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*Thousands cheer Old Lion's every word*

## HARRY PROVES HE'S STILL IN CHARGE



## LIBERAL NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL AFRICA

A Biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula

GIACOMO MACOLA



## Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa

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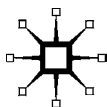


# Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa

A Biography of Harry Mwaanga  
Nkumbula

Giacomo Macola

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LIBERAL NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL AFRICA

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*“Are there circumstances under which a book, whether a biography or not, may legitimately have more bias than we should ordinarily approve? For example, where historical knowledge and opinion have for a long time been prejudiced and unsound on some subject, is there room for a book heavily biassed in the opposite direction, in order to redress the balance?”*  
(G.M. Trevelyan)

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been a painfully long time in coming. It began during my postdoctoral work in Zambia in the early 2000s, when, largely thanks to the cooperation of the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), I was able to secure permission to access the archives of the United National Independence Party, of which no professional historian had made any sustained use in the past and without which this volume could never have been written. It continued during my three-year-long stay in Cambridge as the Smuts Research Fellow in African Studies at the Centre of African Studies (CAS); and it finally came to fruition after my move to the School of History of the University of Kent at Canterbury in 2007. I am indebted to all of these institutions for the support they have afforded me over the years. Here, I especially wish to thank Chileshe Lusale-Musukuma and all my other friends at the NAZ, an efficient, welcoming institution where I have always loved—and always will love—to work. The director of the CAS during most of my time in Cambridge, Derek Peterson, its administrator, Dorian Addison, and librarian, Marilyn Glanfield, did everything they possibly could to assist my research and kindly put up with my frequent absences and many unsavory habits. While in Cambridge, I also benefited from a number of travel grants from the Smuts Memorial Fund. Despite its unique intellectual attractions and outstanding Africanist community, Cambridge—I must confess—is too serious a place for me. The atmosphere I encountered in Canterbury reconciled me with academic life. During the past two years, my colleagues at the University of Kent have shown a keen interest in my work and have gone out of their way to ease my transition to a full-time teaching job. For this, I am deeply grateful.

In Britain, Holland, and the United States, numerous Africanists read and commented on sections of the book manuscript. I am

particularly obliged to David Birmingham, John Iliffe, Miles Larmer, John McCracken, Ian Phimister, Ken Vickery, Robert Ross, and, of course, my old supervisor and academic father, Andrew Roberts. It is a great joy and, indeed, a source of real strength to be able to draw on the unflinching support of so many brilliant minds. Miles Larmer and David Gordon were kind enough to share archival notes with me. Ken Vickery, whose seminal works remain central to any attempt to understand the history of Zambia's Southern Province, Harry Nkumbula's home area, lent crucial assistance at a particularly delicate stage of the writing process. I won't forget it, *mudala*. My mates Harri Englund, Jan-Bart Gewald, Paul la Hausse de Lalouvière, and Joanna Lewis spared me an inordinate amount of time and did more than anybody else to give some shape and coherence to my ill-formed ideas; whatever good there is in this book is largely owed to them. In Zambia, Walima Kalusa, Bizeck Phiri, Flexon Mizinga, and Friday Mufuzi generously shared their vast knowledge of their country's history with me. As usual, Marja Hinfelaar and Mauro Sanna have been towers of strength and the most dependable of friends. This book is based mainly on written material, but the few interviews I conducted (listed in the bibliography at the end of the volume) helped me broaden my horizons and put me in touch with some truly remarkable individuals. This is in no way an authorized biography. Although some of Nkumbula's relatives—most notably, Ompie Nkumbula-Liebenthal and Bruce Munyama—kindly agreed to be interviewed and to let me use the unpublished material in their possession, they never got to see—let alone approve—the final results of the my work. I hope they will not be too displeased with my efforts.

Sections of this book have been presented at conferences and research seminars in Cambridge, Canterbury, Edinburgh, and Leiden. Participants are to be thanked for their insightful questions and remarks. I have spent more than seven years of my life in Harry Nkumbula's company. He has been a wonderful—if sometimes demanding—travelling companion. Now that this book is over, I know I will miss him dearly.



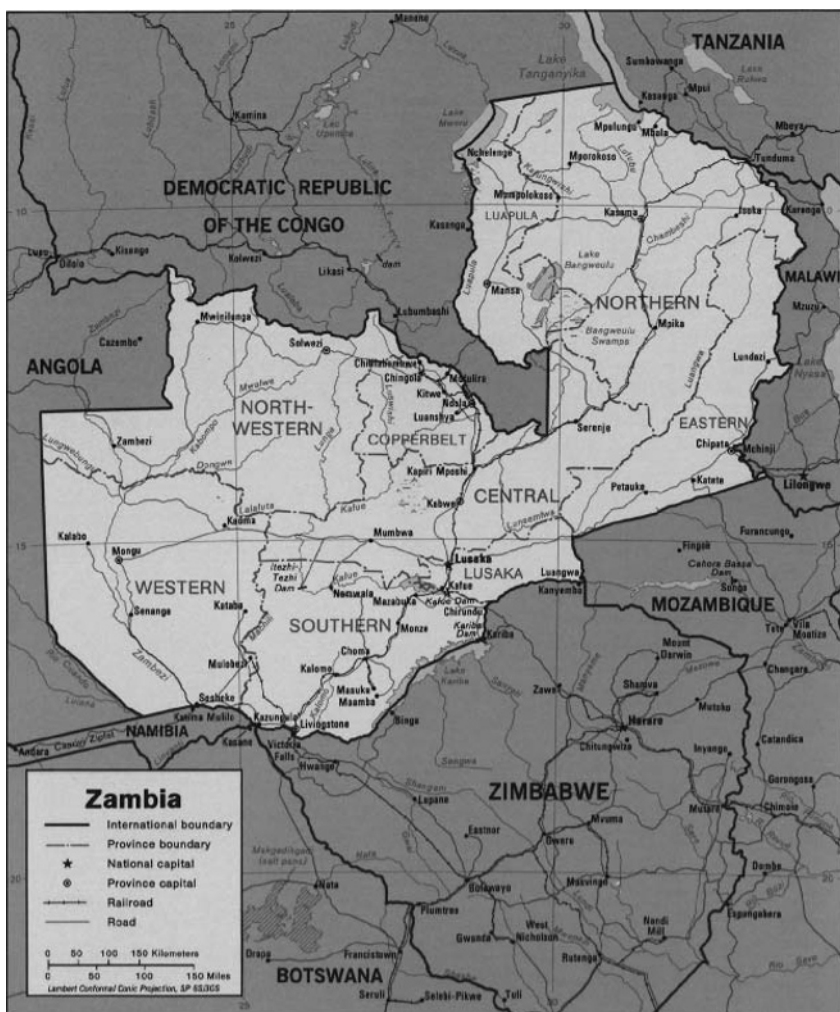
## ABBREVIATIONS

AFIF	African Farming Improvement Fund
ALCNR	African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia
AMWU	African Mine Workers' Union
ANC	African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia from 1964)
ATAC	African Teachers' Association of the Copperbelt
<i>CAM</i>	<i>Central African Mail</i>
<i>CAP</i>	<i>Central African Post</i>
CC	Central Committee of UNIP
COZ	Credit Organization of Zambia
DC	District Commissioner
DG	District Governor
FASNR	Federation of African Societies of Northern Rhodesia
FCB	Fabian Colonial Bureau
ILP	Independent Labour Party
INESOR	Institute for Economic and Social Research, Lusaka
LSE	London School of Economics
MCC	Member of the Central Committee of UNIP
MLC	Member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MMSA	Methodist Missionary Society's Archives, SOAS Archives, London
NAUK	National Archives of the UK, Kew, London
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka
NEC	National Executive Council of the ANC
<i>NN</i>	<i>Northern News</i>
NPOR	Namwala public opinion report
NRAC	Northern Rhodesia African Congress (ANC from 1952)
PC	Provincial Commissioner
PDC	People's Democratic Congress
POS	Provincial Organising Secretary of the ANC
RH	Rhodes House, Oxford
SNA	Secretary for Native Affairs

SOAS Archives	Archives of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London
SPIR	Southern Province intelligence report
UCZA	Archives of the United Church of Zambia's Theological College, Mindolo, Kitwe
UF	United Front
UFP	United Federal Party
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNIPA	United National Independence Party's Archives, Lusaka
UP	United Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
UPP	United Progressive Party
WANS	West African National Secretariat
WASU	West African Students' Union
ZANC	Zambia African National Congress

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## INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY AND RIVAL AFRICAN NATIONALISMS

By exploring the complex life and thought of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula—Zambian nationalism’s prime instigator in the 1940s and 1950s and, following the country’s independence in 1964, the tenacious leader of parliamentary opposition—this book seeks to make a contribution to the development of political biography, a genre the potentialities of which remain to be fully realized in the field of Central African historical studies.<sup>1</sup> That this should be the case is deeply paradoxical, given the prominence of the role attributed to the individual in the region’s precolonial historical narratives, where broad social and political changes were more readily ascribed to the initiative of exceptional figures than to the workings of impersonal forces. And yet, as recognized by scores of practitioners, what scholarly biography holds out is precisely the promise of illuminating the interplay between individual agency, on the one hand, and more profound structural historical dynamics, on the other.<sup>2</sup>

Because of its potential for overcoming the dichotomy between individual and society or, to paraphrase Chabal, between “process” and “context,”<sup>3</sup> the adoption of a biographical approach brings fresh perspectives to bear on debates about twentieth-century Central African and, specifically, Zambian politics. Partly, indeed, this book results from its author’s dissatisfaction with the way in which most studies of recent regional institutional developments obfuscate the role of individuals in policymaking through an exclusive stress on systemic factors.<sup>4</sup> But it is also informed by an awareness of the extent to which even some of the best historical analyses of grassroots political mobilization, for all their emphasis on the lived experiences of ordinary men and women and sustained focus on local appropriations of imported models, suffer from a tendency to ignore both the personalities of the inhabitants of the much-maligned realm of “high politics” and the forces that shaped and constrained their

intellectual creativity and political entrepreneurship.<sup>5</sup> This study in political leadership, then, seeks to avoid both the pitfalls of a history where the role of the individual is so attenuated as to become almost invisible and those of a history where a (sometimes complacent) stress on the “local” and the “ordinary” results in insufficient contextualization.

## The Forgotten Fractiousness of African Nationalism in Zambia

“Does Harry really merit a biography?”<sup>6</sup>

“I object to this kind of thinking in Zambia that whosoever is not UNIP has not got the interests of Zambia at heart or is not a Zambian nationalist. You cannot have nationalism as a monopoly of one Party, we do not want that. We are also nationalists.”<sup>7</sup>

A faint echo of traditional modes of historical reckoning is perhaps to be found in the spate of journalistic and/or hagiographic biographies celebrating the main protagonists of African independence in 1960s and 1970s.<sup>8</sup> What all these works of widely divergent quality had in common was a narrow focus on hegemonic figures and projects—a narrow focus, that is, on the “winners” of the various inter-African nationalist contests that had recently been played out over much of the continent in the course of decolonization. Needless to say, a literature so deeply informed by coeval political concerns could scarcely be expected to do justice to the bewildering complexity of nationalist and liberation movements. But parochialism was no less distinguishing a trait of early academic investigations into the nature of African nationalism.

Scholars of African politics in Northern Rhodesia (colonial Zambia) in the early 1960s were, perhaps understandably, far from dispassionate.<sup>9</sup> The interest and sincere enthusiasm generated by the long-drawn-out, at times violent, struggle for the dissolution of the settler-dominated Central African Federation and national independence led most progressive observers closely to identify with the organization—Kenneth Kaunda’s United National Independence Party (UNIP), Zambia’s sole ruling party from 1964—by which that struggle had been interpreted in the most militant terms. Feeding upon one another, the discourses of academics and party thinkers reached the same conclusion: UNIP did not merely serve the interests

of the young nation; it was its embodiment. UNIP—to paraphrase a famous party slogan—was not only “power,” but it was also and most definitely “progress.” The existence of dissenting voices within the nationalist landscape—including that of Harry Nkumbula, from whose party, the African National Congress (ANC), the founders of the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC)/UNIP had originally broken away in 1958–1959—was conveniently forgotten or treated as a minor “tribal” irritant destined to be swept away along the path toward full-blown nationhood.<sup>10</sup>

Oddly, the bitter end of UNIP’s one-party rule in 1991 has not been accompanied by a thorough process of historical revision.<sup>11</sup> A scholarly opportunity has thus been missed of challenging the continuing hold of an exclusionary, UNIP-centered narrative of political change that blots out—or otherwise belittles—all the counter-hegemonic political and ethnic projects that stubbornly refused to be silenced in the name of national unity. By expunging them from the record through a reductive focus on UNIP—and by forgetting that nationalism is always “the work of many wills, with many visions of the future,” and that it “is an impoverished nationhood that fails to recognize them”<sup>12</sup>—Zambia’s historians, memorialists and political scientists have all contributed to shore up a superficial—if not positively Manichean—understanding of the country’s recent political history—one with no room for the many internal lines of conflict and contestation that complicated and enriched it.<sup>13</sup>

A direct, and highly damaging, by-product of this set of discursive elisions is that the study of the Zambian anticolonial movement has lagged far behind that of other nationalist trajectories in late-colonial Africa. While, for instance, the socioeconomic and ethnic conflicts that molded the nature of Ghanaian and Guinean nationalisms, not to speak of those that underlay Mau Mau in Kenya and the liberation war in Zimbabwe, have received copious scholarly attention, the analysis of Zambian nationalism has scarcely progressed beyond the formalistic, institutional perspectives that dominated the field in the 1960s and 1970.<sup>14</sup> The freer atmosphere of political discourse in present-day Zambia and the related surfacing of previously untapped archival material make a comprehensive recasting of such obsolete approaches both possible and necessary.

Particularly unsatisfactory—as the first chapters of this book will argue—is the still common tendency to explain away the rupture of Zambian nationalist unity in the late 1950s as the inevitable consequence of Nkumbula’s personal foibles and supposed

growing moderation. Rejecting this facile narrative and the separation between individual and society that it implies, this book seeks instead to foreground the true complexity of Nkumbula's nationalism and the contradictoriness of the social interests that it strove, but ultimately failed, to reconcile. Thus, a focus on Nkumbula and the minority opposition party of which he remained leader problematizes current understandings of Zambian nationalism and goes some way toward bringing its study into line with scholarly developments elsewhere in Africa. By disaggregating the Zambian nationalist movement into at least two enduring components, or "traditions,"<sup>15</sup> with distinct economic, ethnic and ideological bases, this book advances an original interpretation of the dynamics of the anti-federal battle of the early 1950s (chapter 2) and of the circumstances that led to the formation of ZANC/UNIP at the end of the decade (chapter 3). Also, by dwelling on UNIP's inability to obliterate the challenge posed by Nkumbula and the social forces that his Congress represented, this work throws new light on the early authoritarianism of Kaunda's party (chapter 4), the frailty of the Zambian postindependence institutional dispensation (chapters 5 and 6) and even the initial success and popular appeal of the democratization movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s (chapter 7).

My aim, however, is not to replace one teleological account with another—and neither, on a different note, did I want to produce a conventional encyclopaedic political biography (however strong the temptation might have been to do so). Throughout, my emphasis will be on Nkumbula's craftsmanship, that is, on the creative intellectual work that enabled him, first, to imagine African political unity in Northern Rhodesia (chapters 1–2) and, later, to formulate a liberal alternative to UNIP (chapters 4–6). But—and the importance of this point cannot be overestimated—neither intellectual process is presented as unproblematic, descending automatically from a set of well-defined and invariable ideological premises. Rather, I shall stress the overall adaptability of Nkumbula's thought and the extent to which the latter becomes fully intelligible only when the changing relationship is explored between this extraordinary figure and his local and ethno-regional contexts. In this book, then, the histories of Zambia's nationalist traditions intersect with the story of Nkumbula's own tortuous evolution from socialist-leaning, cosmopolitan ideologue to right-wing liberal spokesman for the predominantly rural interests of his core ethnic constituency.<sup>16</sup>

## The “Rhizome” That Never Was: The Congress’ Opposition to the Zambian Postcolonial State

Insofar as it deals with Zambia’s postindependence period (chapters 5–7), this study seeks critically to engage with dominant scholarly perspectives on African contemporary politics. While prepared to predicate their analyses of the workings of the postcolonial state on the existence of a problematic “common cultural heritage” or of some ill-defined African “sociological and cultural characteristics,”<sup>17</sup> “Afro-pessimist” authors such as Bayart, Chabal, and Daloz underplay the significance of the formal political beliefs which African leaders give public allegiance to. Ideological statements are either ignored altogether or treated as purely rhetorical claims destined to mask the operations of a self-perpetuating, informal system of clientelistic networks that join the ruling elites and the populace in an unequal, though, to some extent, mutually beneficial, relationship. Efforts to differentiate African regimes “according to their ideological orientations or their institutions,” Bayart maintains, are “a pure waste of time.”

Whether of “socialist” or “capitalist” persuasion, dominated by a party or by the army, pluralist or monolithic, all these constitutional formulae—whose attributes are furthermore uncertain and changeable—rest upon one common denominator: at bottom, the actors organise themselves in factions in order to win or conserve power at the various echelons of the social pyramids, and this competition is the very stuff of political life.<sup>18</sup>

For proponents of this “cultural essentialist” understanding of the relationship between the state and society in postcolonial Africa, opposition parties are either short-lived aberrations or empty shells.<sup>19</sup> Shorn of substantive ideological bases, their only *raison d’être* is to secure their eventual “co-optation into the ruling circles.” African postcolonial political systems have simply “no place . . . for an opposition with no means of delivering resources to its constituents.”<sup>20</sup>

Harry Nkumbula’s activities after 1964, the year of Zambian independence, cast serious doubts on the overall validity of this interpretative scheme and warn us against reading African postcolonial politics solely in terms of vertical networks and the allocation of state resources on the basis of patronage. Despite being plagued by crippling administrative and financial problems, Nkumbula’s

Congress proved capable of elaborating a coherent liberal alternative to UNIP's political authoritarianism and state-led blueprint for socioeconomic development. It was a counter-hegemonic vision of Zambia's future that UNIP sought to marginalize and annihilate by raising the costs of opposition to often unbearable levels. UNIP's control of the state machinery during the multiparty First Republic (1964–1972) being all but complete, the Bantu Botatwe who stubbornly rallied behind Nkumbula paid a hefty price for their political choices.<sup>21</sup> Since mere economic interest would have dictated some form of accommodation with the ruling party, the survival—and, indeed, growing strength—of the Congress before the inception of the one-party state in 1972 throws into sharp relief some fundamental questions about the nature of opposition parties in postcolonial Africa—most notably, whether the latter could—and can—draw on resources other than redistributive ones. There is, after all, no “rhizome” to which the ANC could be reasonably claimed to have belonged. If all Africans were like Chabal and Daloz's Nigerians, “obsessed with securing protection from a patron,”<sup>22</sup> then why did the Tonga, Ila, and Lenje peoples of Zambia's Southern and Central Provinces keep supporting the ANC long after the battle for control of state resources had been irretrievably lost? Thus, what the study of the relationship between Nkumbula and his constituents tells us is that ideology *does* matter and that the defense of material interests and the “politics of the belly” are not necessarily the most powerful forces in shaping the choices of African voters. This conclusion, I believe, offers a far more substantive challenge to “Afro-pessimism” than does Werbner's recent book, focusing as it does on a group of potentially unrepresentative technocrats free from the problem of mobilizing electoral consensus.<sup>23</sup>

An important caveat must be introduced at this stage. My aim is not to portray Nkumbula as an unrecognized Central African John Stuart Mill (though Harry, unlike most of his Zambian rivals, did read Mill and numerous other classic political philosophers!) or the Tonga-speaking peasants who supported him through thick and thin as convinced liberal-democrats in the Western mold. Ethnic loyalties played an obviously cardinal role in determining the fate of the Congress. But, resuming the discussion with which this introduction began, it seems to me that instead of sidelining “high politics” in favor of “local” political cultures, historians of twentieth-century Africa would do well to ponder over their points of intersection and

the ways in which the two feed upon one another. While there were obvious economic reasons why cash crop producers in the ANC's heartland should have been attracted to Nkumbula's free-market agenda, rather than UNIP's socialism, there is little doubt that the ANC's liberalism also drew on a reservoir of civic thought—or, to use Lonsdale's famous expression, "moral ethnicity"<sup>24</sup>—that placed a premium on individual initiative, achievement, and competition. Thus, to the extent that the ANC's advocacy of a weak state and celebration of individual freedoms were deeply intertwined with the Southern and Central Provinces' dominant understanding of social rights and duties, the Bantu Botatwe's unflinching support of Nkumbula did have, *pace* the "Afro-pessimists," a significant ideological subtext that cannot be reduced to mere "tribalism." Nkumbula's liberal-democratic faith, in this sense, was the product of the fruitful interaction between his own intellectual development *and* pressures from below. It amounted to his rendering of what his people wanted to hear and felt was right.

