regional differences in the tool industry. An important development in technology in this age is the growing importance of tools made from stone flakes instead of cores of stone. Instead of concentrating settlements near the main lakes and rivers, people spread out over the plateaux and occupied small dambos. They also increased the use of caves, since they could now light fire and keep animals away. Consequently, Middle Stone Age sites are widely distributed in Zambia mainly along the Zambezi and Luangwa Rivers. They are also thickly clustered on the Copperbelt. It is suggested that in Southern Africa the transition to Middle Stone Age was under way at least over 125, 000years ago and probably much earlier.

Following on the Acheulian, two different industries developed. The first being the Sangoan Industry. Its name is derived from a site on the western shore of Lake Victoria called Sango Bay. In Zambia the Sangoan tools were excavated at Kalambo Falls, Victoria Falls, Kandanda and the Upper Luangwa Valley. The Sangoan tools were not finely worked on as compared to the Acheulian. A wide variety of flake tools were excavated which were crudely worked. These tools were made as a way of adapting to a forest environment where many woodwork tools were needed. The rough picks and scrappers may then have been used to make wooden tools that were not preserved.

The next development is known as the Lupemban Industry. It was named after a place on the Kasai River in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In this industry, axes were rare, no cleavers were made but Flake tools were dominant. The Lupemban tools were usually more finely trimmed. The most characteristic Lupemban tool was a large like blade-like pint, shaped like a long leaf. Such tools were the result of a meticulous process of flaking and they may have been used for cutting wood, but it seems likely that they were hafted for use as spear points. Some insights into the actual manufacture of Middle Stone Age tools is provided by a large workshop on liamba Hill east of Kalambo site. The tools of the Lupemban type were mostly found at sites in the lower Zaire basin and in forest areas north of Lake Tanganyika. This distribution confirms the impression that Lupemban tool-kits, like those of the sangoan were extensively used for working wood.

In contrast, the Zambezi gravels near the Victoria Falls provided much clearer signs of development in a type of tool-kit called 'proto-Stillbay'. The main feature of this type is making of tools from Stone flakes rather than cores. Earlier tools, whether choppers or scrapers were largely made by paring stones down to a core and the resulting flakes were little valued. The Proto-Stillbay Industry derived the name from a place in the Cape Province of South Africa where such tools were first found. The distinct feature of this industry was the domination of flake tools. The tools still remain crude compared to the Acheulian tools. A site was excavated at a hill near Kabwe (Broken Hill) in 1907). This happened in the process of mining operations when a large cave was revealed and above its floor were found stone tools, a few simple bone tools and fossil bones of various animal. Also found with the tools were bones of animals from the savanna such as giraffe, gazelle and wildebeest. This would certainly indicate an impression that proto-Stillbay tools were the work of people who lied heavily on their efficiency as hunters. This industry further developed into the Stillbay Industry in which core tools were virtually absent as only flake tools remained. The most important sites are the Victoria Falls, Mumbwa Cave and Twin Rivers Kopje near the hook of the Kafue River. Collections of apparently late Middle Stone Age industries have recently been recovered from sites on the upper Zambezi, near the Angola border from Mandenga, near Chirundu and from Kalemba rock-shelter in eastern Zambia.

Human species responsible for these industries in Zambia were the Homo Rhodesiensis or Broken Hill man (Kabwe). A discovery was made in 1921, when an almost complete human skull was unearthed at depth of 20 meters. This skull and a few other human bones found nearby are the oldest human skeleton remains which have so far come to light in South Central Africa. Their age is not exactly known but they are associated with the tools that were found nearby. To the scientist, he is known as Homo Rhodesiensis, a type which also has been found in East and South Africa. It is not known whether Broken Hill man belonged to the species Homo sapiens or whether he was a late survival of Homo erectus, who made the hand axe of the Early Stone Age.

#### **2.4.1 Way of Life of the Middle Stone Age**

The way of life of the Middle Stone Age people (Homo Erectus) was much improved compared to that of the Early Stone Age (Homo Habilis). Discovery and use of fire greatly facilitated greatly to the improvement regarding adaption of the Middle Stone Age peoples. In this case for instance, the control of fire was an important step in the evolution of man. Through the discovery of fire food begun to be roasted. The use of fire made man confident because he was

able to venture out of his previously most preferred habitat, that is, away from the rivers and lakes towards the plateaus, forests and the savannah. In a way, this movement was stimulated by an increase in population. The use of fire further provided the Middle Stone Age societies with better protection from the cold and wild animals. And now, man began to venture into caves since he no longer feared to be attacked by wild animals. Caves provided greater protection from the climate. At the sometime, the position of the Stone Age communities' was strengthened. They now diverted efforts, previously used in the struggle for survival, to their own development. Spears with stone points were made. And rudimentary tools made of bone were excavated at some sites. This enhanced the hunting skills of man. There was also greater specialisation in tool making and eventual improvement of hunting skills which suggests the importance of those individuals who were talented in these activities.

## **2.5 Late Stone Age**

The Late Stone Age is presumed to have started more than 15, 000 years ago in Africa and elsewhere. Like the Early Stone Age and the Middle Stone Age, the earlier phases in Stone technology were the result of a gradual process transition. Comparatively, the Late Stone Age's advances in technical skills were taking place at least as rapidly as major changes in climate and environment and to some extent independently of them.

In Zambia, Late Stone Age sites have been located both beside lakes and rivers and at numerous caves and rock-shelters on the pleatux. As such, there are regional variations in tool-kits which may be attributed to differences in environment. At the same time, there are also certain distinctive local features in Late Stine Age collections which were due to strength of local cultural traditions among different groups.

At a few sites in Zambia, there are remains of industries, sometimes called Magosian which were clearly transitional between the Middle Stone Age and the Late Stone Age. At Kalemba Rock shelter in Eastern Zambia, a transitional industry of this kind has been dated to about to about more than 23 000 BC and at Leopard's Hill Cave East-South East of Lusaka, a similar industry has also been dated around more than 20,000 BC. At about the same depth, a fragment of a human skull was found which resembles that of a modern man. At Kalambo, a Magosian industry appears to have persisted as late more than 75 00 BC, but certain other areas Late Stone Age industries had been established long before this.

By about more than 15, 000 BC distinctly Late Stone Age industries had been developed both Leopard's Hill Cave and at Kalemba rock-shelter. These closely resemble the earliest phase of



the Nachikufan industry which was excavated at many sites in Central, Northern and Eastern Zambia. Nachikufu itself is a cave to the South of Mpika. Most Nachikufan sites are caves or shelters in rocky outcrops rising slightly above the woodland of the Northern plateaux. Thus such environment was not well appropriate to big game. While the makers of Nachikufan tools used the bow and arrow, they probably relied more on trapping and snaring the small animals and on exploring the varied resources of the woodland. Among their characteristic stone implements were arrowheads, barb and drills bored stones. These were used to weigh digging sticks for unearthing edible roots and tubers, grindstones or preparing foods, scrapers for fashioning wooden game traps and fences and edge-ground axes. They were also probably to strip off tree bark and to hack out bees nests. It should be noted that within the Nachikufan, several variations were developed. These variations are traced at Mwela Rocks (Kasama), Nakapapapula (Chitambo mission) and at Kalemba, where the latest Stone tools belong to the distinct Makwe rock shelter dated more than 3,500 and 25,000BC.

There were also other patterns in regional variation traced in Southern and Western Zambia, during the Late Stone Age associated with the Wilton culture. This was also widely distributed in Southern Africa. Wilton sites have been found at Mumbwa Cave, Copperbelt, on the Zambezi above the Victoria Falls and near the Gwisho Hot Springs beside the Kafue Flats. The Wilton groups made less exhaustive use of wood-land products than the Nachikufan groups. In some areas they were able to hunt a greater variety of game. The Kafue Flats frequented by large herds of game and Gwisho camp sites preserved in waterlogged mounds, provide abundant evidence of the skills of Late Stone Age. The remains of animal bones from these sites indicate that the largest game such as the hippopotamus, rhinoceros and elephant were hunted as well as a variety of antelopes. The poisoned arrows were used for the hunting including pods of poison shrub and a fragment of a bow stave. Fish bones were found and there was also evidence for the collection of vegetable foods. Remains of fruits, nuts grinding stones and rubbers and digging stick were also excavated. Most important, there were several shallow graves on the site and the skeletons, for once were well preserved. They show that the Gwisho hunters closely resembled the modern man in physical type.

The Late Stone Age is marked by a major advance in technology. Previously man had relied largely on tools made from either stone or wood, but not both together. The stone blades are typically small to have been used in the hand; they were clearly made to be fitted to knives, digging sticks, spears and also arrows. The most outstanding invention of the Late Stone Age

was the bow and Arrow, which enormously increased man's capacity to survive and multiply at the expense of his fellow creatures. The Late Stone Age was modern man, Homo sapiens.

### **2.5.1 Way of Life of the Late Stone Age**

The way of life of the Late Stone Age was that of nomadic hunters and gatherers who were restricted to a certain area for their hunting and gathering. They kept on moving but reoccupied certain sites after some time. They also engaged in rock paintings and engravings. The main reasons for these paintings were to mark or record an event, religious inclinations and depicted way of life. The paintings were a way of self-expression and in the form of hieroglyphic writing. The paint was made of a colouring agent like minerals (iron oxide), animal remains (blood, droppings), plant juices or ashes. The colouring agent was added to a liquid such as egg, fat and honey. The paint was then applied by hand or a rudimentary brush. All this demonstrated the development of a more sophisticated imaginary world and of more complex communication skills. Man's knowledge of his environment increased as he was now able to share and discuss this knowledge in different ways

Sites for the rock paintings in Zambia are found at Nachikufu Cave, Nsalu Cave, Nachitalo Hills and Mwela Rocks. At Chifubwa stream near Solwezi, rock engravings can be found. Three different types of paintings can be distinguished: the oldest type being naturalistic paintings. Animals are drawn in pure outline, recognizable and filled with one colour. Humans are drawn like matchstick figures. The second type is schematic painting which depicts abstract motifs like parallel lines, concentric circles and elongated u-shaped figures. The last type is dirty white painting. This is a return to a very rough and crude naturalistic style in white. They are the youngest paintings found in Zambia and are believed to have been made during the Early Iron Age when the San were gradually being replaced by iron working and farming communities.

### **Summary**

This unit discussed the evolution of man focusing on the Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age, the Late Stone Age and the Iron Age periods. In particular, the unit demonstrated how the aspects of environment and ecology influenced the development of a specific kind of technology and way of life for each of the Stone Age period. At the same time, the unit explored the development and significance of archaeology and stages of human development in Zambia. The unit also provided archaeological explanations of the early man's technology, socio-economic and political advancements.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the development of archaeology in Zambia and discuss its significance to the early history of Zambia.
2. Explain the evolution of man and the different technological, socio-economic and political phases involved in the Early, Middle and Late Stone Age.
3. Analyse and discuss the value of ecology in the evolution of man in the Early, Middle and Late Stone Age period.

## **UNIT 3**

### **THE IRON AGE IN ZAMBIA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Similar to the Stone Age communities discussed in the previous unit, archaeology was the most important source for the reconstruction of Zambia's Iron Age history. In the archaeological study of the Iron Age period, pottery was used as an instrument to trace the origins and movements of different groups of Iron Age peoples (Bantu). The different decorations of pottery made by the Iron Age people provided information for the archaeologists to identify different groups that existed during this period. This unit specifically deals with the role of archaeology in tracing the origins, movements, culture, and economic organisation of the Iron Age peoples (Bantu) over time.

#### **Learning outcomes**

Upon the completion of this unit, you should be able to;

- Trace the origins and migration of the Iron Age people.
- Examine the socio-economic life of the Iron Age people.

- Compare and contrast the socio-economic life of the different groups of Iron Age People in Zambia.
- Analyse the trade contacts that were established during the Iron Age period.

### **3.2 Early Iron Age in Zambia**

The Stone Age inhabitants began to be replaced by peoples with different cultures or ways of life around the period of the Birth of Christ (BC). These were the Iron Age people also known as Bantu speaking people who neither made tools mainly out of stone nor obtained their food solely by hunting animals and gathering wild fruits, berries and roots. Instead the Bantu-speaking people grew their own food, kept domestic animals, made tools out of Iron. And they lived in permanent settlements. The coming of the Bantu speaking peoples in Central Africa, with their knowledge of Iron Age technology and food production was an important revolution in the history of this region. In Central Africa man was now able to control and change his environment instead of adapting to the changing conditions of the environment. Using the axes made of iron axes, forests were cleared. At the same time, iron holes were used to cultivate crops in gardens. Through a steady supply of food from the gardens and domestic animals, the people were better able to maintain permanent villages for a long period of time. Food production contributed to a rapid increase in population. Thus with stable settlement in villages and an increased population led to a more complex social and political organisation than had existed in the Stone Ages. The extended family and hunting group were no longer the largest political and social units. Instead, the village became a basic unit and has continued so that the present day, with the additions of chieftainship in most areas.

In Zambia, the Iron Age people who gradually replaced the Stone Age peoples had their origins a few centuries earlier in the region of Nigeria and Cameroons. It is argued that from there a few hundred people migrated through the forests of the Congo River area to the savanna of Katanga. While there, it is presumed they developed their culture and grew in numbers. From there, the Early Iron Age Bantu-speaking peoples began to spread out in waves and by now, more than two thousand years later much of Congo, Uganda and Kenya and most of Africa South of these countries are occupied by millions of their descendants.

The Early Iron Age peoples' migration south and east into Zambia, gave rise to the establishment of a number of slightly different but basically similar cultures before about A.D 100. Neither what the Iron Age peoples called themselves is known, nor are their languages,

although it is presumed that they spoke a Bantu language ancestral to those now spoken. All that is known about these people is the result of excavation and interpretation of their material remains by archaeologists. Most of the excavations in Zambia from which the information about the Early Iron Age was obtained began in the late 1950s and early 1960s by people such as R.R. Inskeep, B.M. Fagan, and D.W. Phillipson. Most of the Early Iron Age sites are in southern Zambia. This is partly so because it was in the southern part of Zambia and along the line of rail that the colonial powers started to develop the land and in doing so dug up many ancient remains. In addition, a museum and research institute was based at Livingstone that made research resources readily available in the south. And most of all, the environment in the south was more conducive for Early Iron Age farmers than anywhere else in the country. So it was in the south that the first farming communities developed.

These Iron Age people were only known from places where their material cultures have been uncovered, such as Dambwa and Kalundu (Southern Province), Kapwimbwe and Nakapapula (Central Province), Chondwe (Copperbelt), Makwe (Eastern Province) and Kalambo Falls (Northern Province). Based on archaeological studies of pottery, the first Bantu Iron Age farmers reached Zambia in the first centuries A.D. Two different streams in the spread of early Iron Age farming into central and southern Africa have been distinguished: the Eastern Stream and the Western Stream. Both of these streams have been found in Zambia.

The Eastern Stream entered Zambia from southern Tanzania going southwards to the east of the Luangwa River continuing into Malawi and Zimbabwe. Pottery of this group in Zambia's eastern province has been dated to as early as 300 to 400 AD. This group is known as Nkope, so named after a site in Malawi where an early Iron Age settlement was first excavated. In Zambia there is only one site belonging to this group that has revealed an early Iron Age settlement. This is the Kamanama site. Any other finds of pottery from this group are associated with Late Stone Age tools at the rock shelters of Makwe and Thandwe. This suggests that the early farmers lived side by side with Later Stone Age hunters and gatherers and exchanged goods with them. Also rock paintings dating back to this time have been found in the area.

The next group belonging to the eastern stream established itself in the southern province of Zambia from Zimbabwe in about the 6th century A.D. This group is known as the Dambwa or Shongwe Group. The most important sites are Dambwa, Kumadzulo, the Bovu forest reserve and at Chundu farm. A variety of iron tools were found, among them some hoes. Copper wire was found probably originating from south of the Zambezi, suggesting the existence of regional

trade. At Kumadzulo, there are also traces of houses. Among other tools found were needles, ascertaining the making of clothing. At Chundu, seeds of crops were found. Graves were unearthed at Dambwa and Chundu, with one grave containing among other goods, cowrie shells and glass beads. These goods indicate indirect contact with the Indian Ocean coast.

Another group, the Western Stream entered Zambia from southern Congo and spread into the western and central provinces of Zambia. There are four distinctive subdivisions within this group: Chondwe, Kapwirimbwe, Kalundu and Lungwebungu. A site belonging to the Lungwebungu group was found at Lubusi in Kaoma district dating to the 8th and 10 centuries AD. However no research has been done there. The Chondwe Group is named after a site on the Copperbelt which produced a distinct pottery style. No direct evidence of food production has been found here. The Kapwirimbwe Group, which is situated around Lusaka, has pottery that is similar to the pottery from the Chondwe group. Its name is derived from a site to the east of Lusaka where iron workings have been found. This site has been dated to the 5th century AD which is the earliest date for food production in Zambia. Another site belonging to this group is Chakeluka Road (formerly Twickenham Road) and is dated to about the 10th century AD. Also found were iron workings and bones of goat. The Kalundu Group which is situated to the south of the Kafue is dated between the 5th and 9th centuries AD. Most of these sites are of villages that show signs of prolonged or repeated occupation spread over many centuries, suggesting a dense population. From the Kalundu site, near Kalomo, bones of domesticated cattle, sheep and goats were found as well as bones of game. Both copper and iron objects were discovered. Other sites belonging to this group are at Basanga and at Mwanamaimpa.

### **3.2.1 Way of Life of the Iron Age people**

Despite the differences in pottery style, the way of life of the early Iron Age people was more or less the same all over Zambia. The early Iron Age farmers in northern and eastern Zambia were long-term nomads. They settled at places that were near the water for some years. When the land was exhausted they moved the villages to another place. Nonetheless, they still depended much on hunting and gathering. Semi-permanent structures were built. These people lived hand in hand with late Stone Age hunters and gatherers. In the centre and south of Zambia the picture is somewhat different. The population there was much bigger and seems to have been more developed. The environment is that of savanna and floodplains. It is an open environment that is more suitable for early Iron Age farming since little forest clearance was needed. Iron ore was available. Hunting and gathering continued being part of their food needs. These farmers also shifted their villages after some time in search of fresh land. The first signs

of communication links beyond the local environment are attested to among the Dambwa group by seashells and glass beads. The humans responsible for this age in Zambia were the early Bantu and Khoisan.

### **3.3 Later Stone Age Groups**

Different groups of Bantu- speaking people arrived in parts of Zambia between 600 and 800 A. D. Subsequently, new pottery styles began to be made and the archaeologists defined this period as the Later Iron Age. A differentiation of culture was established based on the style of pottery made southern, western and eastern Zambia among others.

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Dambwa and Kalundu groups of the Southern Part of Zambia began to be replaced by a new pottery style called the Kalomo Tradition. Isamu Pati was the main site of this group. This settlement consisted of circular houses of three meters diameter build on mounds which were abandoned and re-occupied from time to time. These houses surrounded the cattle kraals. By the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Kalomo tradition began to be replaced by another tradition known as the Kangila or Tonga Diaspora Tradition. The type of village building remained the same. The Kangila tradition is commonly known as the Kalomo Culture. Inhabitants of these sites are assumed to be ancestors of the present day Tonga people, who today occupy the same area. This is so because of similarities in food production and pottery style with the present day Tonga. Since modern Tonga pottery is somewhat similar in design to some pottery of these cultures it is thought that the Tonga were probably the earliest identifiable modern Zambian people to settle, having an unbroken cultural tradition of over one thousand years. This pottery tradition is best known from the sites at Sebanzi Hill, Kalundu, Isamu Pati, Kangila and the Victoria Falls area. The origin of this pottery is not clear, but it has been suggested, just like for the Luangwa Tradition, that it was introduced by migrating people.

The pottery at Sebanzi Hill dated as starting from the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. At different sites the number of grindstones retrieved increased indicating an increase in crop cultivation activities. Also the number of domestic animal bones found increased and fewer bones of game were found. The numbers of clay figurines representing cattle were numerous suggesting a strong pastoral economy. For the first time, at Sebanzi Hill, two spindle whorls were retrieved suggesting the spinning and cultivation of cotton. Smoking pipes were also found.

The next development in the Kangila Tradition is apparent from the few graves excavated at Isamu Pati. One grave contained the remains of a young girl wearing snail-shell beads, ivory bracelets, iron bangles, glass beads and conus sea shells. This indicates that the people were

distinguished in society. This distinction was expressed through wealth. The conus sea shells were used as a symbol of chieftainship. Moreover the sea shells and glass beads tell us about the existence of trade contacts with the east coast.

In the western part of Zambia, the Lungwebungu Tradition of the early Iron Age continued into the Later Stone Age. Similarly, the present day people of that area still produce pottery belonging to this style. Pottery of this group is traditionally made by men. It has actually been suggested that men were actually makers of pottery throughout the Iron Age in central and southern Africa. This is marked in contrast with today's traditions in other parts of Zambia where pottery making is the preserve of women. This new tradition of women making pottery and the new styles was introduced into northern, central and eastern Zambia much later. The new style known as the Luangwa Tradition appeared around the 11th century. The fast spreading of pottery over a large area suggests that it might have been carried by a new wave of migrants, especially those from the Congo. The site most representative for this tradition in Zambia is at Chakeluka Road in Lusaka. Remains of houses, grindstones and iron tools like razors, needles, bracelets were found at that site. There were also bones of wild animals and domestic cattle and dogs. Kalambo Falls, Chondwe, Kamnama sites also have Luangwa pottery.

### **3.4 Iron Age Trade Contacts of Southern Zambia**

The history of Zambia has never been the history of an isolated area cut off from outside influences. In the Early Iron Age people migrated into Zambia with new ideas and cultures, and presumably others migrated out of Zambia carrying new influences into other areas. Evidence of the early trade beginning about A.D 600 and bringing new external influences into Zambia was available at Dambwa and Kalomo in the form of glass beads, copper and sea shells, which had to be imported from outside. However, this early sign of trade with the coast does not necessarily mean that traders were coming from the coast to the Southern Province. It is assumed that imported trade goods passed through a number of hands before they reached Zambia. This was through the involvement of Zambia in long distance trade.

International trade was based on the precious materials which Africa was able to supply to the rest of the world. Species, hardwoods, tropical animals, gold and slaves all had a part in this trade, but the most important commodity was ivory from elephants of Southern Central Africa. Elephants could also be found in India and elsewhere in Asia, but the ivory from their tusks is



inferior for many purposes to that from African Elephants. Especially in India and China, there was an insatiable demand for supplies of African ivory.

According to Brian Fagan, after the monsoon winds were discovered it became possible for a ship to make the return journey from India to Africa in a single year. As a result there was a rapid expansion of trade in products from the African interior on one hand and glass beads, Indian cloth, Chinese porcelain and Indian Ocean sea shells on the other. This trade was a source of great wealth and prestige to the tribes of the interior who came into contact with the traders from the coast. The routes into the interior passed up the great rivers valleys, including the Zambezi. From these there was comparatively easy access to the plateau mining areas where iron, copper and gold were to be acquired. By skilful use of middlemen the Indian, Arab and later Portuguese merchants were able to create a widespread network of trading contacts.

Further, little is known of the first traders to penetrate beyond the coast of East Africa. However, at some remote Early Iron Age village on the Batoka plateau, glass beads and sea-shells have been found. These villages which date to about A.D. 300 are far away from the main trade route through the middle Zambezi valley. If trade objects were reaching such outlying areas in the seventh century, there is good reason to state that the Zambezi trade route was well established by this time.

Domestic trade in local commodities such as salt, game, meat, copper, and iron ore was a feature of life throughout the prehistoric times. The excavations conducted at Dambwa, an early Iron Age site near Livingstone that is dated to the seventh century provide an example of domestic trade. Here fragments of copper wire were found which, since there are no copper out-crops near Livingstone, must have been brought in by trade. The nearest sources of copper were the ancient mines in the Hook of the Kafue and in the Gwaai river region of Rhodesia.

Additionally, while Zambia was involved in indirect trade relations before A.D 1000, the trade was not widespread over an extensive area or concentrated in any one area. At the period (1 000 - 1 500 A. D) when the great Mwene Mutapa kingdom was growing in Rhodesia and stone buildings at Zimbabwe were being erected, there seem to have been few major political or economic developments. And at about 1500 or later kingdoms were established and trade became important in most parts of Zambia. However, a major political and economic development occurred before the development of kingdoms and long distance trade. This was revealed by the excavation at Ingombe Ilede near the Zambezi River in Southern Province. Ingombe Ilede was discovered in 1960 when the government workmen were digging the

foundations for the water tank on a hill discovered a human skeleton decorated with many beads and copper bracelets. The late J. H. Chaplin of the National Monuments Commission carried out rescue operations on the site and recovered the remains of eleven richly decorated skeletons from the highest part of the hill.

At Ingombe Ilede a number of other burials were found which included a rich variety of grave goods with skeletons. These grave goods of glass, gold carnelian and shell beads ; copper crosses and wire; iron bells symbolic of chieftainship and imported cloth indicate that there was long distance trade and probably a hierarchy of economic and social distinction as well as chieftainship. The date of this level at Igombe Ilede suggest that there was an outpost of the developing Mwene Mutapa kingdom, which exported gold and probably ivory and imported cloth and beads from the East Coast. The development at Igombe Ilede was not typical of the rest of Zambia at the time and apparently did not influence subsequent growth of trade or political institutions there. It was to be the influence of the great kingdoms of the Katanga to the northwest, not of the Mwene Mutapa kingdom to the south, which led to the establishment of Zambian kingdoms and extensive long distance trade contacts.

In 1961 and 1962 further excavations were carried out at Igombe Ilede. Consequently, a detailed reconstruction of life in this Iron Age period was established. The earliest inhabitants of the hill settled there in about A.D 680. From then onwards there was more or less continuous habitation of the site. Deposits of occupational debris on the hill were about 8 ft. deep. The date for the latest levels of the settlement is about 900 and it was during this late period that Ingombe Ilede reached the height of its importance.

Pottery made by the earliest Igombe Ilede people is quite similar to that used on the Batoka plateau during the early Iron Age. Undoubtedly, the original inhabitants of Ingombe Ilede were early Iron Age people who had many features of economy and material culture in common with their neighbour on plateau. In the latter periods, pottery was more refined. Stamped decorations often executed with fine comb, largely replaces the earlier incised decoration and steep-sided pots are common. While there are no close parallels, it is thought to show some affinity with that of the Shona people who were living in Rhodesia at the time. Although the Shona influence is not strong, it has been suggested that it is due to more sporadic contact between the Shona and the people of Ingombe Ilede than to any close relationship between the peoples to the north and south of the Zambezi.

Ingombe Ilede was deserted in the late 15th century due to the collapse of the existing trade system. This collapse came about due to the demise of Great Zimbabwe and the subsequent establishment of the Mwene Mutapa kingdom in the Zambezi Valley east of Ingombe Ilede. This new kingdom became very powerful and cut off the trade links of Ingombe Ilede with the east coast.

### **3.4.1 Impact of the Iron Age on Zambia**

The coming of the Bantu-speaking peoples in Zambia, with their knowledge of iron technology and food production, was one of the most important revolutions in the history of the country. Bantu-speaking people grew their own food, kept domestic animals, made tools out of iron, lived in settled villages and made clay pots. At the same time, man in was now able to control and change his environment to some extent, instead of adapting to the changing conditions of the environment. With iron axes, forests were cleared so that iron hoes could be used for cultivating crops in gardens. More so, with a more or less steady supply of food from gardens and domestic animals, the people were better able to live in one area for a long period of time. Food production also allowed more rapid population increase. The foundation of subsistence agriculture such as is still found in Zambia, was laid. And with stable settlement in villages and an increased population in one area, a more complex social and political organisation became evident than had existed in the stone ages. The extended family and hunting group were no longer the largest political and social units. Instead the village became a basic unit just as it has continued to be up to the present, with the addition of chieftainship in most areas.

### **Summary**

In this unit Iron Age communities have been discussed in the light of different pottery decorations of the time. Precisely, the unit demonstrated how archaeological investigations traced the origins and movements of different groups of Iron Age peoples (Bantu) through the study of Iron Age period pottery. According to this unit, the different decorations of pottery made by the Iron Age people provided information for the archaeologists to identify different groups that existed during this period. This unit discussed the way of life of the Iron Age communities based on the interpretation of archaeological interpretation.

### **Reflection Question**

1. Discuss the origins and migration of the Iron Age people into Central Africa and Zambia.

2. With examples, examine the socio-economic life of the Iron Age people.
3. Compare and contrast the socio-economic life of the different groups of Iron Age People in Zambia.
4. Discuss the trade contacts that were established during the Iron Age period.

## **UNIT 4**

### **BANTU ORIGINS AND MIGRATIONS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Bantu is a common term used to refer to the over 400 different ethnic groups of Africa stretching from south of the Sahara desert to South Africa that have similar languages and to some extent customs. The name Bantu was given because of interrelated languages spoken which were characterised by common words such as ‘umuntu’, ‘abantu’ among others. The words ‘umuntu or abantu’ denote a human or human beings. It is because of these similarities that Bantu are said to have a common origin. Thus, this unit specifically focuses on the origins of the Bantu people, patterns and implications of their migration within the African continent and Zambia in particular.

#### **Learning outcomes**

Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;

- Trace the origins and migration of the Bantu people in Africa.
- Examine the causes of the Bantu migration within the African continent.
- Explain the routes, settlements and impact of the Bantu migration in Zambia.

#### **4.2 Bantu Origins and Migration**

The Bantu speaking people were part of the Iron Age people from the Middle East. They earlier settled along the banks of River Nile and later moved to North Africa where they occupied some areas in the Sahara grasslands. Thereafter some moved and settled in the great lakes region of East Africa while others moved to the area called Benue-Cross region- an area that was located in the adjoining region of the Cameroon and Nigeria. From this area, there were long series of migrations of the speakers of the original proto-Bantu group. The primary evidence for this expansion has been linguistic, namely that the languages spoken in sub-Equatorial Africa are remarkably similar to each other. The Bantu expansion is assumed to

have begun about more than 3,000 years ago, with one stream going into East Africa and other streams going south along the African coast of Gabon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola or inland along the many south to north flowing rivers of the Congo River system.

Attempts to trace the exact route and causes of the expansion to correlate it to archaeological evidence and genetic evidence have not been conclusive. Many aspects of the expansion remain in doubt or are highly contested. However, several assertions regarding the cause of the Bantu migration have been advanced. Archeologically and anthropologically, it has been argued that the Bantu left the area due to population increase. As a result of the population increase, people were forced to search for new areas where they could sustain their economies. Population increase might not have been rapid but was apparent to have forced the people to move. The drying up of the Sahara could have forced them to migrate in search of water resources and grazing grasslands. It is also claimed that occupations such as agriculture, hunting and blacksmith were a push factor to the Bantu migration. Most of the Bantu were pastoralists in search for grazing land, agriculturalists were in need of fertile land and blacksmiths were in search of mineral resources. More so, their customs are assumed to have led them to migrate. For instance, the matriarchal customs where sons of the ruling chiefs could not succeed their fathers made some individuals to migrate to areas where they could establish their own chieftainships. Succession disputes in some cases have been claimed to have led to the migration of some groups. This normally happened when a king died and members of the royal family quarrelled about who to succeed. In other cases, it is presumed succession disputes civil wars led those who were defeated to migrate to other lands. They fled the wrath of the new chief whom they had opposed. Slave trade is also argued to have contributed to the migrations in that in order to avoid being attacked and sold as slaves some groups were forced to migrate to new areas.

#### **4.2.1 Course of the Bantu Migration**

It seems likely that the expansion of the Bantu-speaking people from their core region of Benue-Cross region (West Africa) began around 1000 BCE. The only avenues open to the Bantu were east and south because movement to the west and north was hindered by agriculturalists already in those areas. Thus, the first group to leave the Benue-Cross region passed through Congo forest, following Zaire River and settled in Katanga or Shaba around the fifth century. They settled here because of the fertile land, good rain fall, minerals and grazing land. With time the population increased more especially after the interaction with the Portuguese who introduced crops like maize, sweet potatoes and banana. Much later by about

the sixth century, immigrants from this region into central Africa started henceforth Zaire (present day Congo) has been termed as 'Cradle of Mankind'.

The **second group** of the Bantu people is assumed to have started the migration at around the 15 century from North East Africa. This settled in the Central African rainforest. They passed through Tanzania and western side of Lake Malawi. It is suggested that the descendants of this group are the Tumbuka, Nsenga, Kamanga and Tonga of Malawi and Tonga Ila in the Zambezi valley. And the Shona, Rozwi and Katanga took a shorter route by crossing the Zambezi River and settled in Mashonaland. The Hungwe were also part of these groups. They migrated southwards from the north, ending up in South Africa where they were assimilated.

The **third group** of the Bantu speaking people also moved from North East Africa through Tanzania and western side of Lake Malawi. But these were the forerunners of the Sotho and Nguni speaking people. They settled in Mashonaland for about two hundred years. They started building the Zimbabwe buildings and Mapungumbwe sites. When the Shona, Rozwi and the karanga came, they attacked and defeated them. Consequently, they fled south and south-west to South Africa where they settled between the ninth and fourteenth centuries. Meanwhile, the Shona, Rozwi and the karanga remained in Mashonaland and established the Munumutapa and Urozwi kingdoms by the fifteenth centuries.

#### **4.2.2 Effects of Bantu Migration**

Archaeological, linguistic, genetic and environmental evidence all support the conclusion that Bantu migration was a long process of several human migrations. Before the expansion of farming and pastoralist African peoples, Southern Africa was populated by hunter-gatherers and earlier pastoralists. Afterwards, the Bantu migration first introduced the first bantu peoples to Central, Southern and South-East Africa, the regions they had previously been absent. In the process, the Bantu migrants integrated and in some instances displaced a number of earlier inhabitants such as pygmies and Khoisan populations in the centre and south respectively. They also encountered some Afro-Asiatic groups in the southeast, who had migrated down from North East Africa.

It is further suggested that in East and Southern Africa, bantu speakers may have adopted livestock husbandry from other unrelated Cushitic and Nilotic-speaking peoples they encountered. Herding practices reached the far south several centuries before bantu speaking migrants did.

Additionally, between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the relatively powerful bantu-speaking states on a scale larger than local chiefdoms began to emerge in the great lakes region, in the savannah south of the central African rainforest and on the Zambezi River where the Monomotapa kings built the famous great Zimbabwe complex. The process of such state formation occurred with on a regular basis from the sixteenth century onwards. It is assumed that this could have probably been due to denser populations, which led to more specialised divisions of labour, including military power, while making out migration more difficult.

Other recognised effects of the Bantu migration include increased trade among African communities and with European and Arab traders on the coasts, technological developments in economic activity, and new techniques in the political-spiritual ritualisation of royalty as the sources of national strength. Additionally, by the time great Zimbabwe had ceased being the capital of a large trading empire, speakers of bantu languages were present throughout much of southern Africa. Two main groups developed- the Nguni (Xhosa, Zulu, and Swazi) who occupied the eastern coastal plains and the Sotho Tswana who lived on the interior plateau.

### **Summary**

Precisely, this unit explored the origins of the Bantu people, patterns and implications of their migration within the African continent and Zambia. The unit discussed that the Bantu speaking people were part of the Iron Age people from the Middle East. They earlier settled along the banks of River Nile but later moved to North Africa and Central Africa where they occupied some areas in the Sahara grasslands. The unit further discussed the causes of the Bantu migration such as population increase, the drying up of the Sahara and search for grazing land and agriculture among others.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Explain the origins and migration of the Bantu people in Africa.
2. Explain the causes of the Bantu migration within the African continent.
3. Describe the routes, settlements and impact of the Bantu migration in Zambia.

## **UNIT 5**

### **LUBA-LUNDA DIASPORA INTO CENTRAL AFRICA**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The events in the history of the Luba and Lunda kingdoms of Katanga largely influenced the history of Zambia from at least as early as 1500, mainly by causing migrations into Zambia of chiefs and their followers who introduced new customs and established kingdoms. This unit focuses on the migrations of the Luba and Lunda people from the Katanga region into Central African and Zambia in particular. The also discusses the development of the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms as a background to the Luba-Lunda dispersal into Zambia. Further, the unit examines the various reasons for the Luba-Lunda migration into present day Zambia, the routes of migration as well as the settlement areas of the people. Finally, it considers the impact of the migrations on Zambia.

#### **Learning outcomes**

**Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;**

- Explain the establishment of Luba-Lunda kingdom
- Account for the causes of the Luba-Lunda migrations into Central Africa
- Describe the routes of migrations and settlement Areas
- Examine the impact of the migrations on Zambia.