At the time in which he espoused them, Nkumbula's liberal ideas were undoubtedly running against the grain of continent-wide developments. In the 1960s and 1970s, even so-called "moderate" African regimes were characterized by rampant authoritarianism and envisaged a large role for the state in fostering economic growth. And yet, less than ten years after Nkumbula's demise in 1983, the same beliefs were forcefully brought back to the center of political debate by pro-democracy movements in Zambia and elsewhere. My argument, therefore, has another implication—one that is teased out in the epilogue. By adopting an explicit historical focus, this book is able to offer a less cynical and more informed appraisal of Zambian democratization than is currently the case in the specialist literature.<sup>25</sup> For viewed from the vantage points of Nkumbula and the "ANC tradition," the triumph of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy in 1991 is neither a mere "fig leaf covering up the continuation... of the politics of the belly from the prudish eye of the West,"<sup>26</sup> nor just a proof of the African elites' knack for eternally recycling themselves. Rather, it makes just as much sense to read it as the final coming to fruition of deep-rooted oppositional trajectories that the UNIP state had proved unable to do away with both before and after the inception of the one-party regime.<sup>27</sup>

When I embarked on this book, I was convinced I would be doing the history of "failure." Bearing in mind the ongoing implosion of



“socialist” UNIP, the party against which Nkumbula fought for the last twenty-five years of his life, and the extent to which the once-disgraced liberal ideas that he represented have now become hegemonic in democratizing Zambia and sub-Saharan Africa, I am no longer sure my initial hunch was correct.



## CHAPTER I

# IMAGINING THE NATION: METHODISM, HISTORY, AND POLITICS IN NKUMBULA'S EARLY YEARS

The bulk of this chapter explores the dense relationships between Harry Nkumbula's Methodist upbringing, his first political activities and a series of literary experiments that culminated in the compilation of "Life and customs of the Baila," an anthropological and historical text on which Nkumbula worked intermittently between the mid-1930s and the late 1940s.<sup>1</sup> "Life and customs of the Baila" provides an opportunity partly to overcome the difficulties posed by the dearth of sources relating to Nkumbula's early years and political formation. By weaving my analysis of "Life and customs of the Baila" into the narrative of Nkumbula's personal biography, I propose to use the text, Nkumbula's earliest substantive written work, as a prism through which to study his rapidly evolving political thought. The last section of the chapter seeks to assess the extent to which the process of imaging new solidarities and a new political community was facilitated by the anticolonial ideologies to which Nkumbula was exposed during his studies in London in the late 1940s.

### Missionary Influences

In early twentieth-century Central Africa, as in England one century earlier, Methodism, especially in its Primitive variant, was a veritable school of politics. In a colonial context, however, the class origins of European Methodist missionaries mattered less than their comparatively progressive views on race relations and African agency and their readiness seriously to engage with autochthonous beliefs and social systems.<sup>2</sup> This latter approach to local cultures found

a precocious expression in the linguistic and ethnographic travails of Rev. Edwin W. Smith, the founder of Kasenga mission in 1909 and the major intellectual and evangelical influence on the Northern Rhodesian Primitive Methodists in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> As stated in the preface to his and Andrew Dale's justly celebrated *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, Smith viewed and studied the Ila of Namwala district, in the Southern Province of present-day Zambia, "not as curious zoological specimens, but as fellow men and women."<sup>4</sup> His empathy with the subjects of his ethnography was such that he urged his successors to

learn to look at the world through the eyes of your people, make their language and ways of thinking as much as possible your own, saturate yourself in their folklore. [...]. And withal, do not forget that these Ba-ila are flesh and blood and soul as you and we are.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the political implications of Smith's anthropological sensibility and Christian humanism would be drawn by Rev. John W. Price, his successor at Kasenga and Nkumbula's first European teacher in the mid-1920s. Price never "assume[d] that the white man, even a missionary, [was] right every time" and, without questioning the foundations of the edifice of colonialism, was often prepared to denounce some of its most blatantly unjust manifestations.<sup>6</sup> One such injustice befell one of his young converts, who was condemned "to three and a half years in gaol for stealing tax money that as a clerk in the Government office he had to collect." Price thought the man might have been innocent. But even if he did take the money, the missionary asked rhetorically, "is it conceivable that in England a young fellow could be sentenced to 3 ½ years... for stealing £60?"<sup>7</sup> His opposition to the workings of Northern Rhodesia's unwritten social color bar led him to take a keen interest in Namwala's numerous "half-caste" children, one of whom, Leonard Shapela, he and his wife brought up and eventually adopted. In the 1930s, Rev. Leonard Shapela Price would become one of the vehicles through which some of Marcus Garvey's writings circulated among African Methodist teachers in Nanzhila, Kasenga's sister mission in the Namwala district.<sup>8</sup> Talking about Leonard himself, John admitted he was "for avoiding the mixture of the races as far as possible," but he also stated passionately that "injustice and ostracism [were] the devil, and [that he was] determined to accept a man for his character and ability, and not his colour."<sup>9</sup>

But this picture of studious, progressive missionaries, living in harmony with their charges and aiming at their gradual “uplift” by gently turning precolonial social institutions to Christian purposes, is complicated by the Methodists’ dismal rate of success in early twentieth-century Bwila. In an attempt to account for the paradoxical inverse relationship that obtained between missionary interest in the Ila and Ila interest in the missionaries, Fielder has pointed to the inner dynamics of pastoral Ila society at the turn of the century. Politically fragmented into a myriad of *shishi* (sing. *chishi*; district, community) under the leadership of local “big men,” the Ila social system was both very competitive and very open. Since wealth in cattle and dependents was “a prerequisite of high status, rather than its consequence,” and since neither wealth nor status were automatically transferred from one generation to the next, few individuals felt structurally disadvantaged and therefore tempted to seek new opportunities for self-improvement through affiliation to the Methodist mission. Thus, according to Fielder, the Ilas’ “unusually high degree of commitment to the values” of their society resulted from its “openness and stress on status-mobility; a highly mobile society produces conformists.”<sup>10</sup>

While its rigid functionalist assumptions about the nature of social change may be called into question, Fielder’s model does illuminate the ambiguous social location of early Christian converts in Namwala district. This must have been particularly true of young Nkumbula, who hailed from Maala, the largest and most influential Ila *chishi* near Kasenga, and one that the Methodists had found all but impenetrable during the mission’s first fifteen or so years. At some point in 1928, after completing Std. II at Kasenga boarding school under the stewardship of Price, and having worked as a houseboy for the legendary medical missionary, Dr. Herbert S. Gerrard,<sup>11</sup> Nkumbula proceeded to Kafue Methodist mission and its Native Training Institute, then possibly the most advanced missionary educational institution in Northern Rhodesia. Since the eleven or twelve-year-old “laddie from Mala” was “the only Mwila teacher from Kasenga within sight at all,” the event was deemed of sufficient significance to warrant explicit mention in one of Price’s homeward-bound reports.<sup>12</sup> As we shall see, Nkumbula’s initial appraisal of Ila society would bear the imprint of the isolation by which he is likely to have been surrounded during his early adolescence.

Missionary expectations of the Maala *wunderkind* did not decrease after 1934, the year in which Nkumbula graduated from Kafue, one

of the first Northern Rhodesian Africans to pass the newly instituted Std. VI examinations.<sup>13</sup> Nkumbula taught for one year in Kasenga, where, faithful to Smith's precedent, he began systematically to collect historical and ethnographical data,<sup>14</sup> and, as shown by his earliest surviving letter, he took up Chief Mungaila's unsuccessful campaign to have Dr. Gerrard, who had recently been moved to Kenya, returned to Bwila. Because of your "wide and tremendous work in healing all various sicknesses, and bringing most invalids to life who were about to meet death," Harry informed his former employer, "you had become a great father and healer among we poor Africans in our country."

May I tell you this time that, every time when I visit my parents in Maala, I am using to have all sorts of questions from old and young men and women about you coming back in the country you left [...]. In short, all the people in the whole of Bwiila have their hearts bleeding for your departure into another country. Yet we know that people in Kenya are our fellow Africans, but we still have our hearts bleed bitterly for your departure.<sup>15</sup>

Thereafter, Nkumbula was transferred back to Kafue and then, early in 1937, to Kanchindu mission, in the notoriously harsh and isolated Gwembe valley. Although Rev. J.G. Soulsby, the then Chairman of the Methodist Northern Rhodesia District, openly commended Nkumbula to his new superior at Kanchindu, Rev. J.L. Matthews, and waxed lyrical about his "high hopes of Harry,"<sup>16</sup> the latter did not readily adjust to his new position. His stay in Kanchindu was plagued by both health problems (at one point, Nkumbula came close to losing his eyesight<sup>17</sup>) and a clash with his European overseers, who opposed his request for a salary increase and might well have objected to his dabbling in the ivory trade between the two banks of the Zambezi.<sup>18</sup> At some point in 1938, the dispute must have spun out of control, for Harry, guilty of "indiscreet and unsatisfactory conduct," was dismissed as a Methodist "district agent."<sup>19</sup> It would be tempting to read history backward and date the beginning of Nkumbula's political career to this early demonstration of awareness of his right to a just retribution. His insubordination, however, appears to have been quickly forgotten. In 1940, Nkumbula was readmitted on probation into the Methodist ranks and posted to Mufulira, in the booming Copperbelt, the colony's industrial heartland, to take charge of a new African school manned by the United Missions to the Copperbelt, an interdenominational venture of

which the Methodists were part.<sup>20</sup> While Nkumbula was undoubtedly aware of some of the missionaries' personal shortcomings,<sup>21</sup> his involvement in politics would never amount to a simple rejection of his missionary upbringing, which, on the contrary, is likely to have impressed on him the notion of the reformable character of colonial relations and offered him a model for the production of knowledge about traditional societies. Both dimensions of his Methodist heritage would prove of crucial relevance as he embarked on the difficult task of imagining African political unity in Northern Rhodesia.

### Political and Literary Experiments

In the mid-1960s, in one of his infrequent self-reflexive moments, Nkumbula declared he had "entered politics whilst a young teacher on the Copperbelt." Politics, as he then saw it, amounted to the attempt to "put self-confidence in my people because at that time they suffered from inferiority complex."<sup>22</sup> In practice, in the context of the early 1940s, this meant lobbying against settler nationalism and the prospect of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia, a country whose "native policy"—headmaster Nkumbula wrote in a letter to the editor of *Mutende*, the government newspaper for Northern Rhodesian Africans—was informed by ideas of white "domination."

We in Northern Rhodesia loathe the idea of amalgamating Northern Rhodesia with Southern Rhodesia [. . .]. How can Northern Rhodesia with its big African Chieftainships growing in size and power be amalgamated with a country where African Chieftainships have less or no power at all? The policy of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia is to make Southern Rhodesia a WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY. How can you amalgamate Northern Rhodesia, a country of BOTH Black and White, with a country which is purely white?

In bringing these points to the attention of the authorities, Nkumbula was "sure that [he was] speaking for many Africans in this country." But the boundaries of his imagined constituency were even broader than that, for he scorned

the many white people who PRETEND to know and understand all about the Bantu. These are the stumbling blocks in our progress. They are indeed traitors of our race who do not deserve the respect and honor of our people.

Although Nkumbula attenuated this seemingly racialized outlook by acknowledging the simultaneous existence of some whites who *did* “know and understand all about us, they love us and we love them,” his letter was deemed sufficiently explosive to prompt the Chief Secretary to prevail upon the Information Officer and prevent the appearance of even such sanitized a version of the missive as the latter intended to publish.<sup>23</sup>

Nkumbula’s activities soon attracted the attention of the colonial administration. Early in 1942, the Advisory Committee of the Mufulira African Recreation Club, in which Nkumbula sat, was forbidden by the District Commissioner (DC) to hold a debate on amalgamation. Although Soulsby—who, four years earlier, had himself described amalgamation as the project of “a vociferous section of the Immigrant population . . . almost entirely concerned with their own interests”—came to the defense of his protégée, the authorities refused to budge, pointing to the “unfavourable reactions among a certain section of the European population” that such a debate was likely to provoke and expressing doubts as to the representativeness of the African Recreation Club, where “the average African [was] not catered for” and which was “only attended by a handful of Pathfinders and the ‘White Collar’ class, and not many of them.”<sup>24</sup>

In the midst of all of this, Nkumbula pursued his literary experiments, emerging victorious in an essay competition on “tribal history” sponsored by the African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia (ALCNR).<sup>25</sup> Anticipating the leitmotiv of the historical sections of “Life and customs of the Baila,” the three-page-long “Brief tribal history of the Baila” is mainly concerned with the theme of Bwila’s precolonial political disunity and its ensuing weakness vis-à-vis foreign invaders, of whom “there had been 2 kinds . . . . The first invaders were people who, after having defeated the natives, settled in the country. The other invaders were people who came into the country and robbed the Baila of their cattle and went away.”<sup>26</sup>

The theme of African unity and political cooperation continued to exercise Nkumbula’s mind throughout the summer of 1942, when he became the founding secretary of the African Teachers’ Association of the Copperbelt (ATAC). Apart from promoting collaboration between the African teachers, on the one hand, and the missionaries and the Department of African Education, on the other, the association was intended “to foster and encourage the spirit of healthy fellowship amongst the teachers of the Copperbelt,” “to study the problem of the African Life, and wherever possible to co-operate with any

society or body that is similarly interested in the advancement of the African.”<sup>27</sup> An early result of Nkumbula’s involvement in the ATAC was the production of a paper on the importance of female education, which he presented to the Mufulira Urban Advisory Council late in 1942. Nkumbula berated the “leniency” with which African parents treated their children, in general, and their tendency not to punish truancy, in particular.

African Society is at present in an interesting and perilous stage of transition [—] interesting like all growing things, and perilous like all hopeful things. Clearly, the good education of its members, and especially of those who by natural quality or social position are likely to be most influential, is a matter of prime importance. [. . .]. The people who are mostly concerned with the early training are the mothers. If you agree with me, please persuade (now and tomorrow) or compel the girls in your district to come to School—the only place where they can receive the training they need. There are 40 girls’ pupils only at the Mufulira School, and 600 boys.

But Nkumbula made sure his progressivism was not misunderstood for an uncritical adhesion to derogatory appraisals of African life by stressing that although Copperbelt families may have been found wanting in matters of “personal discipline,” “in social discipline, the African has very little to learn from other races. His family loyalty, the friendliness, the modesty before older people, his great tradition of courtesy and hospitality are his great contributions to mankind.”<sup>28</sup>

Nkumbula’s move to Wusakile elementary school, Kitwe, between 1942 and 1943 ushered in a phase of increased political and literary activism. Colonial anxieties about him grew in direct proportion. In November 1943, Nkumbula was awarded another ALCNR prize for an English essay on the subject “What do you consider is the most surprising thing the Europeans have brought to Africa, and why?” Revealingly, Nkumbula’s piece shunned the popular choices of “education,” “Bible” and “aeroplanes” in favor of “transport and communications.”<sup>29</sup> In December of the same year, Harry represented the newly founded Kitwe African Society—of which he was also secretary—at the inaugural meeting of the Copperbelt Regional Council (shortly to be renamed African Provincial Council). Even in the absence of proper minutes, it is clear that he and Dauti Yamba, the chairman of the ATAC and the future president of the Federation of African Societies of Northern Rhodesia,<sup>30</sup> dominated the proceedings, attacking the color bar in shops, defending the right of Africans



to form trade unions and, of course, speaking against amalgamation. "All the delegates," in fact, "were opposed to amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia and they said they represented the opinion of all Northern Rhodesia Africans."<sup>31</sup> The meeting was attended by Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, the most distinguished European settler in Northern Rhodesia and the member of the Legislative Council (MLC) deputed to represent African interests, who saw "the whole thing [as] a triumphant justification of what [he had] always urged... that the African [was] ready for political institutions, and that it [was] not only silly but dangerous to drive his legitimate aspirations in that direction underground."<sup>32</sup> It was from about this time that Gore-Browne began to take a "close interest" in Nkumbula's education and career.<sup>33</sup>

Others were less enthusiastic. Early in 1944, the Kitwe DC wrote a confidential report on Nkumbula. His main concern was that the latter might have been "inculcating" his "subversive" views in his staff and pupils. The Education Officer to whom the DC had communicated his fears thought one possible solution to the problem was to turn Nkumbula and his fellow African headmasters on the Copperbelt into government (as opposed to mission) employees. "If he were an African Civil servant it would be very much easier to control his views." A simple transfer, on the other hand, "might not perhaps meet the case, as it is quite possible that in that case Harry would resign, take up a position as a storekeeper on the Copperbelt, and become a definite political menace."<sup>34</sup>

By this time, Nkumbula had become convinced that the key African problem in Northern Rhodesia was one of leadership. Joining a debate on the opportunity to increase by one the number of MLCs representing African interests, he conceded that no African was as yet ready to take up the task, but he used this admission to press the government

to send young men to more advanced territories in Africa or Overseas where they can get the right training which will enable them, when they return, to make good use of the Legislative Council [...] One may remark that there will be too much of a gap between these highly trained young men and the populace when they return. Gaps like this in human progress are unavoidable and measures to secure the right African leadership should be initiated *now*.

Somewhat contradictorily, Harry did not think that the avowed political immaturity of the Africans provided a justification for their

continuing disenfranchisement. His "opinion, and that of many other Africans in this country, [was] that if there should be any increase of African representation on the Legislative Council, it should be done by election."<sup>35</sup>

In the summer of 1944, Nkumbula resigned from his teaching post and enrolled in the Jeane School at Chalimbana, near Lusaka, to study for the Higher Teacher Certificate (Std. VIII or Form II) and the Makerere Entrance Exams.<sup>36</sup> By then, he had begun actively to contemplate the possibility of forming a Northern Rhodesian African Congress with a view to broadcasting his political views more effectively and, more profoundly and importantly, giving a tangible expression to that community of purpose that his frenetic activities and associational life were bringing into being.<sup>37</sup> To be sure, as the colonial administration was only too keen to point out, the boundaries of this community remained hazy and problematic: did the "populace" belong to it or was membership restricted to "the 'White Collar' class"? What Africans were, in practice, to be granted the right to elect their representatives to the Legislative Council? Yet there is no doubt that its ideation was a necessary precondition for the adoption of a more openly nationalist stance by Northern Rhodesia's African politicians. Being bent on forging new political solidarities throughout the early 1940s, it is little wonder that Nkumbula turned to ethnic history first and foremost to demonstrate the inadequacy of tribal—or, in the case of his Ila, subtribal and mutually antagonistic—principles of affiliation.<sup>38</sup>

The bulk of "Historical traditions," one of the four chapters that make up "Life and customs of the Baila," centers on the confusing civil wars by which Ila politics were marred in the nineteenth century and which militated against their ability to resist such external threats as the Kololo, Lozi, Ndebele, and, implicitly, the Europeans. Nkumbula blamed the Ila propensity for "internecine strife" on their "lack of internal unity" and inability to follow the example of the "Israelites" in Egypt, who had rallied behind "a strong personality as [their] leader."

No such leader arose, however, among the Baila, so that they never attained to tribal unity. Hence we find them destroying one another, and failing to present a united front to the foreign invaders who came from time to time to attack them and to plunder their wealth. The population decreased, not only on account of disease, but also as a result of constant mutual slaughter. In the old days anyone who undertook a journey to a place at any distance from his home ran the

risk of being killed. Places are still known where they deposited the heads of victims.<sup>39</sup>

Unlike the (short) historical section of *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*—a book the influence of which is otherwise quite notable in “Life and customs of the Baila”—Nkumbula’s work lacks chronological precision. Nkumbula, for instance, did not distinguish between Luyana and Kololo raiders, subsuming both of them under the blanket category of “Barotse.” In a similar vein, the Ndebele incursions into Bwila were placed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, whereas Smith and Dale had convincingly dated them to ca. 1850.<sup>40</sup> It is easier to make sense of this paradoxical feature of “Life and customs of the Baila” if one bears in mind that historical accuracy was not Nkumbula’s sole, or even principal, aim. Nkumbula pored over Ila precolonial history with a view to extracting useful political lessons for the future. And the lessons he drew were significantly similar to those elicited by Robinson Nabulyato, a fellow Ila Methodist teacher and the future first secretary-general of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, who, reasoning of “disunity and its effect” at some point in the late 1940s, confided to his private notebook:

We have been harassed, trampled upon, and made little of, because of our unfortunate condition of disorganisation. This disorganisation made us an easy prey to those who sought profit out of human slavery. The European today uses our disunity to conquer us in word or deed. His plan is “Divide the Africans and conquer them.” Without disunity Africa would have been a step higher than she is today. The same disunity was used by the Barotse to conquer the Baila in Namwala district and yet this Ila tribe is a good and warlike tribe. “Unity is *really* strength.”<sup>41</sup>

In *Thoughts on African Citizenship*, a booklet for “educated Africans” that Nkumbula read at Chalimbana and by which he was so impressed as to plan a vernacular translation, T.R. Batten, the vice-principal of Makerere College, Kampala, argued that before Africans could safely govern themselves, “real...national communities” ought to emerge “out of the many kinds of local communities now at all stages of organization and development.”<sup>42</sup> That young Nkumbula subscribed to the same basic evolutionary scheme—from tribe to nation—is also brought out by his manifest willingness to dwell on the least savory aspects of Ila precolonial social life in the

ethnographical chapters of "Life and customs of the Baila." Slavery was one such aspect, and one that prompted Nkumbula to qualify life in the "old days" as "a grim and cheerless affair."<sup>43</sup> But comparatively harmless social practices were also condemned by Nkumbula, who, for instance, presented the characteristic Ila tall coiffure as "only one of a number of undesirable customs that should be allowed to die out."<sup>44</sup> By listing obsolete customs, and shunning the use of the first-person plural throughout the text, Nkumbula appears to place himself outside the moral community defined by Ila social conventions and to sympathize with the position of those shirt- and trouser-wearing young men whom the "conservative element of the population" accused of having turned into *balumbu* (foreigners).<sup>45</sup> In this sense, then, Nkumbula was not a "cultural nationalist" who juxtaposed an unsatisfactory present with a glorified picture of the past. Nostalgia for precolonial social relations was by and large absent from "Life and customs of the Baila," and Nkumbula's adhesion to modernity—and its still barely visible political implications—fuller and more genuine than that of many later local ethnographers.<sup>46</sup>

### Pan-Africanist London

The quest for a modern idiom of political unity among Northern Rhodesian Africans was resumed in earnest by the Federation of African Societies of Northern Rhodesia (FASNR), founded in May 1946. While committed to "co-operat[ing] as much as possible with the Government," the FASNR also aimed at encouraging "the formation of African Societies in Northern Rhodesia," "speak[ing] for and on behalf of Africans in rural and urban areas," and, more generally, doing "anything possible to develop an African public opinion on unity, co-operation and understanding."<sup>47</sup> By the time the FASNR was launched, however, Nkumbula was no longer in Northern Rhodesia. After being awarded a bursary by the colony's Department of African Education,<sup>48</sup> Harry had reached Kampala, Uganda, early in March 1946, at the end of a gruelling eighteen-day-long journey in the course of which he had endured considerable personal hardships and faced numerous examples of bureaucratic obtuseness, but also witnessed the relative ease with which racial barriers could be overcome in Tanganyika and Uganda. On the ferry between Mwanza and Kampala, for instance, he had met "a Hindu family" whose "elder son... was very kind to me, took me to his cabin where we read aloud on the life of Mr. Jinnah, the leader of all the Muslims in India

today.”<sup>49</sup> Leonard Kombe, a fellow Northern Rhodesian and a student at Makerere since 1945, had been similarly impressed, urging Nkumbula on the eve of his trip to “forget all about colour bar” in East Africa “and talk to anybody... whom you think can understand English: Indians, Europeans and Africans.”<sup>50</sup>

Nkumbula did well at Makerere. Regarded as “conscientious and hard-working” by his tutors, he passed the preliminary module that Northern Rhodesian students were requested to take before being admitted to the College’s two-year Higher Arts Course.<sup>51</sup> But his “great desire” was “to get to England for studies in Social Science or read for an education or law degree of the University of London.”<sup>52</sup> With the support of his Makerere teachers, who stressed that, for all his success at the College, the thirty-year-old Nkumbula was probably “too old easily to adapt himself to academic work of the type involved by his present studies,”<sup>53</sup> and of Gore-Browne, who pushed his case on the Northern Rhodesia’s African Bursaries Committee, Harry was able to realize his dream, joining the Colonial Department of the University of London’s Institute of Education in the summer of 1947.<sup>54</sup> One year later, having completed a number of theoretical and applied courses, he obtained the Institute’s “Professional Certificate,” the equivalent of a PGCE for non graduate students.<sup>55</sup> While Nkumbula worked hard at the Institute of Education—on April 4, 1948, for instance, he wrote to Gore-Browne at “2 in the morning,” complaining about the obscurity of “Dewey’s book on Democracy and Education.... Every day my sleeping hours are decreasing and it cannot be helped—the work is got to be done”<sup>56</sup>—his later performance at the London School of Economics (LSE), where he matriculated in October 1948,<sup>57</sup> left much to be desired. Having joined the LSE in defiance of the advice of the African Bursaries Committee, which wanted him to move out of London and study at Nottingham University,<sup>58</sup> Nkumbula paid little attention to the formal requirements of his degree in economics, preferring instead to gravitate around the “several organisations which were taking a keen part in understanding Colonial problems in general and of Central African in particular.”<sup>59</sup> In the summer of 1949, Nkumbula failed his intermediate examinations and was recalled to Northern Rhodesia shortly thereafter.

Nkumbula’s “minder” in London was the enigmatic John Keith, the head of the Colonial Office’s Welfare Department and “Director of Colonial Scholars” since 1941. Keith, an old Northern Rhodesian hand who had served as Native Commissioner in Namwala, Harry’s

own district, in the 1920s and as Acting Director of African Education and Ndola DC in the 1930s, was either a socialist or a left-leaning liberal. His policy in dealing with the students under his supervision was "to treat them as grown-up men and women and not interfere unduly with their private affairs, and certainly not discourage their legitimate political and social activities."<sup>60</sup> Not only did Keith frequently defend his charges against misplaced suspicions of Communist leanings originating from their home governments, the Foreign Office or the MI5,<sup>61</sup> but he was also prepared openly to admit that such discontent as existed among African students was generally the result of colonial governments not being "democratic" in the Western sense. Until there is a more straightforward 'democratic' government in the African Colonies there will be political feelings and agitation among the students of a kind which plays into the hands of Communist and other propagandists.<sup>62</sup> Keith, who spoke Ila and whom Nkumbula remembered from his childhood in Namwala, got to "know [Harry] well" during the latter's stay in London and would in fact remain in close contact with him after his departure.<sup>63</sup> Unlike his Northern Rhodesian counterparts, for whom Nkumbula remained "a problem child...given to dabbling in politics in an undesirable way,"<sup>64</sup> Keith was clearly not prepared to antagonize Nkumbula's deepening interest in student politics and Pan-Africanist circles.<sup>65</sup>

Nkumbula had arrived in London at a time of great political ferment among African students. The Fifth Pan-African Congress, which had marked the rise to prominence of the radical left wing of the movement led by agitator *extraordinaire* George Padmore and his protégé Kwame Nkrumah, had been held in Manchester in October 1945.<sup>66</sup> The Manchester Congress, one of the resolutions of which had called for the "complete and absolute independence" of West Africa,<sup>67</sup> had also coincided with the adoption of a more militant course on the part of the long-established West African Students' Union (WASU), of which Nkrumah had been vice-president between 1945 and 1946,<sup>68</sup> and it had ushered in the formation of the ultraradical West African National Secretariat (WANS), the principal aims of which had been to favor the "seizing [of] power in Africa as quickly as possible" and to promote the creation of a united independent West Africa.<sup>69</sup> In March 1946, the first issue of *The New African*, the short-lived official organ of the WANS, had confidently predicted that "the day when West Africa, as one united country, pulls itself from imperialist oppression and exploitation it will pull the rest of Africa with her."<sup>70</sup> A number of WANS activists, including secretary-general

Nkrumah, were either in close contact or full-blown members of the Communist Party of Great Britain.<sup>71</sup> Others, such as Padmore, gravitated around the Independent Labour Party (ILP).<sup>72</sup>

Apart from Safeli Chileshe, an old Chalimbana acquaintance who had been at the School of Oriental and African Studies since 1945, Nkumbula's closest friends in London and fellow residents of Nutford House hostel were Charles Njonjo, who would go on to serve as Kenya's Attorney General between 1963 and 1979, and Seretse Khama, a member of WASU and the future first president of independent Botswana.<sup>73</sup> It was perhaps the latter who introduced Nkumbula to radical West African students and their older London-based mentors—Padmore and Nkrumah, of course, but also the South African exile, Peter Abrahams, and future Malawian president Hastings K. Banda, who had taken part in the Manchester Congress and was then working as a medical doctor in north London.<sup>74</sup> Several years later, Nkumbula would be honest enough to admit the modesty of his contribution to the activities of this circle of committed Pan-Africanists.

I was a student. I did very little indeed apart from listening to my elders, people like Kwame Nkrumah and many others. I was their typist. I used to type and post their letters. When I typed the letters I used to read what was contained in those letters. [...]. That is how I got my political education and it was a very good one. Those people said "we are going back to African after our studies to engage ourselves in the freedom of our nations; to establish the rule of law and peace for all. Justice for all. We cannot be ruled by people from outside Africa."<sup>75</sup>

In the post-WWII period, by agitating for the immediate termination of colonialism, Pan-Africanism in the Padmore-Nkrumah guise contained within itself the germ of its failure, as the logic of territorial nationalism would inexorably ensue in the marginalization of ideals of inter-African solidarity or, at best, in their reconfiguration from a relationship "of people" to a "relationship of states."<sup>76</sup> For the time being, however, the theoretical fragility of Pan-Africanism and its internal contradictions are less likely to have made an impression on Nkumbula's eager mind than the promise of liberation from foreign rule that the movement's ideology appeared to hold out.

But Nkumbula was either more moderate or more ecumenical than Nkrumah and Padmore. Unlike the latter, who viewed with

horror Labour's temporary "reassertion of empire" following its electoral victory in 1945,<sup>77</sup> Nkumbula was still prepared to engage with the Fabian Colonial Bureau (FCB), the party's colonial think-tank, with whose secretary, Dr. Rita Hinden, he had been put in touch by Gore-Browne in as early as October 1947.<sup>78</sup> Further Labour contacts included Harold Laski, the party's chairman and the only Professor at the LSE who appears to have made any lasting impression on Nkumbula,<sup>79</sup> Fenner Brockway, who had recently rejoined the Labour Party from the ILP and was then maturing a profound interest in African nationalism,<sup>80</sup> and future MP John Stonehouse, who met Nkumbula, "thickset, very forceful even in his undergraduate days, ... in the crowded hallway of LSE," where he, too, was a student.<sup>81</sup> By 1949, having taken part in a number of meetings of the FCB, Nkumbula was said to be "keen on Socialism."<sup>82</sup>

For all the obvious significance of his direct involvement in left-wing networks, Nkumbula's daily experiences in the big city were probably no less important in broadening and radicalizing his nationalist outlook. In the late 1940s, as the number of African students in the UK grew exponentially, the Colonial Office worried a great deal about the possibility that widespread racial prejudice might "[destroy], in many cases, what faith a student may have had in British Colonial policy."<sup>83</sup> However, hailing from what was fast becoming a settler-dominated colony, Northern Rhodesian students—unlike, say, their West African peers—were probably more likely to be struck by the realization that racial considerations did *not* entirely inhibit genuine social interaction in the comparatively cosmopolitan environment of London. Arthur Creech Jones, for one, was keen to stress that, although

some instances of colour discrimination have occurred here and [...] some students may return home embittered by such happenings, [...] the majority of the students take away pleasant memories of friendly intercourses with British people and of courtesies received. [...] These men and women [...] have in many instances formed friendships with British men and women and have been accustomed to mix freely and on terms of social equality with other members of the community in this country.<sup>84</sup>

Keith shared the Colonial Secretary's view. While admitting that "colour prejudice" was a significant factor—one, for instance, that made the securing of suitable lodgings and living accommodation in bombed-out London especially problematic—Keith also thought



the “liberty” enjoyed by the average African student in the UK was not to be underestimated; nor was the fact that the latter

has the opportunity of mixing freely with his fellow students in University activities if not in their homes. He gets to know their mentality, and he loses any sense of inferiority that he may have had by measuring his own capacities with theirs.<sup>85</sup>

Even more momentous in challenging hallowed colonial racial hierarchies was the startling spectacle of white poverty and deprivation. Early in 1946, having been informed of Nkumbula’s plan to study in the UK, Chileshe urged his old classmate to brace himself for the “many cases of poverty, starvation, ignorance, theft, [and] murder” that he would come across in London.

It will surely surprise you to know that [...] of the 8 million people of this city more than fifty per cent have been attacked by one form of V.D. and that 4,327 divorce cases have been administered in two months in this City only. East End of the City is in dreadful living conditions. The Govt. is voting attention to the improvement of the area. Worse is that people who live by going from one man to another usually bear children whom they throw in public places so that they are picked and given to the state to nurse and look after. One Home for these destitutes in this City has 8,000 children roughly of this unfortunate birth. No Englishman [in Northern Rhodesia?] will ever agree that things like this existed here. I was with two girls—who are now teachers, and they do not know what their parents are. However, these are human failures.<sup>86</sup>

The likely political fallout of experiences such as Chileshe’s frightened administrators and settler representatives in Lusaka and accounts for their repeated—if not always successful—efforts to prevent Northern Rhodesia’s Africans from studying in London. At the end of 1949, Roy Welensky, the then leader of the unofficial members of the colony’s Legislative Council, came to the conclusion that the “terrific strain” experienced by lonely African students in London, “a tough city at any time,” was responsible for their “fall[ing] into the wrong hands in the United Kingdom.”<sup>87</sup> His views were far from unique. A few months earlier, former Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA) Hudson had conducted enquires into the “supervision of our African students” in London. Despite being explicitly reassured by both Keith and W.V. Crook, the Liaison Officer for East African

Students at the Colonial Office since 1948, Hudson had continued to believe that “our people run the risk of getting into contact with people with odd ideological views, including some of the LSE and Fabian people.” Hudson’s reference to the LSE and the FCB must have left his correspondent and successor, R.P. Bush, in no doubt as to which particular Northern Rhodesian student Hudson viewed as being in danger “of departing from the standards we try to set in N.R.”<sup>88</sup>

Whatever the effects of Nkumbula’s exposure to both radical and moderate anticolonial ideologies and of his social experiences in London, developments in Central Africa remained the ultimate mainspring of his political engagement. In July 1948, the intellectual and political bricolage that Nkumbula had begun almost ten years earlier reached a significant point of arrival, as the Federation of African Societies of Northern Rhodesia was turned into the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (NRAC) the better to resist renewed settler agitation in favour of responsible government and, then, federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In the “Memorandum against constitutional proposals” issued by the Congress after its inaugural conference, the Africans were openly presented as the “sons of Northern Rhodesia Soil,” whom the Colonial Office, whose “trusteeship” the proposed constitutional moves threatened to eradicate, was “educat[ing] and civilis[ing]” with a view ultimately to equipping them to “represent themselves directly on the United Nations Organisation.”<sup>89</sup> In a language to which Nkumbula would undoubtedly have subscribed, the NRAC set about “break[ing] the tribal bars by endeavouring to foster the spirit of unity among Africans, so that no one tribe shall feel inferior or superior in the eyes of the Congress.”<sup>90</sup>

Nkumbula added his voice to the campaign against responsible government by stressing that before any move toward self-government could be made, “some drastic change in the political setup of N.R. and the present colonial native policy together with the relationship between black and white in N.R. must take place...”

Briefly speaking, the building up of parallel political and social institutions based on racial discrimination and nomination of either black or white members to any of the political bodies are measures which cannot be defended any longer. What we need in N.R. is the introduction of adult suffrage, more education and appointment of Africans to higher posts in all government departments.<sup>91</sup>

The idea of African enfranchisement, which Nkumbula had first tentatively advanced in 1944, was now used both to sabotage settler efforts to disengage from the Colonial Office's overlordship and to signify the attainment of a new maturity and unity of purpose on the part of Northern Rhodesian Africans. In the summer of 1948, Nkumbula apparently supported widespread calls for the resignation of MLC Gore-Browne, guilty in African eyes of having thrown his weight behind settler demands for responsible government.<sup>92</sup> Harry's opposition to Gore-Browne's constitutional plans—the subject of a cable he is said to have sent to the leaders of the NRAC—aggrieved Sir Stewart, who was also “horried” and “ashamed” to learn that Nkumbula had recently taken advantage of his beloved aunt's generosity by requesting a loan of £30.<sup>93</sup> Thereafter, relationships between Nkumbula and his former patron deteriorated swiftly; by the beginning of 1949 they had stopped corresponding altogether.<sup>94</sup>

But it was Nkumbula's subsequent intervention in the federal debate that set alarm bells ringing in Lusaka. In April 1949, he and Banda sent an anti-federal letter to the *African Weekly*, the Southern Rhodesian government newspaper for Africans. The Northern Rhodesian Governor, Gilbert Rennie, admitted that the missive “was temperately written and no exception could have been taken had Nkumbula been a private individual; but in his position as a recipient of a Government bursary, it is considered to have been most undesirable for him to have associated himself with it.” Rennie asked Colonial Secretary Jones to warn Nkumbula that “if he takes any further part in such activities, his scholarship will be withdrawn immediately.”<sup>95</sup> Banda and Nkumbula's letter, which I have not been able to consult, must have been a mere summary of their coeval pamphlet, “Federation in Central Africa,” the most important and sophisticated African intervention in the federal debate to date. The text testified to the effectiveness of Nkumbula's earlier imaginative groundwork. Written “on behalf and on the authority of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian Africans in the United Kingdom,” it opposed Federation on the grounds that “it would extend to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia the policy of segregation and discrimination under which our fellow Africans in Southern Rhodesia now, legally, suffer social indignities and civil and political disabilities.” Any discussion on closer union with Southern Rhodesia was conditional upon the latter country

“revis[ing] her present Native policy, which is the exact copy of that of the Union of South Africa,” and the enfranchisement

of every African man and woman, who can read in any language and who is not a criminal [...]. We are told that we cannot be given universal or adult suffrage because most of our people are primitive and ignorant. We reject the notion [...] that because of the supposed backwardness and ignorance of our people, any group of self-appointed aristocrats [...] has any right to deny us a voice in the affairs of the country we call our own and our home.<sup>96</sup>

Rennie’s anxiety about Nkumbula’s increasingly vocal opposition to the proposed Central African Federation might have been behind the MI5 taking a fleeting interest in the Northern Rhodesian student in the summer of 1949.<sup>97</sup> The security service’s request for information prompted Keith to point out that even though Nkumbula’s “criticisms of his Govt. [were causing] a flutter in N. Rhod.,” Harry was most definitely not “a fellow traveller nor one of [the African students] who are susceptible to Communist influences.”<sup>98</sup> In the event, as we know, Nkumbula’s failure in the LSE’s intermediate examinations gave Northern Rhodesian authorities the opportunity they had been waiting for. Unlike other, apolitical Northern Rhodesian bursary-holders, Nkumbula was not offered the chance to retake his exams. His scholarship was promptly terminated by the Director of African Education, and Harry was left with little option but to make his way back to Central Africa.<sup>99</sup> With the benefit of hindsight, many a colonial officials must have come to regret the decision to expedite Nkumbula’s return to an increasingly tense Northern Rhodesia.