#### **5.2 Origins of the Luba Kingdom**

The origins of Luba are not clear. However, what is known according oral traditions is that the chieftainship developed among the farming and hunting communities of the lake Kisale area (Congo region). Since there were no written records to provide information on what specifically transpired, scholars and historians have largely relied on what the people of the area said (oral traditions). Thus, according to oral tradition, a group of people identified as Songye who originated from the North settled on the Lubilasha River. They were led by a man whose official title was the Kongolo. It is mentioned that the first Kongolo married the woman ruler or queen of the kalundwe. The children of the marriage inherited from both their mother's and father's side. Later, the Songye chiefs led raiding and conquering groups to the east in search of salt and palm oil. With time, the name of the state was changed from Kalundwe to Luba. The Luba included many conquered areas that had been incorporated. The capital of the larger Luba state was moved to Muibele near Lake Boya where more conquests were organised.



Successively, the Luba state became a large kingdom and incorporated the people who lived between the Lubalashi and the Lualaba.

Thereafter, the Songye rulers of Luba became held more authority than any of their Kalundwe predecessors. This is due to the reason that they controlled a larger area than the Kalundwe chiefs had ever ruled. In the Luba state, the Kongolo or king had the final authority on matters relating to warfare. At the same time, the king single-handedly controlled the long distance trade. Nonetheless he was assisted in carrying out his work by a number of officials. The Songye rulers administered the Luba Kingdom until sometime around the fifteenth century when they lost their power to the Kunda.

In the fifteenth century a more powerful group known as the Kunda, from the north arrived in the area and settled east of Lake Kisale. It is not known exactly how the Kunda replaced the Songye as rulers of Luba. Nevertheless, according to local traditions the Kunda arrived from Lualaba under Chief Mbili Kiluhe. They were well received by the reigning Kongolo, Mwana. The oral tradition suggests that Mwana gave Mbili Kiluhe two of his sisters to marry. One of the sisters bore Mbili Kiluhe a son who was named Kala Ilunga. He grew up among his mother's people and became a very able fighter who won many the most important battles and wars for the Kongolo. Later he claimed the Luba kingdom from the Kongolo arguing that he was entitled to it by matrilineal descent. Since the Kongolo would not recognise this claim, he tried to have Kalala Ilunga killed. However, Kala Ilunga managed to escape across the Lualaba. He later came back with a stronger army and defeated his uncle, Kamwana whom he killed. Thereafter, Ilunga declared him-self king of Luba.

### **5.2.1 Establishment of the Second Luba Kingdom**

Kalala Ilunga established the Kunda dynasty and continued to rule territorial conquests. He brought more people into Luba Kingdom, including peoples to the west of Lake Kasile. Eventually the Kunda rulers became even more powerful than any of their predecessors, Kalundwe or Songye. Additionally, they were more successful in organising trade and collecting tribute from subjects. Under Kalala Ilunga and his successors Luba enjoyed a great deal of expansion. The Kunda did not on establish an empire but they built a kingdom, bringing the conquered peoples under their own rule as much as possible.

During, the Kunda's reign the process of state-building in Luba Kingdom advanced greatly. Kala Ilunga and his successors maintained a centralised administration in Luba. Thus the king presided over a powerful government. He assumed a new traditional title known as Mulopwe

and was no longer identified as Kongolo. Under Kunda rule, the Mulopwe had the final authority on matters of war. He controlled external trade and was a religious figure with sacred spears. At the same time, he was associated with special religious ceremonies. He further developed the system of centralised control which had been started before. There was a hierarchy of officials from the king at the top, to tributary kings, chiefs of provinces, chiefs of smaller districts and headmen at the bottom. The idea of a centralised and hierarchical kingship later spread outwards to neighbouring parts of Congo, Zambia and Malawi.

After the death of the king, the next successor built a new capital. The old capital was left under the responsibility of a priestess who became a special religious centre of shrine. All the former chiefs who served under the deceased king were forced to resign from their positions. This led to dissatisfaction among officials and some old chiefs who reluctantly gave up their positions. In other instances, the ambitious young men who aspired to become chiefs were not satisfied. Consequently, these discontent peoples left the kingdom taking with them their followers to look for new areas where they established their authority. One such man was Kibinda Ilunga, the man who founded the Lunda Kingdom.

### **5.2.2 The Making of the Lunda Kingdom**

Amongst the significant results of Luba state formation was the process of westward expansion, which directly or indirectly gave rise to the Lunda state. This was around the mid sixteenth century, at the time of the second Luba Kingdom. According to oral tradition, Kibinda Ilunga left Luba at the head of a strong military band. He had been frustrated in his ambitions to be king. He and his people travelled westwards and settled among the Lunda people on banks of the Kasai River. The Lunda were subsistence farmers living in small communities or villages. And they made Iron tools and pots.

It has been stated that when Kibinda Ilunga arrived in the Lunda area, the senior chief was a woman, Luenji. It is not clear what happened when Kibinda arrived. It would appear that he married Luenji and discovered later that this wife could not bear him children. Accordingly, he married another wife, Kamonga, who bore him a son Lusenga. He later became the ruler of his mother's people and introduced measures for the creation of a larger kingdom under a central government. Lusenga was succeeded by his son Naweji and his successors assumed a new official title, being known as Mwata Yamvo (lord of the viper or master of wealth). Naweji who came to the throne about 1600 laid the foundations of what developed into an empire.

By 1600 the Lunda state brought under its rule several chiefdoms in the area. Most of the non-Lunda neighbouring regions were conquered. However, some of them voluntarily put themselves under the Mwata Yamvo. Although the mwata yamvo state was similar to that of Luba, there were minimal differences between them. Mwata Yamvo's state was more like an empire. All conquered chiefs, Lunda and non-Lunda, were given new titles and became Mwata Yamvo's chief. Villages were grouped into administrative districts each under an official known as the Kilolo. Similar to the Luba state, all people appointed to high positions were the king's relatives. In this arrangement, known as the system of positional succession it was pretended that the successor actually became his predecessor by taking his name, title, house and family possessions

The next significant characteristic of the Lunda state was its tendency towards conquest and expansion. This was motivated by Mwata Yamvo's desire to control large areas for the population that was ever growing. Additionally, trade contributed to the expansion of the kingdom. The Portuguese on the west coast provided a ready market for the Lunda ivory, copper and slaves. Correspondingly, there was market on the East African coast. Thus, trade brought beads, spirits, clothes and firearms to Mwata Yamvo's land. Trading was considered better if the territory under the Mwata Yamvo's control was large. This is because chiefs in the conquered areas were required to pay tribute in form of ivory, copper, slaves salt and labour. Such goods were important in Mwata Yamvo's trade with the Portuguese and with the Swahili ports on the east coast. As a result, some chiefs grew tired of paying tribute to Mwata Yamvo and they decided to emigrate to distant places such as to the west, east and south. For example one of Luenji's brothers led his followers south wards. During this same period, the band split into small groups of which the Luvale and the Chokwe are most well-known. These groups brought Lunda ideas of centralised chieftainship to Zambia where they resulted.

### **5.2.3 The Luba-Lunda Migrations into Zambia**

The Bantu peoples migrated into Zambia from the lands of the Luba and Lunda. The first group was made up of farmers who were organized according to clans and kinship. This group has been associated with the Luangwa pottery group introduced to Zambia and Malawi during the first centuries of the 2nd Millennium A.D. In fact, these migrations were a continuation of the early Bantu migrations. They were gradual and lasted for a period of more than four centuries.

The second process of migrations which mainly comprised of chiefs and their followers occurred between about 1550 A.D. and 1750 A.D. This was during and after the formation of

the Luba-Lunda states. The second process of migrations happened because of the formation of the Luba and Lunda states and the consequent problems that arose. This development led to the spread of the Lunda state system. The second phase of migrations is generally referred to as the Luba-Lunda migrations or dispersal or diaspora. They consisted of people who had witnessed state formation, were part of it or had become victims of it.

#### **5.2.4 Causes of the Luba-Lunda Migrations**

A number of factors were behind the Luba and Lunda migration into Zambia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and these are mainly economic, political and social. In the shaba area (Katanga) home of both the Luba and the Lunda, the population was still growing fast, causing shortages of arable and pastureland. The situation seems to have become more critical as a result of a wider acceptance of new agriculture crops brought by the Portuguese on the west coast. The new crops included maize, groundnuts, cassava and others. However, the crops in some instances exhausted the fertility of the soil more rapidly or could only be grown well on more fertile soil.

Land pressure was an economic problem which in turn created social hardships and political problems for Luba-Lunda rulers and their states. Some people felt that the solution lay in emigrating to other areas where opportunities might be better. Other people left their areas for reasons which were purely political. This was true of conquered chiefs who moved to Zambia where they thought they might be able to maintain their political independence. No doubt some of the chiefs and their people emigrated in order to escape being punished by the Luba-Lunda rulers after unsuccessful rebellions.

The other reasons that led to emigrations for instance, referred to a number of bands who left their homelands after they had lost in succession disputes. It has also been suggested that a lot of migrants might have left because they were suspected of being witches. Some other groups like the Bemba and the Bisa left after family quarrels. The slave trade also forced many people to flee their original homes in the Shaba or Katanga area.

Occasionally people left one of the Luba kingdoms because they became tired of injustice, wrath or pettiness of a ruler. They may have departed because of heavy taxation. They did not necessarily have noble or royal leaders but took with them the idea of kingship which they could implement in a new area. This seems to have been the Nsenga experience. They were a group of commoners who left the Lunda area because of oppression at a ruler's court. They

were able to use their political knowledge to impress and subdue the stateless Tumbuka of Zambia's Lundazi district.

In a number of instances a group left because of the desire to do better elsewhere. The leaders may have desired to establish their own trade connections instead of continuing to pay tribute for small returns. It is further believed that other groups may have been adventurers out wandering or hunting with a few followers who found an area where the people lacked a ruler. This seems to have been the origin of the Lenje line of rulers. In this case for instance, it is believed that a person from Mwata yamvo's kingdom discovered that the sala people from around Kabwe had many fine cattle but no rulers, so he returned to his area, gathered some followers gathered some followers and succeeded in subjecting the Sala and establishing the kingship of Mukuni.

#### **5.2.5 The Impact of the Luba-Lunda Migrations on Zambia**

The spread and migration of Luba and Lunda elements into Zambia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries introduced the Luba-Lunda systems of government. The migrants were shifting crops cultivators in search of new farming lands. The sparsely populated Zambian territory was ideal for Luba-Lunda settlement. In many areas there were still some Stone Age societies and very few Bantu-speaking communities when the Luba-Lunda migrants arrived. Among the few Bantu-speaking communities were the Tonga in the Southern Province of Zambia; the Ila and the Sala in north; Totela occupying the Southern part of the Western Province, the Nkoya, Mbelwa and Lukolwe in the west and north-west; the Nsenga and related groups in the central, eastern and northern provinces; the Fipa, Sekumu and Bwile in the northern and Luapula provinces. All these groups were matrilineal, except the Lungu, Mambwe and the Namwanga who had come from East Africa.

The establishment of kings and chiefs in Zambia after 1500 was a direct or an indirect result of activities in the Katanga kingdoms. The migrations from Congo did not bring only people but also new patterns of culture and ideas about political organisation and trade. At the same time, the Luba-Lunda Migrations caused the increase in the population of Zambia and introduced improved techniques of farming, Iron smelting and other skills. And new goods and produce such as like guns and food crops were brought. New languages and cultures were also introduced into Zambia.

There was also an Introduced the system of chieftainship. Most people that left Congo did not necessarily have noble or royal leaders, but took with them the idea of kingship to the new

areas where they settled. For example, the Nsenga were a group of migrants who left the Lunda area because of oppression at the king's court. They used their political knowledge to subdue the stateless Tumbuka of Lundazi district. A chief had control over the land, the people and their resources and he had the duty to safeguard these. He had to put his power into their service. The chief could be assisted in administering his chieftdom by sub-chiefs who often belonged to the same family or clan as the chief. His source of income was the tribute system and regional trade. The chief's role as a military leader was important for he had to safeguard these resources from competitors.

### **5.3 Decentralised Societies**

It is also important to understand the political structure before the influence of the Luba Lunda migrations. In Zambia, the political structure that existed at about 1500 (before chiefs and kings arrived) was quite different from that of the 1700 and 1800. Generally, there were few people and groups of the Stone Age people that still existed in some areas. What few chiefs there may have been probably ruled only small areas. The Tonga, Lenje and Ila among others were among some of the decentralised tribes of the Bantu groups who arrived in Zambia much earlier.

The Tonga probably belongs to the early Iron Age Bantu speaking people. The Tonga people have no tradition that indicates their origin. However, basing on archaeological evidence, historians have suggested that the Tonga were probably the first Bantu speaking people to arrive in Zambia. The oldest Tonga settlement in Zambia has been found at Sebanzi Hill in Lochnivar which date back to 1, 100 A. D. The social, economic and political organisation of the Tonga society was decentralised. The society had no central system of government or administration. There was no central control of authority, instead, these societies were organised into smaller units of management and operations such as family headed by a village headman or clan headed by a member of that clan.

The neighbourhood consisted of a small number of neighbouring villages was the largest political unit. A Sikatonga who was a custodian of a local shrine called Malende was accepted as a leader but no real authority; he could not settle disputes, punish or possess any power over land issues. There was no class structure of chiefs, nobles or commoners for example. Offenders against peace were left to the spirits called Basangu to punish them. The wish of the spirits was carried out by the general neighbourhood gathering. Links between lineages also operated to maintain peace and justice. Disputes among the Tonga were settled by negotiation rather than by force.

The Tonga, Ila and Lenje speak a closely allied dialect and are collectively referred to as Bantu Botatwe. Their language is supposed to be one of the most ancient forms of Bantu languages. The Lenje, one of the Bantu Botatwe groups are the inhabitants of the Central province of Zambia, speaking from Kabwe to Lusaka, Historians believe that the Lenje established themselves in their present areas of settlement before the main Luba –Lunda migrations from the Congo took place. Thus they are one of the earliest Bantu groups to settle in Zambia. The Lenje are also called Bene Mukuni. According to the Lenje tradition, the Lenje believe that Mukuni led the Lenje people out of the Congo into the Lukanga swamps area where they settled. Their tradition further states that this migration took place after Mukuni had differed with his father Mulope and thus wanted to be far away from his father.

It also states that Mukuni later moved with some of the Lenjes to the south where his followers came to be known as the Toka Leya. Those Lenje who remained adopted the name Bene Mukuni, and they were left under the leadership of Munsaka. Historians however, believe that the Lenje and the Bene Mukuni were originally separated communities. Instead, the Bene Mukuni were absorbed by the Lenjes whom they found already settled in Lukanga swamps area. The Lenje were cultivators whose material culture was simple and poor. They had the knowledge of iron working, but their tools and weapons remained simple and poor. They also had traded with the Mbari, Swahili and Chikunda during the 19 century.

A number of other people were already established in Western and North-western provinces such as the Nkoya, Mbwela and Lukowe. In parts of Central, Eastern and Northern Provinces, evidently, the Nsenga and related peoples were sparsely settled. In other parts of Northern and Luapula provinces, a number of small groups lived such as the Fipa, Sukuma, Bemba and Bwile. It appears all these people had matrilineal system of descent. Only in the area between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Malawi, where a group of people who were ancestors of the Lungu, Mambwe and Namwanga had long been established, were there patrilineal peoples. It appears that the basic cultural and linguistic patterns of Zambia were already established before large scale political systems were initiated.

### **Summary**

This unit highlighted the origins, growth and dispersal of the Luba and Lunda kingdoms of Katanga. It also highlighted the causal factors of the Luba-Lunda migration in Central Africa and Zambia in particular. Among the causes discussed are succession disputes, population increase and search for land and desire for leadership. The unit further discussed how the

migration of the Luba-Lunda people into Zambia transformed the political and social organisation of pre-colonial societies. Among the notable changes discussed were the introduction of new customs and established kingdoms.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the development of the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms.
2. Discuss the causes of the Luba-Lunda expansion into Central Africa.
3. Explain the impact of the Luba-Lunda migration on Zambia.





## **UNIT 6**

### **STATE FORMATION: POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION AND FRAGMENTATION IN CENTRALISED POLITIES**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Luba-Lunda migrations facilitated the establishment of centralised Kingdoms with well-defined hierarchies in Central Africa. The migration of rulers and their followers from the Luba and Lunda kingdoms of Katanga laid the foundation for the development of Kingdoms in Zambian kingdoms. Therefore, this unit deals with the development of the Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms focusing on the factors of their origins, expansion and decline.

#### **Learning Outcomes**

**Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;**

- Examine the role of Ecology to the development of Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms.
- Discuss the significant factors that favoured the establishment of Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms.
- Explain the factors for decline of Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms.

#### **6.2 The Lunda Kingdom of Mwata Kazembe**

##### **6.2.1 Origin of Mwata Kazembe Kingdom**

Mwata Kazembe's kingdom was one of the biggest and most important Central African Kingdoms in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Kazembe's kingdom emerged from Mwata Yamvo's Lunda Kingdom. According to oral traditions, at around 1680 Mwata Yamvo Muteba assigned Mutanda Yembe Yembe, one of his generals to expand the kingdom eastwards by conquest. The targeted space for conquest was rich in salt, copper and other resources. Yembe yembe was also assigned to control the trade between the new area and the lower Zambezi region. However, Mutanda Yembeyembe was disloyal to the Mwatayamvu and withheld some of the collected tribute. Chinyanta reported the matter to the Mwata Yamvo. Yembe Yembe then killed Chinyanta for having made that report to the king. Then Yembe

Yembe was killed by the Mwata Yamvo's army. For his loyalty Chinyanta was rewarded posthumously by giving Nganda Bilonda Chinyanata's son a special title of Mwata Kazembe. Ngonda Bilonda was also assigned to expand the kingdom eastwards. Bilonda crossed the Lualaba River and defeated the surrounding communities. This happened at about 1700.

The Kazembe kingdom was then established west of Lualaba River and south of the Luba kingdom. However, Kazembe continued expanding eastwards and crossed the Lualaba River. In the process of this expansion, Kazembe died. Kanyembo, the son of Nganda Bilonda became Kazembe II He was sent off to continue the expansion of the Lunda kingdom. Mwata Yamvo then elevated Kanyembe to the rank of king. He was given the insignia of a Lunda king: a special type of knife, a staff, a belt, beads, rings, a dress, and a cutting of the mutaba tree which was to be planted at his new capital. Therefore the Lunda Kingdom was divided between Mwata Yamvo, to the west and Mwata Kazembe to the east.

### **6.2.2 Development of Mwata Kazembe Kingdom**

Around 1740, Kanyembo organised his army crossed the Luapula River near Johnston Falls into Zambia. The first people he defeated were the Ushi in Mansa District. He led his forces in the conquest of the Chishinga in Kawambwa District and the Mukulu of Luwingu District. They also defeated chief Lubunda who had earlier fled from Mwata Yamvo's Kingdom. Kanyembo's army also defeated the the Shila and their chiefs Nkuba and Katele.

They were easily defeated due to the superior organisation and weapons of the Lunda. And at about 1760, Kanyembo established a permanent capital at Mwansabombwe, the village of the defeated Chief Katele of the Shila. Here, a Mutaba tree was painted. After twenty years of conquest in Zambia, Mwata Kazembe Kanyembo died and was buried in the Lunde River.

In 1760, Kazembe II Ilunga Lukwesa came to power and reigned up to 1805. For the period of his reign the Kazembe kingdom was consolidated and expanded greatly in both Katanga and Zambia. The Tabwa, Lungu, Shila and Bisa, Nsenga, Ngonde and the Namwanga were all defeated. During this period, the Lunda established trade contacts with the Portuguese on the east coast. In this trade the Lunda used the Bisa as middlemen. The Kingdom first came into contact with the Portuguese in 1795 when the first Portuguese individual arrived in the kingdom. This was trader Goncalo Pereira from Tete. Later in 1798, another Portuguese expedition led by Dr Francisco de Larceda started arrived at Kazembe's capital from Mozambique. These Portuguese were interested in establishing a link between Mozambique and Angola. Therefore, they needed to control the trans-continental trade route that passed

through Kazembe's capital. However Kazembe did not allow them to continue with their journey westwards because he feared they could take over much of his trade once they reached Mwata Yamvo's capital.

Even after Kazembe IV Kaleka succeeded to the throne (1806), the Portuguese expeditions continued to flock into Kazembe's Kingdom. The first mission was unofficial led by two Pombeiros Pedro Baptista and Amara Jose. They started off from Angola in 1802 and reached Kazembe's in 1806 where they remained for four years. Thereafter they continued to Mozambique and finally returned to Angola in 1811 using the same route. They are said to have been the first Europeans to traverse the continent of Africa. The other tour was official and started from Mozambique in 1831, led by two military officers Antonio Gamitto and Jose Monteiro. Upon their arrival at Kazembe's they were not allowed to continue westwards. They also failed to establish the trans-continental link. The Portuguese failed because of the military and official nature of their expeditions. Kazembe thought they would not submit to his authority.

However, the trade with the Swahili-Arabs from the east coast was more significant for Kazembe especially during the nineteenth century. These traders and Nyamwezi from Tanganyika came to Kazembe for slaves and ivory. Some of them set up temporary settlements and integrated themselves into the kingdom. This arrangement was successful because they came in small groups, were more accustomed to the local environment and accepted Kazembe's rule.

### **6.2.3 Reasons for the Expansion of the Kazembe Kingdom**

The Kazembe kingdom greatly expanded because its political organisation was well consolidated. At the helm of the kingdom's political organisation was the Mwata Kazembe. This position was inherited along patrilineal line and the king was surrounded by the Lunda aristocrats, the royal family and the reigning king's mother's clan. At the same time governors of outlying areas were chosen from the Lunda aristocrats which consisted of the sons and nephews of the king.

The other reason suggested for the expansion of the kingdom was the integration of the conquered chief in the ruling system. The conquered chiefs could either maintain their positions or become a part of the Lunda establishment. However, the governors were assigned to ensure that Kazembe's interests were not challenged. Non-Lunda chiefs received the insignia of Lundahood, and were entitled to the rights of every Lunda chief had. Thereafter, the conquered

chiefs became permanently related to the Kazembe. This liberal organisation became more appealing to many conquered groups to join.

Long distance trade links and the abundant natural resources partly explain the rapid expansion of the kingdom. Engagement in trade meant that many new items were introduced into the kingdom. This increased the Kazembe's prestige and attraction. To the west, Kazembe was linked with the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo which in turn traded with the Portuguese via the Imbangala as middlemen on the Atlantic coast.

And on the eastern side Kazembe traded with the Portuguese on the coast of Mozambique with the Bisa as middlemen. The king controlled the trade and redistributed the trade goods among his loyal subjects. Among the goods traded were guns and ammunition, cloth, beads and seashells. These were exchanged salt, copper, palm oil, foodstuffs and slaves among others from the Kazembe kingdom. Kazembe obtained the items through taxation, tribute and warfare. These abundant resources entailed that a large population could be sustained.

#### **6.2.4 Factors for the Decline of the Kazembe Kingdom**

Both external and internal influences were responsible for the downfall of the Kazembe Kingdom. The external forces successfully took advantage of internal political weaknesses, particularly the tendency towards decentralization on the local level.

Further, the kingdom started to decline after the death of Kazembe IV Kalek. This was as a result of a series of succession disputes coupled by incompetent leadership. In this regard, within a space of forty years between Kaleka's death and the mid-1880s six Kazembes had ascended to the throne. This resulted in the destabilisation of the kingdom. It also made it impossible for the king and the officials to concentrate on the development and security of the kingdom. At the same time, the kingdom was absorbed by family quarrels and court cases. And the Arab-Swahili and Nyamwezi traders who previously had organized trade between Kazembe and the Portuguese contributed to the decline by supporting rival factions.

The shift in the trade benefits was another cause for the decline of the kingdom. This is because, initially, the traders had benefitted from Kazembe's trade monopoly and protection. However, as the number of traders increased, the competition for trade also became stiff. As a result the traders became bold and eager to take over the trade monopoly from Kazembe. The succession disputes and the consequent instability eventually empowered the traders to expand their control over trade in the kingdom.

The Msiri factor also largely contributed to the downfall of the kingdom. In the 1850s, Kazembe Chinyanta allowed a Nyamwezi trader, Msidi (Msiri), to settle near Lake Mweru. Msidi extended his trade to the copper-rich Katanga region. His trade flourished to the extent that he gained control and allegiance of several chiefdoms. Eventually, he began demanding tribute from chiefs in the Katanga whom he promised protection from Luba raids which Kazembe was failing to do. By 1869 a large part of the Katanga was being controlled by Msidi and his Yeke followers (a branch of the Nyamwezi). Consequently, hindered Kazembe's links with the Mwata Yamvo and took over control of the copper trade from the Katanga. Worse more, Msidi took over control of the trans-continental trade route from Kazembe. Msidi even started raiding Kazembe's territory forcing Kazembe to seek assistance from the Chishinga and Bemba to defend him against Msidi.

In 1874 Kazembe X Kanyembo ascended to power and defended and reorganised the kingdom for a short period. The reason was that in 1890 the British South Africa Company came on the scene and defeated the Lunda.

### **6.3 The Bemba Kingdom of Chitimukulu**

#### **6.3.1 Origin of the Bemba Kingdom**

The Bemba Kingdom originated from the Luba dynasty of the Congo basin. According to oral tradition, Nkole, Chiti and Katongo were sons of chief Mukulumpe one of the chiefs in the Luba state. The three built a tower that collapsed and killed many people. Thus, as a way of avoiding punishment, they fled with their followers. Around 1650, they crossed the Luapula River, at Kashengeshenge. They were led by Chiti. At Lake Bangweulu, some groups which came to be known as the Chisinga, Mukulu, Unga and Ngumbo broke away and went westwards.

The Bemba crossed the Luena River north of Lake Bangweulu and travelled down to Mpika. In Mpika, a group that came to be known as the Bisa remained. Their leader was Mwansabamba. The Bemba went further south into Lala territory, where they gave a Chief Kankomba Chibale, to the Lala. The Bemba turned eastwards and crossed the Luangwa river into Nsenga territory. Here Chiti was killed by Chief Mwase. Nkole took over leadership, but immediately died within the Nsenga territory. Nkole was succeeded by his nephew Chilufya. However, since Chilufya was still a small boy, the regency was given to chimba. The Bemba then turned to the North-east into the Fipa territory in East Africa. When Chilufya came of age,

he led the Bemba back to west of Chambishi River. They crossed the Kalungu River and settled in Chinsali and Kasama areas. The Bemba chiefs assumed the title of Chiti Mukulu (big tree).

### **6.3.2 Development of the Bemba Kingdom**

Good leadership qualities of Individual Kings largely contributed to the growth of the kingdom. The Bemba chiefs expanded the kingdom by conquering other tribes. Chilufya gave one of the chiefdoms to Chimba. He also created the Mwamba and the Nkula chieftainships. Thus, the Lungu, the Mambwe, Tabwa were defeated. In the Bisa and Lala territories however, the Bemba paramount chiefs rapidly lost control. Between 1700 and 1800, Bemba chiefs did not establish any centralised chieftainships. It was not until the reign of Chitimukulu Chileshe Chepela (1830) that the Bemba kingdom became a centralised state. Chileshe brought all other Bemba chiefs under his closer control. He increased the power of the Chitimukulu over all other chiefs. He limited the succession to the kingship to his Miti branch of the crocodile clan.

From 1850 onwards, Chileshe concentrated on the expansion of the kingdom. He conquered the remaining Mambwe, Lungu and Namwanga groups. He also conquered the Sukuma and Fipa peoples. At the same time, he took the ivory trade from the Tabwa and traded with the Arabs, Swahili and the Nyamwezi. In exchange, he acquired guns which were used to beat off the Ngoni attacks in 1856.

The next important ruler was Chitimukula Chitapankwa, who ruled from 1866 to 1883. He ousted Chitimukulu Bwembya from power and regained control over the Bisa. He then seized control of trade from Bisa and the Bemba kingdom reached its peak during his rule. The Bemba developed alliances with the Arabs and Swahili slave traders. The king enjoyed monopoly of trade whose redistribution of imported trade goods made territorial expansion continue. Chitapankwa and Chileshe's good leadership helped the Bemba to get united. Ngoni attacks also helped to unite the Bemba. The Bemba wished to face their enemies as a united force. For example, when David Livingstone visited Chitimukulu in 1867, he found that the Ngoni had recently been repulsed, though they were still in the area. Within the next few years the Ngoni again failed in a major raid on the Bemba. It was only then that they decided to retreat from the area. Part of Bemba victory was due to the help of guns, and in one instance a canon was supplied by the Swahili; but unity and organisation were probably more important factors. The success of unity and organisation of the chiefs and their followers under Chitapankwa when the crisis ended meant an increase in the power of the paramount king.

Another uniting force was Chitimukulu's role in ritual matters. He was viewed as a religious and divine ruler. This assisted in making his authority obeyed.

The poor environment of Lubembe forced the Bemba to expand and engage into warfare in order to satisfy their economic needs. The area was relatively infertile, and in most places infested with tsetse fly which made cattle rearing difficult. Poor soils made villages to shift from time to time, hence the development of chitemene system of farming. Only seasonal fishing took place in the Luapula and Chambeshi rivers and their tributaries. Due to a lack of natural resources, a high population could not be easily sustained. This environmental deficit made the Bemba devise other ways of survival. For example, they obtained iron and iron implements from the Lungu and Namwanga in the north Salt was obtained from the Bisa marshes in Mpika in the south They raided the Lungu and Mambwe for cattle since they could not trade So, while the Bemba could not trade due to the poor environment in which they lived, they used warfare to expand their kingdom. As a result the Bemba became skilled in warfare.

Another contributing factor to the expansion of the Bemba Kingdom was the procedure of succession to the Chitimukuluship. In the early years of the kingdom, the Bemba had a peculiar method of choosing the Chitimukulu. Members of the Bena Ng`andu fought for leadership every time the king died. Whoever was victorious was installed as king. This loose political method encouraged civil war, yet fostered a degree of unity. These disputes in fact made the Bemba develop highly skilled military powers which they in turn used to conquer others.

The integration of conquered tribes worked well for the kingdom. In this regard, Chitimukulu appointed chief Mwamba among the Mambwe. The same was the case with chief Makasa among the Lunga. By the middle of the 19th century Mwamba had become the second most important royal chief after the kings supplanting older ones like the Nkula, Nkweto and others in terms of influence and power. This was due to the fact that Mwamba was able to expand his area by new conquests. The creation of the Makasa chieftainship was something of an innovation, as he did not come from the Bena Ng`andu clan. Instead in this matrilineal society, a Makasa was always the son of the Chitimukulu. This innovation, which was to continue in other newly conquered areas as new chiefs were established, was an element in the increase of the Chitimukulu power.

#### **6.3.4 Key Reasons for the Decline of the Bemba Kingdom**

The decline of the Bemba Kingdom is associated to Ckitimukulu Sampa who succeeded Chitapankwa and ruled the Kingdom after 1883. Sampa has weak leadership skills as a result;



he was challenged by Sub-Chief Mwamba Mulenga Chipoya and others especially those in remote tribes also revolted. This insubordination later erupted into a civil war that weakened the Kingdom. Moreover, perpetual Ngoni Raids had already destabilised the borders of the Bemba Kingdom. The Chitimukulu also lost monopoly of the Long Distance Trade as these Sub-Chiefs started trading directly with the Arabs and the Swahili.

However, the most contributing factor to the collapse of the Bemba Kingdom was the coming of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) during the reign of Makumba. In 1896, the BSAC conquered sub chiefs such as chief ponde successor of Mwamba Mulenga Chipoya who attempted to resist its rule as part of the colonisation process.

## **6.4 The Lozi Kingdom**

### **6.4.1 Origins of the Lozi Kingdom**

Like the Bemba and Kazembe kingdoms and most of other kingdoms in Zambia, the Lozi Kingdoms or Luyi Kingdom of Western Province owed much of its development to the Luba-Lunda Kingdom. However, according to legend, the Lozi had their origin in Bulozhi, the flood plains of the Zambezi River where they now live. The royal family was supposedly descended from Nyambe (god) and his wife Nasilele, when he used to live in Bulozhi. Although this story cannot be fully accepted as true, it is important in that it indicates something of how the Lozi view their own history. It implies that the Lozi were unique in their origin, always lived in the area and did not come from any other place. The claim of always having being in Bulozhi could mean that no other people had an older or more legitimate chain to the area and that the Lozi were inferior to any other kingdom or people. The Lozi view of their unique origins was vital in maintaining a hierarchical distinction between their aristocracy and other people who were conquered during the later expansion of the kingdom. This elitist view of Lozi history and Lozi relations to subject peoples is in contrast to the Chewa and the Bemba or even Lunda patterns, which saw subject peoples as equals who could be encouraged to inter marry and to adopt the culture and history of the rulers.

Apart from the legend of the divine origin, the early Lozi history demonstrates the influence of the general patterns found in other kingdoms but modified by the distinctive local aspects. Much of the difference of the Lozi kingdom can be explained by the location of the Lozi kingdom. The kingdom was in the middle of the continent and until the middle of the 19th century, relatively isolated from the external trade contacts. However, other aspects of its environment especially its situation in the flood plains of the Zambezi, more than offset its lack

of trade contacts. In fact, its isolation may have been an advantage. Thus historically, the Luyi might have come from an immigrant group and not from mainstream Lunda kingdom. The beginning of the Luyi kingdom is linked to Mwambwa who was succeeded by her daughter Mbuyu wa Mwambwa around 1600. For this reason, the early history of the Lozi was characterised by female rulers. Her son Mboo Muyunda challenged his mother and succeeded as the first Litunga, or male ruler. During his reign, the development of a small Lozi kingdom began, yet without central authority. He set out various brothers, sisters and nephews to establish Lozi rule in surrounding areas. At other times neighbouring peoples were conquered while in others they accepted Lozi rule relatively peacefully. However, this outward expansion during the reign of Moo was not necessarily the expansion of control by a centralised kingship. At least two of Mboo's relatives, Mwanambinyi and Mange, established themselves as independent chiefs. Mbinyi went south with his group which became known as the Kwandi, conquered the Subiya and Mbukushu peoples and established his capital at Imatonga. Mange meanwhile had proceeded east from Mboo's area and conquered some Nkoya people. His people came to be called the Kwangwa. This system of governance was similar with that of the Bemba where relatives of the king established themselves as politically independent chief, yet recognizing the authority of the king in some religious and ritual matters. However, soon this system of decentralized governance came to an end.

#### **6.4.2 Reasons for the Expansion of the Lozi Kingdom**

H. L Langworthy, the author of *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of Pre-colonial History* observed that the reasons for the development of the Lozi kingdom were slightly different from those of other Zambian kingdoms. He asserted that in other parts of Zambia, a centralised political system was motivated by the idea of kingship, strong leadership, the geographical environment and external trade played a key role in their rise. Although to a certain degree the Lozi kingdom developed as a result of the interaction of these factors a number of different factors were at play.

Firstly, the geographical environment played a significant role in facilitating the growth a centralised kingdom. The economic benefit connected to the geography of the Lozi territory stimulated the centralisation of the Litunga's authority and the expansion of his kingdom. The Lozi territory was situated along the Zambezi River and the flood plain. The flood plain of the Zambezi valley was very fertile because of the annual flooding which brought alluvial soils to people's gardens. As a result, good harvests were produced which in turn supported large numbers of people, cattle and game. Their river was vital as it produced fish and provided an

easy means of communication by canoe. Later, canals were built to facilitate communication. This made communication and administration easier and kept members of the royal family in closer contact than what was possible among the Chewa or Bemba.

More importantly, ecological differentiation largely encouraged expansion of the Lozi kingdom. This was because the balance of the distribution of the natural resources in the area including the geography of the area, encouraged unity. In this case for instance, certain zones were good for fishing and others were suitable for grazing cattle. Other regions supported the making of baskets, mats, canoes, iron implements and pots among others. The fact that the various different areas were reliant on each other yet relatively easy to reach encouraged both trade and unity. Owing to the uneven distribution of natural resources and trade goods, Lozi kings were given an incentive to bring the various areas under their personal control. This facilitated the collection of tribute and control of internal trade to their own advantage by being in the position of distributor king. Thus it was internal trade, and not the external one that encouraged the development of a centralised Lozi kingship.

More so, there was strong leadership that made efforts to unify the state under the central control of the Litunga. In the early 1700s, Litunga Ngalama was reigning. He defeated Mange in the east and brought the Kwangwa area under his control. Although with much difficulties, he also successfully defeated the Kwandi under Mwanambinyi. And later, he established a united and centralised Lozi kingdom.

The sixth Litunga Ngombala further sustained the policy of unification by re-conquering some areas in the south which had wandered away from central Lozi control after the defeat of Mwanambinyi. He also successfully extended the kingdom to new areas. Thereafter, he introduced a transformation in the political organisation of the kingdom. He assigned one of his relatives as his co ruler in the southern capital of Nalolo. This was meant to reconcile the integrated southern part of the kingdom by giving it a measure of autonomy.

Correspondingly, the reign of the 10th Litunga Mulambwa (1780-1830) significantly played a major role in the development of the kingdom. In the course of his rule several external factors influenced the Lozi kingdom. Mulambwa succeeded his cruel brother as Litunga but with much struggle. He had been in exile in Nkoya country to the east when he was encouraged to make a claim for the litungaship. With the help of some Nkoya and various Lozi factions he was able to defeat the claimant from the southern part of the kingdom and began his rule. He gained

control of the southern part of the kingdom and appointed a younger son, Mubukwanu to rule at Nalolo.

Additionally, under Mulambwa, the Lozi kingdom expanded significantly to cover half of present day Western province. Many people who had been conquered by previous Litungas, but were independent as long as they paid tribute, were brought under more direct rule. One of his greatest achievements was the introduction of a Law Code which he gave to all the people who were under the Lozi leadership. In this case for instance, he made a law that relatives of men who died in battle to be compensated with slaves. He also introduced another law that required the king to provide soldiers departing or returning from war with provisions.

External influences also central to the reign of Mulambwa and the Lozi kingdom in particular. This was the arrival of the Mbunda people and the Mbari slave traders from Angola. The Mbunda people migrated from Northeast Angola seeking refuge. They were led by Mwene Chiengele and Mwene Kandala. Since this group were good fighters, Mulambwa used them to counter attack Luvale raiders who frequently terrorized his kingdom. They also brought with them technical innovations such as the bow and arrow, and the battle axe; and new food crops like cassava, maize and so on. They were also skillful magicians and medicine men, good wood carvers and gifted dancers (Makishi). While the Mbunda had been allowed into the kingdom, Mulwambwa did not permit the Mambari and Ovimbundu slave and ivory traders, who acted as middlemen for the Portuguese in Angola. He feared the effects of the slave trade or loss of his economic monopoly.

The other factor was the establishment of indirect external trade links with the west coast of Africa. The Lozi traded with the Luvale along the Zambezi, while the latter traded with the Mambari and other representatives of the Portuguese in Angola. Mulambwa died in 1830 with the kingdom at its peak of development and strength. The area was relatively peaceful and prosperous and managed to survive quite well without external influences. Yet within a few years of his death, the external force in form of Kololo migration brought the Lozi kingdom to its knees.

#### **6.4.3 The Decline of the Lozi Kingdom**

During Mulambwa's reign, one of his sons, Mubukwanu was also ruling in the south at Nalolo. Mulambwa's death in 1830 was immediately followed by succession dispute between his two sons. Silumelume, the eldest son was defeated by his young brother Mubukwanu in a civil war.

In 1833, the Kololo from South Africa arrived in the Lozi kingdom. They found the Lozi already divided and weakened by the civil war. The Kololo attacked and defeated the Lozi.

#### **6.4.4 The Kololo Invasion and Rule of Buluzi**

The Kololo, originally called Fokeng were linked to the Sotho-speaking people of the Orange Free State province in South Africa. During the Mfecane, the kololo were displaced and others were taken into captivity. Therefore they escaped and crossed the Vaal River towards the north. With time, their numbers increased as a result of integration of smaller communities running away from the Mfecane.. They were led by Sebitwane and fought many battles along the way. In 1831 they crossed the Zambezi and defeated the Tonga and Sala country, but then decided to move to the west to the Tonga plateau. However they were attacked by the Ndebele whom they managed to repulse. The Kololo continued west and arrived in the land of the Luyi around 1835. The Luyi were disunited and engaged in wars of succession following the demise of Mulambwa. Some Luyi officials fled and settled out of the kingdom. Most of the officials amongst them Sipopa, remained and were incorporated in the Kololo aristocracy. The unity of the kingdom and loyalty to the new leader, Sebitwane, was enhanced by the defeat of other attacking Mfecane groups. For example, in 1843-5, the Msene Ngoni attacked but were crushed and their leader killed in battle. In 1845 and 1850 the Ndebele raided Buluzi but were decisively defeated. The successful warfare and raiding by the Kololo made the kingdom to expand.

The Kololo defeated the Luyi because they were exposed to long years of fighting experience as a result of the Mfecane wars. At the same time, the succession dispute following the death of Mulambwa. Silumelume was chosen as the successor, but others supported his brother Mubukwanu. This resulted into a civil war, leading to instability. Malaria epidemics also weakened the Luyi warriors. Accordingly, the Kololo took control of central and southern areas of Buluzi up to the Victoria Falls. However much of the forest dry areas were not so much under Kololo control.

In the initial phase of kololo rule under the leadership of Sebitwane (1835-1851), the kingdom saw a steady expansion and development of unity. Sebitwane was interested in building a nation-state thus he unified the Lozi-Kololo and other groups. In order to attain this aim a number of reforms were introduced. He incorporated the local chiefs in the political hierarchy. And the Luyi were allowed to continue with their political traditions and were not forced to adopt the age regiment system of the Kololo. Sebitwane also followed a policy of integration and encouraged all his subjects to mix freely. For example, he married women from the

conquered (Makalaka) and to make sure that integration was fostered, he made it a point that only one; language, Kololo, was spoken. It was through the introduction of this language that the new name for the people, Lozi, came about. He further ensured that a Kololo family was settled in every village. Villages were grouped into provinces under Kololo governors. Along these lines tribute was collected and redistributed. More importantly, the institution of kingship was made public for the king did not live in seclusion. Sebitwane intermingled with his people in public. He became a public figure (Father of the Nation or Bana Bamulena).

In 1850, the Ndebele were defeated and the capital was moved south from Naliele to Linyanti on the Chobe River. This enabled Sebitwane to defend the kingdom more effectively from any Ndebele attacks. It was also good for cattle rearing, and situated near the ox-wagon road from South Africa. It was there that Dr David Livingstone visited him in 1851 shortly after which the Litunga passed away. At his death, the kingdom had grown so large that it extended to the Namwala and Choma areas.

After the death of Sebitwane, his daughter Mamochisane succeeded him for a very short time. She handed over power to her brother Sekeletu (1851-1863). Sekeletu's rule was disastrous. The kingdom almost collapsed because Sekeletu did not have leadership qualities possessed by his father. Generally, he was a cruel leader. For instance he did not continue with the process of integration started by his father. Sekeletu married only kololo women and did not marry from various groups. He encouraged the kololo to mistreat the conquered peoples. He was a leper who suspected people of having bewitched him and ordered the death of many subjects in the attempt to find the supposed sorcerer. He tended to live in seclusion as he did not appear in public nor maintain the personal contacts with the people thus he reversed his father's policy of integration. He only chose his councilors from among the Kololo and appointed his peers as advisors. He also started trading with the Portuguese in Angola through the Mambari middlemen and received guns, gun powder and cloth in exchange for Lozi slaves.

#### **6.4.5 Termination of Kololo Rule and Restoration of the Lozi Dynasty**

Sekeletu's bad leadership discouraged the Lozi and other subject peoples from supporting the institution of kingship which Sebitwane had tried to establish. The Kololo also lost trust in Sekeletu. The kololo were further weakened by malaria which killed a lot of them as they had not yet built the immunity to this disease. After Seketu's death in 1863, the Lozi rose against the kololo and defeated them in 1864. The Kololo language however remained The kingdom

was plunged into a succession dispute. The Lozi took advantage of the confusion to revolt. This rebellion was led by survivors of the former Lozi royal establishment and was successful.

Sipopa, a descendant from the Lozi royal family led the revolt, and afterwards was made king. However, he was unable to unite and control the whole territory. It was his successor, Lewanika (1878-1914) who was able to re-build and unify the kingdom. He was temporarily deposed in 1884, but was reinstated the following year. He continued raiding the Tonga, Ila and Kaonde for cattle in order to assert his leadership. He also adopted the strong centralised rule introduced by the Kololo. He was able to unite the kingdom and to participate in external developments that were engulfing the region. It was during his reign that the P.E.M.S. missionaries led by Francois Coillard started work there (1885); South African big game hunters also arrived during this time; but most importantly, official of the BSACo arrived marking the beginning of colonial rule in Zambia.

## **6.5 The Chewa kingdom of Undi**

### **6.5.1 Origin of the Chewa kingdom of Undi**

Undi's kingdom broke away from Kalonga's kingdom after a succession disagreement between him and his elder brother Kalonga. Kalonga's kingdom traces its origins to Katanga region in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Between 1000 A. D and 1300, the Maravi people moved away from Katanga led by Mazizi Kalonga to Lake Malawi where they finally settled. After Undi deserted the Kalonga kingdom, he founded his own kingdom and built his capital at Mano an area in Mozambique south of Katate district. He spread his control throughout the Katete and Chadiza areas. He was given the praise name of Gawa Undi. "Gawa" meant "share". This was because Undi shared the Land among his subordinate chiefs. Gawa Undi became the official title of the Chewa Paramount Chiefs.

### **6.5.2 The Expansion of Undi's Kingdom**

Undi expanded his kingdom through conquests and raids. He conquered the Chewa of Mkanda and Tete and Nsenga of Petauke. He also conquered the Mwase chiefs of Lundazi districts and reduced them to subordinate chiefs. He allowed some degree of freedom to the conquered people and chiefs. He maintained a central control and kept power mostly in the hand of his Phiri clan by appointing them to important positions. Undi gave posts of Sub-chiefs to members of the Phiri Clan. He also encouraged the members of the clan to intermarry with women from other clans and the defeated tribes. The sub-chiefs were loyal to Undi because of Family relationship ties. In this way, Undi was able to maintain unity in the Kingdom.

Undi also brought under his control, the Makewana rain making shrine at Msinja in Lilongwe district and other shrines in Luangwa valley. At Makewana shrine, rain making was done by a woman known as Makewana who was also in charge of the shrine. Undi controlled and transformed the Makewana shrine into a spiritual centre for all the Chewa people. This became the centre of the Kingdom's religious power. Because of this, Undi enjoyed a religious influence over his subjects who tended to believe that he had divine powers. This helped him to subdue and win the allegiance of the people.

The well organised political hierarchy was central in the expansion of Undi's kingdom. The king organised a centralised political structure which comprised of three levels of hierarchy of rulers. These were the King, Undi, the subordinate chiefs or tributary chiefs who were from the Phiri and Banda clans and finally the headmen at the village level. This allowed for more authority and power in Undi's hands especially over issues of tribute and external trade. This ensured that Undi had firm control of political affairs in the Kingdom.

Undi's Kingdom was well endowed with natural resources such as water resources, fertile soils, salt, iron ore, ivory and gold. In addition, by mid-1700, the Portuguese became very important. The Portuguese were mining of Gold in the Kingdom. The Chikunda agents also mined the gold and gave a percentage to Undi. All these natural resources enabled Undi to participate in the Long Distance Trade. At the same time, tribute was collected from the defeated chiefs and the subordinate chiefs as a sign of loyalty to Undi. This tribute was in form of ivory, slaves and gold and it enabled the Undi to participate in the Long Distance Trade.

Monopoly of the Long Distance Trade also contributed significantly to the growth of the kingdom. The available natural resources and the tribute system placed Undi at an advantage to monopolise the long distance trade. Undi exchanged local products such as ivory, gold and slaves for goods such as guns, gunpowder and beads. This economic factor greatly contributed to the development of Undi's Kingdom. In addition, slave trading it also contributed to the development of the Kingdom as it was highly profitable. Many people were sold as slaves. This led to an increase in Undi's economic power. This human labour was needed for the huge plantations called the Prazoes in the Zambezi valley.

### **6.5.3 The Decline of Undi's Kingdom**

Undi lacked a strong and permanent army to successfully resist a strong external force. The Portuguese who were mining in his kingdom had stopped paying mineral royalties to Undi. Instead, they were now dealing directly with sub-chiefs through the Chikunda who acted as



middle men. The Portuguese and the Chikinda ignored Undi's authority. They hunted illegally for elephants in his kingdom without giving him elephant tasks as part of the royalties.

The Mwenemutapa who had by late 1700s become a Portuguese puppet increasingly meddled in the Chewa political affairs during this period. Such interference made the sub chiefs to start ignoring Undi's political control and to withhold the payment of tribute. The shrines at Msinji which were under Makewana were far from Mano, Undi's capital. As such many lesser chiefs could not be controlled through this important ideological tool and as time passed by it became equally difficult for Undi to exercise a very effective control over it because of the distance factor.

The Portuguese encouraged sub chiefs to withhold payment of tribute to Undi. The Portuguese grabbed more land for themselves from Undi's kingdom. The Swahili joined the Chikwanda as slave traders. They bought slaves directly from subordinate chiefs and not from Undi. The subordinate chiefs engaged in fighting over slaves. Undi failed to control the situation as more chief became independent from him, Finally, around 1870, what was left of Undi's kingdom was completely destroyed by Ngoni who came to settle among the Nsenga people.

## **Summary**

This unit focused on the role of the Luba-Lunda migrations in the establishment of centralised Kingdoms with well-defined hierarchies in Central Africa. In particular, the unit discussed the processes the origins and expansion of the Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms. The migration of rulers and their followers from the Luba and Lunda kingdoms of Katanga laid the foundation for the development of Kingdoms in Zambian kingdoms. Therefore, this unit deals with the development of the Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms focusing on the factors of their origins, expansion and decline.

## **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the role of ecology to the development of Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms.
2. Explain the significant factors that favoured the establishment of Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms.

3. Analyse the factors for the decline of Lunda, Bemba, Lozi and Chewa Kingdoms.

## **UNIT 7**

### **PRE-COLONIAL TRADE IN ZAMBIA**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

Trade in pre-colonial Zambian Societies began long before contact with Europeans. African societies were involved in local, regional and long distance trade. This unit focuses on pre-colonial trade with particular emphasis on its specific characteristics, scale of trade as well as the participants and trade items involved. The last part of the unit deals with the relationship between trade and politics in Pre-colonial Zambia.

#### **Learning outcomes**

Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;

- Compare and contrast local, regional and long distance trade in pre-colonial Zambia.
- Assess the impact of the local, regional and long distance trade on pre-colonial Zambian societies.
- Examine the relationship between trade and politics in pre-colonial Zambia.

## **7.2 Local Trade**

Pre-colonial Zambian trade was characterised by exchanging of goods for goods. Although it has been asserted by some historians of Africa, and even anthropologists, that trade in Africa began only with the export of gold, ivory or slaves, local trade has been in existence before Africa had contact with the Europeans. However, gold, ivory or slaves exports were only the most desirable products of a long process of economic interaction between African societies, African and the European communities. Largely, in pre-colonial Zambia, as elsewhere, local trade involved the exchange of the important items of trade were local products of everyday need, for such as iron (for tools and weapons), salt, grain, dried fish, cloth, pottery, woodwork and tobacco; or personal adornments (cosmetics; bracelets and bangles of copper or iron wire).

In pre-colonial Zambia, as in other parts of Africa, trading transactions did not require the use of money. In this regard goods such as copper wire, cowrie shells, beads and copper crosses were used as currency since they were in general demand and could thus be exchanged easily for the goods which a buyer really wanted. But all trade took the form of barter – the direct exchange of one commodity for another. Also there were no regular markets, though people could gather for a time with goods for exchange at places where a particular item such as iron or salt was manufactured. In this situation where markets never existed, the courts of the chief served as centres for redistribution of goods such as varied tribute levied on subjects. Thus, chiefs were key players in local trade. They collected and distributed the goods produced and wanted by their subjects. People paid tribute to their chiefs in local products, and from this wealth chiefs would feed their people in times of war or famine, and supply them with tools and weapons. Most importantly in every African society goods were produced and exchanged in one way or another. For example, such distribution was a prominent feature of the Lozi kingdom and the Kazembe kingdom. Even in less favourable environments, as in Bemba country chiefs were able to increase their power by promoting the exchange of local products as well as outright raiding.

Pre-colonial local trade did not involve middlemen. Full time professional craftsmen and traders were largely absent. Trade would be arranged by the local people and was not complicated as the buyer and seller would be in the same location and negotiate. As such most of those people who produced, sold and transported goods were also subsistence cultivators, who spent part of the year in their own fields. In fact, much exchange of goods was not, strictly speaking, trading at all, since it was organized by political authorities rather than by people with purely economic motives.

More importantly, the patterns of local trade and industry shaped and sustained the trade routes between the interior and the coast. Equally, the development of coastal trade stimulated the production of goods for consumption within African societies as well as goods that were in demand overseas.

### **7.3 Regional Trade**

In pre-colonial societies regional trade was conducted between different African societies and Kingdoms. Since regional trade involved different regions and Kingdoms, its organisation was more complex as compared to local trade. In a way, this regional trade was facilitated by the environment and ecology of a particular area. Thus, regional trade encouraged regional specialisation in production and supply. The goods that were involved in the regional trade were more or less the same as those in the local trade because they were good of everyday uses and great necessity.

In this regard for instance, in north-eastern Zambia the growth of the Bemba kingdom as well as Kazembe stimulated extensive exchanges across the plateau between the Luapula and Luangwa. There was an exchange of iron and salt between the two kingdoms which also promoted the exchange of other commodities such as tobacco among others. In these thickly wooded regions then, iron was particularly important. There was little workable iron ore within Bemba kingdom itself but there were several sources on its borders. To the north both the Lungu and the Mambwe were well known as iron-workers. Lungu smiths came to settle under Bemba chiefs, to whom they paid tribute in hoes and axes. The Bemba kingdom was well endowed in salt deposits. Many dambos furnished a saline grass which was burnt to yield a salty ash for immediate and local use. This was also noted by a Portuguese explorer in 1832; that both Bemba and Bisa were making salt and it commanded a high price.

Additionally, salt was produced on the Lusitu River, near the mouth of the Kafue. David Livingstone the explorer noted that it was sold in large quantities and was very cheap. It is suggested that some may have been sold to the Nsenga in exchange for their iron. There were several salt deposits along the north bank of the Zambezi but there was very little salt in eastern Zambia. However, the Nsenga grew and wove cotton which they traded with the Tonga. More so further up the Zambezi the valley Tonga supplied red ochre and bamboo to the plateau Tonga in return for tools and weapons which the latter made from imported iron.

Unlike local trade, regional trade had particular designated areas for trading and places one such market was Ingo'mbe Ilede in Southern Zambia. For example, archaeological excavations

conducted in Southern Zambia around Dambwa area indicated evidence of regional trade. Fragments of copper wire were found, which since there are no copper deposits near Livingstone must have been brought by trade. In this case, the nearest source of copper was the ancient mines in the Hook of the Kafue. More so, in contrast to local trade, regional trade involved the use of middlemen who controlled and negotiated trade among the different regions. Amongst the important middlemen who later became middlemen in the long distance trade were the Bisa, Imbangala and the Yao.

Additionally, regional trade also built up the wealth and power of certain leaders that enabled to supply goods demanded by people living at great distances and eventually these included not only Africans but also Arabs and Europeans. The export of ivory and slaves was a very important one in the long process by which Zambian peoples increased their ability to exploit their environment and expanded their contacts and horizons to connect up with the outside world.

#### **7.4 Long Distance trade**

By the end of the 19th Century, pre-colonial Zambian people expanded their trade networks and connected with the outside world through long distance trade. Both local trade and regional trade laid an important foundation in the development of the long distance trade. The long distance trade built on the on the already existing structure and routes that had been established by the local and regional trade. Long distance trade was conducted between pre-colonial Zambian societies and the outsiders such as the Arabs and Europeans either on the east coast or the west coast of Africa. It was largely motivated by settlements on the east and west coast of Africa. However,

The long distance trade sometimes known as the caravan trade involved trade items such as gold, ivory and slaves. In exchange, the African Elites obtained European goods such as cloths, beads, guns and gunpowder. Ing'ombe Ilede provides better evidence for the development of long distance trade. Few imports from the east African coast were found there, for example, some cowrie shells at Kalundu in Kalomo, and at Gundu, further north. A few conus shells ornaments and glass beads were found at Isamu Pati, near Kalundu. At Ing'ombe Ilede were also found not only sea shells but a great many glass beads and also fragments of Indian cloth. By 1400AD Ing'ombe Ilede had become a major commercial centre. It was a meeting point for local, regional and international traders. The main raw materials available in the

neighbourhood were salt and ivory. People also made their own cotton cloth. Evidence of this has come to us through spindle whorls found there.

According to Andrew Roberts, whatever form local trade took, it largely determined the capacity of Zambian societies to take part in long distance trade. The framework of local exchange is suggested to have shaped and sustained the trade routes between the African interior and the coast. In this regard, under Kololo rule, Sebitwane established a relationship with the Mbari slave traders though he was reluctant to sell slaves. He encouraged slave raids on the Ila in exchange for guns from the Mbari. However, it is important to note that in the Lozi Kingdom; ivory was a more important item of trade than slaves.

Furthermore, the Portuguese who were based Zumbo were among the key participants in the long distance trade. Their main interest attraction for trade in the Zambezi valley was gold, copper and ivory. They were also interested to gain access to the gold. In 1760 gold was discovered at Mano, Undi's capital and other palaces in the Kingdom. This made the Portuguese to interfere in the politics of the Chewa Kingdom in order to undermine both the political and economic power of Undi to monopolise the gold trade.

On the east coast of Africa, pre-colonial Zambia participated in the Long distance trade from Zanzibar (coast of Tanzania). The growth of trade between Kilwa and India and the increased demand for ivory in Asia stimulated the Long distance trade on the east coast of Africa. The Lunda of Mwatakazembe was the main African kingdom participating in the east coast long distance trade using the Bisa middlemen, and later the Bemba Kingdom (1830s.) As for the West coast of Africa, pre-colonial Zambia's participation in the long distance trade came from the Portuguese in Angola through middlemen such as the Ovimbunda initially and later the Mbari. By the 1790s, the Luvale were already acquiring cloths and beads from the Portuguese on the West Coast of Africa. In addition, the Mbari slave traders bought slaves from the Lunda Chief Ishiinde and the Lamba chief Nkumine, but not from the Lozi because Litunga Mulambwa needed all the labour he could have in the Lozi Kingdom.

### **7.5 Trade and Politics in Pre-colonial Zambia**

The growth of chieftainship in Zambia was both a cause and an effect of the expansion of trade. At the same time, control over trade was a critical factor in the development of precolonial states but it was not the only factor. In the case of the Luba-Lunda migrations trade is argued to have been a push factor. Individuals migrated so as to gain access to economic resources. At the same time, increased scale of political organisation was facilitated by a growth in the scale

of economic exchanges. For example, from the 18th century, at least, Lozi rulers organised and encouraged exchange between the inhabitants of the flood plains and those of the surrounding woodland. From the plains came cattle, fish, otter skins, basket work, sorghum and root crops; from the woodland came wood-work, bark cloth, bark rope, fish nets, wild fruits, honey, grain and skins of animals. Salt came from Mankoya, and from the pans west of the plains. With the development of the long distance trade, the participation in and monopoly of the long distance trade initially had a positive impact on Zambia's pre-colonial states. This was for the reason that the Portuguese and Arabs favoured trading with well-organised centralized polities. Consequently, this motivated political centralisation in precolonial kingdoms.

Further, to a large extent long distance trade facilitated the acquisition of guns and gunpowder. The kings or rulers who gained access to these items used them for expansion of their authority especially on weaker kingdoms. Guns were effectively used to conquer weaker groups and integrated them into their kingdoms. Through guns and gunpowder obtained from the long distance trade, areas that had trade resources came under the control of the more powerful states. A suitable example is that of the Bemba Kingdom that was disadvantaged in natural resource which politically developed after 1830 through trade with the Arabs on the East coast of Africa. They conquered the Bisa who were also middlemen men of the Mwatakazembe on the East coast trade. The Bisa had access to important trade items of salt, ivory and slaves.

Furthermore, trade and tribute system contributed to the shape of politics in pre-colonial Zambian societies. Largely, the tribute system contributed to the growth of trade and the political centralization of the Kingdoms. In this regard, in the Kingdom of the Lunda Kingdom of Mwatakazembe, the development of political power depended on the monopoly of tribute and trade. Tribute goods such as iron, copper, salt, ivory and slaves were apportioned to the Mwatakazembe and they enabled him to participate and monopolise trade from both the east coast and the West coast. This was also because the Kingdom had a central location. The result was a rapid political development of the Kingdom. The redistribution of tribute to subordinate rulers ensured loyalty and political stability in the Kingdom.

Trade was also linked to the decline of several pre-colonial Zambian Kingdoms. Undi's kingdom collapsed due to interference and deliberate undermining of the king's political and economic power. The Portuguese contributed to the decline of the Undi's Chewa Kingdom through illegal trade with the subordinate rulers. Undi lost monopoly of the long distance trade which led to the loss of his political power. Correspondingly, the Mwatakazembe Kingdom degenerated

owing to the loss of trade control to the Swahili and Arabs illegitimately trading with the Subordinate chiefs. The increasing power of the Bemba and their control of the Bisa middlemen further disturbed the Mwatakazembe control of the long distance trade on the east. This contributed to the political decline of the Kingdom.

### **7.6 Impact of Pre-colonial Trade in Zambia**

Trade in pre-colonial Zambia had both constructive and destructive impact on pre-colonial societies. For example, according to Gluckman (1941), White (1959) and Fagan (1961) the expansion of long distance trade had important consequences for trade in local products in Zambia. Some of the effects of pre-colonial trade in Zambia included the introduction of new crops. As a result of the direct or indirect trade with the Portuguese, new crops were introduced into Zambia from America. These were cassava, maize, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, groundnuts, and tobacco among others. By the end of the 18th century, cassava was a common crop among the Luvale, as far east as Kazembe's eastern borders. By about the 1850s or earlier, all these American crops, as well as tomatoes, were abundant in the Lozi flood plain Schapera (1960) and Silva Porto. It is suggested that the adoption of these crops increased food production, by reducing the risk of a total crop failure.

More importantly, trade established lines of communication. Traditional routes used by traders from Angola through Mwata Yamvo's up to Kazembe and then the east coast became conveyor belts of various ideas. As a result of trade such lines of communication were created, expanded and maintained. Technological changes and new ideas were fused through these routes, for example, wire drawing, and the production of cotton cloth. The fusion of America crops came through the same route. Jan Vansina (1962) argues that great cultural similarities in the peoples of central Africa arose due to commercial contacts on these routes. At the same time, trade created a broad-based consumer demand for exotic items. Trade was instrumental in transforming subsistence economies. In this relation, tribute items were converted into trade goods in exchange for foreign merchandise. These trade goods were a factor in the state formation e.g. the kingdoms of the Chewa, Lunda and Bemba. Many people produced enough food even for feeding trade caravans, in this way transforming the subsistence economy.

In addition, trade facilitated shifts in pre-colonial social relations. Trade changed the pattern of relationship between kings and their subjects. Traditionally kings provided for their subjects in times of famine. The Bemba and Lozi, for instance, had royal gardens specifically for this task. This created stability and unity in the kingdoms. However, because of the long distance trade,



some chiefs began to neglect their subjects in preference to selling food to the Portuguese. According to Francois Coillard, King Lewanika in the 1880s sold food to the Portuguese, thereby starving his people.

Trade was also a channel for the spread diseases. For instance, jiggers spread to the north-western part of Zambia due to trade contacts with the Portuguese in Angola in the 1880s. This disease came through Angola after the arrival of a British ship Mitchell, in 1872 at Luanda from Brazil.

### **Summary**

In this unit, pre-colonial trade was discussed in the context of state formation and politics in African societies. The unit demonstrated that African societies were involved in local, regional and long distance trade long before the coming of Europeans. Africans were trading locally and between regions through the barter system. At the same time, this unit explained how trade contributed to state formation and decline. Kingdoms such as Undi and Kazembe among others prospered due to the control of trade and their decline is linked to the loss of trade through external interference by the Portuguese.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Analyse the relationship between trade and politics in pre-colonial Zambia.
2. Discuss the impact of trade on the pre-colonial Zambian societies.
3. Compare and contrast the characteristics of local regional trade and long distance trade in pre-colonial Zambia.



## UNIT 8

### NGUNI INCURSIONS INTO CENTRAL AFRICA

#### 8.1 Introduction

This unit discusses the role of the Mfecane in the Nguni Migrations into Central Africa. In particular, the unit examines how the migrating groups from South Africa such as the Ngoni and Kololo impacted on the social, political and economic institutions of pre-colonial societies in Zambia.

#### Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this unit, you should be able to;

- Explain the origins of the Mfecane into pre-colonial Zambia.
- Trace the migration of the Nguni groups into Zambia.
- Examine the causes of the Mfecane and the migration of Nguni groups into Zambia.
- Analyse the influence of the Nguni Migrations on pre-colonial Zambia.

#### 8.2 Origins and Causes of the Mfecane

Nguni intrusions into Central Africa were influenced by the Mfecane that occurred in Eastern part of South Africa. Mfecane is a Nguni word which means ‘crushing’. It was used by the Nguni to describe the violent wars that destabilised Central and Southern Africa between 1820 and 1835. The Sotho refers to the Mfecane as the Defecane or Lifaquane, which means forced migration. This forced migration was caused by a series of wars that engulfed the region between different states over land and resources. This event has been central in the history of the Southern and Central Africa due to the areas it affected which stretched from the Tugela River (South Africa) to areas in present day Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The three powerful states that became involved in the Mfecane at the initial stages were the Ndwandwe led by Zwide, the Mthethwa led by Dingiswayo and the Ngwane led by Sobhuza and their expansionist ideas were ultimately crushed by Shaka the Zulu who in turn attained the biggest state in the region of Central and Southern Africa. In particular, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the northern Nguni chiefdoms of Ndwandwe under Zwide and Dindiswayo’s Mthethwa were transformed into large scale kingdoms. However, between 1818 and 1819 these two kingdoms had been destroyed by war. Subsequently, different kingdoms

such as Sobhuza's Nguni kingdom in the north and Shaka's Zulu kingdom in the south emerged to take their places. Many smaller Nguni states were distorted completely as their people were either killed or integrated into these powerful kingdoms.

Therefore as one group was conquered, they also moved to other areas to conquer weaker states and this cycle of conquering weaker states helped spread the Mfecane from Southern Africa to Central and Eastern Africa. For instance the Sotho who were living east of the Drakensberg were invaded by the Hlubi, Khumalo and Ngwaneni who were fleeing from the Mfecane going on in the West of the Drakensberg around 1821-1822. Several other groups fled the Nguni region where a similar breakdown of the political system occurred before they settled in new areas and built kingdoms. Some of the Nguni groups which came as far as Central Africa were the Ndebele, Ngoni and the Kololo (discussed in the previous unit). While the Ndebele and the Ngoni were of Nguni origin, the Kololo were Sotho-speaking and they originated from the west of the Drakensberg mountains.

Theories vary as to the causes of the catastrophic warfare and migration of many ethnic groups in the area. Among the causes of the Mfecane include overpopulation, refugee problems and drought and famine. First of all, the population explosion in the area of Southern Africa among the Nguni people led to wars that opened the way for the Mfecane. The areas where the Nguni originally lived became heavily populated and there was an increase in competition for the few places that had cultivable land as well as grazing lands which later led to fighting and conquest. For instance the Ndwandwe and Nguni lived close to each other in the Pongola Valley and as their populations grew there was an increase in demand for cultivable lands. This led to many quarrels and then eventually a war broke out between the two chiefdoms in 1816. Wars based on resources and land became a pattern as each state wanted enough land and resources for their agricultural and economic activities. Another one of the factors that led to the Mfecane was the refugee problem created by the wars. When Zwane attacked Sobhuza it led to the Nguni moving from their place in the Pongola valley and into an unknown region where they became invaders and raiders looking for a new homeland where they would eventually build the Swazi composite.

### **8.3 Migration of the Zwangendaba Ngoni**

The Ngoni were an important Mfecane group whose migration like that of the Kololo (previous unit) influenced historical developments in Central Africa. The Ngoni were a mixture of various peoples united by language. They were Nguni-speaking although they acquired other

languages in Central Africa. They were originally Ndwandwe people under Zwides leadership. But when Shaka defeated Zwide, one part of his group, the Ngoni moved to Central and East Africa under Zwangendaba.

The Ngoni of Zwangendaba comprised of several groups of which the Jere were the largest. They came from northern Zululand and fled their area after the Ndwandwe chief, who was also their lord was defeated by Shaka on the Mhlatuze River in about 1818. Zwangendaba succeeded in regrouping his Jere people and other small groups that had been dispersed by the war and were willing to accept his authority and led them north-eastwards into southern Mozambique. Even though the peoples of southern Mozambique largely Thonga speaking were more in number as compared to Zwangendaba's migrants they offered very little resistance to the intruders. Moreover, Zwangendaba's people had learnt effective methods of war from Shaka's Zulu and the effectively used them during their northward trek. As they proceeded they were joined by many southern Mozambicans, especially the Thonga. In this way Zwangendaba's nation grew and his forces became more numerous and stronger. In 1826 the Ngoni defeated the Ndwandwe many of whom joined Zwangendaba and his forces became even more powerful.

Later in 1831 Zwangendaba clashed with the Ndwandwe ruler, Soshangane and Nxaba, leader of the Msene Ngoni. The three leaders quarrelled and in the war that followed, both Zwangendaba and Nxaba were defeated by the Ndwandwe but they were not completely destroyed. They led their respective groups northwards and Zwangendaba's people proceeded north-west towards the lower Zambezi valley area. Here, they caused terror amongst the Portuguese settlers at Sena and Tete before turning southwards through the region formerly ruled by the Mwene Mutapa. At the same time, Nxaba's group also running away from Soshangane was entering the same area and the two clashed there in the lower Zambezi area. Zwangendaba was defeated and forced to continue his march south-westwards onto the Zimbabwean high veld.

In 1835 however, Zwangendaba crossed the Zambezi River continued the march while another of his group remained in Zimbabwe under a remarkable woman named Nyamanzana. Meanwhile, the main group under Zwangendaba now including Tsonga and Shona groups continued its migration northwards. They settled for about four years among the Chewa people. Thereafter, they proceeded northwards to the area at the source of the Lwangwa on the Fipa plateau of western Tanzania. Zwangendaba established his headquarters at Mapupo and died there about 1848.

Following Zwangendab's death, succession disputes amongst his three sons namely Mbelwa, Mpeseni and Mtwalo. Consequently, the Ngoni were split into five different groups which settled in separate regions in southern Tanzania. However, the main group continued under the leadership of Mpezeni. This group settled in the area of the Zambia- Malawi- Mozambique border. Mpeseni also led his people towards Lake Bangweulo where they came into conflict with the Bemba in about 1850. After a very destructive battle, Mpeseni moved into Nsenga territory taking with him many Nsenga captives. Eventually most of his people became predominantly Nsenga speaking. Around 1870 the Mpeseni-Ngoni settled in the Peatauke district of eastern Zambia. From there they moved to the Chipata district where they deposed the Chewa of chief Mkanda.

#### **8.4 The Impact of the Mfecane on pre-colonial Zambia**

The initial effect of the Mfecane was the presence of the Zwangendaba Ngoni in Zambia. As earlier discussed, Shaka's victory against Zwide forced the Jere tribe of Zwangendaba flee and migrate to Zambia as the Ngoni people. The Mfecane also caused the flight of the Ndebele under Mzilikazi a few years later. The Ndebele did not settle in Zambia, but they raided the Zambian communities across the Zambezi River in southern and western provinces for cattle and people. In the line, the Kolola were another group which left South Africa as a result of the Mfecane. These conquered the Lozi of present day Western Province and established a political organisation and rule based on the Kololo system as discussed in the previous unit.

As H. W. Lamgworthy (1972) observed, the Nguni and sotho groups that came from South Africa brought with them forms of political, social, economic and military organisation which were quite different from what existed in precolonial Zambia. The Kololo and Ngoni groups came into Zambia at different time and had different levels of association with Shaka Zulu's kingdom. Despite this being the case, they were also greatly influenced by its political structure and military organisation which they introduced into Zambia. In this relation, the basis of power and the reason for the existence of the Ngoni state was centred in the military organisation of the regiment. All men were enrolled in various regiments according to their ages. The regiments were commanded by indunas who were responsible to the king. Although the indunas were the actual military commanders of the regiments, a member of the royal family was usually associated with the leadership of a regiment to maintain a closer personal connection between military power and the king's political power as head of the whole kingdom.

Additionally, raids were in all directions for a various reasons. Largely, raids kept the regiments busy, provided recreation and were a means of gaining prestige and power for the members of a regiment. They were also a means of perpetuating the regimental system by capturing young men who could be included in the regiments. This also enlarged the state and increased the power and prestige of the king. Raids were also a means of gaining wealth and food for subsistence.

The Mfecane facilitated the introduction of new political system through state building. The Kololo and the Ngoni were able to build nations through the new political structure that they introduced into Zambian politics. There was an introduction of the policy of complete assimilation of the conquered into the Ngoni regiments. The conquered peoples were treated as equals and given equal opportunities to advance within the regiments. The captives raided from other areas were recruited into regements and were expected to assimilate into the Ngoni way of life and not keep their identity. There was some incentive for captives to identify with their new rulers for it was possible to rise through the ranks of the regiments to become trusted indunas with the same status as Ngoni-born indunas. For example Sebitwane in Bulozhi managed to build a nation through the system of completely assimilating the defeated groups who were treated fairly and equally during Sebitwane's rule.