## CHAPTER II

# “THE FATHER OF ZAMBIAN POLITICS” BETWEEN PADMORE AND MAALA

Upon his return from London, Nkumbula, the modernizing, cosmopolitan nationalist, was soon faced with the problem of securing mass support for the anti-federal agitation that he was planning to lead. In seeking to meet this all-important goal, Nkumbula was led to reposition himself vis-à-vis his ethnic locality and home province, the fears and ambitions of which he could no longer afford to dismiss as divisive and parochial. To be sure, the anti-Federation crusade that marked Harry's rise to prominence between 1951 and 1953 was a “national” campaign, drawing as it did on an idiom of interethnic unity and solidarity that was explicitly meant to secure the allegiance of the largest possible number of Northern Rhodesian Africans. Yet, a detailed exploration of the dynamics of the constitutional battle and the practical examples of inequality and oppression by which it was fired reveals a significant degree of ethno-regionalist ambiguity within Nkumbula's overall universalist framework. From the early 1950s onward, to put it differently, Nkumbula shifted repeatedly between two levels of political discourse and principles of affiliation. By foregrounding the polyvalence and plasticity of Nkumbula's thought, this chapter seeks to go beyond formalist, evolutionary approaches (the “tribe to nation” axiom of the 1960s and 1970s) with a view to presenting a more profound and historically grounded analysis of the contradictory forces and motives that shaped the pattern of his political engagement in the early 1950s.

The first section of the chapter, then, seeks to do justice to the intellectual and political dilemmas faced by Nkumbula by illuminating both the national and regional dimensions of his political thought and action. My aim is to show that the continuing imagination of

interethnic solidarities and the growth of national consciousness during the anti-federal campaign did not preclude Nkumbula from rooting that same campaign in the unique historical experience of his home region and consolidating his power base therein. The second and third sections of the chapter take a more explicitly administrative focus to bring out the very considerable effort at party organization that Nkumbula embarked upon in the 1950s and the differences in leadership styles between the latter and his protégée, Kenneth Kaunda, independent Zambia's future first Republican President. To do so, it will be argued, is to begin to confront and debunk a set of deep-rooted stereotypes about Nkumbula. However, a full-blown critique of the simplistic metanarrative in which all these stereotypes eventually crystallized will only be attempted in the next chapter.

### The National and Regional Dimensions of the Anti-Federation Campaign

The months that followed his return from London at the beginning of 1950 were a period of intense personal frustration for Nkumbula, who not only had to contend with the extensive ripples of his academic failure at the LSE, but also found himself unemployed and in serious financial straits. Sometimes described as a proof of his inborn business acumen and orientation, Nkumbula's temporary involvement in the seashell trade between Namwala and the Mozambican coast and Madagascar, which Harry visited on one or two occasions between 1950 and 1951,<sup>1</sup> was rather a courageous attempt to make ends meet—or so at least Nkumbula himself presented it to one of his principal European contacts, Marjorie Nicholson, the then secretary of the FCB, in an angry, “badly written letter,” for which he apologized by pointing out that he had “only little time to sit down. I must earn my living somehow—I have no job.”<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the 1940s, Nkumbula had left unanswered the question of his and his various associations' representativeness and degree of social embedment. The political community in whose name he had always spoken *did* consist of a small literate elite of teachers and clerks. All this changed in 1950–1951. While the missionary product and political bricoleur of the early 1940s had seen fit morally to distance himself from the local world of Bwila with a view to imagining and mobilizing new and broader political solidarities, the embittered activist of the early 1950s found it necessary to reduce such a distance in an attempt to consolidate his local support base.

If Nkumbula was to be successful in his ascent to the leadership of the NRAC—for this, as he avowed to his close friends, was now his political ambition<sup>3</sup>—he needed to speak in a language that his local constituents understood. Harry himself came very close to acknowledging this when, in a short piece on “Leadership” written for the FCB, he contrasted the position of hereditary leaders with that of “a leader who has been chosen by the people.” Unlike the former, the latter was naturally at risk of losing his position if rejected by his constituents. Rejection, in turn, was always a consequence of the hypothetical leader’s disregard for “public opinion, whether that opinion is enlightened or not. He wins his success and popularity when he puts great weight to [*sic*] the wishes of the people, and when he prefers their interests to his own.”<sup>4</sup>

Thus, in translating the anti-federal message into a usable lexicon of protest, Nkumbula was drawn back to ethnohistory—which no longer represented a mere model of obsolete social relationships which the emerging national community that he had imagined should steer well clear of—and to his own locality, about whose specifically agricultural needs he wrote extensively in 1950.<sup>5</sup> In “Life and customs of the Baila,” Nkumbula had briefly described the Ila traditional economy and commended ongoing attempts to improve it without disrupting the fragile ecological balance of the Kafue flats.<sup>6</sup> But, he now argued, if the Ila and their neighbors, the Tonga and the Lenje, were to be fully successful in their efforts to use their cattle productively and market their surplus crops, then the colonial state ought to have embarked on a far-reaching program of agricultural reform, dropping discrimination in price between African- and European-grown commodities (“an exhibition of crass psychology”), improving the “shocking” rural transport network and expanding its “deplorable” medical services.<sup>7</sup>

Personal discontent combined with the increasing pace of settler agitation in favor of Federation and a growing awareness of the Southern Province’s agricultural grievances to produce a much radicalized appraisal of colonialism, “a thoroughly wicked business. Its present form discredits all the English persons in the eyes of the colonials and their sympathizers. Why not do an honest job? Shoot us all or leave us alone (!!!).”<sup>8</sup> It was largely on the strength of this deeply felt conviction that Nkumbula was elected to the presidency of the NRAC in July 1951. But even before formally ousting Godwin Mbikusita-Lewanika, the Congress president since its inception in 1948, Nkumbula had begun decisively to shape the anti-federal

agenda of the party, as attested by the complete consonance between “Federation in Central Africa,” Banda and Nkumbula’s treatise of 1949, and the resolutions adopted by a meeting of the Congress’ executive council on January 18, 1951—a day that also culminated in the appointment of Nkumbula as national organizing secretary, an *ad hoc* position “pressed for by the public.”<sup>9</sup> Nabulyato, the secretary-general of the party, had read “Federation in Central Africa.”<sup>10</sup> In drafting the resolutions of the executive, he now reiterated Banda and Nkumbula’s condemnation of the Southern Rhodesia “Native policy”—which the NRAC “viewed with horror” on account of the “political disabilities, social indignities and denial of economic and political freedom” that it inflicted upon “the African”—and their demand for far-reaching internal social and political reforms as a precondition for—or, preferably, an alternative to—Federation. As Banda and Nkumbula had done, the Congress depicted Federation as merely the first step toward the granting of Dominion status to European settlers—a development that had always spelt doom for the “indigenous peoples,” who had either been “exterminated...or turned...into serfs, e.g. Australia and the Union of South Africa”—and advocated the continuance of “Colonial Office Rule, whose policy is to prepare the colonial peoples for self-government and independence within the framework of the Commonwealth of Nations.”<sup>11</sup>

While Nkumbula would continue to draw on this powerful combination of Pan-African solidarities and appeals to the ideals of both imperial citizenship and self-government, he infused it with a new urgency and immediacy by giving vent to widespread popular fears of land alienation.<sup>12</sup> Nkumbula’s most explicit early formulation of what would become *the* dominant feature of the Congress’ anti-federal campaign took place during a meeting of the Southern Province’s African Provincial Council that Harry attended as the representative of the Ila Native Authority, where he sat briefly as a “progressive councillor” in the summer of 1951. Called specifically for the purpose of discussing the *Report of the Conference on Closer Association* (Cmd. 8233) before the Secretary of State for the Colonies’ planned visit to Central Africa, the meeting represented a personal triumph for Nkumbula, whose right to take part in the deliberations of the Council was initially questioned by its chairman, acting provincial commissioner (PC) Phillips. Not only did the meeting fully endorse Nkumbula and the NRAC’s rejection of the *Report* and demand for the “progressive political advancement of the Africans in this country,”<sup>13</sup> but it also provided Nkumbula with the chance



publicly to broadcast his warning that Federation, because of the "large influx of European immigrants" that it would usher in, would pose an immediate threat to an already significantly weakened system of African land tenure. Amidst enthusiastic shouts of "hear, hear," Nkumbula asked rhetorically:

If those people came to this country, where are they going to be? Is [...] Mr. Roy Welensky [...] not going to alienate the present native trust land to find room for them? [...]. Would that not affect the interests of the Africans? What land are they going to occupy, is it not Northern Rhodesia, the country of the Africans, that land which is given to the Africans, native reserves and native trust lands?

After pointing out that the envisaged federal Native Affairs Board represented an inadequate form of safeguard, Nkumbula ended his speech by reminding his listeners that

If we have this Federation, tomorrow we shall have a Dominion in Central Africa. What will [then] happen to all the safeguards? We are quite aware of what happens to the safeguards which the British Government gives to the Colonial peoples, they are never honoured, they have been violated. If you go into the pages of Colonial history, even without Dominion status, the safeguards and guarantees that we are given by His Majesty's Government [...] go by the board because of pressure coming from the settlers [...] how much more when you have gone to Dominion Status? In view of this I will repeat myself and say on behalf of the people I represent we totally reject Federation.<sup>14</sup>

I maintain that the site of Nkumbula's peroration was not accidental. For while the fear of land loss was felt throughout the country and by all the Northern Rhodesian Africans in whose name Nkumbula purported to speak, it was undoubtedly especially strong in the Southern Province. This was because its comparatively fertile land was then being used more and more effectively by Africans for market production and also because of the sustained lived history of dispossession that the region, unique in this respect in the Northern Rhodesian context, had experienced from early in the century.<sup>15</sup> "Southerners are farmers"—a close friend and colleague of Nkumbula once told me. "They did not move around like the Bemba and others. They have a very high sense of their land. They value it above all things. Harry understood this."<sup>16</sup> Although the rural concerns of labor migrants were not necessarily less profound than those

of market-oriented peasants,<sup>17</sup> the above remarks suggest that, for all its broad appeal, Nkumbula's emphasis on land matters in the early 1950s did introduce an element of ethno-regionalist ambiguity within the NRAC's early nationalism. To be sure, the imagination of new intertribal solidarities proceeded in earnest. In "How the Congress works in Northern Rhodesia," for instance, Nabulyato went out of his way to stress the "strong co-operation and unity" among the party's members.

Despite tribal differences and petty planted jealousies, Congress members do manage to come together to discuss and decide their future. There is little backbiting among the members because the Congress policy is that 'no one is superior or inferior in the eyes of the Congress.' Therefore Congress members show each others' mistake without undue grudge and remorse.<sup>18</sup>

And at about the same time, Nkumbula famously pointed to the existence of "a cold war between the British Government and the indigenous peoples of Africa."<sup>19</sup> Yet there is little doubt that the arguments that he employed to bring home his point spoke more loudly to the historical experience of one region of the colony than they did to that of the others.

For the time being, however, the political salience of this ideological tension remained muted, as Nkumbula worked tirelessly toward building a national image for himself and his party. In the furtherance of this aim, his oratory was no less important than the clarity of his anti-federal critique. On Christmas Day, 1951, Nkumbula addressed a Congress meeting in Kitwe. His speech began by bemoaning the growing "intolerance and hatred between the racial groups which inhabit our Protectorate." This sorry state of affairs, Harry maintained, had nothing to do with the Africans. Rather, it was the consequence of the "ideology of race superiority" espoused by the "ever increasing number of immigrants from the Union of South Africa" and of the newly elected British Tory government's seeming deafness to African concerns about Federation. The much-flaunted economic case for Federation, Nkumbula went on, was but a smoke-screen designed to mask the ongoing "exploitation of Africa's natural resources" and protect the privileged position of the "colonists," who "enjoy easily gained higher standards of life than they have ever known in their home lands. This has only been [made] possible by employing techniques which have kept the indigenous populations

to the lowest forms of life." But it was the beautifully crafted, explosive conclusion of the speech that made the most profound impression on his African listeners. It is worth quoting it in full:

Ladies and Gentlemen, we must tell the White Settlers in our Protectorate and the British Government that we cannot trust them any more. We have been much humiliated. We have almost lost confidence in ourselves because of the bad treatment we have suffered from the hands of our supposed partners. Perhaps this is a blessing in disguise. There is now a rising tide of nationalism among our people. Our national spirit, now rife, is an upshot of our long suffering. There is no going back. We are a race and like any other race on earth we love to rule ourselves. How shall we achieve a home rule? There must be economic and political reforms. We must have our own Parliament in which the Europeans and the Indians will have reserved seats. We are a considerate race. We shall respect and protect the interests of the minorities in our nation. But the last word as to the form of Government we shall have, it shall be for us to decide.<sup>20</sup>

Without yet offering a detailed blueprint for the achievement of national independence, by the end of 1951, Nkumbula no longer viewed the latter as a distant, hazy ideal. The realization of what he called "our national aspirations" had clearly entered the realm of possibility.

It was surrounded by such a growing militant aura that Nkumbula returned to London in the spring of 1952, following an absence of more than two years. Timed to coincide with the Lancaster House conference—that, despite being boycotted by the official African delegates from both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, would culminate in the publication of a *Draft Federal Scheme* (Cmd. 8573)<sup>21</sup>—the NRAC's "London Delegation" was meant "to educate the British public in Central African Affairs" and to put forward the case against Federation in the largest possible number of public and private meetings.<sup>22</sup> Besides enabling Nkumbula to broaden his already impressive network of international contacts ("we Africans of this Protectorate are not without friends in England," he would later note with pleasure<sup>23</sup>), the trip was especially notable for marking the beginning of the so-called "Land Rights Case." All but ignored by students of Zambian nationalism, this legal initiative, in which the services were enlisted of Rev. Michael Scott, the director of the Africa Bureau, and progressive lawyer Dingle Foot, is nonetheless indicative of Nkumbula and his key constituents' priorities in the early 1950s.

In its initial and most limited application, the “Land Rights Case” was intended to employ the letter of the “treaties of protection” stipulated between British agents and African chiefs at the close of the nineteenth century to question the legality of the successive Orders in Council with which the Northern Rhodesian government had acquired the right to expropriate and “assign any land in the country, including Reserves, for any purposes.”<sup>24</sup> A separate, though obviously related, line of juridical attack was to use the same treaties and, especially, the so-called “Barotse Concession” of 1900 to stall the implementation of the federal scheme, which, it could be argued, “represent[ed] a breach of these agreements,” for the direct descendants of the original signatories were to be handed over to what was, “in substance, if not in strict form, a new State different from that which they originally contracted.”<sup>25</sup> In practice, however, even Foot considered the chances of either case ever making it through British courts extremely slim and, insofar as Federation as a whole was concerned, thought it more realistic to request the intervention of the United Nations, the Charter of which Federation might be construed as running against. Predictably, the “Land Rights Case” failed to take off. Shelved in October 1953,<sup>26</sup> two months after Federation had finally become a reality, it would appear *prima facie* as nothing more than a tactical blunder and a considerable waste of resources. Yet, the sincere faith that Nkumbula placed in the case,<sup>27</sup> and the fact that it would eventually resurface in 1955, bring out in sharp relief the common ideological ground and the solidity of the alliance between the Congress’ president and the Bantu Botatwe, among whom “the idea that Chiefs could sue Government for the return of their land [was] extremely popular.”<sup>28</sup> Nothing epitomizes the Southern Province’s satisfaction with Nkumbula’s doings in the UK better than a Tonga song that was still remembered in the 1970s:

Harry Mwaanga.  
 Harry Mwaanga.  
 Nkumbula is fighting our cause in England.  
 Here he comes from the edges of the world.  
 He is not afraid to go to the white man.  
 He is not afraid of the one who speaks English.  
 Harry Nkumbula.<sup>29</sup>

By including two chiefs in the London delegation—the Bemba Paramount, Chitimukulu, whose remit in the UK meetings was to deliver a speech on how time-honoured treaties were “being

violated by European schemes for Federation," and Senior Chief Musokotwane of the Southern Province's "Toka" or "Toka-Leya," who dwelt specifically on European "encroachment on African lands" and the obstacles that prevented the full "development of agriculture in N. Rhodesia"<sup>30</sup>—Nkumbula signified his intention to involve "Native Authorities" in the colony-wide anti-federal agitation. This determination found its most tangible expression in the decision to transform the Congress' annual conference of August 1952 into a "Chiefs and Delegates Conference."<sup>31</sup> Attended by more than a hundred chiefs drawn from all over the country, the Conference, striking as it did at the heart of the colonial neo-traditionalist project, was greeted with considerable anxiety by administrators,<sup>32</sup> or, in the words of Nkumbula himself, threw the government "completely . . . off its rails."<sup>33</sup> Held less than three months after the adjective "national" had been added to the name of the party, which now became known as the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia (ANC),<sup>34</sup> the Conference's primary aim was clearly to demonstrate the unity of all Africans behind the Congress' anti-federal battle and to counter customary charges of unrepresentativeness on the part of colonial authorities.

In his presidential address, an effective compendium of all the standard themes of his anti-federal platform, Nkumbula first of all stressed the uniqueness of the occasion, "the first time in the history of this country that Chiefs and Commoners from all parts of this protectorate have been able to come together to discuss matters that affect them . . ."<sup>35</sup> Having already provided a point-by-point rebuttal of the constitutional provisions contained in the *Draft Federal Scheme* in June,<sup>36</sup> Nkumbula chose instead to take his listeners yet once more into "the annals of the British Colonial History" with a view to illustrating the dire consequences of the granting of Dominion Status—which, as we know, the ANC assumed with some reason to be the "ultimate goal" of the "federationists"—for "aboriginal races" the world over.

[The] British Colonists in North America and Canada exterminated the Natives of those countries and occupied their lands. [. . .] safeguards did not save the Red Indians from the bullets and poison of the British Colonists. [. . .]. In Australia similar things happened. Today the Red Indians and the Australia aborigines no longer exist as a race. [. . .]. In South Africa our fellow men were sold by Her Majesty's Government to the White Settlers when the British Government granted Dominion Status to the Union. [. . .]. Our kinsmen have lost

their land and all elementary human rights. The British Government is not doing anything to liberate our fellow men from the slavery they are now undergoing.<sup>37</sup>

After restating his abhorrence of the “savage” Southern Rhodesian “way of life” and solidarity with the oppressed “brothers and sisters” of that unhappy country, Nkumbula pointed out that Federation amounted to nothing less than a betrayal on the part of the British government, that, by forsaking its obligation to lead the Northern Rhodesian Africans toward self-government, was similarly abdicating any claim on the future loyalty of its charges.

If the British Government accepts the doctrine of [...] democracy, I fail to see how they are today directed towards minority governments. Whatever the case may be and how long it may take, we are to develop along the road to democracy—a democracy in which all sections of our community will be secured. Not until that goal shall be reached shall there be peace and goodwill between men in Mother Africa. Any Constitutional measures which attempt to stop this growth will only result in a far-reaching disaster.<sup>38</sup>

As in Mapoloto two months earlier—and despite the “uneasiness among the Europeans” that his remarks had then caused—Nkumbula reiterated the view that “the only best government for the Blacks was a government fully manned and run by the black people of Africa.”<sup>39</sup>

Having been advised by his supporters in the UK to provide a practical alternative to Federation,<sup>40</sup> Nkumbula’s opening speech ended with the presentation of a sketchy plan for the “constitutional development for self-government” in Northern Rhodesia, the first stage of which was to be characterized by parity of representation in the colony’s Legislative Council between elected European and African representatives, with official MLCs holding the ultimate balance of power.<sup>41</sup> A few days later, during a heated meeting with the former British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, who not only favored Federation but also thought that Africans still had “a long way to go to reach the same stage of political development as the Europeans,” Nkumbula made it clear that, in his view, parity of representation and the initial existence of a special electoral roll for Africans were not irreconcilable with the concession of universal adult suffrage.<sup>42</sup>

Yet, notwithstanding the internationalist, Pan-Africanist rhetoric by which it was informed, the nationalism expressed by the “Chiefs and Delegates Conference” did have a pronounced Southern Province flavor. Possibly because more than a third of the chiefs in

attendance hailed from Nkumbula's home region,<sup>43</sup> the grievances of agricultural producers were much more central to his demonstration of the exploitative nature of colonial rule than were specifically urban concerns, such as the refusal to "put into practical application" the "principle of equal pay for equal work" on the mines. In his presidential address, for instance, Nkumbula offered a detailed analysis of the maize marketing system and, especially, the workings of the African Farming Improvement Fund (AFIF), which, he maintained, far from assisting a select group of "modern" cash crop farmers, served merely to squeeze surplus out of rural producers and entrench the "discrimination in the price of articles put on the market by Africans and European sellers."<sup>44</sup> More in general, land matters featured very prominently in the agenda of the Conference, the first day of which was entirely taken up by the compilation of a written account in which the chiefs explained when and "how Crown Lands were acquired in their respective areas."<sup>45</sup> This is likely to have been an all-Bantu Botatwe affair, for, as has already been pointed out, the Southern Province was the only region of the colony where land alienation and the confinement of Africans to "Native Reserves" had taken place to any appreciable extent.

The increasing likelihood of a complete settler victory over Federation brought about a further radicalization in Nkumbula's politics between 1952 and 1953. In his New Year message to the "chiefs and people of Northern Rhodesia," Nkumbula, in yet another proof of the multifarious nature of his political repertoire, ventured into a Marxist interpretation of Federation as the tool of international capital. In a language of which his old mentor, Padmore, would undoubtedly have been proud, he wrote about the continuing need "of raw materials for the British and American manufacturers" and the crisis that the "forces of freedom and independence" were bringing about for "the Capitalists."

The British and American Capitalists plan to have a stronghold in Central Africa. Both the British and American investors of capital in our native country wish to make the biggest possible profits for themselves. The British Conservative Government therefore are seeking ways and means of maintaining East and Central Africa for their benefit. The most effective way they can do this is through the proposed Central African Federation.<sup>46</sup>

Nkumbula's flirtations with Marxism were at this stage no more sustained than his involvement in the attempt to establish a

standing “inter-territorial conference” of African organizations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Held in Fort Jameson (colonial Chipata) at the end of March 1953, the first meeting of the conference petitioned the House of Commons not to approve the federal bills, demanding instead the “introduction of a straight Democratic Franchise in Central Africa.” The conference, however, was weakened by the “unexplained absence of the Nyasaland representatives”; the constitution that Nkumbula was tasked to draft alongside Joshua Nkomo, Stanlake J.T. Samkange, and Dauti Yamba never seems to have seen the light of the day.<sup>47</sup>

Of much more immediate impact was Nkumbula’s public burning of the final *Federal Scheme for Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Prepared by a Conference Held in London, January, 1953* (Cmd. 8754) before a large audience of Lusaka residents on March 22. In the speech that preceded this act of open defiance, Nkumbula warned that the introduction of Federation was bound to result in “unrest in Central Africa, perhaps of the worst kind,” and that, since there was “no force in the world which [could] destroy the love and aspirations for freedom and National Independence among the Black Races of Africa,” the “talking stage” would now be superseded by “the stage for action.”<sup>48</sup> In the event, the planned action amounted to very little, due mainly to the last-minute refusal of Lawrence Chola Katilungu, the president of the African Mine Workers’ Union and the Trades’ Union Congress, to commit his followers to a nationwide strike scheduled for April 1–2 (“National Days of Prayer”).<sup>49</sup>

On June 2, a few weeks after the second reading of the enabling bills in the Commons, Nkumbula issued a bitter “Statement on the imposition of Federation”:

How can it be possible for the British Government to hand over her protected persons to a handful of reactionary white settlers [...] To me, and to any person living, nothing could be more savage and immoral than the imposition of such a measure against the unwilling millions of inhabitants of Central Africa.

After reiterating the ANC’s commitment to “a policy of non-cooperation without violence” (though adding ominously that there was “no guarantee as to whether or not the non-cooperation movement will not break into violence. After all we are all human beings and our endurance to a physical agony is very limited”), Nkumbula



advocated a widespread campaign "against the evils of colour-bar" in shops and public places and, more importantly for my argument so far, hinted at the possibility of calling for the wholesale withdrawal of African labor from the mining centers and European farms.

There is no need for any able-bodied African to sell his labour to the white man for wages. I have given six months notice to all African working population to get ready for gardening during the next rainy season. [...]. Get back to the land before the land-grubbing settlers have taken the last inch of your soil.<sup>50</sup>

Running against the grain of much of the territory's colonial history, this threatened initiative is less significant as a plan for bringing about the premature economic paralysis of Federation than as an indication of Nkumbula's increasingly ruralist orientation. Already in April, talking about the few African civil servants who had been dismissed from their jobs for having taken part in the ill-fated National Days of Prayer, Nkumbula had openly encouraged them to return to their villages and take up agriculture.

You should realise that the economic future of the Africans in this country does not lie in industrial employment. In other words, your economic future should be based on self-support which is only possible by a large scale agricultural development. The Europeans of this country have plans for taking you away from the villages where you carry out an independent life and turn you into wage earners.

In the villages, "the African" will be able to settle down "comfortably," rather than carrying "out an economic life which he hardly enjoys by selling his labour to the white employers.... Aim at economic independence in your own villages."<sup>51</sup> The same message was delivered a few months later during a rally in Maramba, Livingstone, where Nkumbula stated that

All Africans should unite and when the word was given, they should all leave the towns and return to their villages, where they should grow their own food and generally work for themselves, which would result in their becoming more prosperous than Africans in the towns. He concluded by saying that if all Africans did leave the towns, the Europeans would not be able to exist without them, and would have to rescind Federation.<sup>52</sup>

Although never really put into practice, the idea took firm roots in the Southern Province, where it was still widely discussed well into the mid-1950s.<sup>53</sup> Following closely Lonsdale's argument about Jomo Kenyatta's dismay at the "modern divorce of waged ambition from local duty" among the Kikuyu of Kenya<sup>54</sup>—a people whose social organization and experience of colonial rule were not entirely dissimilar from those of the Northern Rhodesian Tonga—I maintain that Nkumbula's glorification of the life of independent, market-oriented agricultural producers was not merely a knee-jerk reaction to the failure of his efforts to prevent the imposition of Federation, but rather the product both of the recent historical experience of successful cash crop agriculture among the Bantu Botatwe and of a, perhaps less recent and more deeply ingrained, civic thought that placed a premium on agricultural and cattle-keeping pursuits and saw self-mastery as being closely related to the right freely to dispose of one's labour. At this stage, Nkumbula does not appear to have been troubled by the question of the extent to which this philosophy—or "moral ethnicity"—would also appeal to social groups, such as the Bemba-speakers of the Northern and Luapula Provinces, whose colonial trajectories had been deeply shaped by the experience of labor migrancy and waged employment. But this was a question that the latter's representatives within the Congress began to ask themselves with increasing frequency from the mid-1950s.

### Building the Party

Harry Nkumbula, so the received wisdom goes, was a man of outstanding intelligence and, up to a certain point, a great strategist (or, as Sikalumbi put it, "theoretician"<sup>55</sup>); but he was also a self-confessed hedonist with precious little time for administrative matters and the nitty-gritty of daily politics. Not only did he "dislike accountants and 'figure men' and considered them drones,"<sup>56</sup> but he also used his considerable powers of personality to turn the Congress into a one-man show "supported by colleagues for whom his words rang true but who would have hesitated to utter them themselves."<sup>57</sup> Insofar at least as the early 1950s are concerned, this standardized account obfuscates more than it reveals and certainly does no justice to the significant organizational effort promoted by Nkumbula from the summer of 1951.

In administrative terms, up to the time of Nkumbula's accession to the presidency, the party was, quite simply, not a party. With all

of its executive officers doing Congress work on a purely part-time basis,<sup>58</sup> and with no permanent headquarters in operation, "a great deal of business [had] to be conducted by correspondence, and there [was] much delay and disorganisation."<sup>59</sup> While some NRAC branches were formed along the line of rail, in most cases, these were simply preexisting welfare societies under a new name. Some welfare societies remained unaffiliated to the Congress.<sup>60</sup> More damaging still, no territorial officialdom existed to provide a much needed linkage between this undergrowth of local bodies and the isolated executive of the party. The executive claimed a total membership of 2,000, but "more conservative estimates put the number of paid up members as low as 100."<sup>61</sup>

The Congress' weakness, of course, was also financial. Relying mainly on occasional contributions from well-wishers, the party struggled to keep in motion even such flimsy an organizational machinery as it could then boast. Less than one month after Nkumbula's election, it was only the £10 donated by a European benefactor (presumably, former PC Thomas Fox-Pitt) that made it possible to distribute 200 copies of an anti-federal memorandum that the new national president and Nabulyato had recently submitted to a delegation of four visiting British MPs.<sup>62</sup> And one of the first matters that president Nkumbula had to put his mind to was the party's debt to Safeli Chileshe, the NRAC's vice-treasurer-general. When vice-secretary-general George Kaluwa visited Chileshe in Lusaka, the latter showed very little interest in party matters "because he was much worried of the money the Congress took from him." Nkumbula was understandably said to fear that such concerns "as shown by Mr. Chileshe would undermine the Congress."<sup>63</sup>

Nkumbula's accession to the presidency changed all of this, marking the beginnings of the process that would transform the Congress into a true mass movement. In September 1951, he and Kaluwa embarked on an extensive tour of the Copperbelt. At every branch executive meeting attended by the duo, the urgent need was stressed of keeping up-to-date registers of paid-up members and donations. Nkumbula's organizational drive was apparently so substantive as to impress Colonial Secretary Griffiths, whom Nkumbula met on September 11 with a view to presenting him with yet another "Case against the Federal Proposals."<sup>64</sup> Though persuaded of the economic necessity of Federation, Griffiths "spoke very highly" of Nkumbula's memorandum and the NRAC upon his return to London. And, as Nicholson reminded Nkumbula, "if a man like Jim Griffiths,

who knows all about political organization, has been impressed, it shows that you have been able to do a wonderful job despite all the difficulties.”<sup>65</sup> Early in 1952, Nkumbula—convinced, as Fox-Pitt was, of the “futil[ity]” of the Congress “while it had no paid stuff, no office, no travelling allowances and no money even for stamps”<sup>66</sup>—established the first permanent party headquarters in Chilenje, a suburb of Lusaka. He also redoubled his efforts to streamline the Congress’ financial running by publishing an official schedule of membership and yearly subscription fees.<sup>67</sup>

By May 1952, Nkumbula claimed a total membership of approximately 20,000 scattered over 75 registered branches.<sup>68</sup> This estimate may have been overtly optimistic,<sup>69</sup> but there is no doubt that it was the substantial increase in the number of subscribers during the first year of his presidency that enabled Nkumbula, in August 1952, finally to equip the Congress with a cadre of salaried “provincial organising secretaries,” some of whom would shortly thereafter rise to positions of great national prominence. While the Northern Province was entrusted to Kenneth Kaunda, soon to be elected secretary-general of the Congress, Job Mayanda, the party’s future vice-treasurer-general, became the Southern Province’s first provincial organizing secretary (POS). Edward Mungoni Liso, a fellow Ila whom Harry trusted more than anybody else and “an exceptionally able agitator and organiser,” was stationed in Lusaka and Broken Hill (colonial Kabwe) as the Central Province’s POS.<sup>70</sup> The first batch of POSs were directly appointed by Nkumbula on the basis of his (generally very accurate) assessment of their qualities and commitment to the cause. As time went on, the election of provincial presidents and provincial general secretaries—the two positions into which the office of POS was split between the end of 1953 and 1954—became the constitutional prerogative of provincial conferences.<sup>71</sup> In practice, however, Nkumbula retained a significant measure of control over the choice of his subordinates. The same, according to a direct (if, as will be seen in the next chapter, not always reliable) protagonist of the events, held true for the elections of the party’s top executive officers. While keen to seek popular legitimacy for himself by being reelected at regular intervals by the party’s general or annual conference, Nkumbula did apparently not shy away from intervening in the selection process of “the first six leaders of Congress.... Nkumbula scrutinized all candidates and tried to see that they did not get elected [by the conference] if he had any doubts about them.... he did not like to see rivals in his Executive Council.”<sup>72</sup> As will be seen

later, these latent autocratic tendencies would become a significant bone of contention during the events leading to the formation of a rival nationalist party in the late 1950s.

Working in all the provinces of the colony with the exception of Barotseland (still closed to political activity on account of the privileged administrative position enjoyed by its traditional establishment, the Barotse National Government), the new POSs had more than a little to do with the ANC acquiring a rapid country-wide fame and with the successful spread of its message from towns and townships to the countryside. Summing up his experiences as POS for the benefit of his erstwhile comrade, Simon Zukas, the now exiled founder of the Ndola Anti-Federation Action Committee in 1951, Liso pointed out that most of his work had been carried out in villages

where we have opened many Congress branches in spite of Government intimidation. In villages now a government official is no longer looked at as a small God, but as an ordinary white human being. He is no longer trusted [...].<sup>73</sup>

Kaunda's own activities as the Northern Province's POS were of a distinctly similar nature.<sup>74</sup>

The tension between the regional and national dimensions of Nkumbula's political thought and activities found an echo at the organizational level in the tension between his sustained efforts to lay the foundations for a truly colony-wide organization and his increasing reliance on the Southern Province's financial resources and contribution. The Southern Province bias of the ongoing anti-federal campaign and the area's comparative wealth account for it making a much higher contribution than other provinces to the Congress' coffers in its early years. For instance, out of the £4,000 required for the "London Delegation" of early 1952, as many as £3,000 came from the Southern Province, with Namwala and Mazabuka districts contributing roughly £1,500 each.<sup>75</sup> It was certainly no coincidence that the first "clerk/bookkeeper" appointed by Nkumbula to serve at the national headquarters of the Congress in August 1952 was the southerner Job Michello, the erstwhile secretary of the rich Munenga branch of the ANC in Mwanachingwala chiefdom, Mazabuka.<sup>76</sup> The proprietorial attitude toward the Congress to which the Southern Province's financial stake in the party gave rise became rapidly self-perpetuating. With the party depending more

and more on the region's subscriptions and donations, Nkumbula was, quite apart from his own inclinations, naturally led to increase the frequency of his visits to the area, which he toured on a nearly monthly basis between the end of 1952 and 1954,<sup>77</sup> and the degree of attention he devoted to its specifically rural grievances. This, in turn, worked toward consolidating the Province's identification with the party and its leader, who, in the words of an interviewee, came to be regarded by the Bantu Botatwe "as a man with godly influence. They adored him. If he had no money, we always made sure we gave him some.... Even now, some old men still describe themselves as ANC."<sup>78</sup>

This deep bond of loyalty between the Southern Province and its chief spokesman proved a source of great concern to colonial administrators. In Namwala, DC Chittenden embarked on a personal crusade against Nkumbula and eagerly scouted the district for any sign of disaffection with the great man's leadership. In September 1952, a mere few months after reporting with "regret" the enormous success of Nkumbula and Nabulyato's fund-raising tour of the district,<sup>79</sup> he chose to read Moses Mubitana's alleged unhappiness with the just ended "Chiefs and Delegates Conference" as a proof that "Nkumbula's oratory and constant hot-headedness [were] starting to achieve a very different aim from that which [was] intended."<sup>80</sup> Another "straw in the wind" to which Chittenden hopefully clutched was Chief Mungaila's seeming willingness to question the uses to which the money locally collected by the Congress had been put.<sup>81</sup> But a few weeks later, the same DC was forced to admit that Mungaila and the other Namwala chiefs' welcome address to the visiting Governor of Northern Rhodesia "contained a large number of the distortions of truth and deliberate misrepresentations that Nkumbula and his companions are spreading around the Territory. It was not difficult to detect the influence behind the address as the phraseology was pure Nkumbula."<sup>82</sup> Eventually, Chittenden sought to make sense of the contradictoriness of his statements in the following terms:

Nkumbula is somewhat of a paradox in the District. There are few of the better educated Africans who have any respect for him. Most of them see through him and dislike his violence and lack of reason and stability. [...]. But the fact remains that when he appears on the scene he dominates even those who are opposed to him and all Africans flock round him like Bees round a Honey-pot.<sup>83</sup>

The DC's shaky line of argument did not change in 1953. In July, Chittenden was encouraged to learn that Nkumbula had apparently failed to persuade Chiefs Mungaila and Mukobela to donate some more money or cattle to the ANC. He also suggested that "most people in Namwala District...dislike" Nkumbula on account "of his attitude towards his father whom he openly despises and his attitude towards 'bush people' to whom he also openly shows his contempt." Yet, he still cautioned against ignoring or underestimating "his impact on them."<sup>84</sup>

When all is said and done, then, and when oral accounts of Nkumbula's great local popularity are given their rightful place in historical reconstruction,<sup>85</sup> Chittenden's reports were probably less an accurate portrayal of common Ila and Tonga appraisals of Nkumbula than a demonstration of the DC's adhesion to what a witty European observer called the "daemonical" imaginings of Nkumbula that were then prevailing in colonial and settler circles.<sup>86</sup> From the day of his accession to the presidency of the Congress, the European press had voiced strong concerns about Nkumbula's "revolutionary" temperament and alleged "Communist" leanings.<sup>87</sup> Administrators, who shared these fears of Nkumbula and the challenge that he epitomized, sought repeatedly to discredit him in the eyes of his constituents. Their methods were none too subtle. The usual Chittenden, for one, sought to make capital out of Nkumbula's divorce from his first wife in 1952. Convinced that the Namwala Methodists were disturbed by Nkumbula's "immorality," he could not "help thinking that a little publicity carefully put around about his private life might be advantageous." Thankfully, he also "appreciate[d] the difficulties in so doing."<sup>88</sup>

More disturbing still was the attempt to implicate Nkumbula in the so-called "poison sugar" rumor. The District Officer, Kalomo, suspected Nkumbula of being in possession of ergot, a drug "capable of causing abortions which was stolen from Kasenga Mission" early in 1952. Nkumbula, the absurd theory went on, might have been tempted to use his links with "an African tearoom in Lusaka" to stage-manage a "discovery" of poisoned sugar with a view to discrediting the administration and spreading panic among the African population.<sup>89</sup> While admitting that ergot was "a black liquid of distinct odour and filthy taste" and that "its uses in poisoned sugar therefore might be rather limited," Chittenden was quick to back the suggestion that Nkumbula might have been involved in illegal abortions by pointing to his sentimental relationship with an African nurse,

whose unsupervised stay at Kasenga dispensary had been marked by the consumption of “a greater quantity of ergot . . . than would have been normal.”<sup>90</sup>

Having repeatedly expressed the wish that the “legal means” be “discovered whereby Nkumbula [could] be dealt with,”<sup>91</sup> Southern Province officials openly rejoiced at his being fined for being in possession of liquor at the end of 1953. Nkumbula, they felt, had finally “lost his reputation for immunity from ordinary criminal processes with which the average African in the Southern Province credited him.”<sup>92</sup> Despite the administrators’ optimism, however, neither their smear campaign nor the atmosphere of petty official vindictiveness that accompanied Nkumbula’s every move in his home area could weaken his regional stature. The Bantu Botatwe had made their minds up: Harry Mwaanga was their man and the leader behind whom they would rally through thick and thin.