More so, among the Ngoni an important feature was the segment or section of the royal household. The segment traditionally was formed around a wife of the king and included members of the family and followers. Over the years, a segment grew in numbers as more people were born and as more captives were added to it. With the Ngoni the segment was the residential unit with which most people identified. By being integrated into the Ngoni household system and by being associated with members of the royal family, captives were encouraged to become assimilated as Ngoni. The segment was a very important political unit because as the king's sons grew older, there was a tendency for the segment to disintegrate or split so that the sons would have their own households for their wives and their own followers.

The Mfecane led to the decline of established Kingdoms in pre-colonial Zambia. At about 1860 the Ngoni crossed the Luangwa River and encroached into the Nsenga region. For about 20years, they gradually invaded on the Northern Part of the Chewa Kingdom under Mukanda who was one of the most prosperous sub-chiefs in the Chewa Kingdom. The prosperity in cattle and grain of the area attracted Ngoni raids. By 1880, Mpenzeni had killed Mukanda and overrun his area. Therefore, between 1870 and 1880 on their return from the North, Mpenzeni's Ngoni

also led to the final collapse and the division of Undi's Kingdom into two. One part was in Mozambique and Malawi and the other in Zambia.

At a Social level there was the introduction of new languages resulting from the interaction between the Nguni and the pre-colonial communities in Zambia. In western Zambia, there came into existence the Lozi language. This was a mixture of the original Luyana and the Sotho language. Correspondingly, for the Ngoni they imparted some original Nguni words into the local languages in the Eastern Province. However, the Ngoni lost their original language as a result of intermarriages with the local Nsenga women. Further, the pre-colonial communities also adopted several cultural habits from the migrating Ngoni groups the practice of dagga smoking among the Ngoni men. Dagga was important to Ngoni warriors as it was believed to make them strong and alert. Other cultural aspects that came with the Nguni included new dress codes, for example the Msisi among the Lozi women. At the same time there was a spread of new culture of a Ncwala ceremony, a thanks-giving ceremony for the first fruits of the season was introduced in eastern Zambia by the Ngoni as this ceremony was widely practised in the Zulu kingdom. 6. Introduced new habit of smoking marijuana (chamba, fwaka ya chingoni or matokwani; and drinking sipeso).

Furthermore, the Mfecane also affected the security, population and settlement patterns of pre-colonial societies in Zambia. The constant raids on the northern and eastern parts of pre-colonial Zambia affected the mortality rate and settlement patterns in precolonial Zambia. The wars of conquest led to the loss of lives and property. The conquering Nguni groups looted cattle and grain from the defeated. Most villages were destroyed and the captives were forced to join the Nguni regiments. The Nguni also created social insecurity in pre-colonial societies due to constant warfare. The Nguni warriors were deliberately organized and trained for war. Military tactics adopted from the Zulus institutionalised warfare. Population distribution and settlement patterns were affected in a way that local people choose to migrant and live in hostile environments of the desert, river and marshes where they would not easily be defeated by the Nguni. Sebitwane also adopted a similar strategy to avoid further disturbances from his fellow Nguni conquerors who presented a threat to his new nation such as the Ndebele from across the Zambezi River and the Msene-Ngoni between 1843 and 1850.

### **Summary**

This unit discussed the causes of Nguni migrations into Central Africa, in particular Zambia. Among the reasons discussed for these migrations are Shaka's wars, overpopulation, refugee



problems and drought and famine. It discussed the establishment of the Ngoni states and the organisation of the two states especially the policy of assimilation and the military organization that made it possible to build these states. Specifically, the unit explained that the Nguni and sotho groups that came from South Africa brought with them forms of political, social, economic and military organisation which were quite different from what existed in pre-colonial Zambia.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Explain the background history of the Mfecane in Central Africa
2. Trace the migration of the Zwangendaba Ngoni into Zambia.
3. Explain the causes and influence of the Mfecane and migration of the Nguni groups into Zambia.
4. In the Context of Pre-colonial Zambia, the Mfecane was a revolution. Discuss.



## UNIT 9

### EUROPEAN PENETRATION INTO ZAMBIA

#### 9.1 Introduction

Amongst prominent themes of pre-colonial Zambian history has been the importance of external influences and their interaction with indigenous patterns of society, politics and economy. The nineteenth century witnessed a growing interest in the Central African interior. In particular, there was an increased external interest in pre-colonial societies in Zambia. This unit focuses on the reasons for the coming of missionaries, explorers or travellers including traders to pre-colonial Zambia. It also considers the role and impact of European external influence on pre-colonial societies in Zambia on the eve of colonial rule.

**Upon completion of this unit, you should be able to;**

- Examine of the motives of missionaries, explorers and traders' coming to pre-colonial Zambia.
- Discuss the significant roles and activities of missionaries, explorers and traders' in pre-colonial Zambia.
- Analyse the impact of European Penetration in pre-colonial Zambian societies.

#### 9.2 The Significant Role of David Livingstone in Pre-colonial Zambia

Towards the end of the 19th century, Central Africa was penetrated by European missionaries' traders and explorers for economic, religious and social reasons. Though, before the 1800s, there were many European explorers in particular the Portuguese who ventured into Central Africa for purposes of assessing the geography, possibilities of establishing trading centres and markets. Though Portuguese explorers had travelled into the interior of Africa in the 18th century, their explorations did not have much of an impact as compared to that of missionaries and other explorers such as David Livingstone after the 1850s.

David Livingstone is one of important missionaries and explorers that ever travelled the interior of the African continent and contributed widely to the history of Central Africa. The sharing of his information on the discoveries of Central Africa through writing of Reports, pamphlets,

books and giving speeches and lectures on his explorations of Central Africa to European society made him popular. Thus, the coming of Livingstone to Zambia was the beginning of a new era in the history of pre-colonial Zambia. Much of the long term importance of Livingstone's impact rose from his reactions to the slave trade and other developments brought into Central Africa from outside.

The British interest in pre-colonial Zambia was first aroused by David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, an account of his journey across Africa in 1853-1856. Livingstone's main purpose was to gain support for his very personal conception of Christian mission work in Africa. Livingstone was a spokesman both of Christianity and of industrial Revolution. This is because as a boy in a Lanarkshire cotton-mill, he had experienced the challenges of modern industry. Nevertheless, Livingstone was convinced that the industrial power of Britain and the expansion of British trade were essential to the work of salvation. At the same time, he was convinced that Africans would be persuaded to accept the Christian gospel if their social and economic conditions were improved. The great obstacle to such progress was the slave trade which debased African society and barred its advancement, but Livingstone was sure that Africans would abandon this once they were given an opportunity to profit by more legitimate trade.

Therefore, much of Livingstone's effort was focused on ending the slave trade and the accompanying warfare. The Kololo kingdom of western Zambia was thus regarded as a suitable base for initiating his mission. In 1851 Livingstone visited Sebitwane king of the Kololo. According to Langworth (1972), Livingstone was impressed with the king and his people and thought of the area a fruitful one for mission work. This journey (1851) marked the end of Livingstone's career as an orthodox missionary and the beginning of his change to missionary explorer. But he became mainly involved in the task of finding travel routes to enhance mission enterprise in the Kololo kingdom and Central Africa in general. Later, Livingstone became more concerned with the gaining of geographical knowledge which in the long run would lead to the fulfilment of his vision of change through missionary work.

In 1853, Livingstone made another journey to the Kololo kingdom to establish the best route to the area. However, the western route through Angola which Livingstone took was proved impractical, partly because of the slave trade and thick forests. This would have made the journeys of mission parties difficult. By 1856, Livingstone had reached the mouth of the Zambezi after passed through the area of the Portuguese slave trade from Mozambique. He

thought he had found in the Zambezi the navigable route needed from the Victoria falls down to its mouth. Unfortunately, he had made a great mistake about the Zambezi for he had not seen that the Cabora bassa rapids block the river for many miles between Tete and Zumbo.

Livingstone's dedication to his mission of exploration and accomplishments of travel in Central Africa aroused British interests. It is claimed that Livingstone was able to persuade the British society over the concern of slave trade and the need for Christian and commercial enterprises to bring about beneficial change. Although Livingstone resigned from London missionary society, he was able to persuade the society to commit itself to establishing a mission in Zambia's western province. His activities also led to the formation of the universities missions to central Africa, Although both these missions were failures in the short run, a start had been made and in the long run they became successfully established in Zambia.

Until his death Livingstone's efforts still served important missionary work ends. The gaining of geographical knowledge became the means for the furtherance of missionary activities and the introduction of commerce and civilisation. Although he accomplished much during his life, most of his impact on Central Africa and the attainment of his vision came after his death.

### **9.3 The London Missionary Society (LMS)**

After Livingstone, other missionaries, traders, trained explorers, tourists and imperial agents came into pre-colonial Zambia. This has been considered as part of his heritage and long term impact on Zambia. Amongst the earliest were the London Missionary Society (LMS). These came as a result of Livingstone's plea to his own society (LMS) to have a mission station established in the western part of Zambia under James Helmore and Rodger Price. Thus, in 1859 Helmore and Price accompanied by their families and African workers from the south arrived in Bulozhi to found a mission among the Lozi. But their intention of establishing a mission station was not successful. Sekeletu would not accept them in his kingdom but preferred David Livingstone or Robert Moffat to be in charge of the mission. Sekeletu wanted an experienced resident missionary who would act as an advisor to him. At the same time one who would have sufficient influence upon the Ndebele king to stop organising raids into and against Bulozhi. Helmore and Price were a great disappointment to Sekeletu because they were inexperienced and ignorant about the people's language and customs.

The other contributing factor to the failure of establishing a mission station was that when the missionaries arrived in Bulozhi most suffered from malaria and Sekeletu did not allow them to proceed to Sesheke or to the Toka plateau where conditions were better. In particular, Helmore,

his wife, two of their children and some of their servants died of malaria and exhaustion. Price and the remainder of the party were forced to retrace their way back to the south and across the Kalahari thirst land but many more lost their lives including Price's wife. According to David Livingstone, such disasters could have been minimised or avoided if the expedition had included someone with a medical knowledge. Accordingly, he recommended that in future every mission going into the Zambezi area carried a medical person.

Furthermore, the London Missionary Society (LMS) was active in northern Zambia where they arrived in the 1880s. Missionary activities were conducted at *Kambole* and *Kashinde* Mporokoso and among the Lungu, south of Lake Tanganyika. The mission also worked at *Mbereshi* in the area of Kazembe. However, missionary work was not very successful because the conditions were no more favourable. For instance, the Lungu and Mambwe were being constantly raided for cattle and slaves by both the Bemba and the Tuta. Like in the kololo kingdom, even here the LMS missionaries also from tropical diseases which claimed the lives of eleven men in the first sixteen years.

#### **9.4 George Westbeech's Trading Activities in Western Zambia**

The next major European enterprise to enter Zambia was that of George Westbeech, a trader who in the early 1870s gained the confidence of the Lozi king and for a long time traded and hunted in the area. To an extent Westbeech's activities fulfilled Livingstone's hope that legitimate trade would replace the slave trade. Largely, it was also through Westbeech's influence that the Protestant missionaries came to be established in Western Province in the 1880s. Probably this was because Westbeech had a generous personality and ability for learning African Languages. He was also known to be an honest and fair trader.

In the 1870s Westbeech made friends with Sipopa of the Lozi Kingdom. Later Lewanika. Also valued Westbeech for his relations with Lobengula and his ability to prevent attacks from the Ndebele and keep out undesirable untrustworthy traders from the Lozi Kingdom. Thus until his death in 1888, Westbeech acted as a "keeper of the gates" of the Barotseland. In return for services rendered including the supply of guns and gunpowder, Lewanika granted George Westbeech exclusive rights to hunt elephants for ivory in the Linyati-Chobe marshes- the current Caprivi Strip. Westbeech also opened trading centres throughout the Lozi Kingdom. He also competed with Portuguese traders (half caste) who were involved in slave and ivory buyers. But Westbeech managed to establish a monopoly by bring in better goods and by ingratiating himself with the chiefs and headmen.

Westbeeche became quite conversant with the region of the Zambezi due to his extensive travels and hunting expeditions. As a result many travellers and missionaries such as Emil Hulob, Fredrick Stanely Arnot and Frederick Courtney Selous received assistance from Westbeeche on dealing with African rulers. More so, Westbeeche's trading activities tended to reduce the slave trade by substituting it with other kinds of commerce. The result of this was that the Portuguese influence in the Lozi Kingdom was neutralised and the British Influence firmly established.

Westbeeche also greatly assisted the first missionaries who arrived in western Zambia after Livingstone. Francois Coillard (Paris Evangelical Missionary Society) introduced Westbeeche to the Litunga, encouraged the Litunga, using their long established relationship to accept Coillard and permit him to establish a mission station in Buluzi in 1884. After the Death of Westbeeche in July, 1888, Coillard rapidly replaced Westbeeche as the Major European advisor of the Lozi Rulers.

#### **9.5 The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (P.E.M.S)**

The next missionary group to go into Buluzi after the LMS was the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society from Lesotho. That was after its failure to establish a permanent mission in Chivi in South – Eastern Zimbabwe. On their way back to Lesotho after being released from arrest in Bulawayo, Coillard and his companions had stopped for a rest at Seshong the Ngwato capital. Here they had learnt from King Khama and his people about the Kololo, a *Sotho-Speaking People* living in Buluzi. Buluzi seemed attractive to the missionaries from Lesotho for many reasons. The expedition turned northwards across the Kalahari reaching Buluzi in August 1878. This was a period of political uncertainty in the political history of Buluzi. Litunga Lewanika was still struggling to secure his authority in the country. Thus, although willing to have the missionaries in the land, Lewanika thought it necessary to advise them to come back later when his country was more stable. Besides, as he also told them, he was still building his capital. Coillard and his party left Buluzi as advised.

The party returned to Buluzi in 1885 and negotiations with the Litunga were facilitated by several factors. Firstly, Coillard and his team of Basotho and French missionaries spoke Sesotho which was close to the language spoken in Buluzi. Secondly, the Ngwato ruler, Khama, who had by now accepted British protection and had missionaries in his country, did much to persuade Lewanika to accept Christian missionaries. Thirdly, Frederick Arnot of the Plymouth Brethren and admirer of Livingstone had spent some time at Lewanika's capital during which he had impressed the Litunga with his medical skills. Arnot supported Coillard's

efforts to establish a mission in Bulozhi. Finally, it is likely that, Lewanika wanted to avoid creating a bad impression like Sekeletu, two and a half decades earlier.

The first mission was established on the Sefula River a few kilometres from Lealui, the Litunga's capital. A church and a school were built. Children from the community, including Lewanika's own son, Litia and other members of the royal family attended the school. Another mission was established at the capital and more missionaries joined the team. They experienced initial difficulties and some members including Coillard's wife died of malaria. Coillard died later in 1904 and was buried next to his wife in Sefula.

Lewanika's initial acceptance of the missionaries was to some extent motivated by a desire to benefit from their skills. He was suspicious that they might have hidden intentions which were likely to threaten his authority, but also hoped that the presence of missionaries in his country might help to create external trade contacts. He also knew that the missionary people had medicines and doctors who would be able to help the sick.

#### **9.6 The Roman Catholic Church**

The most successful society in the northern parts of Zambia was a *Roman Catholic Church* order usually known as the *White Fathers*. The society had been founded in 1848 by *Cardinal Lavigerie*. Its work in Zambia was an extension of the activities in Uganda and Tanzania. A mission had been established at *Ujiji* on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika in 1879 and in 1891 another was established at *Mambwe* on the Stevenson Road. It would seem that the *Mambwe* accepted the mission, believing that the missionary presence would deter the Bemba invaders and slave traders.

Through the *Mambwe Mission*, the *White Fathers* missionaries were able to move further south into Lubemba. They knew that the reigning Chitimukulu Sampa had given strict orders that white men were not to be allowed to enter Lubemba. However, with the co-operation and assistance of some of Chitimukulu's lesser chiefs and headmen, the missionaries successfully entered Lubemba and eventually established missions there. For instance, in 1892, Father Oost and Lechaptois of *Mambwe Mission* visited chief Chilangwa. In 1894, Father Oost visited yet another chief, Chitika. The same year with Chitika's assistance, the Fathers reached the village of Makasa, one of the most important lesser chiefs under Chitimukulu. Makasa was at the same time much involved with the slave trade and the missionaries found Swahili traders at his village. In spite of this, Makasa gave them a warm welcome and allowed them to build in his village. A mission was found at *Kayambi Hills* close to Makasa's capital in July, 1895.



Moreover, Makasa offered to assist them in their negotiations with the Chitimukulu. This challenge was readily accepted, later by *Bishop Dupont* then in-charge of the *Mambwe Mission*. Several headmen and subchiefs visited *Father Dupont* at *Kayambi Mission*. Even Sampa's attitude to the missionaries was gradually changing for the better. In any case, at this time the situation was rapidly changing on Zamian plateau. It was now expected among the missionaries that the British South Africa Co (B.S.A. Co) would invade and take over Lubemba at any time. Chitimukulu Sampa, ill and weak, died in May 1896. His death was followed by a long period of uncertainty caused by succession disputes, violence and confusion. This instability was advantageous to the missions and British South Africa Company, both of which were trying to enter Lubemba.

In April 1897, Father DuPont visited Mwamba, the chief expected to succeed Sampa as the new Chitimukulu. But, partly because of Swahili presence and influence, the situation was unfavourable to the missionaries and consequently the expedition returned without achieving much. However, in October 1898, Father Dupont rushed back to Mwamba because the chief who was seriously ill had sent for him. Mwamba died shortly after DuPont's arrival but before he had time to renew his permission for the establishment of a mission at his home. Mwamba is also reported to have offered Father DuPont part of chieftainship if the French missionary successfully cured him of his illness, and the whole chieftainship in the event of his death.

After Mwamba's death many Bemba people anticipating violence which usually followed a chief's funeral, went to Father DuPont's camp which was a few kilometres away from the dead chief's town. It was here where a mission later grew: it was called *Chilubula Mission*, meaning a 'place of escape' After the founding of the *Chilubula Mission* in 1898, the missionaries founded other missions in northern Zambia: *Chilonga* near Mpika in 1899, and *Kambwili* in Luangwa Valley in 1904.

### **Summary**

This Unit looked at the coming of Europeans into Central Africa and Zambia in particular. The Unit discussed roles of David Livingstone, a missionaries and traders such as George Westbeech in pre-colonial societies of Zambia. The unit further discussed the reasons for the coming of Europeans to Africa. These included combating the evils of slave trade and introducing legitimate commerce and trade as well as the introduction of colonial rule in Africa.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Explain the motives of missionaries, explorers and traders' coming to pre-colonial Zambia.
2. Discuss the significant roles and activities of missionaries, explorers and traders' in pre-colonial Zambia.
3. With practical examples, explain the outcomes of European Penetration into pre-colonial Zambian societies.

## **UNIT 10**

### **THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA**

#### **10.1 Introduction**

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was increased interest amongst European powers to acquire territories in the African continent. The occupation of African territories was intensified by the industrial revolution, need for cheap labour, raw materials and free markets.

Therefore, this unit deals with the establishment of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) by the British government through the British South Africa Company (BSAC). Specifically it focuses on why the BSAC was formed and chartered by the British government to administer Northern Rhodesia and how the process of occupation of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia occurred.

### **Learning Outcomes**

**Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;**

- Discuss the factors that led to the formation of the British South Africa Company.
- Examine the process of establishing the British South Africa Company administration in North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia.
- Explain how the Orders in Council transformed the system of administration in North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia.

### **10.2 Background and Origins of the British South Africa Company**

The BSAC was chartered by the British government to establish European rule in South-Central Africa on its behalf. This was after the Berlin Conference of 1884 held under the leadership of German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck. In the same year, European countries, among them Britain, attended the Conference to regulate European occupation of African territories and trade in Africa. By the mid-nineteenth century, major European countries had occupied territories all along the African coast. This intensified imperial competition and rivalry. Therefore the Berlin conference formulated a *General Act of the Berlin conference of (1885)* which included a clause on Effective Occupation. The principle of effective occupation meant that mere claim to a territory was not enough for international recognition without physical establishment of authority. European powers, among them, Britain were induced to turn to chartered companies to ensure effective economic and political occupation.

Granting charters to private companies for colonial expansion was a policy of the British Government. Charters were given to British North Borneo Company (1881), Royal Niger Company (1886) and Imperial British East Africa Company (1888). The policy relieved the imperial government from challenges of heavy expenditure. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were elements of anti-imperialist outbursts in Britain. The colonial office was always under pressure from the Treasury to practice the strictest economy. Imperial parliament was not willing to finance extensive colonisation. The treasury, then the core of the

British administrative system, adopted principles of low taxation and limited state expenditure. The treasury was even more unsympathetic to the idea of investing in colonies. Granting a charter to the private Companies meant that vast African territories were open for British influence at a time when parliament would not vote the necessary funds.

The BSAC was strategically formed to advance British colonial expansion and to pursue its commercial interests in land and mining. Cecil Rhodes, a businessman, statesman and strong proponent of British imperialism formed a company to advancing his economic and political polices. Rhodes' ambition to establish a zone of British commercial and political influence from the cape (South Africa) to Cairo (Egypt) was in line with the Imperial Government's aim. Earlier, in 1888 Lord Salisbury, Britain's Foreign Secretary then, engaged in attempts to prevent foreign advances into Egypt and parts of East Africa (now Uganda) as well as Central Africa (now Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe). The Imperial British East Africa Company was granted a charter by the British government to secure Uganda. A similar policy was advisable in South-Central Africa. This policy privileged the formation of the BSAC following the merger of Rhodes' Central Search Association and the London Exploration Company Limited. The two companies united to strengthen their position for securing a charter from the British Government. They had common interests to acquire and exercise commercial and administrative rights in South-Central Africa.

In 1889, the British government formally chartered the BSAC to secure its colonial empire in South-Central Africa (What became Southern and Northern Rhodesia respectively). Initially, the BSAC charter only granted economic and political administration rights for parts covering Matebeleland (now part of Zimbabwe). In 1891 the Charter was extended to include the administration of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). It provided principle procedures of administration for the Company. In practice, Northern Rhodesia was administered according to the authorised rights and procedures of the charter. The Company was only authorised administrative responsibilities in regions where consent was granted by local chiefs. Concession agreements were obtained from traditional chiefs before the Company exercised any administrative powers. Administrative privileges and jurisdictions granted through the concessions were subjected to imperial scrutiny. The Secretary of State of verified the concession agreements and only gave approval if the contents were in line with imperial policy. However, the charter reserved the right for Imperial Government to intervene in affairs especially as they related African affairs and foreign states. The Charter defined specific fields of operations under which the Company exercised its mandated administrative, economic and

political rights. Its sovereign powers were however, limited and subjected to control by the Imperial Government. These specific privileges included rights to the disposal of land, taxation of natives and exploitation of minerals. The Company was privileged power to assume control over territories that were not yet occupied by the Imperial powers.

Article six (6) of the charter stated that administrative operations of the BSAC were to remain British in character and domicile. The charter specifically stipulated that the main office of the Company was required to be situated in Britain and the Company's principal representatives in South Africa. The principal Directors of the Company were partly stationed in Cape Town and Kimberly for the mining businesses. The charter emphasised that Directors of the BSAC were to be British citizens either by birth or under the Act of British Parliament. The British High Commissioner stationed in South Africa was accorded supreme authority over the Company administrative activities in Northern Rhodesia. The Office of the High Commissioner represented the British Imperial power in the South-Central African region. Company officials stationed in Northern Rhodesia were expected abide by all the regulations, rules and suggestions introduced by the Commissioner. The same allegiance was extended to the British Resident

### **10.2.1 The British South Africa Company Occupation of North Western Rhodesia**

Colonial occupation of North-Western Rhodesia occurred through the signing of treaties between the BSAC and king Lewanika. The BSAC had an opportunity to negotiate for treaties with king Lewanika because of the hostile political environment that surrounded Barotseland. At this time the region was in need of British protection because of political threats from King Lobengula of Matebeleland (Southern Rhodesia). The situation was coupled with Portuguese encroachments into N.W. Rhodesia and an alliance with Britain was believed would strengthen his threatened throne.

The Lozi people the Barotseland established their kingdom under king, Lewanika in 1876, but had been driven from power in 1884. However, after his return in 1885, his concerns about further internal power struggles and the threat of Ndebele raids prompted him to seek European protection. For these reasons, king Lewanika requested François Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (P.E.M.S), which had set up a mission to the Lozi, to help him draft a petition seeking a British protectorate. The P.E.M.S missionaries wrote on behalf of the King Lewanika to the British government through Sir Sidney Shippard, administrator of the British Bechuanaland (Botswana). This reached the Colonial Office in August 1889, but no

immediate action was taken to accept it. However, prior to this, Cecil Rhodes, while attempting to obtain a Royal Charter for the BSAC, considered Barotseland as a suitable area for company's mining operations and an access to the copper deposits of Katanga. Thus Rhodes assigned Frank Lochner to Barotseland to obtain a concession and made an offer to the British government to pay the expenses of a Barotseland protectorate. Lochner supported the misunderstanding that BSAC represented the British government, and on 27 June 1890, Lewanika gave his consent to an exclusive mineral concession. Thereafter, the Lochner Concession was signed which gave the BSAC mining rights over the whole area which was under Lewanika. This was in exchange for an annual subsidy and British protection of Barotseland, a promise that Lochner had no authority to give. However, the BSAC advised the Foreign Office that the Lozi had accepted British protection.

Contrariwise, the Lochner Concession was not accepted by the Foreign Office because it did not grant BSAC any administrative rights and it involved monopolies, prohibited in the BSAC Charter. The Lochner document became a source of politics in Barotseland. This is because after the Lochner Concession was signed no British Resident was sent to Barotseland as agreed. The British Resident was meant to offer protection from external interference. A delay on the part of the Imperial Government in appointing a British Resident in Barotseland as was stipulated in the Lochner Concession caused a state of insecurity and hostility Lewanika protested that the terms of the treaty had been misrepresented to him. No BSAC Administrator was sent to Barotseland either.

As a result of intensified protests in Barotseland, later in 1895, and the first Administrator, Forbes who was sent to the area, He remained in administration until 1897 but did little to establish an administration. As the Foreign Office was not convinced that the Lochner Concession had established a British protectorate over Barotseland or given BSAC any rights to administer the territory, it considered that a new concession was necessary. Consequently in 1896 it was agreed that a BSAC official be appointed as Resident Commissioner to secure this concession. The following year, in 1897, Robert Coryndon was despatched to Barotseland as Resident Commissioner. Coryndon, who was a former secretary of Cecil Rhodes and member of the Pioneer Column, had been recommended by the BSAC, and his appointment was approved by the High Commissioner for South Africa as representing the British government. In his capacity as Resident, Coryndon declared Barotseland to be a British protectorate, resolving its previously anomalous position. At this point, it was also confirmed that the 1890 mineral concession did not give the BSAC any right to make land grants. Accordingly, in 1897

Lewanika signed a new concession (the Coryndon Concession) that gave the BSAC the rights to make land grants and to establish jurisdiction in parallel to the king's courts.

It is worth noting that later in 1900, Lewanika signed a further agreement, (the Barotse Concession), which resolved some details that were in dispute following the earlier concessions and was drafted in terms compatible with the Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia Order in Council, 1899.

### **10.2.2 British South Africa Company Occupation of North Eastern Rhodesia**

The British South Africa Company also considered acquiring North-Eastern Rhodesia. Partly, this was because in the early 1890s both Britain and Portugal were interested in establishing their influence in Central Africa (area covering present day Malawi and Zambia). The Central African region was needed in both the British and Portuguese sphere of influence for trading and marketing purposes. The British public had been made aware of the existence of the Chinde mouth of the Zambezi River, which was considered important for easy transportation and communication of British commodities and subjects. In order to acquire Central Africa and North Eastern Rhodesia in particular, the BSAC required the signing of treaties with African Chiefs. The BSAC officials' formulated treaty and concession documents on its terms. These documents provided for British protection of tribal chiefs and their territories against powerful rival neighbouring tribes. This was in exchange for extension of British political authority, land and mining rights. The consent of local chiefs was important in obtaining claim to administrative and commercial rights in the North Eastern Rhodesia. The recognition of validity for concession documents required signatures of indigenous chiefs. The terms of agreement on the documents only became valuable when signed by local chiefs.

Therefore in 1890, the BSAC and the British government collaborated in ensuring that treaty and concession documents were signed by tradition chiefs. Cecil Rhodes, one of the Directors of the BSAC and Harry Johnston, a Consul of the British government supervised the process. Alfred Sharpe and Joseph Thompson were contracted to obtain signatures from local chiefs in areas of what became North-Eastern Rhodesia. Sharpe worked under the instructions of Johnston and was sent to Chief Mpezeni of the Ngoni people. Indigenous authorities were enticed and compromised through the provision of gifts in monetary forms by the Imperial parties. Johnson provided a sum not exceeding hundred pounds (£100) which was distributed among the chiefs in the form of presents. Rhodes provided a cheque for two thousand pounds (£2000) to cover the expense of treaty making. However, the provision of gifts to powerful chiefs such as Mpezeni did not entice him to sign the documents. Mpezeni was the most

powerful chief in North-Eastern Rhodesia. The Ngoni were a warrior tribe which acquired political domination by raiding neighbouring tribes such as the Chewa. The chief saw no valid reason to seek protection against his neighbours and grant special privileges to the British government. Chitimukulu, the paramount chief of the Bemba was another powerful traditional leader who refused to sign the treaty.

However, other important indigenous chiefs such as Kazembe signed the concession documents. Kazembe was interested in trade dealings with the Europeans. A treaty was considered as a means of strengthening himself against Msidi, his traditional enemy in the Congo. However, amongst minor indigenous chiefs, treaty signing was considered as a means of security and protection against the powerful Ngoni and Bemba raiders.

Thompson, who worked under Rhodes' instructions, obtained a number of treaties from chiefs in what became the Central Province of Northern Rhodesia. However, the treaty documents were contested for their absurd wording. It has been remarked that many of the chiefs who signed Thompson's documents were not true chiefs and had no authority to do so. Since it was urgent to secure North-Eastern Rhodesia in the British sphere of influence, Johnston (Commissioner for Nyasaland) urged the foreign office to recognise as much of the contents of these treaties as was legally admissible. The justification was that although certain parts of the treaties were rejected, it was not sufficient reason for non-recognition of other valid components. The traditional chiefs knew neither writing nor reading and they had no idea of the contents of the document. While these documents involved two parties, they served the agenda and interests of the authors of the documents in this case; the BSAC.

In 1891 the BSAC was granted for the administration of N.E. Rhodesia. Patrick William Forbes was appointed deputy administrator of N. E Rhodesia with the headquarters in Nyasaland (Zomba) as there was no established administration centre in Rhodesia. However, this was under the supervision of the British High Commissioner stationed in South Africa. Later, in 1895, the BSAC commenced direct administration of N. E. Rhodesia. Although the BSAC was granted independent administration, the High Commissioner performed supervisory roles over its administration on behalf of the Colonial Office. The responsibilities of the Commissioner included implementation of imperial policy and approving laws and regulations formulated by the BSAC. Forbes introduced civil administration through the appointment of resident collectors whose duties were to tour the districts, learn local languages and customs of the people, record number of villages and inhabitants, areas of cultivated grounds as well as



mapping the country. But the operations of administrative stations such as Abercorn (present day Mbala) were being disrupted by slave trade and raiding activities of the Bemba and the Ngoni tribes. The hostile political situation hastened the pacification of N.E. Rhodesia and suppressing slave trade and tribal raids. The BSAC facilitated for a reinforcement of a Police force from Nyasaland (Malawi). It subjugated the revolt and at the same time stamped out slave trade activities. The pacification of N.E. Rhodesia permitted a more stabilised administration. The BSAC administration centre was established within N. E. Rhodesia where the deputy administrator took up permanent residence.

### **10.2.3 The Consolidation of the BSAC Administration in Northern Rhodesia**

Accordingly, the Barotseland and North-Western Rhodesia Order-in-Council of 1899 and the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order-in-Council of 1900 were enacted to legitimise the BSAC administration of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia. These Orders-in-Council legislation is formally made in the name of the Queen by and with the advice and consent of the Privy Council (*Queen-in-Council*). Both Orders-in-Council regularised the position of the BSAC Administrators, the first of whom for North-Eastern Rhodesia was appointed in 1895. In North-Western Rhodesia the first Administrator was appointed for Barotseland in 1897, becoming Administrator for all North-Western Rhodesia in 1900

Later, in January 1900 Queen Victoria signed up the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1900. This Order made official the name *North-Eastern Rhodesia* and formally proclaimed the area as a British protectorate. By this the Order an administration for the Company's governance of the new protectorate was established. The new protectorate was administered by an Administrator appointed by the High Commissioner for South Africa. At the same time, the High Commissioner legislated by proclamation for the protectorate. The protectorate was divided into seven administrative districts. Robert Edward Codrington was appointed as the first Administrator. He held this post until 1907. The last person to serve as Administrator was Lawrence Aubrey Wallace from 1907 until 1909 after which the position was left vacant. The capital was at Fort Jameson (Chipata).

In November 1899 Queen Victoria signed the Barotziland–North Western Rhodesia Order in Council,(1899).This Order amalgamated some parts of what was North-Eastern Rhodesia with Barotseland and established over the whole territory a protectorate named Barotziland-North-Western Rhodesia. Protectorate status was acknowledged by King Lewanika. Under this Order, a legal authority of company's administration of the new

protectorate was established. Similar to Northe-Eastern Rhodesia, new protectorate was administered by an Administrator appointed by the High Commissioner for South Africa. Likewise, the High Commissioner legislated by proclamation for the protectorate. North-Western Rhodesia was divided into nine administrative districts. In September 1900, Coryndon was appointed as the first Administrator. He held this post until 1907. Coryndon was replaced by Robert Codrington, who died within a year of taking up office as Administrator. The last person to serve as Administrator was Lawrence Aubrey Wallace. Initially the capital was at Kalomo but was moved to Livingstone in 1970.

More so, in 1911, Northern Rhodesia Order in Council was passed, the Barotseland and North-Western Rhodesia Order-in-Council of 1899 and the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order-in-Council of 1900 were revoked. Subsequently, North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia were amalgamated to form Northern Rhodesia. The Administrator of Northern Rhodesia took over the functions that had been carried out by the Administrators of Barotziland–North Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia.

The first Administrator of Northern Rhodesia was Sir Laurence Wallace. Earlier, Wallace had worked as Administrator for NER after Codrington. The territorial headquarters were based at Livingstone until 1935 when the capital was moved to Lusaka. A High Court was set up. However, a notable absentee was a Legislative Council because Northern Rhodesia had a population of less than 1,000 Europeans (i.e. the minimum number required for a territory to have a Leg Co). Instead, the tool used to administer the territory was the police force.

### **Summary**

This unit dealt with the establishment of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) by the British government through the British South Africa Company (BSAC). It focused on the reasons for the formation of the BSAC and why it was chartered by the British government to administer Northern Rhodesia. The Unit further discussed the role of the BSAC in the occupation and establishment of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. With practical examples, analyse the factors that led to the formation of the British South Africa Company.

2. Explain the process of establishing the British South Africa Company administration in North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia.
3. Give a detailed discussion of how the Orders in Council transformed the system of administration in North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia.

## **UNIT 11**

### **BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN RHODESIA**

#### **11.1 Introduction**

The previous unit discussed the introduction and process of the BSAC Administration in Northern Rhodesia between 1890 and 1923. This unit builds on the previous unit by discussing the system of administration introduced by the British colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia after taking over from the BSAC. In particular, it considers how the administration system was transformed and how the British forms of colonial administration such as indirect rule, Urban

Native Courts, Council of Tribal Elders and Urban Advisory Councils were operating in Northern Rhodesia.

### **Learning Outcomes**

**Upon completion of this unit you should be able to;**

- Explain the reasons that led to the termination of Company administration in Northern Rhodesia
- Discuss the transformation of the administration system under the British colonial government in Northern Rhodesia.
- Analyse the roles of the indirect rule policy, Urban Native Courts, Council of Tribal Elders and Urban Advisory Councils and the administration of Northern Rhodesia.