### The Rise of Kaunda

Despite the Southern Province’s embrace, and given the nature of his formative political experiences both in Northern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom, Nkumbula saw himself above all as a national leader. He was also clearly attuned to the danger of relying on the support of one region alone, all-important though the latter might have been. The replacement of the party’s first secretary-general, the southerner Nabulyato, with whom Nkumbula had proved less and less able to cooperate,<sup>93</sup> with the northerner Kaunda, elected to the executive of the ANC in August 1953 alongside three new politicians from Bemba-speaking regions of the country, stemmed in all probability from this awareness.<sup>94</sup> Tautological accounts of Zambian nationalism present the arrival of Kaunda on the national scene as marking the beginning of a (first latent and then open) clash between activism and moderation that would eventually ensue in the defeat and marginalization of Nkumbula (see chapter 3). In this section, I want briefly to argue that the new style of politics that the rise of Kaunda did undoubtedly usher in had much less to do with the new secretary-general’s alleged “radicalism” than with the crucial differences that separated his concept of nation from Nkumbula’s.

While both Nkumbula and Kaunda viewed popular nationalist commitment as arising from a common experience of oppression and exploitation and deemed the concession of universal adult suffrage as the most crucial constitutional expression of this newfound



unity of purpose among Northern Rhodesian Africans, the heavy religious overtones with which Kaunda infused his national imaginings were by and large absent from Nkumbula's political message, which, on the contrary, is especially notable for its overall secularism. Although both men were the products of missionary education and employment, it was only the much less well-educated and well-travelled Kaunda who continued to draw on the Bible as his overarching source of political and moral inspiration throughout the 1950s and beyond.<sup>95</sup> Despite having in the past put to good uses some aspects of his Methodist heritage, by the early 1950s, Nkumbula did not view as God-given the right of Northern Rhodesian Africans to recast themselves into an independent nation. Kaunda did. A number of important consequences ensued from this basic philosophical discrepancy.

Given the openly pro-UNIP climate of opinion in which they wrote, early students of Zambian nationalist politics have tended to expound on the most obviously positive aspects of Kaunda's religiosity: his humanism and much-heralded commitments to nonviolence and multiracialism.<sup>96</sup> I would argue, however, that, unnoticed at the time, there was also a darker side to Kaunda's spirituality and that this found its first manifestation in his adhesion to a "harder" model of national affiliation than that to which Nkumbula, who was wont jokingly to refer to his secretary-general as "Bishop Kaunda,"<sup>97</sup> was prepared to subscribe. For if the nation was God-given, then militancy to bring it into being was nothing less than a "sacred duty." Opposition to it, conversely, was tantamount to blasphemy, a conclusion to which the ANC's followers may have naturally been led by Kaunda's constant use of a visionary religious lexicon and symbolism in the countless circulars that he wrote between 1953 and 1954 with a view to reenergizing a party whose confidence had been sapped by its defeat in the federal battle. The tone for many later pronouncements was already set by Kaunda in what was probably his first ever circular as secretary-general of the party.

History shows you and me how people who were trusted were called and without any preparation they got up and followed. Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour called the twelve and they followed—result we have our Christianity. Ghandi called upon Nehru, Pant etc., they followed—result India is what it is—FREE, FREE. Comrades, in these difficult days of great political pandemonium when the horizon of our hopes is shadowed by the present racial and suffocating

politics, one ought to do not what one wanted to do but what was most required to be done by the nation.<sup>98</sup>

A few months later, Kaunda was even more effusive.

Ever since the advent of foreign rule, we have been nothing but little trained tools and victims of violence and humiliation. [...]. But now the long waited for hour is [*sic*] come, when the son and daughter of Africa will neither look left nor right but straight at the Cross of Freedom. [...]. It is our hard and yet sacred duty to tell the diehards in the other camp by action that given a fair chance, we can compete with any one. [...]. So my dear coworkers, Awake! Awake! Take the message of African salvation to all corners of this vast and beautiful country to every man and woman who has had no chance such as you have had to have FAITH, real faith in themselves. Tell them of their capacity to do anything than [*sic*] any other human being has performed if only they can be given the chance. Reveal this to them for the selfishness of man has made sure that they are pure victims of exploitation and can see no further than their noses. [...]. Go ye therefore and tell them to unite, check that slavish mentality in them, and behold they will open up their eyes and see what is meant by foreign rule. This my dear friend is your SACRED DUTY. It is my conviction dear ones that if any one knows the truth and hides it from his friend, God will certainly not forgive him. [...] enrol, ENROL and ENROL until you ANCOLISE the whole country!<sup>99</sup>

This heavily prescriptive language and the dogmatic premises on which it was predicated called for a tough, intolerant approach toward either internal opposition or those Africans whose services the colonial state was desperately striving to secure with a view to stemming the rising tide of political agitation. While the Native Authorities who had been prevailed upon to ban the ANC in the Gwembe, Kalomo, Mukushi, Lundazi and Petauke districts were dismissed as “weak and ignorant,”<sup>100</sup> African agents of European political organizations were characterized, in yet another flourish of religious imagery, as “wolves” bent on “the destruction of our UNITY.”<sup>101</sup>

While the antidemocratic implications of Kaunda’s political philosophy would only come to the fore after the formation of UNIP, for the time being, his devotion to the cult of national unity found an outlet in a renewed effort to streamline the Congress’ organization along the lines set out by Nkumbula during the preceding years. The party’s treasury was one of the first targets of Kaunda’s reformist energy. Besides promoting the party’s first ever “census” of paid-up

members,<sup>102</sup> the new secretary-general also engineered the dismissal of, first, Michello, apparently guilty of mismanagement,<sup>103</sup> and, later, Sokota, who since assuming the post of treasurer-general in August 1953 had failed to attend most meetings of the National Executive Council.<sup>104</sup> Kaunda also presided over the growth of the party's provincial apparatus, for by the end of 1954 full-time provincial presidents had everywhere been joined by (initially part-time) provincial general secretaries in the task of supervising the operations of branch and district executives.<sup>105</sup>

After the inception of the Central African Federation, in the fight against which the party had invested all of its material and intellectual resources, the ANC passed through an entirely understandable period of crisis,<sup>106</sup> from which it sought to emerge with a campaign against the colour bar in shops and such public places as restaurants and hotels. The campaign, extending over much of 1953–1954 and consisting mainly of boycotts of butcher's shops that discriminated against their customers on the basis of colour,<sup>107</sup> was obviously of more immediate concern to town folks than rural residents.<sup>108</sup> Although boycotts did occur in Livingstone and, more sporadically, in some of the townships of the Tonga plateau,<sup>109</sup> the longest and most successful pickets took place in Lusaka, Broken Hill and some of the industrial towns on the Copperbelt.<sup>110</sup> Because of this, and despite having achieved the important result of keeping the party in the public eye after the excruciating defeat of 1953, the boycotts also had the unintended effect of throwing into stark relief the specificity of the Southern Province's experience and interests and the unwillingness on the part of the Congress' increasingly influential urban spokesmen to countenance them. The contradictory forces and political messages that Nkumbula had successfully welded together in the early 1950s were beginning to drift apart.



## CHAPTER III

# THE EXPLOSION OF CONTRADICTIONS

**H**arry Nkumbula—most Zambians outside the Bantu Botatwe areas of the Southern and Central Provinces would today argue—was a likeable but irresponsible leader. Somehow, before his many weaknesses got the better of him, he briefly managed to embody the newfound unity of purpose of his countrymen and countrywomen during the anti-federal battle of the early 1950s. The rise of a younger—more militant and morally upright—generation of leaders from the mid-1950s brought this aberration to an end and made the achievement of national independence possible—which national independence Nkumbula, left to his own devices, would never have managed to secure. This chapter's overarching argument is that this vulgar, stereotyped representation—one promoted by ZANC/UNIP in the aftermath of the split within Nkumbula's ANC in 1958 but also echoed in academic discourse—has militated against forming an adequate understanding of the complex nature of Nkumbula's nationalism and of the disparate social interests it strove to reconcile. Yet—I contend—it is only when this complexity is acknowledged and elucidated that it becomes possible to make sense of African political life in late-colonial Zambia and of the two-party structure into which it crystallized.

Since the narrative of Nkumbula's political marginalization has received copious (though, as I shall argue, fundamentally flawed) scholarly attention and it is still part of a common historical discourse in Zambia and abroad, it is important to pay close attention to the gestation and development of this superficial (yet powerful) received wisdom, parts of which have already been described in chapter 2. Building upon my analysis so far, this exercise in source criticism will enable me to present an alternative—and, I believe, more satisfactory—reading of the trajectory of Zambian nationalism

in the 1950s and of the process that ensued in the transformation of Nkumbula from “father of Zambian politics” (or, in the words of Kaunda himself, “national-builder and liberator”<sup>1</sup>) to vilified leader of an increasingly regionalized opposition party.

### Questioning the UNIP Narrative

The first and most influential formulation of the soon-to-become-hegemonic account of Nkumbula’s political decline came from none other than Kaunda, who, in an important letter to potential foreign allies of his new movement, the Zambia African National Congress, offered a detailed discussion of what he viewed as Nkumbula’s principal personal failings and political mistakes in 1957–1958. The long list of recipients of the missive suggests that its contents were never meant to remain private.<sup>2</sup> They, indeed, would shortly thereafter be reproduced and embellished in Kaunda’s autobiography.<sup>3</sup> Kaunda’s published version was later incorporated into Sikalumbi’s part-autobiographical history of African politics in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s. Consisting originally of two separate typescripts written between 1957 and 1959, this was published in a single volume many years later.<sup>4</sup> Sikalumbi’s treatment of the two years preceding the formation of ZANC late in October 1958 is entirely consistent with Kaunda’s. His work, however, supplements Kaunda’s with a detailed description of the period 1955–1956, projecting backward that tension between moderation and activism that Kaunda had dated to 1957–1958. The story, as told by these two influential direct witnesses, goes as follows.

In January 1955, both the president and secretary of the ANC were sentenced to two months’ imprisonment with hard labour for possession of such prohibited publications as pamphlets issued by the British Communist Party and Fenner Brockway’s Movement for Colonial Freedom.<sup>5</sup> The effects of this harsh experience on the two leaders were profoundly different. Whereas Kaunda “emerged from prison a more determined man,”<sup>6</sup> Nkumbula regained his freedom convinced that the “two months he spent with me in Her Majesty’s Hostel were more than enough for him for he has spoken openly he was not prepared to go to prison” again.<sup>7</sup>

Shocked and intimidated by the extent of colonial repression, the “erstwhile fire-eating Orator [became] more cautious.”<sup>8</sup> In the summer of 1955, Nkumbula’s newfound “spirit of moderation” manifested itself in the decisions to revive the old and ill-fated “land case

against the British South Africa Company,”<sup>9</sup> to put forward a plan for parity of representation, coupled with restricted African franchise, in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council,<sup>10</sup> and to curtail the independence of the Congress’ Action Groups in Lusaka and the Copperbelt, which he suspected of being bent on forming “another political party to overtake the Congress.”<sup>11</sup>

Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd’s refusal to grant Nkumbula an audience during his solo visit to London at the end of the year strengthened the ANC’s president’s determination to look for “official recognition and respect” in colonial circles.<sup>12</sup> This he sought to secure by drawing closer to Harry Franklin, one of the MLCs deputed to represent African interests in the Northern Rhodesian legislature and the then Member for African Education and Social Services in Governor Benson’s cabinet. It was largely due to the influence of Franklin that Nkumbula launched what came to be known as the “New Look Policy,” the first tangible expressions of which were the decision to call off an ongoing boycott in Lusaka late in April 1956 and the choice to take part in semiofficial talks with MLC John Roberts, Federal Deputy PM Welensky’s right-hand man in Northern Rhodesia and the leader of European settlers in the country. During the meeting with Roberts and other white politicians, Nkumbula pledged the Congress to constitutional practice and to working for better race relations in collaboration with European liberals.<sup>13</sup> Nkumbula’s moderate turn was greeted with disquiet by party militants and members of the National Executive Council (NEC) alike. Dissatisfaction with the “New Look” and a more general popular penchant for a “policy of activism” were not unrelated to growing labour unrest on the Copperbelt and the outbreak of those “rolling strikes” that culminated in the declaration of a State of Emergency in the colony’s industrial heartland in September and the arrest and, in some cases, prolonged “rustication” of numerous local African Mine Workers’ Union (AMWU) and Congress officials.<sup>14</sup>

At the party’s general conference of October 1956, Nkumbula was reelected to the presidency. But neither this nor the coeval elevation to the NEC of such radicals as Mungoni Liso, elected deputy president while under restriction in Mbeza, in Namwala district, Simon Kapwepwe and Reuben Kamanga, the new treasurer-general and deputy treasurer, respectively, brought internal tensions to an end. Rather, opposition to Nkumbula’s leadership grew in intensity throughout 1957, and so, as a direct reaction, did Nkumbula’s authoritarian tendencies and programmatic uncertainties. Not only did he

seem “genuinely afraid of an activist policy,” but he also “constantly changed his mind, first from parity of representation to one man, one vote, and then to an acceptance of the government proposals which were opposed by his followers.”<sup>15</sup>

July 1957 witnessed what has gone down in memory as possibly the most glaring example of Nkumbula’s increasing capriciousness and irresponsibility. Having attended the Labour Party’s “Commonwealth and Colonial Conference” between May and June, Nkumbula and Kaunda remained in the UK with a view to meeting Lennox-Boyd in the context of the Northern Rhodesian constitutional talks that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had initiated in Lusaka at the beginning of the year. Inexplicably, Nkumbula flew home on the eve of the meeting, forcing the stranded Kaunda to hold an inconclusive discussion with Lennox-Boyd’s Minister of State, Lord Perth.<sup>16</sup>

Upon his return to Northern Rhodesia, and while Kaunda stayed in Britain as a guest of the Labour Party, Nkumbula clashed violently with treasurer Kapwepwe, who had served as acting president during his absence and whom Harry now accused of being “ambitious and want[ing] to take over the leadership of the African National Congress.”<sup>17</sup> Having further weakened his position in the eyes of the militants by calling off the municipal beer-halls boycott with which the Congress had attempted to support its two-man delegation to Britain,<sup>18</sup> Nkumbula sought to regain some lost ground by recommitting his party to campaigning for a straight democratic franchise for Northern Rhodesian Africans (“one man one vote”).<sup>19</sup> At the December annual conference of the ANC, Nkumbula, “on noticing so much dissension,” tried to force through a constitutional amendment “providing for election of the president only and he then nominate the rest of his co-workers” in the NEC.<sup>20</sup> While the move was defeated, Nkumbula’s leadership was, for the time being, not openly called into question.

Despite the government’s draft *Proposals for Constitutional Change in Northern Rhodesia*<sup>21</sup> falling far short of the Congress’ demand for universal adult suffrage and parity of representation in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, Nkumbula’s “statement on the white paper was found not to be exhaustive enough as to pass for a truly African opinion so the National Executive Council elected a sub-committee of six which issued a memorandum on the white paper much to his annoyance. A feeling of insecurity which had started

last year began to grow stronger in him after all this.”<sup>22</sup> After yet another London fiasco late in July 1958,<sup>23</sup> and with opposition to his leadership bursting through to the surface of Northern Rhodesian politics, Nkumbula went beyond his constitutional prerogatives in an attempt to purge the Congress’ provincial officialdom of his open antagonists. He also announced he would seek reelection at an extraordinary party general conference to be held in October.<sup>24</sup> With votes of no-confidence in his leadership being passed by a number of provincial executives and open attacks from demoted officials being published in the colony’s press, Nkumbula spent the best part of September and October touring the country with a view to ensuring he would command a majority of the delegates at the forthcoming conference.<sup>25</sup>

In the middle of October, Kaunda’s return from a long visit to Tanganyika and India provided the anti-Nkumbula faction in the NEC with the hitherto publicly neutral leadership it required. The long-anticipated split finally took place during the NEC session of October 24, when a number of top officials, led by Kapwepwe and Kaunda, walked out of the meeting, in protest both at the manipulations with which Nkumbula had deprived them of any chance of success in the following day’s extraordinary conference and at the president’s now seeming willingness to take part in the territorial elections to be held early in 1959 under the very restrictive franchise of the so-called Benson constitution. (The final *Proposals for Constitutional Change* [Cmd. 530] had appeared on September 10.) On October 26, after a Southern Province-dominated general conference had triumphantly reelected Nkumbula to the presidency of the ANC, the anti-Nkumbula bloc reconvened in Broken Hill, giving official birth to ZANC, later to evolve into UNIP (see chapter 4).

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In the general absence of extensive primary sources,<sup>26</sup> and given the pro-UNIP climate of opinion then prevailing, these accounts by direct protagonists of the events were to have a disproportionate influence on contemporary and later academic observers, who uncritically adopted their perspective and interpretative framework.<sup>27</sup> Even Doris Lessing, who had first met Nkumbula in the course of her Central African trip of 1956 and who considered him



“a magnificent orator,” thought that Harry, a frequent visitor to her London flat during his stay in the UK in 1957, “drank too much.”

Later he backed a line too moderate for the uncompromising mood of the blacks in soon-to-be Zambia and fell from grace; Kenneth Kaunda took his place. Harry went on drinking and did himself in with it. Sad; he was an extraordinarily nice man.<sup>28</sup>

No doubt, the attractiveness and continuing hold of the narrative so crisply summarized by Lessing stems partly from its linear simplicity. The nation's first prophet was ageing fast, had lost his early sincerity and devotion to the cause; a younger, more radical and committed generation stood ready to complete the job he had initiated. The problem is, this narrative is, at best, ludicrously superficial and, at worst, a deliberate falsification of the truth shorn of any solid evidentiary support.

The first mistake incurred into by academic supporters of the UNIP-centered account of Zambian nationalism is so macroscopic that, under normal circumstances, it would hardly warrant explicit mention. Bizarrely, the extent to which the political location of the authors of the two primary accounts affected their historical reckoning was never called into question. Kaunda, after all, was the president of ZANC and, later, UNIP. It is unclear why his perspective on the events that led to the formation of his splinter party should be accepted as dispassionately factual before being subjected to close critical scrutiny. And the same is true of Sikalumbi, who wrote his first manuscript during the period of political inactivity that followed his bitter falling-out with Nkumbula late in 1956 and the second while restricted in Namwala as the vice-secretary-general of the banned ZANC.<sup>29</sup>

But what really matters is the available counterevidence, for virtually every element of the Sikalumbi-Kaunda *vulgata* can be shown to be either inaccurate or altogether untenable. Sikalumbi describes the statement read by Nkumbula upon his release from prison at the beginning of March 1955 as the first of many demonstrations of the Congress' president newfound pragmatism—an anticlimax in which the 8,000-strong crowd was presented, not with the “new programme for action” it was craving for, but with an uninspiring series of possible future constitutional arrangements, none of which revolved around the demand for the immediate concession of universal adult suffrage to Northern Rhodesian Africans.<sup>30</sup> A detailed

examination of the incriminated speech, however, reveals that such constitutional proposals as Nkumbula did put forward were actually introduced by a lengthy, and by no means “moderate,” indictment of Federation, in particular, and colonial rule, in general.

I must assure you that we have come back from prison more determined to fight against policies that have subjected you and I to humiliation and servitude. I promise you that if you continue in the spirit that you had shown [...] during our imprisonment we would secure that cherished idea of freedom and national independence. But I don't like to mislead you in thinking that that freedom can be gained with ease. You and I have to suffer for achieving that objective—self-government. It may be that we may only manage to pave the way, and we may not enjoy the fruits of our toil and sufferance. [...].