### **11. 2 The British Colonial Administration System in Northern Rhodesia**

By the early 1920's, the BSA Company officials had become satisfied that Northern Rhodesia was too costly a territory to administer, and the British government in turn was satisfied that the BSAC administration could be improved upon. The company rule eventually became unsuccessful because it was unable to generate consistent profits for its shareholders. Furthermore, governing a colony was expensive and the BSAC faced opposition both from Africans and missionaries over the harsh nature of the company rule. Accordingly, in February 1924, the British government assumed the responsibility for the administration of Northern Rhodesia. The 1911 Order in Council was revoked, and a governor was appointed for the territory. Sir Herbert James Stanley was appointed as the first Governor of Northern Rhodesia on 1st April, 1924. The British Colonial Office took over the administration of the territory from the BSAC. The British colonial administration was more elaborate. The British Colonial Office in London supervised the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, who was assisted by the Secretary of State. There were Provincial Commissioners at Provincial headquarters and District Commissioners, District Officers and Assistant District Officers at district and sub-district centres. There was also a High Court Judge assisted by other judges, Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates at lower levels to provide judicial services, and a Legislative Council (Legco) with European settler representatives and European representatives for Africans to ensure some checks and balances. Additionally, there were Native Authorities built around chiefs through which the colonial state administered the people

## **11.3 Colonial Administrative Methods in Northern Rhodesia**

### **11.3. 1 Indirect Rule**

The BSAC administration was replaced by various forms of colonial administration systems. One such form of colonial administration was indirect rule. Primarily, the British used indirect rule to govern Northern Rhodesia and other colonies in its empire such as Nigeria and East Africa (Uganda). This system of governance used indigenous African rulers within the colonial administration, although they often maintained an inferior role. Largely, it was a more cooperative model.

Indirect rule was recommended by Frederick, Lugard a former governor of Nigeria, in his book the *Dual Mandate in the British tropical Africa* published in 1922. In fact, indirect rule was originally intended by Lugard as a flexible and adaptable approach for local government with a central, colonial administration of British officials for general government. It was also assumed that preserving traditional authorities would provide continuity with the past, but also into the future because European officials would come and go, but indigenous officials would remain. The idea seemed most appropriate especially where there were hierarchical political structures and kingdoms; in areas where there were no (or very weak) authorities, the system added to the difficulties of governing.

Lugard recommended this system to be used in all British tropical African colonies because it was cheap and most effective way of administering colonies in Africa. Indirect rule as a system of government was first introduced in Nigeria and spread to other countries such as Northern Rhodesia. This system of government (indirect rule) expected that all Africans were organised as tribes with chiefs. Nonetheless, through this assumption the colonial government used traditional African rulers to carry conduct basic functions of local government, in particular collecting taxes, the recruiting of labour and the controlling of African unrest.

According to Lugard, the chiefs had to be assigned more responsibilities, especially in the handling of public funds. It was envisaged that a portion of taxes collected would be retained in local treasuries to pay local officials and bureaucrats, fund local improvements and public works. Most colonies included a number of peoples with different languages, cultures, religions as such indirect rule was hoped to build up a new class of modernising traditional rulers who

would gradually begin to see the advantages of cooperation, coordination, and thus national responsibility and cohesion.

In this set-up of indirect rule the colonial government made good use of African customary law. It should be emphasised that British consideration of customary law was not because of any respect for African institution but rather because of its administrative convenience. In this area, the chiefs performed a whole range of legal duties which would otherwise have been costly and inconvenient to the colonial administration. And to this effect, when the chief was presented with unpopular policy to implement, it was the chief who received the full weight of local hostility. Generally, in Northern Rhodesia the success of indirect rule policy varied from one region to the other. For example, it worked fairly well in areas that had well-long established centralised state system such as the Lozi Kingdom kingdom and other chiefdoms that had their own functional administrative and judicial system of government. However, indirect rule was a challenge in other regions such as Southern Province where not all people such as the Tonga were organised in centralised kingdoms. This means that in NR the system was introduced without the knowledge of ethnic organisations.

To a large extent, colonial emphasis upon the role of chiefs exaggerated tribal differences. The word tribal was used in derogatory sense by the colonial administration which looked down upon Africans societies as too basic and backward. Colonial administration based its local administration upon what was perceived as a series of minor but totally separate pre-colonial chiefdoms. In order to make this reality, they emphasised differences of dialect and redefined them as totally separate languages. For example, they also described customary difference on the basis of rigid tribal distinction. As a result, indirect rule increased divisions between ethnic groups and gave power to certain individuals who had never had it before in pre-colonial history. Consequences of these significant changes in social organisation and identity are still being felt today.

The way indirect rule was implemented was not without criticism. In Northern Rhodesia and other British colonies, it was observed, in areas where there had not been chiefs, creating them in order to set up 'indirect rule' was very counter-productive; there was great resentment against such 'chiefs' and widespread unwillingness to cooperate; District Officers had to continually prop up the authority of the 'chief' who then came to be regarded as a 'stooge' of

the District Officer. Even where there had been chiefs and change was beneficial, there were often disrupting aspects. People did not like change and chiefs who followed the 'advice' of colonial administration become unpopular. Evidence from rural Zambia shows that some Native Authorities tended to collect less controversial taxes, fines and levies and ignored the most resented types, in a bid to strike a balance between state revenue demands and protesting rural masses. This annoyed state functionaries. Among the most unpopular issues were Dog and Gun Licences, and Fish and Livestock Slaughter Levies e.g. in Chief Mukobela's area in Namwala, also in the areas of Chiefs Ufwenuka and Choongo in Monze experienced heavy opposition on the Tonga plateau.

The other criticism was that there were people with skills who needed to deliver the new services and who needed employment; indirect rule had little place for them. Colonial governments did employ some as clerks, but imagine the resentments: the educated feel more competent and trained yet are subordinate to illiterate, backward chiefs. There was equal resentment the other way as traditional elites would regard educated Africans from humble parentage as upstarts! In other words, colonialism was creating new, different elite which began to compete with the traditional elite for leadership and dominance. Indirect rule was hitched to the traditional elite, but the skills of the educated elite were essential to the goals of development. On the other hand, educated Africans were greatly underutilised, and from an early period, they formed a critical, alienated group who began agitating for a greater role; they founded and developed nationalist, independence movements.

### **11.3.2 Council of Tribal Elders**

The institution of Council of Elders was introduced because of Africans' migration into urban areas. When commercial mining activities began in the 1920s, a number of Africans migrated to the Copper belt in search for employment. Thus the development of urban administration in Northern Rhodesia is almost synonymous with the establishment of the copper belt.

However there was no system on how to manage African affairs in the new mine compounds. What was even more challenging was the fact that the African societies in the urban areas were a combination of various ethnic groups which had migrated to work in the mines. As such, it became necessary establish a system of communication that would suit Africans from different ethnic backgrounds. Since the colonial administration did not seem interested in this matter, mine authorities, initiated the provision of some rudimentary form of administrative mechanism.

Thus in 1931, F. Spearpoint, a Compound manager in charge of African affairs at Roan Antelope mine mooted the idea of forming a Council of Elders. In this institution, each ethnic group working on the mine was selected a representative from amongst themselves as their supervisor. There were about ten elected elders. The elders of the larger groups represented the interests of the smaller, related groups. This idea was soon replicated in the township location that belonged to non-miners. This system was designed to establish a link between the compound managers and the miners. Tribal elders were able to represent miners 'complaints to the compound manager each time they had a meeting. Their major grievances were about food rations, housing, wages, and sanitation. The mine authorities would also reply through the compound manager who in turn briefed the elders on new developments on the mine. The elders also assumed judicial functions so that they were able to supplement the compound Police as an agency of social control.

Their role in Township locations tended to differ in some instances. In the locations there was a Township Superintendent who ensured law and order unlike the Compound Manager on the mine, the township superintendent had no wide responsibility in matters affecting the working conditions of township residents or employment, and the functions and interests of the township location elders were correspondingly less extensive.

Unfortunately, this system failed to work effectively as a channel of communication because miners went on strike for the first time in 1935. This shows that the tribal elders failed to effectively pass on miners 'problems to the mining management. There was also mistrust between elders and their tribesmen because the latter thought they were being betrayed by their representatives. The institution nonetheless was not phased out after the 1935 strike.

For Administrative officers, the ineffectiveness of the Elders in controlling their people was satisfactorily explained in the lack of proper legal support for the Elders and in their own Lack of contact with the people. Elders were accused of being in league with the Europeans. The Elders were caught up in a position which was fraught with conflict. Elders owed their prestige amongst the people to the fact that they were representatives and often close kinsmen, of tribal chiefs and to personal qualities which were traditional admired ; but were at the same time employees of the mining company and they owed to management the various privileges which they enjoyed on the mine. As Tribal Elders they stood as representatives of the people voicing their needs and complaints to the Compound Manager. But in other situations they acted as a



kind of advisory body to the Compound Manager on whose continued recognition their authority ultimately rested.

#### **11.3.4 Urban Native courts**

After the British colonial government took over control of Northern Rhodesia, a conference of administrative officials was held in 1928 to discuss the question of how best to manage native affairs in light of the limited administrative staff available. The decision was to adopt the policy of indirect rule, using existing native institutions and the Native Authorities. Accordingly, in 1929 the Native Courts Ordinances was passed.

And for the first time in Northern Rhodesia, official recognition was extended to native courts. The customary courts of the various tribes of Northern Rhodesia were recognised by the British administration as having legal authority and were identified as Native Courts under the Laws of Northern Rhodesia (cap. 158 No. 10 of 1936). They administered tribal law in so far as the tribal law was not contrary to public policy and natural justice. Subordinate courts were entrusted, however, with the authority to ensure a proper administration of justice in these courts. And this was through the exercise of a review and revisory jurisdiction over native court decisions. The designation of native courts proved to be a problem especially in areas where tribal allegiances were weak and no African was considered to be the chief of the entire tribe. In such cases the governor would appoint a chief but Africans, however, were reluctant to recognise authority established in this way. Where tribes were numerous and tribal ties strong, it was necessary to permit the chief of each tribe to establish a native court, thereby creating a superabundance of courts in some areas, to the dismay of administrative officials.

In Northern Rhodesia, Europeans, especially those on the mining region of the Copperbelt did not fully support the institution of the Council of Tribal Elders. As such, they decided to set up African courts for the administration of justice among the Africans, who had come to work and stay in the new urban centres of the Copperbelt. Accordingly, in 1938 the District Commissioners 'Conference for the Western Province (Copperbelt) took immediate steps to constitute a court for Africans at Mufulira. Thus, by 1939, African urban courts were operating at all mining centres of the Copper belt, including Ndola, the headquarters. The members of the courts were paid by the mines. On the part of the colonial government and mine owners, this system was meant to remove the responsibility of looking after Africans in towns.

The Native Courts were staffed by appointees of the Native Authorities. Specifically, members of the courts were appointed by their chiefs as their representative in town. At the same time

small ethnic groups were affiliated to more prominent tribes. Further, by appointing court officials from their tribal areas meant that chiefs remained responsible for their subjects even in towns. Whatever laws were operational in rural areas were also applied to members of a particular ethnic group in town. The rationale for this policy was that the colonial state did not want an African detribalised. In this way, even court members were not on the Copperbelt permanently. They only worked for the period of 3-6 years. At the end of their working contract were required to return to their home areas. This was to ensure that they did not lose traditional laws. This was to ensure that one was kept abreast with the latest trends in one's customs. Additionally, the official assumption was that residence in the mine centres was temporary and that the majority of the African people returned to their tribes in the villages.

Each court sitting had three or four judges, each from a different tribe. Rarely do any of the judges know very much about the urban situation. And the complainants would come from two or more tribes that were not even represented on the bench. More so the substantive law that applied in any one court varied widely because judges applied specific tribal law to the new conditions of life. In certain instances, the courts followed the realities of a new society and introduce new legal principles into a kind of rough-and-ready decision-making.

Largely, the function of Urban Courts was to hear cases of a domestic nature such as marriage disputes, adultery, witchcraft accusations among others. Their jurisdiction only covered Africans but extended to criminal and civil jurisdiction. Native courts were not allowed to impose the death penalty, nor try witchcraft without permission. There was also provision for a Native Court of Appeal, but if not established, appeal was to the Provincial Commissioner and thence to the High Court. The court could also impose fines not exceeding £5 or slap a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding three months.

Nonetheless, the institution of the Urban Courts and the Council of Tribal Elders continued to exist side by side. This however created a conflict between the two institutions as both claimed to be chiefs' representatives. To some extent, the newly established Urban Court did provide a link between Africans on the mine townships and their fellows in the government location, for the court members were all representatives of the most important chiefs in the territory. It was customary for court members to take upon themselves the names of the Chiefs the represented and they regarded themselves as being responsible for the general moral welfare of their tribesmen wherever they were living in the town. There was here a source of friction between court members and certain Tribal Elders, for each claimed to be true representative of his

respective chief. In this case for instance, in 1939, the Lozi Elder at the Roan was recalled to Barotseland because of a dispute over precedence with the Lozi Member of the Urban Court.

### **11.3.5 Urban Advisory Councils (UACs)**

Instead therefore of Native authorities with powers broadly similar to those granted to the tribal authorities in the recent re-organisation, government was led to introduce gradually the system of Urban Advisory Councils. There appears to be some doubt about the date when these Councils were first introduced. At all events there was an Urban Advisory Committee in Luanshya in 1938 and its very first meeting the Provincial Commissioner explained what were to be its functions. He pointed out that Africans who came to the Copperbelt did so on their own free will. But once there, they had to work for Europeans and submit to Europeans regulations. It was impossible to preserve in the mine towns those African customs and that independence which prevailed in the villages, but at the same time government wished Africans who were in the towns to have some means of expression. He said that it would be great help to know the feelings of Africans on the Copperbelt on various matters. The committee could help in advising on the expenditure of the Beer Hall funds. Unlike the Urban Courts Members, the members of the committee were not to be paid as they would meet only at intervals and this would not interfere with their day to day. The committee would not be concerned with working conditions. No grievances between employer and employee would be brought by the committee. The advisory committee was comprised of eight nominated members and sat under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner. They were drawn almost entirely from the ranks of Tribal Elders on the mine and in the location. The minutes of meetings of the Advisory Committee which met at regular intervals show that the members concerned themselves almost entirely with matters of local or domestic interest. At one of the meetings the Committee drew attention to the situation and problems of African marriage in the Urban areas. Members expressed their deep concern about the increasing laxity of marital tie, and asked for a former control of marriage by a system of registration. The committee also dealt with more specific matters. These included requests for financial assistance for the local football teams, for the improvement of water supplies and washing facilities, and for the introduction of a stopping place for railway passengers at the smelter on the mine instead of at the station.

In this way the committee served the District Commissioner as a ready channel of communication with mass of the people. At the same time, he was able to pass on through the members new pronouncements on government policy and to inform the public of changes in the law. Indeed even the most casual perusal of the minutes at this time suggests that a high

proportion of the matters discussed in the Committee were initiated by the District Commissioner.

After a few years the Advisory Committee gave way to the Urban Advisory Council. The original members were replaced by others who were again drawn mainly from the ranks of the Tribal Elders. Following the riots in the copper belt in 1935, the government formed urban advisory councils to give urban Africans an 'advisory' role in the way their towns were run. The colonial government felt there was need for a neutral body to look after African affairs. This resulted in the creation of Urban Advisory Councils. UACs were composed of members partly elected by tribal representatives and by Boss Boys, and partly of members nominated by the District Commissioner. The function of these councils was to keep the District Commissioner in touch with African opinion. It was also to enable Africans contribute more effectively to the development of government policy. Unlike members of Urban Courts, those of UAC were not paid for their services.

Between 1943 and 1944, eight regional councils were formed in Northern Rhodesia. They were composed of urban delegates elected by UACs and of rural delegates chosen by chiefs. The sessions of these regional councils were chaired by Provincial Commissioners. Later, in 1946, the system was further developed with the creation of the African Representative Council for the whole territory. Membership was drawn from eight regional councils and the sessions were held at Munali School.

### **Summary**

This unit examined the system of administration introduced by the British colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia after taking over from the BSAC. Precisely, the Unit considered how the Company administration system was transformed from 'direct rule' to the British forms of colonial administration such as indirect rule, Urban Native Courts, Council of Tribal Elders and Urban Advisory Councils. Lastly the Unit discussed how each of these systems were used as instruments of colonial administration.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the transformations in the administration system of Northern Rhodesia after the termination of Company rule.

2. Explain how the indirect rule policy, Urban Native Courts, Council of Tribal Elders and Urban Advisory Councils operated as instruments of colonial administration.

## **UNIT 12**

### **THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA**

#### **12.1 Introduction**

When the British South Africa Company and British colonial government introduced foreign rule, they transformed the way pre-colonial societies operated in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). The new system of colonial government introduced political and economic structures which realigned the way power was exercised and shaped the political landscape of Northern Rhodesia. This Unit discusses the introduction of a colonial political-economy in Northern Rhodesia in the form of land alienation, labour migration, peasant and settler agriculture taxation mining. The unit discusses these aspects in line with their impact on the colonial African societies in Northern Rhodesia.

#### **Learning Outcomes**

Upon completion of this unit, you should be able to;

- Explain the reasons for the creation of Native Reserves in Northern Rhodesia.
- Compare and contrast colonial agriculture policies that guided Peasant and Settlers' farming in Northern Rhodesia.

- Discuss the reasons and impact of taxation in Northern Rhodesia.
- Analyse the socio-economic transformations after the introduction of capital mining in Northern Rhodesia.

## **12.2 The Land Question in Colonial Zambia**

### **12.2.1 Establishment of Native Reserves**

The introduction of colonial rule in Zambia impacted on how land was administered. In Northern Rhodesia, the initial introduction of Native Reserves occurred during the BSAC regime. Precisely, in December 1903, the Administrator for North Eastern Rhodesia (Robert Codrington) appointed a three-member Land Commission which was chaired Leicester Paul Beaufort, a High Court Judge. This Commission recommended that land within a certain radius of Fort Jameson was to be occupied by Europeans; and that Africans in particular the Ngoni would be more successful and progressive if they moved to land permanently reserved for them. This resulted in the creation of the first reserve in Fort Jameson in 1904 which was called the Chewa Reserve. Subsequently, the Ngoni Reserve was formed in 1907 which measured about 30 square miles. It was meant to accommodate Paramount Chief Mpezeni and his subjects, and was completely encircled by European farms.

When the British colonial government took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia on 1924, it immediately took an active interest in the question of land. The colonial government formed a different three-member Native Reserves Commission on 10 October 1924. It was formed to explore how, where, and under what conditions reserves could be set up. In the period between 1924 and 1927 the Commission examined the formation of reserves in Abercorn (Mbala) district, and the present day provinces of Southern, Lusaka, Copperbelt and Central. In 1929 an Ordinance was eventually passed which officially constituted the reserves. However, Native Reserves had loosely existed in some parts of the territory for decades before the Native Reserve Commission was established.

Herbert Stanely the first Governor of Northern Rhodesia guided the execution of Native Reserves. He had once lived in South Africa before he was transferred to Northern Rhodesia in 1924. Thus, he was acquainted with the policy of reserves and was eager to implement it in Northern Rhodesia. He was also pro-white settler. He argued that settlers needed a lot of land in order to succeed in their farming enterprise. That, according to him, was the only way to attract them to Northern Rhodesia. He also argued that settlers would provide jobs to Africans and teach them better farming methods. As a direct result of his intervention, four more reserves

were set up in Fort Jameson and nine in Petauke. Others were in Mbala, Tonga Reserves, Lenje reserves and Lamba reserves.

The Native Reserves were often designed to overlap with areas which were already occupied by Africans, but many involved relocations. On the Native Reserves, Africans became the targets for development interventions aimed at producing more rational habits and behaviours. Centrally, the Native Reserves were seen as key to developing more efficient habits of agriculture amongst Africans. One obstacle to the development of agriculture identified by the colonial authorities was the "feeling of insecurity of tenure" Africans held. The colonial officials saw compulsory relocation to Native Reserves as the solution to this problem. The reserves saw their space reorganised in a number of ways as 'water experts' were drafted in to provide wells, dams and irrigation. These experts were specifically mandated to train Africans in techniques and habits of water management and conservation.

The Native Affairs department engaged in projects to modernise agricultural methods amongst reserve populations. Where the BSAC had banned Chitemene methods, the Colonial Office deployed newly recruited European agricultural experts to educate Africans to adopt alternate methods. These experts encouraged the use of new crops, crop rotation methods and irrigation schemes as colonial officials sought to "check, in time, those wasteful methods" Africans had previously used. Cattle dips were especially popular techniques with the colonial administration as they reduced the possibility of cross infection of white-owned herds and a great deal of effort was expended on demonstrating their usefulness to African herders. The Native Reserves were also intended to encourage Africans to behave in economically rational ways both on and off the reserves. The main aim was for Africans to cycle through alternately taking up wage labour in European employment and then investing their earnings in their own agricultural plots. Not only were the ideas that exposure to wage labour for Europeans would bring to be used to develop the reserves, so were the wages.

It was also hoped that through the use of short term labour contracts, Africans would return to the reserves and invest in and develop these rural areas. A new economic geography was envisaged where the wealth generated (predominantly) on the Copperbelt would be distributed across the rural areas of the country leading to wider economic development. In a national scheme, the optimised relationship between the centres of industrial production and rural reserves was planned. These enhanced flows of people, ideas and capital did not work as envisaged as the Native Reserves quickly led to rural poverty and depopulation.

### **12.2.2 Land Alienation in Northern Rhodesia**

The introduction of Native Reserves impacted on how land was administered in colonial Zambia. In this case for instance, by 1927 about 12 million acres of land (6.5%) was under European occupation in Northern Rhodesia. In particular, this included places along the line of rail (Livingstone to Copperbelt), Fort Jameson (Chipata) and Abercorn (Mbala). The rest of the country remained unaffected. It is also important to note that in comparison to other countries in Southern Africa such as Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the number of European settlers in Northern Rhodesia was smaller. Out of 12million acres, only 70,000 acres were under actual cultivation. The numbers of settlers was low because the perceived El Dorado (settlers' dream of a second Rand) did not materialise. The land policy in Northern Rhodesia was determined by the —Settlers' Dream. From the inception of colonial rule up to 1930, there was a belief that there would be an enormous influx of Europeans to settle in Northern Rhodesia and benefit from the mineral revolution which had taken place in South Africa since the late 1800s. It thus became an official policy to secure a lot of land to cater for the expected Europeans. This belief was so strong that it led to the creation of African reserves where the displaced local people were to be settled. The vacated land was meant for the incoming European settlers.

In addition, it is important to know that the creation of African Reserves was not unique to Northern Rhodesia. From 1913, Native Reserves had been in existence in South Africa and by the 1930s, they also spread to Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, the kind of Native Reserves in Northern Rhodesia were based on the Southern Rhodesian model. However, in comparison to Malawi and Zimbabwe, the situation in Zambia was much better. Europeans occupied the best lands in much of Zimbabwe and Malawi, while Africans were pushed in reserves as early as 1910. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act was passed in Zimbabwe granting 93% of arable land to Europeans while Africans got a paltry 7%. In Malawi, European cotton farmers settled in the fertile Tchiri (Shire) Highlands where they displaced the local people. In Kenya the situation was the same. This background accounts for the importance of land in these countries' quest or struggle for political independence later in the 20th century. In contrast to the above, land alienation in colonial Zambia was not deep-rooted as it was only in selected parts of the country. In Northern Rhodesia African population densities were much lower and they could still find land to cultivate.



### **12.2.3 The Impact of Native Reserves in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)**

The relocation of Africans in Northern Rhodesia was totally unjust because Europeans were very few. The reserves policy consequently caused a grave ecological disturbance, especially in the eastern and along the line of rail provinces. In Fort Jameson and Abercorn, Africans were given time to relocate, but along the line of rail, the guiding principle was that land in the radius of 20 miles (30 km) on both sides of the rail was reserved for the settlers. The nature of all the reserves was that they had to be tribal in character, and be self-sufficient in natural resources. The last pronouncement however was just on paper.

Although the anticipated large numbers of settlers did not arrive, the colonial authorities did not make attempt to get back the idyllic land. Thus, most of the area reserved for Europeans remained unoccupied, especially in the Eastern Province. They had alienated 10,000 square miles from the border between Malawi and Zambia up to the Luangwa River. Much of this land turned to bush which became a haven for tsetse fly and wild animals – both attacked humans and domestic animals.

The move to Native Reserves was far from popular with Africans and their leaders as, in many ways, the consequences were disastrous. Most importantly, the reserves were too small. Complaints around the size of the new areas began almost immediately but were dismissed as they conflicted with the opinion of "an agriculturalist of wide experience" who believed the reserves could support populations of three times the size. Population densities on the reserves varied but were generally much higher than in the surrounding country. In 1933 the average population density across the territory was 4.7 people per square mile. On the reserves the lowest was 6.89 people per square mile (the railway) and the highest 38.7.

African agriculture in Northern Rhodesia relied on mobility and the ability to rotate crops. With relatively low soil fertilities in many parts of the country, the ability to shift cultivation sites around every 5 years was central to many indigenous agricultural systems. Constrained to small areas and unable to move as soil fertilities declined, the Native Reserves were disastrous for African agriculture, forcing many to seek alternate livelihoods. This was only compounded by the economic slump and locust outbreaks of the early 1930s.

Further, as Africans were dislocated from their previous areas where they had worked to control tsetse fly, they were forced into new areas where the fly was prevalent. This was particularly marked on the North Charterland reserves (near Petauke) where deaths and migration led the population to decrease 54% in the decade following relocation to the reserves. In 1938 alone,

29 out of 117 taxable men died of sleeping sickness on this reserve. As the railway came to be the economic and administrative backbone of Northern Rhodesia, being moved away from its path placed Africans at a great economic disadvantage. Cut off from their markets, and with decreasing yields, reserve populations found it increasingly difficult to pay their taxes. This same distance killed mines in the Hook of the Kafue. It did little more for African agriculture, no matter how well it was 'rationalised'.

Quite why Africans and their leaders did not rise up against these injustices has puzzled the (surprisingly few) researchers that discuss these impositions. There is little evidence of how the relocations to the Native Reserves took place, but it seems that the majority of opposition was vocal rather than physical. The African leaders largely moved with their people to the reserves with little resistance or delay.

With a bitter irony, much of the land cleared to make room for prospective settlers was vacant for decades. The bewilderment expressed by African leaders at the time of their relocation came to be shared by colonial officials of subsequent administrations. Despite multiple incremental increases in the size of reserves, the policy was later seen as disastrous. In 1946 the Land Commission commented that: "It is difficult to understand why in many parts of the country natives were compulsorily moved into reserves in spite of the fact that there was no demand for occupation by Europeans of the areas left vacant. The result of this policy was to create a profoundly unsatisfactory situation in many of the reserves and to cause much unnecessary suffering and ill-will"

The system of Native Reserves and Native Authorities failed to improve the wellbeing of Africans and largely undermined it. It did however; produce a stable political system, a governable space which remained intact and quelled rural unrest for decades. This control and stability was not borne from a single intervention or technique of rule, but from repeated ongoing effort, which, through numerous attempts and over time, largely generated the desired result for colonial authorities. The Native Reserves were a key tool in the arsenal of the British administration in producing rational economic subjects. They were however, only one part of a broader disposit if realigning social relations to produce economically rational habits and behaviours in Africans, many of which reached beyond the state.

In 1938, further problems in the reserves came to the fore following the publication of the Pim Report. After investigations done by the Allan Pim Commission of Inquiry it was reported that there was disaster in some reserves because of inadequate land. The effects of reserve creation

included food shortages. In this case for example, the Director of Agriculture noted that in some parts of the Southern province and Mkushi there were serious food shortages especially between 1930 and 1940 despite good rains. In Mkushi in three reserves, land available to Africans was reduced by 64% causing severe land degradation. There was also famine in Serenje in 1940 in spite of good rains. Government officials in the early days ascribed this poor state of affairs to what they termed—wasteful methods of native agriculture. Perennial water shortages in sections of reserves meant those not inhabited, especially for cattle raising people like Tonga and Ngoni.

In response to the findings of Allan Pim Commission of Inquiry the colonial government recognised the need to increase the size of reserves. In 1946 a commission was appointed to look into problems of reserves pointed out that in some areas where there was congestion, part of Crown Land be given to Africans. The following year, an Order in Council was enacted to that effect. Land in the territory was divided into three categories up to 1964: Crown Land; Native Reserves and Native Trust Land. Since then Crown Land became State Land while the other two categories were fused into one and was called Traditional or Customary Land.

### **12.3 Peasant and Settler Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia**

#### **12.3.1 Early Settler Agriculture**

When colonial administration was introduced in Northern Rhodesia the practice of agriculture was not a new phenomenon. This is because Africans had been engaged in the practice of farming since the Iron Age and they participated in animal husbandry and crop production through shifting cultivation. Nonetheless, with the introduction of colonial administration, there was a transformation in the nature of the agriculture sector.

Before 1911 Northern Rhodesia was considered a background agricultural region, mainly important as a labour reserve for the Congo, the Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The importance of agriculture came with the development of the railway line but, the early settler farmers were confronted with various difficulties which delayed their progress. Among others, there was lack of capital for investing in agriculture which resulted from the failure of the realisation of the settlers' dream of a Second Rand in Northern Rhodesia. As such most prospective miners resorted to farming by chance. They began to engage in farming mainly because land was cheaper as compared to countries such as Britain and South Africa. The white settlers who settled in Fort Jameson (Chipata) and Abercorn (Mbala) chanced fertile, well-watered lands with favourable settlements.

In 1910, a large group of settler farmers arrived from South Africa into Northern Rhodesia and settled between Kafue and Lusaka. These were Afrikaners who also introduced a slightly different kind of farming practice because they did not employ Africans as workers. They introduced a system of share cropping. Peasant Afrikaner farmers worked as tenants on land owned by their wealthier Afrikaner colleagues. They cultivated, sold the crops and shared the profits on land owned by the rich. Later, the peasant Afrikaners would buy their own farms. They mainly grew bulrush millet and the Irish potatoes. A few reared cattle.

Largely, transportation of agricultural products especially for the settler farmers in Fort Jameson and Abercorn was difficult. From Fort Jameson the only route to export produce was a footpath through Tete in Mozambique. By that time, the Great East Road was not yet built. It was only constructed between 1928-9 though it still remained a tough terrain. Further, a bridge was only constructed on the Luangwa to replace a pontoon in 1934. Settler farmers used African porters (Mtenga tenga) to transport their produce, mainly tobacco and cotton for sale. Their counterparts, the coffee farmers and ranchers in Abercorn, were no different. The Great North Road was only built in 1927. Ranchers from Abercorn wishing to sell cattle had to walk down to Southern Rhodesia through the Luangwa valley. During these journeys, farmers would at times lose some of their animals to prey. The cost of ranching was also made high because the farmers had to employ cattle boys who had to be fed and paid on those long arduous journeys.

Although agriculture seemed to be on course, marketing facilities were limited. Until the opening up of the Copperbelt mines in the mid-1920s, markets for farm produce was restricted to railway sidings such as Monze, Magoye, and Lusaka. Despite being small, mission stations were also other places that provided markets for agricultural products but did not encourage people to grow more foods.

In the early days of colonial administration, the major markets for Zambia's agricultural were the mines of the Congo which began around 1910. A large number of workers who migrated to work needed to be fed. The opening of the mines in the Congo was a stimulus to the development of agriculture along the line of rail, especially on the Tonga plateau. This further opened up opportunities for settler farmers in Zambia. Some of the prominent beneficiaries of this development were the Susemann Brothers and C. H. Werner. They bought cheap cattle from Buluzi and sold beef in the Congo. The Susemann Brothers even opened a cold room at Elizabethville for beef sales. However, markets were not easily assured because the colonial

government effected an indirect protectionist policy which prevented the importation of animals from Northern Rhodesia on the pretext that they were disease ridden.

Further, the agriculture sector could not boom to the fullest due to attacks from various Insects and pests. In present day Chipata (Fort Jameson) for example, the cotton crop failed due to pests and tsetse likewise proved a threat for cattle rancher. In the period between 1906 and 1908, tsetse also caused a challenge to agriculture in the present day Mbala (Abercorn). What compounded the situation was the lack of technology on how to deal with such epidemiological challenges because agricultural research institutes were non-existent. During this time period, contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia was recorded also in North-Western Zambia. Equally, cotton plantations were also affected at Magoye in Mazabuka by 1912.

### **12.3.2 European and Peasant Farming in Northern Rhodesia**

After 1911, there was a transformation in the agricultural system of Northern Rhodesia. To begin with, following the failure of the cotton growing in Fort Jameson, the settler farmers shifted to the growing of tobacco. The United Tobacco Company began to sponsor farmers in this venture and tobacco growing remained successful until the onset of the world economic depression. Other crops were also tried in other parts of Northern Rhodesia. For example, in present day Mbala, there was an introduction of coffee growing. Between 1918 and 1935, at least 41½ tonnes of coffee were exported from that Mbala district. In 1937 however, there were challenges of pests attacking the coffee crop in leading to heavy losses on the part of farmers. Prior to 1940, it was the only viable agricultural industry along the line of rail.

During this period, the number of European farmers on the line of rail grew from sixty eight in 1911 to two hundred and fifty by 1946. This was caused by the creation of Soldier Settler Scheme which resulted from the government's failure to pay the many Europeans who fought in the First and Second World Wars. Under this scheme, ex-servicemen were compensated in form of land for settlement between Monze and Choma. Mkushi was mostly occupied by ex-soldiers who had served in the Second World War. Maize was mostly grown as a cash crop grown because it had a ready market in the Congo and the copperbelt.

However, European or settler agriculture became more successful and prioritised over African Agriculture especially. Precisely, after the First World War, there were profound negative effects on African agriculture especially in terms of land alienation, taxation and labour migration. Many Africans were recruited as labourers on European farms in the within Northern Rhodesia and elsewhere in the region such as South Africa and Zimbabwe. In 1942

the government put in place a deliberate policy of Labour Corps to help European farmers easily get labour. The African workers employed under this scheme worked on settler farms but were paid by the government. In this way, some Africans neglected their own farms in preference for paid labour. Others however took advantage of working on European farms to learn modern farming methods and expanded their enterprises. This was very common in the Southern and Central provinces where farming was the main occupation for live hood. The proximity of Africans to Europeans along the line of rail contributed to the success of Tonga and Lenje agriculture. The Tonga competed constructively with Europeans over fertilisers and ploughs. This competition from Africans and the onset of the world economic depression in 1929 threatened the survival of European settler farmers.

Further, the colonial government supported settler agriculture through the provision of various measures. In this regard, Maize Control Board of 1936 was introduced. Earlier in 1935 a recommendation was made for the establishment of this board. This was followed by the establishment of Maize Control Ordinance which gave way to the Maize Control Board (MCB) whose function was to regulate the marketing of maize in the country. The background to this was that between 1930 and 1935 African maize sales had risen by more than 300% from 30,000 bags to 100,000 bags. For European farmers, on the other hand, the increase in maize production during the same period was only 25% from 108,000 bags to 211,000 bags. This situation was worsened by the world economic slump which led to the closure of mines. In turn, the closure of mines resulted in massive job losses, hence the maize market shrank. Since the role of the MCB was to regulate the marketing of maize, it divided the sector into two pools i.e. Internal and External. White farmers were allocated  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the internal market while the remainder was for Africans. Any surplus beyond the allocated quota was exported at a lower price.

Later, in 1937, the Cattle Control Board was formed after the enactment of the Cattle Control Ordinance of 1936. The board helped to improve the quality of European beef by giving bonuses to the best beef producers. It also fixed a minimum price below which cattle could not be sold. It also gave cattle loans to settler farmers. The setting up of the Cattle Control Board (CCB) mainly resulted from an increase in the African share of the beef market in 1936. In addition, the capture of the Katanga beef market by the Southern Rhodesian farmers in the late 1920s had further deteriorated the position of settler farmers in Northern Rhodesia. As a result of the CCB operations, between 1937 and 1957, the price of high grade beef rose by 460% while that of low grade beef increased by 200%. High grade beef was kept by Europeans, and

the low grade beef by Africans. The market share of settler ranchers increased from about 33% to 56% between 1936 and 1960 when the board ceased its operations.

In order to improve the status of agriculture in Northern Rhodesia, the colonial government introduced extension services. However, only European farmers enjoyed the technical advice from the Department of Agriculture set up in 1925. Three research stations were set up in 1929 to cater for settler farmers in Magoye (Mazabuka), Lunzuwa (Mbala) and Msekera (Chipata). At the same time there was already in existence a central research station based at Chilanga's Mount Makulu (set up 1922). These institutions provided scientific information on crops and animals to the settlers. Credit facilities in the form of loans were provided to most European farmers to finance their agriculture enterprises. In this regard, the colonial government set up the Land Board in 1937 which became known as the Land Bank in 1953. The bank attracted settlers with little capital into farming by providing seasonal credit. In this way, it supplemented loans from commercial banks which had been the only source of credit for farmers for some time. The rate of interest on loans from the Land Bank was only 4% per annum and repayments were only due after five years.