After likening the racial attitudes of Federal Premier Sir Godfrey Huggins to “the Nazi method of liquidation, or assassination or imprisonment,” and requesting that a “Secession Clause be inserted in the Federal Constitution” before the Federal review conference of 1960, Nkumbula warned “the Federationists” of the “unpleasant situation” that was likely to develop if they did not drop their plans for dominion status and “deep-rooted racialism.”

Next, the “fire-eating Orator” who had supposedly lost his fire expounded on his belief that colonial rule was nothing but

a tyrannous rule in the interests of a single class of colonialists. [...]. It is a government manned by the worst of the reactionaries who are representatives of the Imperial Powers, and whose common aim is to hold back the economic and political advancement of the colonial peoples, hence delay their national independence. [...]. A colonial government denies the rightful owners of the country the right to participate in the affairs of their country on the pretext that they are barbarians and that they are not ready for such responsibilities.

This was all the more unacceptable, for, returning to one of his favorite subjects, the ANC president portrayed the bulk of the Northern Rhodesian settlers as

semi-cultured elements whose attitude and behaviour towards the indigenous peoples are such of [*sic*] a base character that they rouse racial tensions. [...]. The colonists have in every walk of life worked out a system of life which majestically places them above the Coloured

racess. A social life among them is so luxurious that they are rapidly becoming enfeebled by it. They live in gorgeous and lofty houses and bungalows. In their houses they don't even know how to make a cup of tea. All [...] they do is to sit in the soft chairs and shout "Boy! Tea!!"

However, as shown by history, the "slaves and barbarians" have always ended up taking over the reins of government from their enervated and loathed masters. And

I am sure what happened to the colonial Empires of antiquity will, as sure as death, happen to the Colonial Empires of our day. [...]. This is inevitable. Can a colonist afford to bury his head in the sand in spite of the inevitability of the rising tide of nationalism among the colonials and do nothing about it to amicably avert the situation?<sup>31</sup>

Speeches such as the above were certainly not intended to consolidate and broadcast a moderate image for the Colonial Office's consumption. Indeed, in refusing to engage with the Congress president late in 1955, Lennox-Boyd, as pointed out by some of his critics at home, thought he was snubbing a dangerous "extremist."<sup>32</sup> In this sense, Nkumbula inability to secure an audience with the Colonial Secretary during his mission to London ought to be viewed, not so much as a "big political failure,"<sup>33</sup> but rather as an indication that Harry's moderate turn of 1955 existed nowhere except in Sikalumbi's mind.

Sikalumbi's treatment of Nkumbula's attitude toward the boycott campaign of April 1956 is similarly cavalier. While it is true that Nkumbula withdrew his initial support for the agitation,<sup>34</sup> this seeming U-turn had much less to do with the *longa manus* of Harry Franklin or the formalization of the "New Look Policy" than with the acts of "hooliganism" by which, as admitted by Kaunda himself on more than one occasion, the campaign was being marred.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, even though he discontinued the Lusaka boycotts "much to the annoyance" of some Congress members in the capital,<sup>36</sup> Nkumbula was quick to point out that the campaigns taking place in other urban centers, such as Broken Hill, were not affected by his ruling and that the lifting of the Lusaka agitation did not "imply it will be lifted forever."<sup>37</sup>

The disturbances that had accompanied the April boycotts in Lusaka and those that were threatening to engulf the Copperbelt, where mass strikes had broken out in June, raised the prospect of widespread violence, which, Nkumbula knew, would have represented a grave setback for the national movement by providing the

colonial government with an excuse for embarking on large-scale repression.<sup>38</sup> This is the context in which to place Nkumbula's much-debated meeting with MLC Roberts and his ensuing backing of Franklin's opinion to the effect that "Congress wished to become a respectable body and to work entirely and constitutionally for the development of the country and all its peoples, with the sympathy of liberal minded Europeans and of the Government." "I realise"—Nkumbula's own words read—that

there are many things that Congress must do, which will take a little time. We must control our members, and our branches better. We must control and educate on better lines our extremists. On both sides, both African and Europeans, there is room for better understanding. By this statement, and by bringing Congress into constitutional practice, and by assuring the Africans of this country that the Government of Northern Rhodesia is impartial in improving the conditions under which Africans now live, I am quite confident that race relations will improve to the satisfaction of every decent person in this country.<sup>39</sup>

This is as close as one gets to a public formulation of the New Look Policy on the part of Nkumbula. And the impression of the latter policy representing a mere tactical—as opposed to a strategic—diversion is further strengthened by the brevity of Nkumbula's commitment to it. Already in September, and following the arrest of all of the senior Copperbelt-based Congress officials in the wake of the declaration of the State of Emergency, Nkumbula felt he could no longer keep "his word to constructive and moderate proposals for constitutional reforms in Northern Rhodesia."<sup>40</sup> The incarceration of Congress officials, the most prominent of whom was Harry's Ila alter ego, Mungoni Liso, shook Nkumbula deeply. It was "a sad story and I hate thinking about it."<sup>41</sup> His opinion of Franklin was also undergoing a change, for the latter, as Nkumbula explained to Fox-Pitt, was doing nothing to assist a group of evicted Mazabuka squatters whose plight the Congress president had taken to heart.<sup>42</sup>

By October, the month of the seventh general conference of Congress, even the European press admitted there was precious little life left in the New Look.<sup>43</sup> After condemning the State of Emergency in the most unequivocal terms—"those men, women and children on whom teargas bombs are being dropped, not to mention those who are detained, shall never forget the tragedy and shall always remember the occasion with... fear, bitterness and hatred"—and restating

his earlier demands for secession from Federation and “parity now and a straight democratic franchise in the not too distant future,” Nkumbula ended his opening speech to the conference by pointing to the disappointing results achieved by his attempt to “extend my hand to the Authorities.”

So far nothing has happened apart from having talks with members of the Legco. Both Europeans and Africans have suspected my move but I am left completely unmoved. [...] if the Europeans are not prepared to allow the African to advance I fail to see how the Blacks and Whites can continue to live together in this country. I cannot help seeing a day of racial strife. If the attitude of the Europeans to hold the Africans back continue no one shall blame us when we work for an entire [*sic*] African government.<sup>44</sup>

On the following day, Nkumbula announced his plan to open subscriptions to sponsor the visit of a Labour MP to Northern Rhodesia.<sup>45</sup> “We will take this MP to Matero and Chibolya compounds and let him see all this apartheid,” he remarked amidst “plenty of clapping.” “Once again there was very little of the Congress ‘new look’ in his speech,” which, among the other things, attacked Huggins (now Lord Malvern) for

asking for self-government which is entirely white or, at the most, dotted with one or two men of colour. [...]. The fact is that White people are fighting to get self-government for White people only. They are afraid if they have to wait for too long, then with our agitation and the probability of the Labour Party getting into power in the next election they may not be able to get the type of government they want. [...]. The Europeans hate [...] the idea an African will be in charge of a department. They will just not have it. But we Africans will not accept any self-government in which Europeans will keep on dominating us.<sup>46</sup>

While the tone of Nkumbula’s pronouncements cast serious doubts on the sincerity of his moderate conversion, his triumphant reelection to the presidency of the party on the last day of the 1956 conference (Nkumbula received 151 votes, as against Yamba’s seven<sup>47</sup>) indicates that disaffection with his leadership was not nearly as significant as suggested by Sikalumbi’s account. Moreover, if, as asserted by the same author, it is true that the “moderate” Nkumbula was in a position to influence elections to the National Executive Council,<sup>48</sup>

then it is not at all clear why he should have condoned the formation of a NEC whose militant composition struck a high-ranking colonial official as a clear “repudiation of any policy of co-operation.”<sup>49</sup>

With the ephemeral New Look thus shelved and with constitutional negotiations for Northern Rhodesia gathering momentum, Nkumbula’s public utterances between the end of 1956 and 1957 were, *pace* Sikalumbi and Kaunda, characterized by a new urgency and signal willingness to confront the colonial authorities head-on. At the end of December, he asked rhetorically whether the Northern Rhodesian government needed to witness another “show of strength” on the part of the Congress before permitting its representatives to meet the touring Colonial Secretary. “There is malice, misery and frustration which we would like to show the Secretary of State, but he is taken to stooges. The Government are afraid we will give Mr. Lennox-Boyd the truth.”<sup>50</sup> Though still prepared to deplore the violent methods adopted by the beer-hall boycotters of July 1957,<sup>51</sup> a few months later, in what was probably an attempt to force the Colonial Office’s hands in the ongoing constitutional debate, Nkumbula hinted at the possibility of revising his long-standing opposition to political violence. On November 3, Nkumbula told “several hundred Africans” who had gathered in his Lusaka fiefdom, Chibolya compound, that the forthcoming annual conference of the party would discuss whether

it is right to abide by the Christian law of turning the other cheek. He added: “We will discuss the Mosaic law of a tooth for a tooth.” Roars of approval greeted this remark. [. . .] Mr. Nkumbula continued: “I am very sorry to have to say this. You can respect the European and bow to him, but he will still say, ‘You bloody nigger—get out!’ This is not a civilised attitude,” said Nkumbula, “but we are told the government of this country must remain in the hands of civilised people. A civilised person is a person who respects neighbours’ interests. [. . .] They never think in terms of equality of men. They think in terms of white people, forgetting they are in an ocean of blacks. [. . .] And I will not forgive any man or woman who respects a person who despises them. We are civilised and this is our country. Let us govern it.”<sup>52</sup>

Dubbed “near subversive” by MLC Malcomson (United Federal Party), who also wondered why the Congress president was “not enjoying a holiday at Government expense,”<sup>53</sup> Nkumbula’s Chibolya speech forced Franklin, the putative master puppeteer of UNIP accounts, to conclude that Nkumbula had “failed to reform Congress.” “Whether

he cannot do it because he lacks courage or energy or ability or will I know not, but apparently he cannot. Therefore Government will.”<sup>54</sup>

Having caused the desired storm and shrewdly asserted his independence (and stolen some of the limelight) from the newly formed interracial Constitution Party, Nkumbula felt able slightly to back-track on the issue of violence, urging his followers at the Congress’ conference of December 1957 not to

give the Government any excuse to take action which might cause us to be stopped. [...]. You are sure of your goal. Don’t get yourselves destroyed on the road. We must not get too fast and find ourselves in difficulties. [...]. Congress should condemn all forms of violence because violence can spoil quite a lot of things. [...]. It is not the right course today.<sup>55</sup>

Nkumbula, Sikalumbi alleges, survived the conference mainly thanks to the timely return from England of Kaunda, who helped him temporarily to patch up relations with his many internal opponents.<sup>56</sup> This may have been so; however, if Nkumbula was a lame duck, the European press in attendance certainly did not notice.

Mr. Nkumbula said Africans had had no benefits from Federation. “We must have a government which is a true expression of the people. We don’t beg this country from anyone, Sir Roy or anybody. It is your country, it is mine. I say it is the country of the Africans. Anyone can come here and live but the reins of power must be with the people.” Loud cheers and shouts of “long live Harry” greeted this remark.<sup>57</sup>

If the suggestion that Nkumbula’s leadership from 1955 suffered from a crippling fear of colonial authorities and creeping “spirit of moderation” can be shown to be largely baseless, the charge of inconsistency in his constitutional demands also fails to stand up to critical examination. Throughout 1955 and 1956, the ANC’s views on Northern Rhodesia’s constitutional development toward self-government remained essentially unchanged. While defending Northern Rhodesia’s right to secede from the white-dominated Federation, Nkumbula was at the time prepared temporarily to sideline his earlier preference for full adult franchise in exchange for the immediate concession of parity of representation between European and African representatives in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council. Although the details varied slightly between one constitutional memorandum and the next, Nkumbula’s envisaged strategy

for bringing about parity was the institution either of two separate common rolls—"one for Blacks and one for Whites"<sup>58</sup>—or of a single "common roll with reservation of a fixed number of seats for minority groups."<sup>59</sup> This was to be accompanied by the lowering of the common roll qualifications "to a point where an appreciable [*sic*] large number of Africans will qualify."<sup>60</sup>

It was only in the first part of 1957, following his meeting in Lusaka with Lennox-Boyd and on the eve of his departure for London, that the demand for universal adult suffrage reentered the Congress' arsenal.<sup>61</sup> But Sikalumbi—who mistakenly dates Harry's renewed commitment to "one man one vote" to late July of the same year<sup>62</sup>—is wrong in presenting as mutually exclusive or inconsistent with one another the request for parity and that for full adult franchise. As in 1952,<sup>63</sup> Nkumbula viewed the former as a means to assuage European fears in the run-up to national independence and the latter as an instrument for African political education. "One man one vote" was less "extreme" than it appeared, wrote Titus Mukupo, acting secretary-general of the party during Kaunda's stay in the UK, for "you can have even parity with one man one vote!"<sup>64</sup> A more elaborate statement was jointly put forward by Nkumbula and Kaunda early in 1958:

The most feasible measure in a plural society where minority groups are economically potential [*sic*] is the creation of a Parliament in which these minority groups shall be safeguarded by an insertion of a clause in the constitution of reserved seats. Such a constitution will dispel all the fears that may be entertained by them. We are quite certain that this is a better plan than the one which frustrates the majority. Presented with a scheme of reserved seats for the minority, we cannot see any sense in a qualified franchise. [. . .]. The system of reserved seats could continue as long as the minority groups feel insecure in the given society. When the races which inhabit the Protectorate no longer fear each other the clause of reserved seats could be struck out. There will thus be an elected Parliament where considerations of race no longer exist—a Parliament which will be partisan and which will only be divided by differences in policy.<sup>65</sup>

When seen in this light, Nkumbula's constitutional plan of early 1957 was far from representing a confusing U-turn or even a radical break with past policy orientations. Again, Nkumbula's revamped constitutional blueprint would not budge significantly until the last few months of 1958, for in contrast with what is asserted by Kaunda



(and mindlessly rehearsed by scores of successive commentators), there are *no* substantive differences between Nkumbula's "Statement" of late April and the "Black Paper" of late May.<sup>66</sup> *Both* texts represent outraged rejections of the government's draft white paper, and to argue, as does Kaunda, that the "Black Paper" was forced down the throat of an unwilling Nkumbula by the NEC is tantamount to suggesting that his slightly earlier, and entirely consistent, "Statement" was a duplicitous and insincere piece of work—an allegation for which not a shred of evidence is available.

But let's not be misunderstood: Nkumbula, as will be further argued in the next section, did eventually decide to go along with the Benson constitution (while continuing to express his dissatisfaction with its "unworkable" and "unfair" provisions<sup>67</sup>). However, all the available evidence indicates that Nkumbula's *volte-face* only took place between the end of September and the early days of October 1958,<sup>68</sup> by which time opposition to his continuing leadership had already forced him to suspend a number of provincial officials and call for an extraordinary party general conference. Thus, while contributing to sharpen internal differences, Nkumbula's new readiness to work within the framework of the Benson constitution cannot be viewed as the prime cause of the ZANC split.

Let's now backtrack slightly and return to that most famous of Nkumbula's alleged blunders: his "flight" from London on the eve of his meeting with Lennox-Boyd in the summer of 1957. It is important to dwell on the episode not only because of its prominence in the UNIP-centered narrative of Zambian nationalism, but also because commentators have often treated it as the spark which ignited the simmering fire of discontent within Congress, leading ultimately to Nkumbula's downfall. Kaunda, the only eyewitness, refined his account progressively. While making no mention of any political difference with his president in his homeward-bound letters of June–July 1957, when the duo was together in the UK, in December 1958, Kaunda merely noted that "Mr. Nkumbula flew from Britain back home all of a sudden before even meeting the Colonial Secretary."<sup>69</sup> A fuller version was provided in his later autobiography.

Two days before we were due to meet the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Nkumbula decided to fly back home. I tried to argue with him about the necessity of his meeting Mr. Lennox-Boyd but he replied by asking me whether I was afraid of meeting him alone. I told him it was not a matter of being afraid but that I was only the humble Secretary-general. He was the President now in Britain with an

appointment already made with the Colonial Secretary. It was important for him to hold on only for two more days and then he could leave. But he decided to go back home, and he did. The result was that we did not see the Colonial Secretary and I was told to see Lord Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies. [...] it was my shameful duty to defend my President by fabricating stories of why he had to depart so suddenly [...].<sup>70</sup>

To be sure, this peculiar narrative itinerary does not necessarily invalidate Kaunda's testimony; yet it is disconcerting that Nkumbula's own explanation of the whole episode should have been completely ignored and, in at least one demonstrable instance, actively suppressed. Upon landing in Lusaka, Harry explicitly told the press he had come back on hearing of the nasty turn taken by the ongoing beer-hall boycott in Lusaka.<sup>71</sup> But there was more to Nkumbula's public claim than met the eyes, for the boycotts, which Harry called off against considerable resistance and never fully successfully,<sup>72</sup> were closely associated with a Congress faction that had employed Nkumbula's absence in the UK to consolidate its position at the headquarters of the party and in numerous urban branches. In his accounts of the split, Kaunda presents Nkumbula's hurried departure from London and subsequent refusal to deal with treasurer and acting president Kapwepwe as essentially unconnected events. Not so Nkumbula himself, who, in a crucial and hitherto unpublished letter to Kaunda, accused his then personal secretary, Munukayumbwa Sipalo, and former acting deputy treasurer-general Sikalumbi of being "busily engaged in damaging my name. Your friend Kapwepwe seems to be in a doubtful position. Rumour has it that he holds meetings at night and is in touch with Sikalumbi.... everything in the office is rotten and Sikalumbi has all along been undermining me...."<sup>73</sup> If, as now appears highly probable, a conspiracy was afoot to oust him from the presidency of the Congress, then Nkumbula's departure from London had nothing unreasonable or capricious to it. Nkumbula simply deemed the defense of his leadership in Northern Rhodesia to be of more immediate relevance than his scheduled meeting with Lennox-Boyd.

Having been found guilty of having "conducted himself in a manner calculated to be subversive to the leadership of the organisation," Sipalo was soon suspended from the party. Kapwepwe, on the other hand, survived Nkumbula's wrath and was for the time being cleared of any wrongdoing by the September NEC.<sup>74</sup> In England, Kaunda continued to believe it was "utterly impossible" that his old friend Kapwepwe "would work against the NEC" and

indeed praised him “for showing no resentment that the P[resident] G[eneral] did not approach you immediately he heard those rumours about you.”<sup>75</sup> Mukupo, who during Liso’s restriction was emerging as one of Nkumbula’s closest allies at the headquarters, understood things differently. In compliance with the Societies Ordinance, the Congress was requested to present the Chief Secretary with its 1956 books of account before October 30, 1957. The arrest in Fort Jameson of deputy treasurer Kamanga, who had been entrusted with the task of finalizing the accounts, had thrown a spanner in the Congress’ works. Despite being urgently dispatched to the Eastern Province with the explicit purpose of retrieving the missing books, Kapwepwe was now delaying his return to Lusaka. What puzzled Mukupo was that Kapwepwe “was fully aware the accounts are req’d on the 30th but instead he’s been on tour addressing meetings.... The feeling one gets is that one cannot entirely dismiss accusations against Mr. Kapwepwe made in the NEC recently. He seems to be doing this quite deliberately.”<sup>76</sup>

Nkumbula’s attempt to consolidate his hold over the NEC during the party’s annual conference of 1957 was a clear consequence of the growing determination of his internal opponents, whom Nkumbula mistakenly thought he could still bring back into line by means of constitutional tinkering. However, in light of what numerous witnesses have written about Nkumbula’s long-established autocratic tendencies,<sup>77</sup> his efforts to strengthen the prerogatives of the presidency at the expense of the NEC at the end of 1957 are less significant than the fact that they were defeated. In many ways, Harry’s attempt to modify the Congress constitution was merely an attempt to formalize and legalize customary practice. What did change was that his hitherto domineering will crashed for the first time on the wall of internal dissent.