#### **12.4 Introduction of Tax and Taxation in Northern Rhodesia**

Initially, the BSAC administration had modest beginnings and a limited agenda. Eventually it became increasingly interventionist as it sought to build an extractive economy. After the BSAC had fully established its administration it began a series of increasing demands on the African population. Among the earliest demands were on portage and road building, but these quickly came to include an increasing tax burden. The BSAC needed to exploit every possible kind of revenue because to govern Northern Rhodesia and provide profits to its shareholders. Among others, the immediate way of obtaining funds was through the imposition of African Tax. The aspect of taxation was linked to the labour question, for the need to earn tax-money was one of the most important incentives to induce Africans to take up paid employment. If Africans were unwilling to work, they had at times to be forced to do so. In the early days of colonial rule, this took the form of burning down huts belonging to Africans or at times flogging.

Thus the early BSAC administrators were called 'collectors'. Tax collection was a "major preoccupation of the provincial administration" in its early years. Between 1894 and 1902, taxation was introduced across Northern Rhodesia. Tax rates were consciously set at levels which it was hoped would draw African labour away from villages with European employers

offering artificial rates of pay that were geared entirely to the level of the prevailing tax assessment. As initial levels of taxation failed to produce the desired effect, tax levels were quickly increased. European enterprise needed cheap labour and the BSAC took heed. A two-pronged approach was adopted – imposing a hut tax across the territory and limiting those economic activities which discouraged Africans from engaging in wage labour. The hut tax aimed to serve two purposes. Primarily it raised the cost of living for Africans, encouraging them into employment as labour for European enterprise and secondly, it helped cover the cost of administration.

Additionally, it has also been argued that while tax was clearly implemented to serve immediate economic interests of colonial rule, it was also justified as part of the civilising mission of the White Man in Africa. An on-going strand in colonial thought was the assumed mutual gain of economic development in the region. On lobbying to gain the original Charter, board members argued that the BSAC would be able peacefully and with the consent of the native races to open up, develop and colonise the territories to the north of British Bechuanaland (Botswana) with the best results both for British trade and commerce and for the interest of the native races (Knutsford cited in Hall, 1965). Taxation was promoted on the moral grounds that it aimed at curing the perceived inherent deficiencies of idle Africans; for "thousands of savages living in sloth... the discipline of work for a few months of the year would be of the highest moral benefit" argued one commentator (Methodist Superintendent cited in Macpherson, 1981). In 1901 BSAC director Philip Gell contended that a moral schooling in the imperative to work was the key part of the 'white man's burden' in central Africa, a sentiment echoed in Northern Nigeria by the influential Lord Lugard (Freund, 1981, Lugard, 1965). The policy was clear in that Africans were expected to pay for the protection they received, and part of it was for the development of their territory.

Further, the colonial regime also emphasised the moral benefit of taxation to the Africans. The beneficence of British rule remained an ideological cornerstone of the colonial agenda. In this case for instance, in 1928, Governor of Northern Rhodesia emphasised the need to pay tax for the benefits of peace and development influenced by the colonial government. It was claimed that after colonial rule was introduced peace prevailed in African societies. African lived, without fear of other tribes raiding your villages, capturing the women folk, and robbing each other of food supply. At the same time, it was argued that people were introduced to civilisation and development in that railways built by the Europeans enabled them to buy these luxuries. Yet, despite fine words, the reality of taxation was a brutal one with compliance secured



through the application of coercive force. The price of Pax Britannica was coercion into market relations and forcible participation in the development of Northern Rhodesia.

#### **12.4.1 Imposition and Implementation of Tax Policy in Northern Rhodesia**

As a way of resolving the financial challenge in Northern Rhodesia, the BSAC introduced a variety of taxes. These were Customs and Excise Duty, Income Tax, and African tax. It is also important to note that the concept of Taxation in Northern Rhodesia was introduced at different times. In North- Eastern Rhodesia, it was introduced in 1900 while in North Western Rhodesia Africans started paying tax in 1904. This resulted from the different nature of politics of occupation and administration process of the two regions. The different taxation regimes existed until 1911 when North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia were merged. In North Eastern Rhodesia, the policy of taxation was introduced by Proclamation No. 9 of 1900. It was known as Hut Tax and was initially pegged at 3s per annum. This tax was levied as a money tax on each wife with a separate hut except the first one. And in North-Western Rhodesia, the type of tax imposed was referred as Poll Tax and was paid annually as well. It varied between 5s and 10s upon introduction depending on the district. Unlike Hut Tax, Poll Tax was levied on all adult males and each additional wife except for the first one.

Initially the tax could be paid in cash, labour or in kind as foodstuffs or other produce to the government. However, as revenue raised from the hut tax fell far short of covering administrative expenditure in the early years of the BSAC administration, it became clear that its primary purpose was to encourage Africans in to wage labour. In 1902 the Foreign Office banned the payment of tax by unwaged labour because of unease about how closely the outcome resembled forced or slave labour – opposition to which had been a key moral justification for the British imperial project. The other reason that contributed to the banning of tax in kind was that the government remained responsible for transporting the goods to a usually non-existent market. More so, the government wanted to avoid being with a lot of unsaleable goods. Thus, from 1905 onwards, the government only accepted cash as a mode of paying tax. Correspondingly, a similar policy was adopted in Southern Rhodesia where payment of tax in kind was abolished earlier in 1895.

After the amalgamation North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia merged in 1911, the taxation system changed. Hut Tax was abolished and Poll Tax was adopted throughout Northern Rhodesia. The causal factor to such a transformation was that the government discovered that the collection system of Hut Tax was not effective. Village huts were being

overcrowded. At the same time Hut Tax was considered unfair especially those men who inherited widows according to African custom. Accordingly, in the period between 1914 and 1920 Poll Tax was at 5s per person for all districts in former North Eastern Rhodesia and 10s for all districts in former North Western Rhodesia. An attempt to increase the tax to 10s in former NER was met with a lot of resistance from chiefs and their subjects. It was therefore put at 7s.6d. This was caused by the existing tax rate in the neighbouring territory in Malawi, where tax was at 6s. Therefore people in Eastern Zambia argued that they could not pay more than that rate.

The difference in tax rates was influenced by the availability of market for African produce. In this regard, areas which had markets for farm produce had higher taxes than areas where no market existed. Africans had to sell their produce in order to raise tax money. The existence of a railway line between Livingstone and Ndola gave stimulus to Africans to trade and raise tax money through the sale of livestock and grain. The state of economic development of a particular region also determined the amount of tax to be paid. Thus, in regions such as the Copperbelt, Kabwe, Mbala and Southern and Eastern provinces tax rates were higher. For example, Chipata prospered because of a large population of Europeans engaged in tobacco farming. Correspondingly, Kabwe and Copperbelt also flourished because of mining activities. Buloziland was also economically sound because of a beef industry.

From the 1930s onwards further transformation in tax policy continued to prevail. Likewise, the colonial government eliminated taxation on plural wives. In this situation for instance, Chief Kawaza noted that polygamy was not synonymous with wealth. It was observed that in a way, the taxing of extra wives was punishment to those men who accepted responsibility of taking care of widows under customary law. The system had also resulted in unnecessary divorces. It was also difficult for state officials to establish which one was the first wife.

Nonetheless with the occurrence of the world economic depression (1929-1933) the tax policy was reviewed for the reason that it became difficult for Africans to pay as many had lost their jobs. Accordingly, in 1933, a tax committee was constituted and made a recommendation to the government of standard tax rate of 7s.6d. to be introduced throughout Northern Rhodesia. This measure was intended to ensure that Africans leaving their home districts did not have to pay higher taxes elsewhere.

The introduction of taxation impacted on the African societies of Northern in varied ways. Among others, there were population dynamics especially in border areas due to migrations.

The Chewa and Ngoni easily moved to Malawi or Mozambique in order to evade paying taxes. Others had relatives there, and cultivated across the border. In 1901 many people from Chief Mushota's area in Luapula province ran away to the Congo because of high local tax; even in Southern Rhodesia some people came to live in the Gwembe valley in 1898 due to high tax there. Gender dynamics were also at play in that there a number of divorces before 1930 because of tax on plural wives. Africans were also dehumanised especially through beatings and having their huts burnt for defaulting on payments. Labour migration was intensified among African men in particular in search for funds to settle tax requirements.

### **12.5 Labour and Labour Migration in Northern Rhodesia**

Labour migration in the new capitalist economy was not a new phenomenon. Zambians had been migrating elsewhere to look for employment for a long time long before the introduction of colonial rule through the BSAC. The Tonga and Lozi people were migrating from Northern Rhodesia as early as the beginning of operations at Kimberly in the 1860s. However they were by no means migrating out of desperation because by this time for instance, according to David Livingstone Barotseland (Western Province) was a fertile valley, where the people never lack abundance of food. Africans were leaving Northern Rhodesia to work in the Cape Colony, Transvaal or on the coasts long before Europeans even occupied the territory.

Nonetheless after the introduction of the BSAC the nature of labour migration took a different turn. Largely, the BSAC considered Northern Rhodesia valuable as a labour reserve for mines in both Katanga and Southern Rhodesia. The Company had a major stake in the mines of Katanga, since these provided much traffic for the railways which ran through the Southern Rhodesia and these were owned by the Company. The BSAC thus ensured that mines both in Southern Rhodesia and Katanga obtained African labour as cheaply as possible. The other major market for labour from Northern Rhodesia before the mid-1920s was South Africa and Lupa Goldfields in Tanganyika.

In Northern Rhodesia, the BSAC was well placed to provide labour because it ruled over about a million people and these could be compelled to pay taxes in cash. And at this time, there was only a small demand for marketed food stuffs within Northern Rhodesia and in any case the produce of white farmers was given preference. Nor was there much market for local crafts. The coming of the railway line rapidly exposed African goods to competition from mass produced wares which despite being imported from overseas were still cheaper than products of local skills. At the same time, there was only a limited demand for African labour within the

territory. Some men obtained jobs on the railway, the few small mines or on white farms; others engaged in government or domestic service but most had to migrate beyond the borders of Northern Rhodesia.

To a large extent the migration of Africans from Northern Rhodesia especially in the early years of colonial rule to the labour markets of southern Africa was a matter of economic necessity; they were not simply moved as some Europeans supposed- by primitive instinct for wandering or by a curiosity to see the towns or urban centres. These migrants needed cash not only to pay tax but to buy from Europeans stores the imported households goods which were replacing the cloths and pots once bartered in the village. Yet African labour migrants were by no means passive victims of the new cash economy. So far as possible they chose their employers for both wages and working conditions varied considerably. In general, mines paid less than the whites' farms for example, but this was mainly because the mines of southern Africa were still extremely brutal, unhealthy and dangerous places. The mines in Katanga which drew heavily from Rhodesia were almost as bad as Russian labour camps; between 1913 and 1917 the annual death rate of their African workers ranged from 70 to 140 per thousand, due to gross neglect and malnutrition. Until 1923, the death rate of African workers was never less than 20 per thousand, while in 1912-13 it was more than 50.

In view of these varied opportunities and risks, migrant workers from Northern Rhodesia as elsewhere, usually shifted from one employment to another. This also meant that they moved from one mine to another and between the mining industry and other employers in a continued effort to strike a balance between the lure of money and fear of death. Such kind of drifting proved to the employers that it was not enough simply to induce Africans to work for wages; they had to be forced to go where they did not want to go and stay when they wished to leave. This was the purpose for recruitment for contract labour. Individual people were no longer allowed to find their own employment. Instead recruiting agents were involved who collected workers from their home villages and bound them by contracts to employers for a fixed period. From the early 1900 agents from Southern Rhodesia and Katanga were active in Northern Rhodesia.

The company however exerted some control over the process of recruitment. As the governing authority in Northern Rhodesia, the BSAC also had a direct interest in African taxation as a source of revenue as well as an incentive to labour migration. Therefore, it ensured that Africans who left Northern Rhodesia came back regularly with money to pay their taxes. In

this view for example, the Company's regulations of 1911 ensured that Africans who were recruited for work in Katanga returned after seven months, while part of their pay had to be deferred to the end of their contract.

Robert Williams and Company was one of the earliest agents to be recruited. It recruited labour from Northern Rhodesia for the Katanga. Although the government received money from migrants working in the Congo, it was not happy because it wanted the labour to go to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Apart from that, copper mines in the Congo were hazardous and had a high death rate. Transfer of labour to Southern Rhodesia was organised by the Southern Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (SRNLB) which began operating in Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1906. By 1912 the Bureau had also established itself in North-Western Rhodesia. After signing a contract with the Bureau, a migrant worked for between 6 to 12 months. A medical examination had to be undertaken by each recruit. The company provided transport up to the destination. Fifty per cent of the wages earned were transferred to the Northern Rhodesian government by the employer for tax purposes, and the migrant got the remainder upon his return home at the end of the contract. For South Africa, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA or WENELA in Silozi) recruited labour specifically from Buluzi. The notion of deferred payments was also utilised. This recruitment exercise was stopped in 1966.

### **12.5.1 Labour Migration on the Copperbelt**

The most important economic development during the 1920s was the discovery of vast deposits of copper; mostly well below the levels reached by existing mines at the time. This discovery had its origins in the last years of company rule. The exploitation of the Copperbelt provided a new market within the territory for migrant labour. The skilled labour was supplied by Europeans many of whom came from South Africa. The unskilled mine labour was mostly supplied by Africans from Northern Rhodesia, especially Bemba-speaking people of the north-east, who already had much experience of mining in Katanga. Thus labour also came from different parts of the country with Luapula and Northern provinces providing the largest proportion. The next was Barotseland while Eastern and Central provinces each provided small numbers of workers. However, for labour that went to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the Eastern province provided the largest component. Southern province provided the least numbers of migrants due to a flourishing peasant economy.

There was also a large presence of foreign labour especially from Nyasaland and Tanganyika. Foreign labour was mainly brought in for specific tasks. On one hand, those from Nyasaland were employed mainly for clerical work because education had been introduced by missionaries in that territory quite early as compared to Northern Rhodesia. On the other hand, the Nyakyusa from Tanganyika were engaged in tasks of underground work. They constituted the second largest group after the Bemba in underground mining.

On the basis of labour, the late development of mining in Northern Rhodesia was placed at an advantage. At the time mines were being developed in Northern Rhodesia, Africans were already accustomed to the rigours of mining activities. But the Northern Rhodesia mines had to compete against the older and well established mines of Katanga, Southern Rhodesia, Tanzania and South Africa which already offered better conditions of service. In the 1920s, for instance most the total African labour force in Katanga was recruited from Zambia. Hence, mine administrators in Northern Rhodesia created the Native Labour Association (NLA) to operate as a private company but under control of mine owners. Colonel A. Stephenson was appointed its Director and was tasked with the responsibility of securing and supplying sufficient labour to the mines as required. The company was paid £5 per recruit, an amount to cater for food, the first blanket and transport. To facilitate its operations, the company placed twenty seven members at strategic places all over the provinces where labour was obtained. There were also many sub-agents in the villages.

Once recruited, the contents of the contract were explained and the men were checked physically by the local European. They were transported by road to Bwana Mkubwa where a depot for the reception and deployment was done. Conditions in the contract were once more checked and when the recruits accepted them they were signed in the presence of the District Commissioner. After a thorough medical examination, recruits chose which mines they wanted to work for. The successful ones went to their mines where they were again examined by a mine Medical Officer. An orientation programme then followed, for instance, taught names of tools to be used, mine safety procedures, drilling operations, language of communication (a lingua franca that came from South Africa called Chilapalapa), and general conditions of labour. Contracts were initially six tickets of 30 days each; and from the mid-1930s were extended to 12 tickets.

At the time of the economic depression of the 1930s, the labour situation in Northern Rhodesia especially on the Copperbelt changed radically. There was plenty of free labour a situation

which rendered the services of the NLA ineffective. In 1932, there were no contracts or recruited workers at Roan Antelope mine. Nonetheless, the shift in the type of labour was not just because of the economic depression, but also that the construction period of the mines which had started in the 1920s had come to an end. There was therefore no need for a large numbers of workers. A more stable and long term labour was hence needed than during the construction phase. It was then that the issue of labour stabilisation began to be considered.

During this period, the Northern Rhodesia mines began to consider stabilisation of labour in the mining towns of the Copperbelt. This was a policy under which African miners could now bring their wives and children into the mining areas than before. The mines would in turn provide social and other amenities for miners' wives and children such as schools. On the part of the colonial government, its position on this issue depended on the different views of the different Governors of the territory. Serious consideration to change the policy came in 1933 when Governor Sir Ronald Storrs discussed the issue with Sir Auckland Geddes. However nothing fruitful came out of these deliberations. In 1935 the new Governor for NR Sir Hubert Young retaliated the issue of African settlement on the Copperbelt. To him that was the most urgent matter of all issues he found in the territory.

Thus, while some colonial government officials advocated for a long term and stable labour on the Copperbelt mines, those who opposed the new policy were more concerned with the impact of labour migration on rural areas, especially with regard to tax collection. They were not too keen to see Africans detribalised. They argued urbanisation of Africans would come with it various social vices such as shanty compounds, gangsters and prostitution. Those were against the stabilisation of labour did not want to bear the increased cost of having a large population of Africans in urban centres. Missionaries were also concerned with the detribalising effects of longer term African workers' settlement in the emerging urban areas. The colonial government, therefore, was opposed to any large scale stabilisation of African labour on the mines. It wished Africans to remain anchored in their traditional setting yet at the same time contribute to the general uplifting of African standards in rural areas through the circulation of wages. Eventually pro-stabilisation views were considered and implemented. It was felt the only solution to the problem of the Copperbelt lay in giving incentives to workers to stay on the mines for a long time. This was done by allowing the miners to stay for a longer time, and to live with their families.

## **12.6 Development of Mining in Northern Rhodesia**

While mining of copper and iron in pre-colonial Northern Rhodesia was conducted using traditional methods, large scale mining only began after the introduction of colonial rule. The BSAC assumed that there was gold in Northern Rhodesia as such they set about prospecting for minerals as soon as they had colonised the territory. In 1902, Edmund Davis of the Rhodesia Copper Company and an associate of J.C. Rhodes, discovered Zinc and Lead at Broken Hill. This discovery led to the formation of the Broken Hill Company (BHC) which had to exploit the resources by developing a mine. Within the same year (1902) William Collier also discovered an outcrop of copper at Bwana Mkubwa. He was a member of the Rhodesia Copper Company. However, for the next 20 years, nothing was done to develop that mine in spite of the railway reaching the Copperbelt in 1910, and thereby easing transportation.

In the mid-1920s, however the major mines were established at Roan Antelope and then Nkana. Later discoveries were equally made at Konkola, Mufulira, Kansanshi, and Nchanga. By the 1930s therefore, colonial Zambia had become an important mineral producing country. However the mining sector developed slowly owing to the expensive process of extracting ores for refining. It was only in 1912 that a much cheaper method, the Flootation Method, was discovered, leading to the opening up of a 90 tonne concentrator on the Copperbelt in January 1913. It was only then that it became possible to treat high grade ore. The reason was that before the First World War the world market of copper was low as a result financiers were discouraged. The other contributing factor was that the Katanga copper deposits discovered in 1906 were easier to treat than Zambia's. thus Investors preferred the Katanga mines. The outbreak of the first World War also disrupted the development of Northern Rhodesia's mines as the country was also drafted into war.

It was only in about 1922 that serious work began to be undertaken in the country's mining industry, and Bwana Mkubwa did very well until the onset of the 1929 world economic depression. As the demand for copper rose during and after the war, the price also rose. Further, capital was injected into Bwana Mkubwa in 1924 by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer was the founder of the Rhodesian Anglo American Ltd (RAA) of South Africa. The RAA had its buying and technical services operated from its HQ in Johannesburg. In 1931 RAA was reorganised when new capital was pumped in following the joining of Rio Tinto which was headed by Sir Auckland Geddes and Rothchilds. These two financiers had important connections in the British government as well as in Washington D.C. RAA Ltd soon changed



its name to Rhokana Ltd in 1931 following the injection of more capital. These developments marked the beginning of capitalist involvement in Zambian mining.

The participation of these magnates in the mining business of Northern Rhodesia facilitated capital investment and introduction of better mining technology especially in underground mining. It also fetched mining expertise such as highly trained mining managers. It equally enhanced the defeat of malaria on the Copperbelt to which Europeans lacked natural immunity. The new mines contracted experts to solve the problem of mosquitoes. Malcom Watson, for example, was contracted to eradicate malaria. Watson had carried out a similar campaign before in Malaysia. As a result, a programme was soon put in place to drain huge swamps and ditches, drench Rivers, oil stagnant water and so on. Due to these measures the Copperbelt became one of the healthiest places Europeans could live in Africa and extensive mining operations now take began.

Through booms and slumps, the country's mining industry developed into one of the richest mineral producing areas of the world. A boom was sustained due to the outbreak of the Second World War. During the war, the British government assumed control over copper production and distribution. Production increased because of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and by 1946 however production had fallen due to the end of the war, and technical problems resulting from wear and tear. But by 1955 copper was fetching £352 per long tonne on the London Metal Exchange, and in 1956, it was at £420. All this was facilitated by the increased demand as a result of reconstruction in Europe after the war as well as the latest mines which had opened at Bancroft and Chibuluma (1954). Chibuluma was financed through a loan from the United States of America government. In 1959, a further recovery occurred resulting in another significant increase in output. This increase was attributed to a seven-month strike in the USA while Northern Rhodesia enjoyed industrial peace. The use of giant earth-moving machines for open pit mines, elaborate mechanical loaders in underground operations, conveyor belts for the transportation of ore, large crushing machines and large scale furnaces in the 1950s all contributed to a reduction in production costs in copper mines in Zambia.

### **Summary**

This unit discusses the introduction of a colonial political-economy in Northern Rhodesia in the form of land alienation, labour migration, peasant and settler agriculture taxation mining. The unit further examined how these political and economic structures were aligned to suit and benefit the colonial agenda at the disadvantage of African communities in Northern Rhodesia.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the factors behind the creation of Native Reserves.
2. The colonial government promoted settler agriculture and disadvantaged peasant farming. Discuss.
3. How did capital investment in mining transform the socio-economic life in Northern Rhodesia's Copperbelt?
4. Discuss the reasons for the introduction of taxation and how it impacted on African societies in Northern Rhodesia.
5. Examine the effects of labour and labour migration in Northern Rhodesia.



## **UNIT 13**

### **NORTHERN RHODESIA DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

#### **13.1 Introduction**

The period between the First World War and the Second World War saw the occurrence of major events such as the Great Economic Depression which transformed the course of Northern Rhodesia's colonial history. This unit provides a discussion on the major historical events such as the First World War, Great Economic Depression and the Second World War in connection with how these events impacted on the social, political and economic spheres of Northern Rhodesia.

#### **Learning Outcomes**

**Upon completion of this unit, you should be able to;**

- Analyse the role of Northern Rhodesia in the First World War and how this Major event impacted on the socio-economic spheres of Northern Rhodesia.
- Trace the causes of the Great Economic Depression and how it impacted on colonial government of Northern Rhodesia.
- Examine the implication of the Second World War on the socio-economic and political spheres of Northern Rhodesia

#### **13.2 Northern Rhodesia and the First World War (1914-1918)**

The outbreak of conflicts which led to the First World War in 1914 were totally unexpected. At that time Northern Rhodesia was under the BSAC administration and the company was unprepared for the turnout of events. When the war broke out, the only military force available was the Northern Rhodesia Police which was formed in 1912 by amalgamating the North-Eastern Constabulary and the Baroste Native Police. Thus at the onset of the war, the Company's troops adopted a purely defensive strategy and the operations were accordingly on a very small scale. However, in February 1915, the Company police received reinforcements in the form of the Northern Rhodesia Rifles known as the Northern Rhodesia Volunteer Force, a mobile column. As far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned, the war effort thus came to be shouldered entirely by Northern Rhodesia Police and by those Northern Rhodesian Europeans who joined the British South Africa Police and other colonial units.

The burden of war on the Northern Rhodesia was heavy one. Northern Rhodesian civil servants fought on various fronts, nearly all of whom obtained commissions. In this situation for instance about 335 settlers went for war apart from those who had joined local defence units. So 40 per cent of the adult white population of the territory had been on active service, a very high proportion especially in view of the fact that many district officials were precluded from volunteering, whilst many of the colonists could not be spared for economic reasons. In addition a good number of Africans served in the Northern Rhodesia Police which after four years of fighting, developed into an excellent force, expert in bush fighting. Equally severe was the strain on African civilian population. About 1, 893 Africans served in the Northern Rhodesia Police which after four years of fighting developed into an excellent force, expert in bush fighting.

More so, the war in East Africa was a war of movement, but a war in which the fighting troops still largely depended on carriers. Carriers for their part needed more carriers to carry their food, so that even small operations were immensely wasteful in manpower. Matters were made worse by the fluctuations in demand, which threw a heavy load on both the recruiting organisation and on the native population, the number of troops engaged changed constantly, so did the front line and the lines of communication ; which meant that demands had to be met as they arose. In addition the ordinary requirements of Northern Rhodesia as a territory had to be provided for, with the result that the manpower resources of Northern Rhodesia became desperately strained.

Increased labour loads became the norm during the First World War. For example in the pre-war period carrier-work was far from unpopular, for carriers were simply given their loads and definite time in which to complete their task, so that they could determine their own rests. In the war time, all this was different. Carriers had to be ready to work all the times, they were expected to wind and rain the heat and cold over long periods; sometimes high mountains had to be crossed and sometimes low-lying, fever ridden swamps. The carriers lacked the military pride and discipline of regular troops, yet had no to share the same dangers and hardships, hurdles as they were into the Europeans' incomprehensible war. These were among other reasons carrier work was unpopular and workers had to be impressed. Recruitment was done through chiefs who had to supply a specified quota a task which made their position with their tribesmen no easier.

By 1917, about 37, 0000 Northern Rhodesian Africans were on war-work of whom 31, 0000 came from North-Eastern Rhodesia. And 40 percent of all available African men in North-Eastern Rhodesia were at times employed-30 percent being in fairly constant services. In order to keep up this supply all recruitment for Southern Rhodesia and the Katanga mines had to be suspended for a time and since the current wages were double paid for war-work, the African population suffered bitter hardships in a period of supply rising prices. Worse still were the physical losses. Somewhat more than 2, 300 carriers never returned to their villages, the number of carrier killed were than those of Northern Rhodesia Police of whom about 1000 men lost their lives. When fighting ended the remnant of the armed forces were largely demobilised and most of them returned to the villages, where they fitted back to the customary ways of farming.

Furthermore, the severity of the impact of the First World War the African population differed in the various parts of Northern Rhodesia. The Barosteland remained relatively little affected and co-operated in providing men, though they were seriously pleuro-pneumonia wiped out a large percentage off their herds. Along the railway belt the effects of war were also felt in a different way. For once agriculture prices went up, farmers found more customers for meat and mealies and production was increased, for example, the average yield of maize per acre rose from 2.2 bags between 1915 to 1916 to 5,28 between 1919 to 1920. Africans benefited from the rise in prices the same way as Europeans and the Livingstone Mail began to publish complaints from the farmers that labour was more difficult to get because of African competition. The war and the few years of prosperity upon it seemed to have given rise to have given rise to Northern Rhodesia's earliest African Kulaks. African enterprise was for the first time beginning to be of some importance and the intensification of agriculture sharpened competition for land between white and black so that the Europeans demanded that native reserves to be mapped out along the railway.

In North-Eastern Rhodesia the effects of the war were felt most of all, the drain of labour was heavier than anywhere else in the territory and the proximity of Germans troops in the early and final parts of the war induced a greater loss of confidence in British power. At the same time, the general rise in prices occasioned all over Southern Africa by wartime shortages, was not made up by increased opportunities for earning money rather the reverse for compulsory carrier work meant that wages were artificially deflated. In addition, North-Eastern Rhodesian Africans were probably aware of John Chilembwe rising of 1915, a small revolt set off by grievances of labour tenants on European estates and the political ambitions of mission trained

Africana who inspired by an incipient African nationalism , cast in ecclesiastical form. Chilembwe's attempt to set up a black state on theoretical lines admittedly proved a complete failure, few Nyasalanders would join and the outbreak was quickly suppressed even though practically the whole of available British forces were engaged against the Germans. Nevertheless, the movement left its mark and north-Eastern Rhodesia which was geographically closest to Nyasaland witnessed the first manifestation of a new spirit of independence which again found expression in biblical terms.

### **13.3 Northern Rhodesia and the Great Economic Depression**

The Great Depression or Great Slump which occurred between 1929 and 1939 refers to the economic crisis that the capitalist world experienced in the 1930s which was more widespread, deeper and longer than any other depression in the twentieth century. It was a period of unprecedented trade contraction, bank failures, investment cutbacks, acute unemployment, wage reductions and a sharp decline in the standard of living in the capitalist world.<sup>4</sup> The industrialised countries had experienced economic crises even before 1929 but none of them was as severe and extensive as the Great Depression. Beginning with the New York Stock Market Crash in October 1929, the waves of the Depression swiftly spread to and hit all European stock markets. European economies were already fragile and vulnerable to economic catastrophe as a result of the impact of the World War I. Thus, like in the USA, the slump caused serious economic breakdowns in Europe. From 1929 to 1931, the Depression was characterised by an almost uninterrupted decline in commodity prices, trade, production and employment in the western world.<sup>6</sup> Economic ties between European nations and their colonies spread the Depression from Europe to Africa and other peripheral countries around the globe. It was through this chain of events that by October 1931, the Great Depression hit the Northern Rhodesian economy, an appendage of the British imperial economy.

In Northern Rhodesia, the Depression began in the mining industry, spread to the railways, commerce and agriculture, and ruined the economic boom of the late 1920s. Northern Rhodesia had become economically tied to the capitalist world by 1929 through the development of the copper mining industry which attracted foreign investment and needed market for copper. The development of copper mines at Bwana Mkubwa, Mufulira, Nchanga, Roan Antelope and Rhokana all relied on foreign capital.

Furthermore, the western world provided markets for the upcoming copper mining industry. This easily spread the Depression to Northern Rhodesia when the demand for the metal

declined and investors could not risk pumping huge capital in the copper mining business. The consequence of this was that mines closed down worldwide. In Northern Rhodesia, the first victim was Bwana Mkubwa which closed down in January 1931. By June operations at Chambishi and Kansanshi were discontinued; in July, operations were suspended at Kabwe; in October Nchanga stopped development plans; and by December Mufulira also shut down. The only mines that remained operational were Nkana and Roan. With the closure of these mines on the Copperbelt, there was an enormous reduction in the number of Africans in employment. For instance, there were 7,000 employees on the mines in 1932 compared to 30,000 in 1929.

Once the slump hit the mining industry, it easily spread to other sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, as they were interlinked. The mine construction boom experienced during the years 1928-1930 in Northern Rhodesia attracted both European and African labourers from all over Southern Africa. To Africans, mine-related employment became an important source of money for the payment of tax and the purchase of desired goods such as clothes, blankets, plates, pots and many others. Hence, the construction of the copper mines and the commencement of mining activities in Northern Rhodesia was a blessing to the territory's labour market. As the mining industry provided employment for thousands of people, migrant labour became a common phenomenon and the population of the Copperbelt region expanded. According to Wills, the African mine labour force on the Copperbelt grew from 8,000 in 1927 to 23,000 in 1930. As a result of the mine construction boom, government revenues from tax and duties on imported machinery increased. At the same time, the copper industry began to increase railway traffic and the railways provided further employment opportunities in the territory. Also, white settler agriculturalists within and outside Northern Rhodesia found a fortune in the selling of maize and beef cattle to the emerging copper mining community. Africans, particularly those along the line of rail, also found market for their agricultural produce especially maize and cattle. With the emerging Northern Rhodesian mining industry depending on foreign capital and markets, the territory's economy was severely depressed by 1932 following the decline in international trade. Even the remotest parts of Northern Rhodesia economically linked to mining and other capitalist ventures through the export of labour and food were hit by the Depression.

The Depression affected every aspect of human endeavour in all parts of the capitalist world and did not spare Northern Rhodesia. The impact of the Great Northern Rhodesia was mainly experienced in connection to the mining industry, settler agriculture, the labour market and colonial taxation. In this regard, support industries to mining experienced serious challenges.



since mining was the mainstay of the country's economy, the closure of the mines had a negative effect on the industries which depended on mining for survival. These were agriculture and the railway industry. As regards agriculture, local Africans employed in this sector fell from 70,478 in 1930 to 37,492 in 1933. The agricultural sector was also depended on mining for a market. As workers lost jobs, there was no incentive for farmers to grow a lot of food. Prices of beef and other farm produce fell due to lack of market. Correspondingly, in the Railways system which transported copper and food to the market declined. Now that traffic on the railways had reduced, the company was affected due to a loss of revenue.

The Depression disrupted economic, social and political activities in many parts of the territory and forced colonial government to change some of the existing policies and adopt new ones in response to the challenges faced. The collapse in the demand for copper on the international market led to the cutting down of copper production by the mining companies and the consequent reduction of workforces and wages. This resulted in high levels of unemployment and a decline in the standard of living in urban areas. Many Africans and Europeans likewise were repatriated to their homes at government cost.

The administration of Northern Rhodesia was affected because of reduced revenue. Measures were put in place to restructure the country's civil service. For example, salaries were cut, senior officers were retrenched such that the entire district staff was reduced from 110 to 90 officers in 1932; the number of provinces was reduced from 9 to 5. The Education Department lost some of its teachers and salaries of African teachers were cut below that of a District Messenger. The workforce in the Department of Agriculture was cut from 23 to 5. Rural areas from where African migrant workers came suffered. Before the depression, Northern Rhodesia used to receive £36,777 in deferred payments but in 1933 only £8,587 was remitted. This was because people had lost jobs. Most Africans therefore, found it hard to meet their tax obligations. In both rural areas and urban centres, Africans found it difficult to raise money for paying poll tax and as many defaulted on tax payment, arrests of defaulters increased. For instance, Mbala Prison with a capacity of 20 inmates had 100 prisoners in 1933.

The Depression also strained labour relations between workers and employers. This manifested itself in the first African mine workers' strike on the Copperbelt in 1935. Since the development of capitalist mining in the late 1920s, African mine workers went on strike in 1935 for the first time. There is a long background to the conflicts that eventually led to the outbreak of the strike, BUT lowering of wages in 1932 due to the world economic depression is suggested to

have caused an immediate reaction from the mine workers. Rhodesian Selection Trust and Anglo American Corporation were taken by surprise as they believed employees were happy. They gave an example of the large numbers of people available on the Copperbelt in search of jobs after the great depression. They also said there were low absentee and desertion rates; mine compound managers were contented with peace in African compounds.

Apart from the Great Depression as a cause for the 1935 strike, this event has also attracted various views and debates. Subsequent to the strike, the government appointed the Russell Commission to investigate the causes of the disturbances. In its report submitted in October 1935, the Commission reported that the strike was caused by the increase in taxation in the mine areas. Poll Tax was raised to 15s while in rural areas it was pegged at 7s.6d. The timing for the tax rise was bad because wages for miners had been reduced in 1932 due to the recession. Other debates on the strikes have suggested that there were also grievances over wages, food portions, deductions on mine clothing, maltreatment, and bad working conditions. These are argued to have been smouldering long before 1935. Yet, other causes are attributed to loss of employment in the wake of the depression, detribalisation of Africans, as well as inadequate contact between the colonial government, workers and mine owners over tax policy.

#### **13.4 Northern Rhodesia and the Second World War**

In 1939, Britain declared war on Nazi Germany. At this time, Northern Rhodesia was not prepared for battle. A reason which led to this among others was that the Northern Rhodesia Legislators were not prepared to spend on Askaris even when it was well known that protectorates were expected to be responsible for their own defence. For example all British East African territories, remained responsible for its own defence.

Although earlier in 1938 the Northern Rhodesian Regiment European Reserve was formed followed by an African reserve was also formed and the Northern Rhodesia Defence Force, a poorly equipped European Home Guard, all these efforts did not prove effective. After the Germans mobilised, Northern Rhodesia still depended in the main on a single African battalion, numbering only 401 Africans, commanded by 20 European officers and Non Commissioned Officers. Nevertheless, Northern Rhodesia was fortunate in the quality of its fighting men. More than one quarter of the troops in the Northern Rhodesia Regiment consisted of Bemba, Ila, Ngoni and Chewa. All these were considered to have had recommendable fighting skills. Luckily, by 1940, a Compulsory Military Service Ordinance was enacted which required all

British subjects between 18 and 45 to be conscripted in the army. By the end of 1940, the Northern Rhodesia Regiment Defence Force numbered a total of 1,400 and was up to strength.

Thus within 1940 the first battalion of the Northern Rhodesian Regiment departed for British Somaliland which was threatened by Italian forces. But the Italians outnumbered the British forces by 10 to 1, the Italians being further supported by aircraft and armour. Northern Rhodesian Africans were now subjected, for the first time, to modern mechanised warfare. But under European leadership they stood up to the test. Their prestige rapidly arose amongst Europeans in the protectorate who originally expected little from the African troops. The Regiment also participated in the defence of the Tug Argan Gap where machine gunners and snipers attempted to hold up the enemy in rocky terrain.

The Northern Rhodesians further participated in the invasion of Ethiopia where they fought several sharp actions and kept open lines of communications. The major battle was at Gondar. In the meantime the Regiment was expanded, its total strength reaching 8 battalions and one independent garrison company. Each battalion was under the charge of its commanding officer and attached to the various branches of the East African Command, so that the Northern Rhodesians never fought as one division. In total, about 15,000 men joined the East African Command from Northern Rhodesia. Of these, 98 were killed, 171 suffered wounds, while 300 Africans died of various other causes. Between 1939 and 1945 about 700-800 Europeans from Northern Rhodesia fought abroad, resulting in 40 deaths.

In the Second World War, Northern Rhodesian Africans still served as infantry, though they now handled more complicated arms such as mortars and machine guns. More importantly, the large number of African lorry drivers who took to the battle field. The first training school for African recruits was started in May 1940, so that African soldiers now rose into —semi skilled military occupations. As compared to the First World War, African troops travelled widely, to India, Burma, Madagascar and Palestine, with the result that their outlook became a great deal than before.

#### **13.4.1 Impact of the Second World War on Northern Rhodesia**

As a result of the Second World War, the economy was boosted due to increased copper production. The metal was used in Europe in the manufacture of shells and cartridges. Britain found herself fortunate in controlling a major supply of copper within her empire. At the same time, Northern Rhodesia embarked on the production of other minerals such as zinc and lead. Vanadium also began to be mined as it was a useful metal in the manufacture of steel for

armoured vehicles. Additionally, a substantial amount of cobalt was turned out. In 1943 two small mica mines in Northern Rhodesia producing mica of high quality opened. The metal was in great demand for the manufacture of valves in oxygen masks used in bombers.

To a large extent, the war stimulated emerging secondary industries in Northern Rhodesia. Small components for ammunition were produced in mine and railway workshops. Numerous parts for tanks, and bombs were produced and transported to the military workshops in North Africa. There was also an increase in food production in Northern Rhodesia. Since the war was dependent on the supply of food, fighting abroad acted as a stimulus to the farmer at home. In 1937 Northern Rhodesia managed to produce 437,000 bags of maize of which 242,000 was derived from European farmers and the rest from Africans. The success of agriculture helped to keep the wheels of industry turning. A Food Production Committee was formed and it advised farmers on how to increase their acreage. At the same time, the colonial government initiated a number of schemes aimed at boosting peasant production. One of these was the African Farming Improvement Scheme (AFIS) which started in the Southern Province in 1947. The following year, the African Peasant Farming Scheme began in Fort Jameson district. In 1942, Labour Corps were initiated. Through this programme, the colonial administration recruited African labour for settler farmers. This policy was adopted from Kenya and Tanganyika where a similar programme existed. Those drafted on the programme were compelled to serve for two months at normal rates of pay.

There was also a notable shortage of white labour. Consequently, the situation strengthened the bargaining position of the European Mine Workers 'Union. The European miners, many of them young men fresh from the Rand, argued that now was the time to stand out for their pay- this was the right time to get a pay rise rather than wait for a time of peace, slump and unemployment. Besides, the cost of living had gone up. As a result, they went on strike in March 1940, first at Mufulira, then Nkana which influenced wage increase. The European strike made a deep impression on African miners, some of them apparently teased by their European supervisors for lacking guts in standing up for their rights. As a result, African miners went on strike as well in 1940. In its investigation of the causes of this strike, the Forster Commission of Inquiry found that wages for African workers were lower in terms of real value in 1940 than during the period of mine construction.

In terms of politics, the Second World War transformed the nature of settler politics. Settlers, especially in Southern Rhodesia, revived this scheme creation of the Central African Federation

mainly because of the new status of the Copperbelt which had changed as a result of the increased copper production. Thus Northern Rhodesia was seen as a key area in the success of the federation. The war was also a motivation for the rise of African nationalism. The war and settler politics influenced the mind set of Africans who were slowly becoming more and more interested in the affairs beyond their ethnic zones. The colonial government enhanced the Africans conscious of wider issues by launching an extensive propaganda campaign to fight indifference and apathy with regard to the war, which remained widespread amongst Africans. This propaganda was in the form of leaflets, radio broadcasts, cinema shows and vernacular newspapers.

### **Summary**

This Unit explored the major historical events that impacted on the political, social and economic spheres of Northern Rhodesia between the First World War and the Second World War. Precisely, the unit demonstrated how Northern Rhodesia responded to the occurrences of the First World War, Great Economic Depression and the Second World War. The Unit also explained that these major historical events were a turning point for Northern Rhodesia, for example, among others, events such as the Second World War contributed to the boom in the mining industry and motivation for the rise of African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the role of Northern Rhodesia in the First World War and how this Major event impacted on the socio-economic spheres of Northern Rhodesia.
2. Give an account for the causes of the Great Economic Depression and how it impacted on colonial government of Northern Rhodesia.
3. Critically, examine the implication of the Second World War on the socio-economic and political spheres of Northern Rhodesia.

## **UNIT 14**

### **CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA**

#### **14.1 Introduction**

Following the end of the Second World War, major constitutional and political development such as the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland occurred. In this unit,

reasons for the formation and dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, origins and role of Trade Union in Northern Rhodesia including the factors that led to the rise of nationalism will be analysed and discussed.

### **Learning Outcomes**

- Upon completion of this unit, you should be able to;
- Explore the reasons for the formation and dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
- Investigate the origins of the Trade Union and its role in colonial politics of Northern Rhodesia.
- Analyse the rise and forms of African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia.
- Trace the development of political parties in Northern Rhodesia.

### **14.2. Northern Rhodesia and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland**

The Federation for Rhodesia and Nyasaland came into existence in August 1953. This was after the enactment of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation (1953) by the British Parliament. The formation of the Federation has a long history of several attempts which started as early as 1911 when North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia merged to form Northern Rhodesia. Later in 1913 an idea was proposed to merge Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. This idea was mooted by Sir Leander Starr Jameson, the President of the British South Africa Company. The proposal was formally presented to the British government in December 1914. Thus in the period between 1914 and 1917, a long series of debates took place regarding the creation of Central African Federation. There were two prominent economic and political motives for the proposal. Initially, it was considered that the amalgamation of the two territories would place the BSAC in a much stronger economic position to enable it acquire other possessions. It was also intended that the Company would have more political influence in London.

Individual and independent views such as that of Drummond Chaplin, who had just been appointed BSAC Administrator in Southern Rhodesia, supported the amalgamation. It was hoped that through the amalgamation, the company would strengthen its relationship with the British government. And that it would make an economic sense to have one Rhodesia.

According to Chaplin, it was the only way Britain could strengthen her position in order to counter balance Boer expansion in South Africa.

Further views in support of the amalgamation envisaged that Northern Rhodesia would have increased influence on the post- First World War settlement. It was also hoped that through the amalgamation there would be a provision for representative government of Northern Rhodesia in form of a legislative council as more Europeans would now settle in the territory. At this time the Northern Rhodesia had not formed a legislative Council. It was also considered as an opportunity for the Northern Rhodesian civil service to acquire more slots for employment in a larger civil service than it had at the time. It was also thought that there would be no restrictions on trade and communications. Labour relations would be harmonised and passes would be abolished.

However other views were totally against the amalgamation. Among the individual who supported this view was Leopold Moore, the owner and Editor of the Livingstone Mail. Among the arguments in opposition of the amalgamation were that it was inappropriate to discuss constitutional changes during the course of the First World War. It was also argued that Southern Rhodesia had a surplus budget due to economic development, while Northern Rhodesia had a deficit. As such, these differences did not seem to provide a point of synchronisation. Another argument was that proposed amalgamation would only perpetuate company rule in Northern Rhodesia and delay independence. Other views expressed an argument that amalgamation would lead to the postponement of the creation of responsible government in Southern Rhodesia operated by settlers. Other individuals such as Lewis, a settler farmer in Northern Rhodesia asserted that the federation was a channel for Southern Rhodesia to continue dominating the Congo market at the expense of Northern Rhodesian farmers. Finally, the anti-federation views were accepted in by the Legislative Council.

Later in the 1920s, 30s and 40s Southern Rhodesia continued the campaign for the formation of the federation. However, this time there was a further proposal of including Nyasaland in the scheme. Reasons for the second campaign of the federation were still characterised by the economic and political elements. The liberal politicians supported the federation for the reasons that it would lead to solving racial problems as compared to what existed in South Africa at the time. One of these was Oliver Lyttleton the Colonial Secretary during the period of the federal debate. He argued that the racial problem was going to be solved in the federal arrangement.

As for the liberal whites in Southern Rhodesia, they were in support because the federation would realise their dream of a genuine partnership between Africans and themselves.

Economically, it was envisaged that the Federation would lead to a larger home market where there would be free trade within the federation. This would in turn be followed by industrialisation which would create jobs for both races. Further, it was anticipated that the economy of the region was going to be balanced. Nyasaland would continue to sell tea; Southern Rhodesia tobacco and Northern Rhodesia Copper. As a result, the three territories would complement each other's economy. Additionally, in a federal arrangement, the acquisition of capital funds would be made easier as a block than as individual territories. This was proved when it came to the construction of the Kariba Dam which cost £80million. Funding for this project was obtained from numerous sources, something which none of the three territories would have attained singularly. The World Bank contributed £28.6million, Commonwealth Development Corporation £15million, Rhodesian mines £20million, BSACo £4million, Commonwealth Development Finance Ltd £3million, Barclays Bank £2million, Standard Chartered Bank £2million.

As a result of the pressure for close cooperation among the three territories, the British government appointed the Hilton Young Commission to investigate the matter in 1929. The Commission advised that the economic and political interests of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia lay with each other and with the self-governing of Southern Rhodesia, and not with East African territories.

In 1938, yet another commission, the Bledisloe Commission was appointed. This was purely for the purpose of considering the question of closer association among the three territories of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. The Commission neither recommended the amalgamation nor federation at the time, but expressed the view that the territories would become more and more closely dependent in all their activities. It also observed that because of differences in native policies between the northern territories and Southern Rhodesia, such partnership was not compatible. In 1941 Lord Hailey, a retired official in the British Indian civil service, advanced similar reasons. He pointed out that Africans in Southern Rhodesia were inferior compared to their colleagues in the northern territories in spite of being better educated and having a good financial standing.

The onset of the Second World War changed the course of debates regarding the formation of a federal government. In 1941, the British government called for an Inter-Territorial



Conference. But in 1945, it was outmoded by the Central African Council which provided for a common meeting ground for white politicians in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the Victoria Falls Conference held in September 1949, leaders of the three territories understood that the British Labour Party would not allow amalgamation. As such, they launched a vicious campaign in favour of federation. Later in May 1952 another conference was held at Lancaster House in London. Only two Africans from Southern Rhodesia attended this somewhat all-white meeting. Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland boycotted the meeting.

In the year that followed, a final conference was held in London and it led to the formation of a federal constitution. On 24 March 1953, suggestions for the formation of the federation were approved in the House of Commons. In April of the same year, motions in favour of federation were passed by the legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. And on 9 April, 1953 the question of the federation was decided by a referendum of the electorate in Southern Rhodesia. Thereafter, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed.

#### **14.2.1 African's Reaction to the Federation**

Although the federation was formed, it was not completely supported especially by the indigenous Africans. In both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Africans were insecure about losing more land due to the anticipated arrival of more Europeans from the south. Africans in the northern territories also feared being subjected to pass laws as existed in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Equally, Chiefs in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were insecure to lose their authority like what had happened in Southern Rhodesia. There was also concern that the federation would lead to dissolution of all cultural and political ties between Northern Rhodesia and the UK and that Southern Rhodesia would dominate the northern territories. According to the nationalists in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, federation was seen as a way of delaying independence.

#### **14.2.3 Africans' Opposition of the Federation**

The federation was created without the consent of Africans. Mostly, the conferences convened to discuss its formation side-lined the Africans. In other situations the Africans boycotted it. Thus according to Harry Franklin the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was an unholy wedlock. Africans in the territories were passionately against federation. They used all sorts of methods to campaign against the federation such as rumours and myths among others. For example, Gann stated that there were rumours about the magic soap, poisonous sugar which would make women barren and men impotent.

Africans and nationalist such as Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula organised political rallies to sensitise the masses on the economic and political injustices of the formation of the federation. In 1953, Nkumbula held one rally in Lusaka where he burnt the Government White Paper on federation. There were also appeals and petitions to international bodies through chiefs and nationalist leaders to the International Court of Justice, United Nations, Her Majesty the Queen and the House of Commons. At times, physical protests occurred.

Nkumbula called for two days of prayer for deliverance from the federation. Even when federation eventually came into effect, Africans organised strikes and boycotts; but federation still went ahead and existed from 1953 to 1963.

### **14.3 The Rise of African Nationalism**

#### **14.3.1 The Development of Welfare Societies**

To a large extent, the roots of the nationalist movement in Northern Rhodesia were a reaction to colonial policies. Precisely, African reaction to colonialism was focused on the slow pace of economic and social development. The earliest reactions to colonial were influenced by African from Nyasaland (Malawi) because at this time in Northern Rhodesia, there were few literate Africans who could initiate political organisation. The Nyasa's had received an advanced education from the missionaries. Thus for many years the Nyasas occupied many clerical and skilled jobs in Northern Rhodesia. A few Africans, however, from North East Rhodesia received education at mission stations in Nyasaland. These were the individuals who formed the first African political association in Northern Rhodesia; the Mwenzo Welfare Association set up in 1912. The Scottish Livingstonia Mission of Nyasaland founded a mission station at Mwenzo in 1894. Some of those educated there proceeded for further education at Overtoun Training Institute at Khondowe Mission Station, near the northern end of Lake Malawi. That station had been founded by Dr Robert Laws and became known as Livingstonia, in memory of David Livingstone. It had an enormous influence on the growth of African protest in Northern Rhodesia.

Even though students at Livingstonia were of a varied ethnic background, they had a common identity as Africans. As such, they engaged in political debates in relation to race relations in Africa and the USA, inequality in the church among other themes. By 1904 a few students from Mwenzo graduated from Livingstonia as teachers and returned to Northern Rhodesia. In 1906, a new school was opened at Chinsali under the headship of David Kaunda. Kaunda and colleagues were deeply sensitive to European racialism, especially the habit of calling all

African men —boys. Donald Siwale, an Inspector of Schools was also belonged to this group. Accordingly, in 1912, Siwale and Kaunda led the way in forming the Mwenzo Welfare Association in order to bring African views to the attention of the colonial government. However, as a result of the First World War, Mwenzo Mission was evacuated; and the association dissolved. Later in 1923, it was revived but unsuccessful again in 1927.

Further, in the period between 1929 and 1931, more welfare societies were formed in several towns especially along the line of rail. These societies had a clear agenda but were restricted to educated class such as clerks and teachers, among whom Livingstonia graduates were prominent. But they made important efforts to protect the interests of ordinary people, and it was easier to implement this in the towns than in the sparsely populated rural areas. In Ndola, the Welfare Association was led by clerk Ernest Muwamba, a Nyasa who induced the colonial government and the railways to improve facilities for Africans on trains. The Livingstone Association prevented a compound riot, exposed some outrageous cases of racial discrimination and protested against the recent removal of Africans from land reserved for Europeans along the railway line. This association also brought together educated Africans from opposite ends of the territory: both from the Barotse National School in the west and the Livingstonia mission and the London Missionary Society in the northeast. Nevertheless, the influence of these early urban pressure groups remained limited. They did much to create an informed African public opinion, but could not mount effective concerted action against the colonial government

More importantly, in 1933 a united African Welfare Association of Northern Rhodesia was formed. Nonetheless the colonial government refused to recognise it, and no follow up was made. In 1937, among the Plateau Tonga, a group of African teachers, chiefs and farmers formed the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress. This was with a view to protest against land alienation and discrimination against African peasant production for the market. In spite of its name, the Congress was very much a local group, with essentially local grievances and it did not survive long because it did not have the approval of the colonial government.

The shape of African nationalism was further transformed after the onset of Second World War. Many Africans were enlisted war and shipped to fight in South-East Asia in the Burma Campaign. Consequently, Africans 'vicarious experience of war accelerated the ripening of African political consciousness. War propaganda further made Africans familiar with the grammar of western politics, thereby making them politically strong. More so, the colonial

government of Northern Rhodesia expanded public information services; publications in African languages, as well as in English broadcasting, and mobile cinemas with propaganda films. While the propaganda was intended to enlist African sympathy for the imperial war effort, instead, the war news and propaganda hastened the emergence of an African political voice.

Later, in May 1946 the Federation of African Societies of Northern Rhodesia (F.A.S) was formed. Representatives of fourteen Welfare associations from across northern Rhodesia met at Broken Hill (Kabwe). At this meeting, Dauti Yamba, a school teacher of Luanshya, was elected as the first President. The main aim of F.A.S was to secure improved positions for its members within the colonial system. F.A.S was not a nationalist movement in the strict sense of the word. It served only as the base upon which the first African nationalist political party was to be built. F.A.S held its first general meeting in Lusaka in late October 1946. Its second and last general meeting was held in July 1948, during which it was decided by unanimous vote to rename the organisation the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (NRAC). Godwin Mbikusita-Lewanika, an aristocrat from Barotseland became the first President. Other officials were Robinson Nabulyato, a school teacher at Kafue Training Institute (Gen Sec), Mateyo Kakumbi (Treasurer), L.M. Lipalile (Vice President, J. Richmond (Assistant Sec Gen) and George W. Charles Kaluwa (Assistant Treasurer). This was the first political party formed by Africans in colonial Zambia.

In 1951, the NRAC became known as Africa National Congress and Harry M. Nkumbula replaced Lewanika as President in a 19-5 vote victory. Therefore, until 1948, nationalist activities were generally aimed at securing the rights of the emerging African elites. The other contributing factor to the change in the tide was that the country underwent an economic stress when in 1956 the price of copper fell which resulted in job losses from 66,000 to 24,000 between 1954 and 1962. This was how the ANC increased the size of its following. However in 1958 ANC split when Nkumbula agreed to partake in elections which other party members wanted to boycott. Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe formed ZANC. In 1959 a state of emergency was declared to curb nationalist activities. In the process, ZANC was banned. However its members formed UNIP. In elections held in 1962 UNIP won the majority and Kaunda became Prime Minister. Independence was granted 24 October, United Nations Day!

### **14.3.2 Worker Consciousness and the Development of Trade Unions**

Even before the Second World War, African workers in Northern Rhodesia attempted to organise themselves in industrial or employees' associations. Among others, in 1932, Joseph Kazembe formed a branch of Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in Livingstone. This was evident of the development of a focused proletarian consciousness among the African working class. Due to common experiences at work, African workers began to feel their group identity and to expressive their common interests and grievances.

However colonial government of Northern Rhodesia remained unsupportive towards the question of trade union rights for African workers. Evidently, during the Russell Commission's hearings on the 1935 strikes the question of workers trade union was overlooked. During the Forster Commission's hearings on the 1940 strikes, however, a number of witnesses advocated some form of representative organisation for African workers to bargain collectively for them. In this regard, the colonial government held the negative perception that the African workers were not ready for a trade union organisation. According to government, an African was basically a villager, to whom trade unionism was to remain alien and irrelevant. Instead, the authorities perpetuated a structure of labour relations based not on the industrial interests of African workers but upon ethnic principles of representation, through the system of Tribal Elders and Works Committees during the Second World War.

A short while after the Second World War (1947) the British imperial government sent to William Comrie, a trade union Labour Officer from the Colonial Office in London to Northern Rhodesia. This was in the wake of the numerous industrial disputes that had rocked the country. He was assigned to assist in the establishment of trade unions in Northern Rhodesia. However before the arrival of Comrie in Northern Rhodesia, the British Labour Government made efforts to upgrade labour conditions in the colonies. In 1925, for example, the Labour Party in conjunction with the British Trades Union Congress, initiated a series of British Commonwealth Labour Conferences attended by trade unionists and politicians from the colonies, although Africa was initially not represented. Further, on 30 September 1930, the Colonial Office Labour Committee sent a circular to all colonial Governors to facilitate the formation of trade unions and to give formal legal rights to such bodies. However, no progress was made in this direction, owing to change in government in Britain, and the war itself, not to mention the resistance by local administrators to the policy.

Thus formation of the first trade union in Northern Rhodesia during the war was spearheaded by the African Shop Assistants and Tailors 'Committee in Kitwe. This category of workers demanded wage increases, including housing and ration allowances. At the same time, the other group of workers in Livingstone resorted to strike action. Forty of them employed by the Star Clothing Factory and Company called on a strike in 1944. The cause for the strike was linked insistence on the part of the Company to pay them on a ticket rather than on a monthly basis. This was on the excuse that monthly contracts encouraged absenteeism. The workers returned to work only after management offered them an all-round increase of 2s per ticket. Even though work stoppage was for only a few hours, the very fact that it took place at all seemed significant and portentous in a town where African workers were treated to low wages and harsh conditions. In 1947, Comrie helped with the formation of the Northern Rhodesia African Shop Assistants Union. It became the first trade union in Northern Rhodesia for Africans. Thereafter, branches were also established in Lusaka, Kitwe and Kabwe among others.

The determination and success of shop assistants influenced other African workers such as mine workers. The drivers also followed suit forming the Northern Rhodesia Drivers' Trade Union in 1948. The others were the African workers in the construction industry who formed an association called Contractors' Employees' Trade Union and adopted the name Northern Rhodesia General Workers Trade Union in 1949. Other unions included the African Railway Workers' Trade Union, African Teachers Association, Northern Rhodesia African Municipal and management Board Workers Trade Union and the Hotels and Catering Workers Union came into existence.

More importantly, in 1951 a federation of African trade unions; the Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress, with Lawrence Katilungu as President, Jeremiah Zimba (Secretary General), and Henry Mulenga (General Treasurer).

### **Summary**

In this Unit major constitutional and political development such as the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Welfare Societies, Trade Unions and rise of nationalism have been discussed. The unit explained that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were formed mainly for political and social reasons designed to strengthen minority rule in Central Africa. The Unit further highlighted how African consciousness of minority white domination eventually gave rise to the formation of Welfare Societies, Trade and political parties designed to oppose colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Discuss the reasons for the formation and dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
2. Explain the origins of the Trade Union and its role in colonial politics of Northern Rhodesia.
3. Analyse the rise and forms of African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia.

## **UNIT 15**

### **POST COLONIAL ZAMBIA: EARLY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGES**

#### **15.1 Introduction**

Political independence in Zambia was one of the last episodes in the decolonisation of British Africa. It also marked the beginning of a new phase in the struggle to liberate Southern Africa from white domination. This unit discusses the major political and economic challenges experienced by the post-colonial Zambian government in the early years of independence. The unit specifically focuses on Zambia's role in the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and the

Unilateral Declaration of Independence. In particular, the unit explores how these major historical episodes impacted on the economic and political spheres of independent Zambia.

### **Learning Outcomes**

Upon completion of this Unit, you should be able to;

- Discuss how the Unilateral Declaration of Independence impacted on the political-economy of Zambia.
- Examine the role of the post-colonial Zambian government in the liberation struggles in Southern Africa

### **15.2 The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and its Impact on Zambia**

The British South Africa Company's surrender of its mineral rights to the Zambian government after independence was a major step towards the economic development. Yet the country remained firmly tied to the economy of Southern Africa. In particular it was heavily dependent on its links with Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Most imports came via Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) Railways and most Zambian copper went on the same way to the port of Beira (now Maputo) in Mozambique. All Zambian mines depended on coal and coke from the Wankie Colliery in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and on power from Kariba. Although Kariba was jointly owned by Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Zambia, all its installations were on the Rhodesian side, so that power to the North could be switched off at will. Zambia was a land-locked country, and its main lines of access to the sea ran through Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Its oil came up through Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) from Beira (Maputo) in Mozambique. These links with Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were soon a source of grave embarrassment to Zambia, for Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) became not only an unfriendly but an actively hostile neighbour.

The Central African Federation had been broken up by the rise of Black Nationalism north of the Zambezi but it was also undermined by the growth of white nationalism in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The Federal Party regime there had given way at the end of 1962 to the Rhodesian Front. This made no pretence at 'partnership' and aimed to make the country an independent state under white rule.

In April 1964, Ian Smith became Prime Minister and began to threaten a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) if Britain would not voluntarily concede it to white minority. On 11 November 1965, Smith finally announced UDI. The British government which was still the sovereign power in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) – declined to use force against the rebels and instead



mounted an international campaign of economic sanctions in the belief that the country could swiftly be isolated and the regime undermined from within. But Rhodesia's (Zimbabwe's) links with the outside world were also Zambia's so that sanctions designed to isolate Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) would also isolate Zambia. Thus Zambia had good reason to object to a policy of sanctions, as indeed Kaunda did when visiting London just after independence. In the Zambian view, the only strategy against Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) would be an armed invasion. But since the United Nations agreed to apply sanctions, however partial and ineffective, Zambia did its best to comply. Indeed in some respects it had little choice.

The first major sanction to affect Zambia was the closure of the oil pipeline from Beira (Maputo) to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in December 1965. This made little influence to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) which simply turned to South Africa, but it was a big blow to Zambia. At first oil was flown into the country at vast expense in over 1,600 kilometres of a dirt road from the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam to the Copperbelt. Finally, in 1968, a new pipeline was opened, running from Dar-es-Salaam to the Copperbelt. It was built by the Italians, after Britain had refused to help. Meanwhile, Zambia sought to reduce its dependence on Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for exporting copper. There was limited scope for doing this, but after a few months of hasty improvisation a new transport pattern emerged. Half of Zambian copper continued to go south to Beira (Maputo), but the rest went north. A quarter by road to Dar-es-Salaam, and a quarter along the Benguela railway, through Congo and Angola to the port of Lobito on the west coast.

This process of re-routing was given a further boost early in 1973 when Smith tried to retaliate against Zambia for allegedly launching guerrilla incursions into Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). He closed the border between the two countries to all traffic except for copper. This traffic was valued by Smith as a major source of foreign exchange. But Kaunda promptly took an action that deceived Smith. Kaunda simply stopped all shipments of copper through Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Smith then re-opened the border, but in vain. Zambia pressed ahead with plans to dispense with imports from Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and to ship out all its copper by the northern routes. Half went out by road to Dar-es-Salaam (this was now an excellent tarmac highway), and half went out west to Lobito. Within a few months various countries had contributed about US \$25 million to a UN fund to help Zambia meet its massive new bills for road transport.

By this time Zambia had reduced its trade with Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to the minimum. In 1964 Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) products accounted for 40 per cent of total imports. By 1966 they

were 20 per cent and by 1971 only 5 per cent. This last figure mostly represented power from Kariba and coke from Wankie for the mine smelters. For its coal however, Zambia was by now virtually self-sufficient. Early in 1966 a coal mine was opened at Nkandabwe, in Southern Province. This closed in 1969 but by this time the vast open-cast coal mine at nearby Maamba had gone into operation. In 1973 this produced nearly a million tonnes of coal and was expected to last beyond the end of the century. Maamba could not supply coke and after the Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) border closure Zambia imported this from overseas, but the copper smelters were mostly converted to heavy fuel oil. Meanwhile Zambia increased its own sources of power. A reserve dam at Itezhi-tezhi was constructed by an Italian firm and in 1972 a hydro-electric station (Kafue Gorge) built by a Yugoslav firm was opened on the lower Kafue and by 1974 Zambia relied only on Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for only one-third for its power requirements. Another power station was being built by an Italian firm at the north end of the Kariba Dam (Kariba North Bank). This was expected to make Zambia self-sufficient in power in 1976.

Within ten years of independence, then, Zambia snapped almost all its economic links with Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It also managed to reduce its dependence on South Africa. In 1964 South Africa accounted for 20 per cent of Zambia's imports. By 1973, this had dropped to 11 per cent. This was largely due to the Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) border closure, which compelled South African goods to be shipped expensively by sea and hence through Angola but it was mainly due to long-standing efforts both to tap alternative sources and to replace imports by local manufactures.

It is in this context that the Tanzam Railway financed by China is especially significant. The idea of a railway from the Copperbelt to the coast of Tanzania was discussed by Kaunda and Nyerere in 1963. Not only did it hold out hope of freeing Zambia from its southern transport links, it could also stimulate the economic development of vast and neglected areas in both Zambia and Tanzania. But although surveys were made the results were discouraging. To western powers the scheme made no economic sense and they offered no aid. However, the People's Republic of China did take an interest. It made a survey in 1967-8 and in 1970 building began at Dar-es-Salaam, with teams of skilled Chinese and African labour gangs. Progress was rapid, and the railway was linked up to the Copperbelt in 1975.

The Tanzama Railway certainly alleviated Zambia's transport problems. It was able to carry most of Zambia's copper, provided the East African ports could handle it. It was convenient

for Japan, which was by 1970 Zambia's best customer. It even fulfilled the hope of promoting development in backward areas along the route. But for the Chinese the railway was an attractive way of increasing their trade with Africa. In 1970 China agreed to make an interest-free loan, split equally between Zambia and Tanzania, to cover the total cost of the project US \$170 million. But this was not an advance in cash. China was very short of foreign exchange and in any case was looking for opportunities to expand markets for its own manufactures including those of its own infant heavy industries. So the railway agreement provided that China would make half the loan in the shape of equipment such as rails and rolling –stock. This left the costs, which were mainly those of buying materials in Africa and paying the wages of African workers. Since these had to be paid in local currencies, of which China had little, China persuaded Zambia and Tanzania to buy Chinese goods in local currencies. From 1979 to 1977 both countries had to buy about US \$9 million worth of Chinese goods every year. All this, however, was simply made to enable the loan to be made. The loan was still to be repaid. The repayment was spread over thirty years beginning in 1983, but the medium of payment was restricted. The money was to be returned to China either in a third-party currency, or in the proceeds obtained by Zambia and Tanzania from their exports to China. For Zambia, of course this meant copper for which as a young industrial power China's needs were increasing fast. In 1970, China became Zambia's sixth-best customer. Thus the old links between Zambia and the then white south were rapidly being replaced by new links with the Far-East.

### **15.3 The Role of Zambia in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa**

The extent to which the Zambian government helped the various movements came at a great cost in terms of human life, infrastructure and lost opportunities for economic growth. At independence in October 1964 Zambia was obsessed with the preoccupation to participate in the liberation of Southern Africa. This obsession grew out of several factors that resulted from Zambia's colonial experience and geopolitical situation. Among these factors was an ideological commitment to eradicate colonial rule in the region, and the elimination of racism and minority rule in the region. Zambia's leaders considered that the independence of Zambia was incomplete as long as other countries in the region remained under minority white regimes. Consequently, Zambia did not only oppose the white minority regimes in Southern Africa, but undertook to accommodate refugees and freedom fighters from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

At the same time, Zambia's geopolitical position meant that it was in the front line of the liberation struggle from the date of its independence. Worse still, when Britain decided that it

could not use force to end the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Rhodesia in November 1965, it galvanised Zambia's total commitment to support the African nationalists in that country to free themselves from the Smith regime. Thus after independence in 1964, Kaunda swiftly threw his weight behind the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU) which had been formed in 1963. It was based on the principles of pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism (Pan-Africanism is a general term for various movements that have as their common goal the unity of Africa and the elimination of colonialism and white superiority from the continent. The Organisation of African Union (now the African Union) charter was similar to that of the United Nations but without the Security Council.

The support that Zambia gave to liberation movements was quiet diverse. In this regard, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU) a special wing was established to assist those states who had not yet achieved liberation, which would be run by a Liberation Committee based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Kaunda allowed a Liberation Centre to be set up in Lusaka, which was to provide offices to those liberation movements who had received official recognition from the OAU (now the AU). This would allow them to conduct the business of processing refugees, organising transit through Zambia, access to propaganda and other various benefits. From early on it is clear that the OAU was pressuring Zambia into providing more support than it was initially comfortable with. Zambia was under pressure to allow the transit of arms and ammunition through, but could not do so owing to 'Zambia's difficulties at that particular moment. Tanzania was geo-politically much better suited to provide extensive help to the liberation movements, especially when it came to training camps and the acquirement of arms and ammunition. Kaunda made no secret of his wish to assist the liberation movements, but in these early days he was still unsure of the exact nature of support to give, as he had to consider the reactions of his neighbours who would be the targets of the liberation movements' struggle.

More so, it was not long after formation that the Liberation Committee ran into financial trouble. Member states of the OAU (AU) had been willing to talk when it came to the liberation of Africa, but the trouble came when it was time for them to put their hands in their pockets. By August 1965, nearly half the member states had not contributed their assessed contribution of \$15,000. The OAU Liberation Committee shrunk in terms of its influence in Zambia as Kaunda gradually formed his own policy towards the liberation movements. Zambia and Tanzania would be the only two states which remained up to date with their payments to the Liberation

Committee. Zambia also received support for her policy from outside Africa. Relations with the Commonwealth were good at independence; the Secretariat in London was only formed in 1965 but Kaunda enjoyed a good relationship with Secretary General Arnold Smith in those early days. He publicly supported the Commonwealth, describing it as a tool that ‘can help spread independence’ in Africa.

Furthermore, Scandinavian countries also had an exemplary record in assisting Zambia with its policy. Sweden in particular provided much humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements present in Zambia, and always did so after thorough consultation with the Zambian government – particularly when it came to issues of funding.

After the UDI, Zambia provided assistance to the Zimbabwean liberation movements of ZAPU and ZANU. Kaunda came under renewed pressure from within his own government and the OAU to allow troops from member states and even China and the Soviet Union into Zambia, in case of an attack by the Rhodesian Air Force. Kaunda appealed directly to British Prime Minister Harold Wilson for assistance, to which Britain responded by sending out a squadron of Javelin fighter jets, to take up a temporary defensive position on Zambia’s border with Rhodesia ( Zimbabwe). But Kaunda had little option but to continue assisting the Zimbabwean nationalists, and increased his efforts to unite the two parties who had been bickering with each other often quite violently. By 1966 a further eight liberation movements, in addition to ZAPU and ZANU, were present at the Liberation Centre in Lusaka, ranging from sub-offices to headquarter.

The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa was Kaunda’s first major foreign policy statement. After five years in power, it was still difficult to pinpoint where Kaunda stood in particular to his regional foreign policy. Signed in Lusaka in 1969, it stated that Zambia would always promote negotiation over violence, but it did state that violence could be used as a last resort if all else failed. This document would be responsible for Kaunda’s promotion into the Non-Aligned movement, his charismatic personality and pan-Africanist influences made him a popular figure among African presidents.

### **15.3.1 Zambia’s Challenges in the liberation of Southern Africa**

Zambia’s relations with Britain and the Commonwealth had severely deteriorated in the years after UDI, as Kaunda felt that Rhodesia was an entirely British problem that should be dealt

with by Britain alone. His feelings gained support in many Commonwealth states, and this nearly brought an end to the Commonwealth in the late 1960s. Kaunda publicly blasted Britain for its 'shameful' policy towards Rhodesia, and claimed that Zambia had 'no more relations' with the Commonwealth. But once again Kaunda was in talks with Britain at this time, asking for military assistance against border raids by Rhodesian forces. When Kaunda complained to Britain about the arrival in Rhodesia of South African police, Britain responded by expressing its concern of the presence of foreign freedom fighters in Zambia. Relations slipped further when it was revealed that Britain was planning to sell arms to South Africa, and at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Singapore in 1971 many states supported Kaunda's stance against Britain.

More importantly, Kaunda had bigger problems at home, with the gulf between the ZAPU and ZANU not only growing but turning violent, with gun fights on the streets of Lusaka becoming more frequent. Kaunda's consistent efforts to unite the two parties had yet to bear fruit; even threats to cut off funding and offers to double funding had not brought the two movements any closer together. When Kaunda finally managed to bring the two parties to the table and sign a pact, as he did in January 1971, it was only a matter of days before fighting between the two ensued. ZANU proved to be the more difficult of the two movements to reconcile, as they constantly accused Kaunda and his government of favouring ZAPU. There is no doubt some truth to this, as Nkomo and ZAPU were not only seen as less warmongering than Mugabe and other ZANU figures, but Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs Aaron Milner shared the same heritage of ZAPU, as he too was a Ndebele. But this did not stop Kaunda from trying to reconcile the two movements, such as his controversial meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster to allow Nkomo, Sithole and Mugabe to be released from Rhodesian prison and engage in talks with Ian Smith.

The Angolan liberation movements also presented further challenges to Kaunda, albeit of a different nature. Zambia had given its support to the Movimento popular de Libertacao de Angola or Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) early on as it was the primary liberation movement in Angola, and in 1965 it had already opened a regional office and later headquarters in the Liberation Centre. Jonas Savimbi had spent many years trying to gain official support for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) from Zambia and the OAU, despite being unsuccessful UNITA still had bases in western Zambia as early as 1966. Zambia was consistent in its calls for unity within the liberation movements, which is one reason it refused recognition to UNITA, preferring MPLA over the

three movements. But Kaunda came under increasing pressure from certain members within his government to grant recognition and give support to Savimbi and UNITA. The then Ambassador to Egypt, Rupiah Banda (the fourth president of Zambia) and the then Prime Minister Mainza Chona were instrumental in convincing Kaunda of Savimbi's credentials and seriousness, when in October 1966 Kaunda raised the restrictions on UNITA and allowed them access to Zambia. However, in less than a year, UNITA soldiers were responsible for attacks on the Benguela Railway in Angola which earned Zambia a harsh rebuke by the Angolan government, threatening to cut off Zambia's access to the line completely. Support of UNITA was immediately withdrawn and Savimbi arrested and sent to Cairo. Kaunda went against his own policy of unity between the liberation movements, thus doing nothing to alleviate the situation in western Zambia and worsening relations with the Angolan government. Kaunda's short lived support of UNITA proved another miscalculation, a mistake he was unfortunate to repeat in the future.

Additionally, by 1974 Zambia's support for the liberation movements was taking its toll, made tougher by falling copper prices, tough trade sanctions on Rhodesia, further increasing attacks on Zambian soil and a refugee crisis in both the east and west of the country. Rhodesia had shut the border with Zambia in 1973 in retaliation to the presence of guerrilla bases in the Zambezi border region, but Zambia had defiantly refused to reopen its border when Rhodesia ended its border closure. This was possible due to the construction of the TANZAM Railway, a Chinese funded railway line linking the Copperbelt with Tanzania, a trade route that would not have to pass through hostile territory. Despite Kaunda giving much support to the MPLA and stressing the notion of presenting a united front in their fight, the MPLA split into three and fighting between all parts ensued. The Portuguese were no closer to granting independence than they ever were, remaining true to their colonial policy. Even Mainza Chona told the British High Commission that he did not expect to see any progress on Angolan and Mozambican independence any time before 1978.

### **15.3.2 The Role of Zambia in the independence of Angola and Mozambique**

Despite the precarious situation Zambia was in, its revelation came not from Lusaka or even Africa, but in Lisbon, Portugal on the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1974. Largely in response to the devastating colonial wars Portugal was engaged in, the government of Marcelo Caetano was overthrown in a military coup by a deputy chief in the general staff António de Spínola. Spínola had made clear the unwinnable nature of the colonial wars Portugal was engaged in, and only days after

the coup the entire Portuguese colonial administration fell apart. Kaunda was quick to seize the opportunity, and immediately brought the liberation movements from Angola and Mozambique and representatives of the new Portuguese government together in Lusaka for independence talks. The Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique or the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) were by default the largest liberation movement in Mozambique, and were the only movement given official recognition by both Zambia and the OAU, together with a regional office in Lusaka. But they had struggled in their fight against Portuguese forces, not helped by Malawi's refusal to allow freedom fighters to pass through or set up bases. But there was a second liberation movement in Mozambique, Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO), although they were never given official recognition they were still allowed to locate their headquarters in Lusaka. When independence talks for Mozambique began, FRELIMO were not happy with the options presented to them with regards to COREMO. Kaunda swiftly withdrew all support for COREMO, barred them from the talks, closed their offices and rounded up all their soldiers operating in the border region and sent them to Tanzania. This rare but effective show of force allowed for an agreement to be reached relatively quickly on Mozambican independence, although perhaps Kaunda could have done more to discourage the series of retribution attacks that took place in the coming months, leading to a mass departure of skilled workers that would severely hamper Mozambique over the coming years.

Angola was to prove a far more difficult challenge to the negotiating skills of Kaunda, not helped by the recently discovered natural wealth that Angola possessed and the interest expressed in the region by the major actors in the Cold War. The FNLA had overtaken the MPLA in terms of military power, the latter having suffered from its factional fighting. UNITA was also on the scene; it was the weakest of the three movements by 1974 but had backing from China and significant influence in Angola's largest tribe. Despite these differences, the Alvor Agreement was signed in Lusaka on the 31<sup>st</sup> January 1975 which would lead to a coalition government in Angola, albeit a short-lived one. It was only a matter of weeks before fighting between the three movements intensified, only to be made worse by the involvement of Cuban, Russian, Chinese, American and South African forces, to mention a few.

After the agreement was signed, Zambia once again gave official recognition to UNITA although it still recognized the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola. The reasons for this were that Kaunda had grown increasingly wary of the MPLA, concerned not only about



amount of arms flowing into Angola from the Soviet Union, but of events he learned of after the signing of the Alvor Agreement. Kaunda was told of the execution of fifteen Angolans, part of the Chipenda faction of the MPLA that took place in a camp on Zambia soil in 1974, this incensed Kaunda and he immediately withdrew his support for the MPLA and threw his lot in with UNITA, with some convincing by Chona and Banda. What made this move significant is that South Africa was one of the major backers of UNITA, which was seen as the aligning of Zambian and Apartheid foreign policy. This turned out to be a major miscalculation by Kaunda, which came at a time when Kaunda and Chona were seen to be spending much time travelling between Pretoria and Lusaka trying to find an agreement on the situation in Angola. This perceived alignment with South Africa split opinion in Zambia, some saw it as a genuine stance of anti-imperialism and non-intervention against Russian involvement in the region, others saw it as an appeasement to South Africa and its racial government policies. Student riots broke out at UNZA in January 1976, leading to several students and lecturers being arrested. A mutiny broke out at Lusaka Airport, when pilots refused to bomb MPLA targets in Angola and a full scale gunfight broke out, leading to a state of emergency being declared. In April 1976 Kaunda was forced to retreat on his policy, and once again withdrew his support of UNITA and officially recognized the MPLA as the government of Angola. His support of UNITA may have had little consequence in the civil war that would engulf Angola, but it pushed the patience of the Zambian people to its limit and showed that Kaunda was susceptible to influences from within his own government yet again.

#### **15.3.4 The implications of the liberation struggle on Zambia.**

One of the consequences of the regional conflict that was taking place was the influx of refugees over Zambia's porous borders. Refugee camps were set up to cope with the increasing numbers over time. The issue of refugees coincided with an increased amount of cross border raids being committed by Portuguese forces from Angolan and Mozambican as well as Rhodesian forces leading to the increase of refugees and freedom fighters in Zambia's border regions which Zambia was entirely unable to regulate.

In the coming years, border incursions increased as the number of Zambian civilians killed in the crossfire, for example, in 1968 when entire villages were being destroyed by helicopter gun fire. In a marked escalation by 1972, villages on the border with Angola were being raided by freedom fighters for supplies, a Zambian Para-military camp in Kanongesha was raided by Angolan freedom fighters for arms and ammunition, and border patrols recorded daily 'provocative incidents, airspace violations and cross-border shooting'. From this it can be seen

that Zambia was already struggling to cope with the liberation movements it was supposed to be assisting. Kaunda constantly reiterated that the Zambian people were willing to fight back against this aggression, but in 1970 the Zambian army had only 4,000 personnel and had no combat aircraft. Zambian forces would prove no match for the highly trained Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African troops.

With the escalation of attacks by the Rhodesian forces in their pursuit of guerrilla fighters into Zambia, infrastructure such as roads, railways and bridges were blown up, costing the Zambian economy a great deal in lost trade. Furthermore, with the escalation especially of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle in the late 1970s, curfews and blackouts were rolled out in Zambia's major cities as incursions into Zambia by the Rhodesian forces penetrated deeper. Zambian forces on the borders were in frequent gun battles with Rhodesian forces.

Additionally, Zambia's commitment to the liberation of Southern Africa left the country as one of the world's largest per capita recipients of foreign aid. The country became heavily indebted to foreign banks particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Since the late 1970s Zambia experienced a steady rise of inflation rates and ever-declining currency value. This made Zambia one of the poorest countries in the region.

While most political analysts blame Zambia's economic decline on poor economic policies of the One Party State era, it is plausible to suggest that Zambia's geopolitical position and its commitment to the liberation of Southern Africa greatly contributed to the poor performance of the Zambian economy. Internally Zambia's role in the liberation of Southern Africa and its support for liberation movements was a source of conflict between the government and the University of Zambia Student Union (UNZASU). Students used to stage demonstrations either in support of the government's fight against white minority rule in Southern Africa. At times students and government would move in opposite directions and support or sympathise with different liberation movements. Some of these demonstrations were not peaceful and at times resulted in unnecessary closures of the University of Zambia.

### **Summary**

This unit discussed the political and economic challenges experienced by the post-colonial Zambian government in the early years of independence. Specifically, the Unit discussed how Zambia's involvement in the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and the Unilateral

Declaration of Independence partly delayed its economic development and jeopardised its diplomatic relations with other countries in the Southern region such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. At the same time the unit demonstrates that Zambia's participation in the liberation struggles of Southern Africa was a push factor in its economic-infrastructure development.

### **Reflection Questions**

1. Explain how the UDI impacted on the political-economy of Zambia.
2. Explain the major challenges that Zambia faced in its efforts to render support to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.
3. Discuss some of the effects that Zambia suffered as a result of its support to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

## **UNIT 16**

### **POST-COLONIAL ZAMBIAN STATE AND POLITICS**

#### **16.1 Introduction**

This unit discusses the evolution of government systems after the attainment of independence up to the recent past. Precisely, the unit focuses on the establishment of the First, Second and Third Republics of Zambia. It further discusses the political and economic factors that caused shifts in government system specifically from the Multi party state to the One Party State and the re-introduction of multi-party state system in 1991.

#### **Learning outcomes**

**Upon completion, you should be able to;**

- Discuss the system of government adopted under First, Second and Third Republics of Zambia.
- Compare and contrast the strengths and weaknesses of the one party state and multiparty systems of government in Zambia.

- Examine the extent of political and economic achievements during the First, Second and Third Republics of Zambia.

## **16.2 The First Republic of Zambia (1964 – 1972)**

### **16.2.1 Zambia under Multi-Party Democracy System**

In 1964, David Kenneth Kaunda won the presidential elections. He was appointed by the Governor as Prime Minister and invited to appoint Ministers and form a new government which was to lead the country to independence. Harry Nkumbula and John Roberts were also elected to Parliament and became leaders of the opposition parties, the ANC and United Federal Party respectively under the first universal franchise elections in 1964. UNIP won fifty-five of the sixty-five main roll seats. The party had a comfortable majority in parliament.

The independence constitution of Zambia was designed to guarantee liberal democracy. By liberal democracy is meant a political system characterised by regular and free elections in which politicians organised into parties compete to form the government, by the right of virtually all adult citizens to vote, and guarantees of a range of familiar political and civil rights. The independence constitution conferred wide powers on the president. Under the constitution the president held executive powers. He was not responsible to any other authority except that in certain circumstances the courts might properly question his actions with powers to declare them lawful and unlawful. Parliament, too, had its special role as a *law-making* body. In exercising his executive powers, the president was “not obliged to follow the advice tendered by any other person or authority.” He was assisted by a Cabinet comprising of a Vice President and Ministers appointed specifically to take charge of portfolios assigned to them. Essentially the constitution of Zambia at independence provided for a Westminster type of parliamentary democracy under an executive president. The hallmark of the Westminster type of parliamentary democracy is that it accommodates opposition parties. It provides for a “*government in-waiting*.” That arrangement presupposes that the electorate can at any time decide to withdraw from members of the government the mandate they were given previously to be responsible for the administration. In that event, there ought to be one or more political entities to which the mandate might then be transferred.

The multi-party system worked satisfactorily in the early years after independence. Two main contenders for political control were UNIP and ANC which was heavily defeated in the elections of January 1964. With the United Federal Party (UFP) led by John Roberts, the ANC assumed a prominent position on the opposition bench in the National Assembly.

Parliament remained a multi-party democracy on the British lines in its formal powers and procedures until the introduction of the *One Party State* in 1972. The presence of, at least, one opposition party during this period consolidated democracy in Zambia and enhanced the prestige and reputation of the Zambian parliament. There were many occasions of course when ANC members put much in the national assembly causing discomfort to the government front-benchers and back-benchers alike. The opposition ANC members enjoyed parliamentary immunity which enabled them to speak more freely than they could do outside the House. In these circumstances the ANC members played an important role in making parliamentary business effective under the multi-party system. They kept government ministers on their toes and accountable to the public for their Ministerial actions. This may explain one reason for the government's development programmes in the early years after independence. The first cabinet of 1964 was a respected one composed of men of enviable character. These were men of notable achievements in their own right, personalities not built by the appointing authority. This was a cabinet characterized by its supreme function of formulating policy.

### **16.2.2 National Unity-One Zambia One Nation**

Since independence, Zambia remained multi-ethnic country. This posed a challenge to a newly independent country. The challenge was how to forge these disparate ethnic groups into a nation-state whose citizens would identify as Zambians. Therefore, after independence the government attached great importance to the task of promoting national consciousness throughout the country. This led to the introduction of the motto One Zambia One nation by the first president Kenneth Kaunda. *The motto means whether one was white, yellow, pink, black, red or green, as long as you are in Zambia, you are a Zambian.*

Thus, various measures were taken to promote the motto. The Kaunda administration attempted to achieve an ethnic balance in appointments to the cabinet and other key government positions. The intent was to provide Zambia's various ethnic groups with representation and hence a stake in the new nation that was being forged. More so, areas and mines became a magnet for Zambians from across the country and all ethnic groups seeking employment. Later on, almost half of all Zambians lived in urban areas. Despite ethnic stereotypes, no group had an overwhelming advantage in urban employment.

Zambia adopted a boarding school system for secondary schools. This system brought together children from all ethnic groups to live and learn together for a number of years. In schools

English, social studies and several Zambian languages also became major components of school curricula, enabling Zambians to learn about and to communicate with each other. As a result of going to school together, living together, interacting in the towns and cities, and going to school together, the average Zambian speaks at least three languages. This brought unity among learners. Schools were also used to promote and inculcate the ideals of national consciousness and national identity among the children.

The use of the national anthem was accepted among educators that one of the most important and effective ways of promoting national consciousness was the use of the national anthem in all types of schools and institutions. Therefore, in all Zambian schools students were encouraged to sing the national anthem and to relate the national anthem to national ideals and hopes. Another tool that was used to foster the motto one Zambia one was the national flag. Ideal of a united and coherent nation would be completely frustrated for there would be no basis for common outlook. The flag occupies an important role in building a sense of unity and a sense of loyalty to the nation.

Additionally, the appointment to the civil services was also used to foster national unity. The young newly graduates both male and female were posted to regions other than where they came from. For example the Tongas were not sent Southern Province but other regions. Since they were young and not yet married they found marriage partners in the regions where they were sent. The children born from such two different ethnic groups would be called Zambians.

### **16.2.3 Challenges in the First Republic of Zambia**

In Zambia's liberal democracy embarked upon soon after independence this was not so as the ruling party UNIP tried to eliminate others in order to create a stable electorate of ideologically safe believers. Thus interaction between parties tended to degenerate into a negative form of competition. In the era of the liberal system of democracy embarked upon in the First Republic parties did not share common standards of the rule of the game which could permit inter-party collaboration or compromise in the process of interaction. Parties did not exhibit mutual sympathy, but sought to destroy each other. Almost all policies emanating from the UNIP government were rightly or wrongly condemned by ANC in terms of how such policies negatively affected the regional interests of the opposition party.

The challenge of managing a liberal democratic system in the First Republic was compounded by the quick transition of UNIP from a nationalist party formed in 1959 to a ruling party in

1964. UNIP came to power when it was still in its formative stages – the various interests within the party had only begun to reach compromise stage. The basic materials for a liberal democratic system remained absent until the terminal stages of colonial rule, and colonialism was essentially ‘bureaucratic authoritarianism’ in which politics, especially opposition politics, were barely tolerated. UNIP as a political party was ill prepared to govern the country. It took over political machinery with which most of its leaders had very little experience.

### **16.3 The Second Republic of Zambia (1973-1991)**

#### **16.3.1 Background to the One Party State in Zambia**

In tracing the origins of events which led to the introduction of the One Party State in Zambia one has to look at the political climate prior to the era of the First Republic. Nationalist politics in Zambia date back to the late 1940s when the Northern Rhodesian African Congress was formed in 1948, led by Mbikusita Lewanika. Later in 1951 the party was renamed African National Congress under the leadership of the late Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula. During this period of African consciousness one could not talk of Zambian nationhood. The colonial period had fostered the existence of desperate and conflicting ethnic groups. This was evidenced by the creation of tribal elders on the Copperbelt and the promotion of Native Authorities in various parts of the country. These measures tended to exacerbate existing historical and antagonistic relations between ethnic groups. It was a situation of divide and rule, and for the early colonial period it seemed to have succeeded. When nationalists came on the scene they espoused national consciousness based on the fight against colonial injustices to which Africans were subjected. They urged Zambians to unite and achieve self-government and with that work for economic development.

The nationalist movement in 1958 was united in its strategies. In that year the militants in the African National Congress (ANC) broke away over dissatisfaction with the pace of political agitation and the rather compromising stance taken by the leader, Harry Nkumbula. Kenneth Kaunda went ahead to form the Zambia African Congress (ZANC) which was shortly banned. A new party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), was formed to replace ZANC. With the formation of UNIP, ANC retained its stronghold in Southern and some parts of Central Province while the new party had its support largely in Northern, Luapula, Copperbelt, and Eastern and to a smaller extent in Western and North-Western Provinces. This division of loyalties to political parties along geographical and ethnic boundaries divided the previously

united nationalist movement. Hostilities which became pronounced during the First Republic can be traced to the time of the struggle for independence. From that time physical intimidation became a feature of Zambian politics in an attempt by each of the political parties to woo people to its fold. This vicious struggle between the ANC and UNIP was prevalent in the early 1960s leading to a climax in pre-independence elections of 1962 and 1964 and persisting during the 1968 general elections.

Nationalism occurred within what was then Northern Rhodesia's (Zambia) geographical boundary, a creation of the colonial system. Thus Zambia's nationalist sentiments were as a result of common territorial boundaries and a common colonial experience. Out of this historical accident, the numerous ethnic groups in Zambia started to regard themselves as belonging to one-nation state. Unfortunately, for Zambia, and was the case in many parts of the world, the sense of belonging to a nation-state did not develop uniformly to all regions of the country. People tended to have stronger loyalties to their ethnic or linguistic groupings than to the nation at large. As a result of this situation the sense of national unity was weakened.

Similarly the nationalist movement was uneven in its penetration of the country's geographical areas or regions. For example in the 1950s ANC was most active in Northern, Luapula, Southern and Copperbelt Provinces in its campaign against racial discrimination and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Its activities were at low-level in the Eastern Province and almost non-existent in Barotseland and North-Western Province. Even after the split of ANC in 1959, the spread of nationalism to rural areas by both the ANC and UNIP tended to follow ethnic and linguistic boundaries. This spread of nationalist politics laid the foundation for the fragmentation of politics after independence. When UNIP came to power in 1964, large sections of the Zambian community were alienated from it. Thus the first UNIP government had to carefully distributed government posts among Zambia's linguistic and ethnic groups to allay fears of domination of one group over others.

For example until 1969, the Western Province was referred to as Barotseland was separately administered from the rest of the country. The signing of the Barotseland Agreement on 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1964 treated the area as if it were a distinct entity from the rest of Zambia. The Litunga could legislate on matters relating to succession of the Litungaship and local taxation, land and local government. The hold over Western Province by the UNIP government was thus slow, and the province's political pendulum in terms of support always changed between ANC and UNIP. This was also evident in the North-Western Province. This differential penetration of



political parties to different parts of the country promoted negative competition and rivalries between parties and ethnic groups over the distribution of economic rewards, threatening the solidarity of the nation. This was worsened by uneven economic development in the territory during the colonial period. Neglect of the Western and North-Western provinces during the colonial period became more apparent in independent Zambia, leading people in these areas to complain that they were neglected and were not getting their fair share of the national cake.

### **16.3.2 Inter-party and Intra-party competition within UNIP**

After the split in 1958 the two parties' relationship was often of conflict. From 1958 onwards, until the introduction of the One Party System, there was tension between the two parties ANC and UNIP, based on the political experiences of the leaders, as well as the fact of regional support of the two parties. While UNIP enjoyed relative national support, the ANC enjoyed strong regional base in the Southern and some parts of Central Province and to a limited extent among the Lundas of North-Western Province, and after 1966 managed to secure sizeable support among the Lozi.

This conflict was perpetuated by the formation of the United Party (UP) by Nalumino Mundia in 1966 with its regional base in Western Province, and the United Progressive Party (UPP) in August 1969, with the support mostly from the Copperbelt and parts of Northern and Luapula provinces. The relationship between these new parties was characterised by violence to the extent that the latter two were banned. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the new parties had ethnic support. For example ANC was largely supported by the Bantu Botatwe (Tonga, Ila and Lenje), UP by the Lozi and the UPP by the Bemba – speaking people. Inter-party conflict tended to be ethnic oriented, thus promoting old and new hostilities among ethnic groups, a phenomenon inimical to national integration and to Zambia's motto of One Zambia, One Nation.

By far the greatest threat to national integration was the sectionalism within UNIP (Intra-party competition). Until independence UNIP was united in its struggle against colonialism, and its fight against racial discrimination. In this situation unity was vital in the light of racial discrimination. Linguistic and provincial differences became irrelevant. After independence overlordship by settlers disappeared and the need for unity declined. There was increased competition for party posts which carried with them a lot of remuneration financially and materially. Before then political leadership had little prestige and entailed a lot of poverty. This

was enforced by the fact that there was a close correlation between the UNIP Central Committee posts and cabinet positions just before 1967. Party posts became prized because they carried with them great power and high salaries. As political competed for Party posts and control of government offices party sectionalism increased, that is, there was regional or ethnic fragmentation within UNIP throughout the First Republic. In this way the striving parties hoped to influence this distribution of economic rewards to their regions or provinces as well as to themselves.

The electoral institutions of the party created a mechanism whereby politicians in their strive for office had to recruit support from the population at large. At this stage leaders resorted to exploiting regional sentiments to mobilize the masses and to build their own supportive power base. At this stage they had to differentiate themselves in the eyes of the electorate, and in the process became interested in playing upon, and even in creating sectional differences. Some national level leaders deliberately set out to stimulate, or even create sectional identifications among the masses. This they did to retain political positions deliberately set out to stimulate, or even create sectional identifications among the masses. This they did, to retain political positions, and to do so they had to recruit support from the people on the basis of social divisions.

### **16.3.3 The creation of the One Party State**

Although President Kaunda had in 1967 said that the One Party State would come through the ballot box the events within UNIP and its strained relations with other parties made him change his mind concerning the manner of introducing it. The declaration of Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Southern Rhodesia made the situation worse. Because of the material and moral support Zambia was giving to the liberation movements the white minority regimes in Southern Africa were exploiting the intra and inter-party conflicts to their advantage. The measures that were taken did not seem to stem the critical situations that plagued political interactions in Zambia's First Republic. In fact they appeared to be making the situation worse. It was the destabilising experience of this negative mode of competition that accelerated the practical steps towards the introduction of the One Party State.

On 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1972 President Kaunda announced that there had been a constant demand for the establishment of a One Party State in Zambia. These demands were coming from all corners of Zambia. President Kaunda stated that in recent months he had received hundreds of

messages and letters from organisations and individuals appealing to him to take concrete steps to bring about a One Party System of Government. Conferences and meetings in various parts of the country also called for a One Party State. Chiefs also did the same. The UNIP National Council which met the previous year, on 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 1971 also charged the Central Committee to work towards the One-party Democracy. These demands were made to preserve unity, strengthen peace and accelerate development in freedom and justice. Thus on 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1972 President Kaunda announced to the nation that 'the Government had decided that Zambia shall become a One Party Participatory Democracy and that practical steps should be taken to implement the decision'.

The practical steps were manifested in the appointment of a National Commission consisting of 21 members with Mainza Chona as Chairperson. The Commission was appointed to consider and recommend changes in the constitution of the United National Independence Party and matters related thereto necessary to bring about the establishment of a One Party Participatory Democracy in Zambia. After seven months of deliberations and the valuation of oral and written submissions the National Commission compiled its findings and made recommendations to the government. On 15<sup>th</sup> October, 1972 after carefully studying the commission's report and recommendations, the government published its own *White Paper* on 14<sup>th</sup> November 1972 on the introduction of the One-Party System of Government in Zambia's Second Republic. In this *White Paper* the government indicated which of the recommendations it had accepted. On the basis of its *White Paper* the government formally proclaimed Zambia a Presidential One Party System on 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1972 with UNIP as the supreme institution of the state, thereby bringing to an end the eight years of existence of Zambia's First Republic. The independence constitution which had permitted the multi-party system was replaced with a new constitution published in May, 1973 and was formally adopted by the National Assembly in August, 1973, thus heralding Zambia's Second Republic.

The Second Republic therefore was born with the emergence of a one party state in which power was centralised and became increasingly concentrated in President Kaunda and the party's central committee such that there was party and government amalgamation popularly known as the PIG (the Party in Government). The president was constitutionally given greater political, economic and social and administrative authority with a lot of vague loophole which left the president as the most powerful individual in the country with no proper checks and balances to his powers.

### **16.3.4 Economic achievements under the One-Party State**

As things were in Zambia under the One Party System, Zambia attracted many investors and the government was able to carry out many development projects owing to the peace and stability brought about by a One Party State. We can cite many examples of bilateral projects with the Chinese on Tanzam Railway, the Lusaka-Mongu Road, Mulungushi Textiles, the Chambeshi Bridge and the Party Headquarters (now New Government Complex). Other governments also came in to carry out projects for example the Yugoslavs constructed the Kafue Gorge Power Station. The list of such projects is endless. There was the Wheat Project in Mpongwe, Nakambala Sugar Estate was developed in partnership with a British Company, Tate and Lyle. There were also many charitable organizations which came to assist Zambia in its economic development. There were also many United Nations agencies operating in Zambia. Countries like Japan, Canada, United States of America, Finland, Sweden and Norway were able to carry out projects in Zambia. All this type of confidence existed because the government of Zambia was stable under the one-party system. This is the type of historical record achieved under the One Party State we seem to have forgotten in the re-introduced multi-party democracy era.

## **16.5 The Third Republic of Zambia (1991-present)**

### **16.5.1 Re-introduction of Multi-Party Democracy in Zambia**

By the late 1980s popular dissatisfaction with living standards were increasingly hard to ignore. Opposition to the government was voiced by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), led by Frederick Chiluba, with the Church, University Students, and even some parliamentarians taking the leading and backing stage. The *Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD)* was formed by pro-democracy groups in Zambia committed to the establishment of political pluralism. The *Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD)* owes its origin to many scholars in institutions of learning who canvassed businessmen, professional men and women, farmers and trade union leaders to support the pro-democracy movement. Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika undertook with courage and conviction the difficult responsibility of propagating the pro-democracy movement openly. He was a good scholar who enjoyed respect among his peers for his academic achievements in the United States of America in economics and public administration studies. A soft-spoken and principled advocate of political pluralism, Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika is the son of the late Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika who was the founder member of the *African National Congress* and its

first President. He was following his Father's footsteps when he undertook to publicise the cause of Multi-Party Politics at the beginning of 1990. Derrick Chitala at the University of Zambia later joined forces with Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika in mobilising funds for the organisation of an inaugural convention for supporters of the *Movement for Multi-Party Democracy*. Derrick Chitala's late father had been a politician too. He had served two terms as UNIP Member of Parliament. Therefore, Derrick Chitala also was following the footsteps of his father when he abandoned teaching in a university in order to further his political ambitions. The birth of the MMD and its rapid growth in 1990 was due largely to the efforts and dedication of these men.

The first important meeting of representatives of interest groups was held at Garden Motel in Lusaka West on 20 July 1990. It was an historic meeting which was attended by a widely representative group of men and women from virtually all walks of life anxious to advance the campaign for the re-introduction of multi-party system. There was a large number of academics and other scholars from universities and colleges, lawyers, medical practitioners, businessmen and trade union leaders, farmers, journalists, retired civil servant and former politicians. Zambia had never seen since Independence such a large gathering of intellectuals and influential people sharing a common purpose-to campaign vigorously for a return to Multi-Party Politics.

At that time it was known that Kaunda had acknowledged the widespread demand for a review of the constitutional arrangements which entrenched one party ((UNIP) in the politics of Zambia. The One Party System was unpopular. Over the years, the number of discontented people in the country had increased as the prevalence of riots had shown. The Movement for Multi-Party Democracy continued to gain more support after the Inaugural Convention at the Garden Motel, until fifteen months later in 1990 Kaunda finally conceded the restoration of political pluralism through a constitutional amendment which ended the second republic, and general elections were called for 31<sup>st</sup> October 1991 which the MMD as a registered political party, won with overwhelming victories in the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections ending the 27 years rule of UNIP and ushering in the Third Republic.

### **16.5.2 The Re-introduction of Multi-Party Democracy in Zambia**

At independence in 1964, the economic structure of Zambia, like other countries in the region which are rich in mineral resources, was based on the export of raw materials, mainly copper, lead, zinc and cobalt. Even today, almost fifty years later, the predominant factor in the

Zambian economy is the mining and processing of copper. In 1964, it provided more than ninety-five per cent of total export earnings. Therefore, the Zambian economy is a classic example of a dual economy in which a highly sophisticated technology exist side by side with a subsistence sector. The high technology sector is centred on the copper mining industry in the Copperbelt province and it is a largely urbanised enclave which exists side by side with the much larger low technology and relatively poor subsistence sector. Attempts have been made unsuccessfully since independence to reduce the economy's overdependence on the mining industry; many obstacles have been encountered in efforts to diversify the economy. Some efforts were made although on a small scale to establish industries for import substitution in the early years after independence in 1964.

However, after 1971 it became difficult to continue with diversification of the economy due to scarcity of foreign exchange. Copper prices were high on the international market during the 1965-70 periods. After 1971, efforts to diversify the economy became difficult to achieve because copper prices were not as high as during the 1965-70 period. For land-locked Zambia, high transport costs to the sea were always a major constraint in efforts to diversify the economy. Lastly in the years after 1971 Zambia was obliged to re-route transport for exports and imports due to its geo-political situation in the volatile southern African region. This situation necessitated substantial expenditures for re-routing transport and imposed a heavy cost upon the economy. Zambia however faced a huge challenge which eventually brought it to its knees; the 1972/73 oil shocks coupled to reduced copper prices to record a low.

Kaunda was popular and strong politically at the beginning of the 1980s when the economic crisis worsened. However, Kaunda made a terrible mistake of opting to take the unpopular actions advocated by the IMF early in the 1980s such as the removal of subsidies on maize meal and cooking oil, which sparked food riots. The impact of the removal of food subsidies on prices at that time was intolerable as it was coupled with strict controls on demands for increases in recurrent expenditure.

The other economic problem that faced Zambia in the 1980s was the debt crisis. At the end of 1983, the debt of all developing countries, short and long-term, amounted to more than \$800 billion. About eight per cent of the total debt due in that year was owed by oil-importing countries. It was estimated that, that amount of debt approximated one-third of Gross National Product. Subsequently for oil-importing countries debt-service payments alone increased considerably constituting at least fifty per cent of the export earning of the countries. The total

figure of Zambia's external debt had increased to \$7.2 billion by the end of 1989 according to the figures published by the World Bank. In fact, the figure was expected to increase exceeding \$8 billion by the end of 1990. In 1989, it consisted of \$4 billion for public medium and long-term debt and short term debt of \$2.2 billion approximately. Undoubtedly, this level of external debt for Zambia was unmanageable.

Another negative feature that faced Zambia economic situation throughout the 1980s was the failure to defeat inflation. Until the late 1970s inflation had not reached figures above 25 and that was considered too high and unbearable. Yet the inflation rate rose so rapidly in the 1980s. It reached three figures early in 1991. On the other hand, the Government officials each year spoke confidently about their determination to reduce inflation by maintaining strict fiscal and monetary discipline. Targets for reduction of the rate of inflation were set from time to time but they were never achieved. In fact, inflation continued to increase dramatically thus decreasing the value of the kwacha and thereby making life miserable for the folk. In view of the above economic problems, at the end of the Second Republic in October 1991, Zambia was virtually a bankrupt state.

Largely, external factors were at play. In this regard, Events in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s stirred the latent pro-democracy movements in Africa. They provoked widespread demands for what has been called cultural political pluralism. Overnight new movements were started by men and women in various countries in Africa who pledged to promote democracy on the basis of political pluralism and respect for human rights. The new pro-democracy movements were on the basis of political pluralism and respect for human rights. The movements were a direct challenge against the established order of autocratic rule under Single Party Politics. Zambia was among the earliest countries on the African continent where people quickly embraced the new pro-democracy spirit.

Even before the pro-democracy movement gained momentum in Zambia, many industrial countries in Western Europe and North America had begun insisting on democratisation of governments as a condition for development aid. The major powers, after the dramatic political changes in the old Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall, were no longer interested in placating African dictators. In these circumstances, with a totally broken-down economy largely dependent on donor aid, the Zambian government was in a way impotent to clash head on with the pro-democracy activists.

### **16.5.3 The Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) Era**

In 1991 the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), with Chiluba as its presidential candidate, capitalised on widespread dissatisfaction with the government by emerging as the single most credible alternative contender for office. The odds were against UNIP given the poor socio-economic situation blamed on UNIP's failure to liberalise the economy and their socialist type economic management. This therefore resulted into the October 1991 sweeping victory of MMD in the parliamentary and presidential elections, which were conducted peacefully.

This victory which Kaunda graciously acknowledged brought greater enthusiasm in the nation such that there was an even greater influx of rural populations into urban areas with hopes of lucrative businesses. The MMD's manifesto promised economic liberalization, social progress and greater political freedom which meant for most Zambians greater livelihood and opportunities and brighter future prospects. However, most Zambians understood very little on the price that had to be paid for economic liberalisation as it meant now accepting the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which Kaunda tried to protect them from. The highly indebted Zambia had to adhere to SAPs for more borrowing which included currency devaluation hence further increase in commodity prices, privatisation of the economy which resulted in mass job losses due to liquidations of industries, retrenchments and collapse of most enterprises, removal of subsidies on industries and most sectors resulting in greater job losses and collapse of certain industries especially agricultural industries as well as public service wage freezes and retrenchments.

This created an even greater socio-economic toll on the standards of living as the government became more and more unpopular each successive year. The majority of Zambians in the first five years of the MMD reign grew poorer. Notable indicators of human development such as life expectancy declined (to around 37 years by 1995, from as high as 54 years in the mid-1980s). The agricultural subsidies which were removed made rural living impossible for most Zambians such that they moved into towns to find employment and opportunities resulting in very quick expansion of shanty and squatter compounds. The loss of livelihood for both the rural and urban population resulted into greater poverty and the current poor living conditions in Zambia's peri-urban areas.

The greatest challenge in the attainment of socio-economic and human development has been attributed to the hasty implementation of the SAPs. The MMD government's greatest socio-



economic change in its first 10 years of governing the country was that of transforming it from a welfare society and socialist type social and economic system to a liberalised market system with greater economic freedom and choices. However the Third Republic and its SAPs saw cuts in social spending hence liquidation and fall of industries resulting in job losses, cut of agricultural support programmes hence collapse of the agricultural sector and its support industries such as the textile industries. SAPs also saw the dilapidation of infrastructure, zero economic growth and mass migrations of public employees to neighbouring countries such as Botswana and Zimbabwe. The government was also seen as marred with corruption and abuse of office such that it lost confidence in the Zambian eye such that it is argued that there was great misapplication of resources at the expense of the suffering majority of Zambians.

Between 2001 and 2008 the MMD government however faced a brighter side after the ten years sacrifices of the Chiluba government in debt repayments. A new era therefore emerged called the “*New Deal Government*” under Mwanawasa which enjoyed the HIPIC completion point debt cancellation hence enjoyed a more freed budget for greater local spending after that debt relief. Mwanawasa therefore, enjoyed a more lucrative government and embarked on poverty alleviating schemes. Zambia could now afford national development planning hence the fifth development plan, greater infrastructural development investments, and lifting of the wage freeze burden.

In the period between 2008-2011 Zambia experienced infrastructural development and efforts for poverty eradication efforts through improving the agricultural support programmes such as the fertilizer support programmes which also saw the country have successive bumper harvests of maize production. However, the poor relations between the Post Newspaper and the government partly made the ruling government among certain sectors of the Zambian public.

In terms of socio-economic development, there was a record high of food and production and supply primarily due to good weather and successful agricultural policies. Employment levels still remained a big challenge with poor health care provision, low educational access, with low income groups still forming the majority of the Zambian populous. These were capitalised upon by the opposition political parties especially the Patriotic Front (PF) which formed government after the MMD.

## **Summary**

This unit explored the evolution of the political government systems in Zambia from attainment of independence to the recent past. It discussed how the First, Second and Third Republic of Zambia were established and the different political and economic policies that were implemented for development. Additionally the unit focused on discussing the different political environments that facilitated the shifts in government over time.

## **Reflection Questions**

1. Explain the factors that facilitated the shift formation of a one party State in Zambia.
2. Discuss the challenges experienced by the First Republic in Zambia.
3. Compare and contrast successes and failures of First, Second and Third Republic of Zambia.

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