### A Reinterpretation of the Split

When one takes the trouble of interrogating dispassionately the available (and plentiful) evidence, one must come to the following conclusions: (a) Nkumbula’s moderate turn from the period 1955–1956 was short-lived and never fully developed. In other words, the “New Look” about which so much has been made amounted to very little—and so did the influence of Harry Franklin, the supposed *deus ex machina* of UNIP accounts; (b) the alleged inconsistencies in Nkumbula’s constitutional demands for Northern Rhodesia

between 1955 and the end of 1958 have been grossly exaggerated; what is striking, instead, is their overall coherence throughout a period of rapidly changing political circumstances; (c) his unconstitutional maneuvers of 1957–1958 did not represent a marked departure from his earlier *modus operandi*; the novel element was that Nkumbula's "patrimonial" rule over the party was successfully challenged by an uncompromising internal opposition—an opposition that, among the other things, helps to explain what has customarily been seen as the ultimate proof of Nkumbula's unreliability, his alleged "flight" from official commitments in the UK in the summer of 1957.

Both the character of this opposition and the rationale behind Harry's tortured decision to accept the provisions of the Benson constitution (the one element of the ZANC/UNIP narrative that must be retained) can only be clarified when due attention is paid to the contradictory nature of the forces and political messages that Nkumbula had successfully welded together at the beginning of the decade. To do that, I maintain, it is essential to interrogate those ANC voices that the UNIP-centered historiography has constantly marginalized and/or suppressed. From very early on, Nkumbula's southern supporters did not shy away from venturing a "tribal" interpretation of the tensions within the Congress. In August 1957, having learnt of Nkumbula's difficulties in Lusaka and of the threats he had received as a result of his decision to terminate the beer-hall boycotts, a group of Tonga militants came to defense of their president by addressing the following, embittered letter to one of the chief plotters, the Lozi Sipalo.

We of Choma and Mapanza have been told by the people coming from Lusaka that you and the other man Kapwepwe are the people who are responsible for the bad things that are being said about our President General Mr. Nkumbula. [...]. We know that you are supporting those of the Bemba tribe who wish to become the leaders in the matters of the African National Congress. We of the Tonga tribe do not agree that these men should be the leaders in the matters of the Congress and we wish you to know that we of the Tonga and Ila tribes are very strong and that we are not fearing the Bemba tribe and their leaders who are trying to become the leaders of the African National Congress.<sup>78</sup>

For all its crudeness, the view put forward by the Choma "Action Group" is illustrative of widespread popular perceptions in the Southern Province. During a discussion on July 22, for instance, local

Congress officials in Monze had “stated that Nkumbula was planning to gain more support among the Tonga as there was a move afoot in Lusaka to ensure that the Bemba would support Simon Kapwepwe as the next President General.” The then provincial president, John Raymond (or Lemon) Nampindi “said he and other member of the Executive Council suspected Sipalo and Kapwepwe to be planning to overthrow Nkumbula.”<sup>79</sup> Even the restricted Liso, who, as late as early 1958, was still prepared to condemn the “rampant tribalism” of some Southern Province leaders,<sup>80</sup> ended up viewing the latent split as being motivated solely by “personal or tribal considerations.”<sup>81</sup>

Southern fears of Bemba hegemony, coupled with Kaunda’s implicit suggestion that Kapwepwe *was* in a position to rein in the Copperbelt beer-halls boycotters who refused to heed Nkumbula’s call to bring their agitation to an end,<sup>82</sup> indicate that the challenge faced by the ANC president stemmed from an ethnic and urban core in the party that had been gaining ground since the first wave of boycotts in 1953–1954 (see chapter 2), and that was less and less prepared to countenance the regionalist orientation of Nkumbula’s nationalism and ensuing lukewarm support for such signally urban agitations as the boycotts themselves or fixation with the Land Rights Case.<sup>83</sup> And perceptions of a regional bias in Nkumbula’s thought and action may well have been inadvertently strengthened by the anti-Kariba dam campaign, never very far from Nkumbula’s mind throughout 1955–1958, on account of the large-scale displacement of the Gwembe Tonga that the hydro-electric scheme was expected to—and did eventually—bring about.<sup>84</sup>

There is certainly room to view Nkumbula’s confusing reshuffles in the months preceding the split as lending support to this interpretation of events. I do not have the names of all the party’s officials demoted or sacked by Nkumbula in the summer of 1958 and of their replacements, but those I do have are revealing. One of the two Kapwepwe loyalists whom Nkumbula removed from the executive council of the Western Province (i.e., Copperbelt) in the latter part of August was the Bemba-speaking J. Mulenga, provincial president. The other, provincial secretary Jonathan Chivunga, hailed from the Eastern Province, but had a long background as a Copperbelt-based trade unionist. As a punitive measure, Chivunga was transferred to the Southern Province—a post that he, understandably, refused to take up—and replaced by Moses Shankanga, an old associate of Nkumbula hailing from Mumbwa, in the Central Province.<sup>85</sup>

Where the Copperbelt led, its ethnic hinterland, the Northern Province, followed suit, with Nkumbula being soon thereafter

likened to “second-hand suit which the nation does not intend to re sew or patch” by the Kasama-based provincial secretary of the Congress, J.C.M. Ng’andu. Ng’andu, who also charged that “Nkumbula only bothered to visit Northern Province to canvas for votes,”<sup>86</sup> was far from being a lone voice in Kasama, for his opinions of Nkumbula were shared by the entire provincial executive, particularly Robert Makasa, the provincial president, and J. Malama Sokoni, the provincial financial secretary.<sup>87</sup> In what must have appeared to many as a glaring demonstration of ethnic solidarity, the next ANC leader to join the chorus of anti-Nkumbula protest was the then provincial president of the Central Province, Justin Chimba, another Bemba-speaker with a long experience in Copperbelt politics and trade unionism.<sup>88</sup> Around October 1, the entire Central Province’s executive council passed a vote of no-confidence in Nkumbula, criticizing especially his ongoing purges and right to seek reelection at the forthcoming extraordinary general conference.<sup>89</sup> In so doing, the Central Province was following the lead of the Eastern Province, where Chimba had himself served as provincial secretary in 1956–57 and where, as early as August 23, 1958, yet another Bemba politician, the Kasama-born and Kitwe-educated acting provincial secretary, Frank Chitambala, had persuaded part of the provincial executive openly to censure Nkumbula’s leadership.<sup>90</sup>

Of course, it would be disingenuous simply to portray (as much of the European press did at the time) the split within the ANC as the result of a Bemba tribal onslaught. For what Northern Rhodesia witnessed in 1957–58 was rather the clash between two ill-defined and ill-definable interest blocs structured around both ethno-linguistic criteria (Bemba-speakers vs. Bantu Botatwe) and different regional modes of incorporation in the colonial economy (roughly: waged workforce in the Copperbelt and its vast Northern hinterland vs. rural-based agricultural producers in the Southern and Central Provinces). In this latter respect at least, the militant—if, given the prominence of nationalist discourses and claims, always subterranean—ethnic ideologies that underlay the ZANC/UNIP split were closely interwoven with contemporary politico-economic circumstances.<sup>91</sup>

The gauntlet thrown down by Bemba politicians and their allies from at least 1957 made Nkumbula more than ever dependent on the continuing support of the Southern Province.<sup>92</sup> I submit that an active campaign of civil disobedience, the only possible means radically to modify the 1958 constitutional proposals, would have resulted in the rapid alienation of this crucial region, whose comparatively

well-to-do, self-improving peasant farmers were much less likely to be led down the costly road of potentially violent political agitation than such wage-earning, unionized labour migrants as gravitated around the Copperbelt. In this sense Nkumbula's constitutional U-turn in October 1958 and, more generally, the "slowness" of which his internal opponents accused him during the months leading to the split, were closely related to the demands placed upon him by his local power base, whose backing he could not afford to lose at a time in which his leadership was under so serious a threat.

\* \* \*

By way of conclusion, it is probably in order to sum up the principal arguments of this and the previous chapter, which, I believe, present a more sophisticated reading of African politics in late colonial Zambia than did previous personalistic explanations of the breakdown of nationalist unity. From about 1950, Nkumbula's nationalism, for all its ostensible cosmopolitanism and universalism, was built around a clearly discernible ethno-regional component—one that served him admirably to consolidate his power base among the Bantu Botatwe of the Southern and Central Provinces, but one that proved increasingly unappealing to representatives of the other social and ethnic forces comprised within the Congress. While this latent tension between distinct social interests and corresponding political projects remained muted during the anti-Federation agitation, the boycott campaign of the mid-1950s worked toward sharpening internal differences within the party. In 1957, this antagonism finally burst through to the surface of Northern Rhodesian politics. Thereafter, it was only a matter of time before the conflict crystallized in the formation of two separate political parties. Once formalized, the rift between the two nationalist traditions would prove all but impossible to heal: a central focus of political life during Zambia's multiparty First Republic (see chapters 5 and 6), it survived beneath the surface of one-party politics in the 1970s and 1980s, and, as will be argued in this book's epilogue, continues to shape the course of Zambian contemporary democracy.



## CHAPTER IV

# NKUMBULA, UNIP, AND THE ROOTS OF AUTHORITARIANISM IN NATIONALIST ZAMBIA

This chapter focuses on the UNIP-ANC competition of the early 1960s. A close examination of UNIP literature during these heady years—the subject of the first part of this chapter—reveals the fundamentally authoritarian character of the brand of nationalism espoused by the party's leaders and activists. With party and nation seen as coterminous, the assertion of minority views and alternative political projects was viewed with profound suspicion.<sup>1</sup> The tendency to identify opposition to UNIP as illegitimate and “treasonable” went hand-in-hand with the denial of the right to full political citizenship in the new institutional dispensation to Nkumbula and what was left of his ANC. In the subsequent sections of the chapter, after a rapid analysis of the ANC's fragile administrative structures and problematic ideological repositioning following the ZANC/UNIP split, I discuss the conspiratorial strategies adopted by Nkumbula in response to UNIP's exclusionary nation-building paradigm. While the Congress' alliance with Katanga made a significant contribution to the rightward shift of the party, Nkumbula's tolerance of “tribal” forms of mobilization and ambiguity toward the use of political violence led to the consolidation of already entrenched regionalist feelings among the Bantu Botatwe of the Central and Southern Provinces.

### The Nature of UNIP Nationalism

ZANC, which unlike the ANC had resolved to boycott the impending elections to the Legislative Council under the new constitution, was banned by the colonial government in March 1959, less than five months after its inception. Although deported to remote rural



localities, its top leaders continued to command considerable support in urban and Bemba-speaking areas and to influence the pace of African politics in Northern Rhodesia. In the latter part of 1959, after two of ZANC's offshoots, Paul Kalichini's ANIP and Dixon Konkola's UNFP, had merged into the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the ANC suffered a second crippling blow. Having failed in its bid to oust Nkumbula from the presidency of the party in September, a well-organized faction led by Mainza Chona, a southerner, and Titus Mukupo, who hailed from Luapula, joined hands with the new organization. Chona served as UNIP's interim national president until the release of Kaunda at the beginning of 1960.<sup>2</sup> The consequences of the two successive breakaways were momentous, for while the creation of ZANC in October 1958 had detached from the ANC the bulk of its Bemba-speaking leadership, the departure of Chona and Mukupo, "splitting away large segments of ANC's provincial-, district- and branch-level organization," threw the party's overall administrative structure into disarray.<sup>3</sup> From then onward, the lives of Nkumbula and his party would be dominated by a furious struggle for survival.

ZANC/UNIP was a much younger party than the ANC—after the two splits, Job Michello, Nkumbula's new national secretary, spoke explicitly of "old hands of Congress [being] back at the helm"<sup>4</sup>—and its version of political nationalism, built around the demands for the immediate dissolution of Federation and independence, more impatient and less constitutional. Right from the outset, its leaders were convinced the future was theirs, as shown by the confident and condescending tone of early anti-Nkumbula writings. If Sikalumbi, the former vice-secretary-general of ZANC, poked fun at Nkumbula—"Mr. Easy come and Easy go with the money and a gentleman who wants to look [more] English than the English"—and dismissed speculations on his political future—"let fools talk about him"—Kalichini was certain that the "last days" of Congress "in the political arena [were] not remote."<sup>5</sup> Another ZANC restrictee, Sikota Wina, "[knew] Nkumbula was gone from the scene of nationalism.... From this point onwards it should be plain sailing."<sup>6</sup>

Once these optimistic expectations of a rapid demise did not materialize, and despite the occasional cooperation between the two parties on constitutional matters between 1960 and 1961, UNIP's appraisals of Nkumbula became unmistakably harsher. Harry's love for the good life offered UNIP's moralists plenty of cheap ammunition. In his newsletter, *Nephas Tembo*, one of the party's key

organizers in the Copperbelt, urged Kaunda not to stipulate any kind of alliance with

the pleasure-loving Nkumbula who has gone down to the level of a garden boy. Nkumbula, internationally, is finished; and locally he has no intelligent following. He is an alcoholic wreck and UNIP has no time to rebuild such wastrels surrounded by prostitutes and rogues.<sup>7</sup>

As suggested by the above quotation, UNIP's wrath at Nkumbula was more and more frequently converted into a blanket condemnation of his remaining followers—"idiots," "simple souls," "Tonga peasant farmers... whom [he] robs [of] their money to squander on beer and other immoral ways."<sup>8</sup>

These increasingly vitriolic attacks reached their climax with the "Catalogue of Nkumbula's political masturbation," an incendiary pamphlet issued by the divisional headquarters of UNIP in the Southern Province at the beginning of 1962. The text consists of a list of Nkumbula's alleged financial and political blunders from the mid-1950s. Its vocabulary is both chilling and revealing. Nkumbula was a "political rat," a "gangster," a "hopeless and thinkless [*sic*] roting [*sic*] politician" who "delayed our freedom."

Thank God, UNIP was born mainly to save our lot from entering into Harry's Kingdom [of] tribalism, idiocy, drunkenness, uselessness and thinklessness [*sic*]. Candidly, imperialism survives well on rotten minded politicians like this our politically useless man Harry Nkumbula.<sup>9</sup>

The road accident in which Nkumbula was involved in July 1960, and for which he was eventually incarcerated between April 1961 and January 1962, is described in the following terms. On his way back from Katanga, where he had visited "this primitive clumsy looking man-eater," Moïse Tshombe, Nkumbula

[killed] an innocent African constable. Drunk with the mighty and precious blood of our brother [...], the whole ANC was transformed into a pile of fools barking day and night like desperate wounded dogs [...].<sup>10</sup>

It is tempting to explain away the virulence of the "Catalogue" by pointing to its authors' geographical provenance. After all, these were Southern Province-based officials whose efforts to hold the UNIP

fort against a still hegemonic ANC were meeting with very scant success. Nonetheless, I would suggest the entire anti-Nkumbula campaign from the end of 1959 was shaped by—and drew its strength from—less superficial ideological motives and processes. By refusing to go away, or to be slotted in the passive, tailor-made position of “National Guardian” that Wina at one point imagined for him,<sup>11</sup> Nkumbula threatened to unmask the fragility of the edifice of UNIP nationalism. As Nkumbula’s survival against the odds forced UNIP to face the uncomfortable truth that a significant proportion of the future electorate did not subscribe to its nationalist vision and project, the party leadership reacted by elaborating an intellectual equivalence between party and national membership. As early as November 1959, UNIP portrayed itself as “the only party which command[ed] the respect, confidence and unanimous support of the African people in Northern Rhodesia.”<sup>12</sup> UNIP’s dominance—Sipalo, the then national secretary of the party, argued a few months later—stemmed from its “superior” “devotion” to the national cause and “knowledge of the wants of our people.”<sup>13</sup> The homology between party and nation in UNIP thought was brought out most clearly by Kaunda in January 1961. The “silly and small men” who opposed UNIP, the party’s president said in his speech to the National Council, should realize that its historical role was “to save the people of Zambia.... We must forget our individualism and put the Nation first before us. The party is supreme.”<sup>14</sup> With UNIP conceived of as the embodiment of the embryonic nation, party ideologues found it both easy and natural to view the ANC as an “illegitimate organisation.”<sup>15</sup>

By denying Nkumbula and his party full rights to political citizenship in the new institutional dispensation that was then materializing, UNIP embarked on a dangerous intellectual trajectory, the endpoint of which would be the vindication of intolerance not only for open political opposition, but for independent expressions of civil society as well. Taking place outside the party’s ambit, the latter presented UNIP with as unacceptable a threat as the former. When, in the summer of 1963, the secretary of the Broken Hill-Mumbwa region of UNIP asked the party’s headquarters how best to deal with a newly created “Lamba-Lima Education and Cultural Society,” Aaron Milner, the vice-secretary-general, recommended that it be “crushed.”

Our people must work towards the freedom of Zambia. This can only be done by having a National Party UNIP which has proved by its past record that the freedom of Zambia is in UNIP.<sup>16</sup>

A similar fate awaited the Northern Rhodesia's National Council of Women, founded on the Copperbelt at about the same time. The Council folded in the summer of 1964, a few months after the formation of an all-UNIP cabinet. It had been heavily criticized by Chona and Minister H. Dingiswayo Banda, who accused it of confining "itself to the educated class and clash[ing] with our [UNIP's] Women's Brigade."<sup>17</sup> Following the demise of the organization, a distraught former member wrote a polemical letter to the press, stating that she had been wrong in assuming that

everyone had the liberty to join any organisation, as long as one does not interfere with other people's rights. The UNIP Women's Brigade is a political body, and even though UNIP is the ruling party, there is no obligation for everyone to join it. We need an organisation which can coordinate all the activities of women's organisations. I don't see how the Women's Brigade can do this since some of its members cannot even tolerate the ideas of members of other political parties.<sup>18</sup>

Kaunda, UNIP's key policymaker, has been portrayed as having exerted a moderating influence over his more radical and authoritarian subordinates.<sup>19</sup> Yet there is little doubt that it was his appraisal of UNIP's historical mission and emphasis on "absolute UNITY" vis-à-vis the enemies of the nation that provided his lieutenants with the opportunity to articulate and popularize a monolithic vision of Zambian society and a hegemonic project with precious little room left for seeing minority or alternative views as legitimate.<sup>20</sup> The idiom of intolerance was frequently infused with religious overtones. Sipalo spoke openly of "His Holiness" Kaunda confronting a legion of "African Judas Escariots [*sic*]."<sup>21</sup> Among the latter was undoubtedly Lawrence Katilungu, the former president of the AMWU, whose services Nkumbula had enlisted with the obvious aim of retaining a foothold in the Copperbelt and whose death in a road accident at the end of 1961 Sipalo deemed "very heartening."<sup>22</sup> The ideological seeds of the one-party state and its natural corollaries, a much-heralded belief in the leader's infallibility and a totalitarian ambition to quash and/or encapsulate autonomous social movements, were already firmly embedded in the Zambian political soil well before the formal declaration of independence in October 1964.

Interparty violence—an aspect of Zambian nationalist history grossly and culpably underestimated by such standard accounts

as Mulford's and Rotberg's<sup>23</sup>—was a consequence of this ideologically saturated context. The existence of a causal link between the nature of UNIP's nationalism and the rise of political violence was implied as early as April 1960 by the provincial president of the ANC Women's League in the Copperbelt. UNIP officials and members, said Mrs. Bwalya, were

creating absolute hatred with their fellow Africans. They are committed in a way to violence of all kinds while we are committed to nonviolence. Our people are attacked every now and again and are seriously beaten while we [...] do not make any tit for tat.<sup>24</sup>

More will be said below about the dynamics of interparty warfare in the early 1960s and the ANC's alleged commitment to peaceful political competition. At this stage, and with a view to rounding up my argument so far, it suffices to point out that in the Copperbelt and other areas where UNIP was gaining the upper hand over Nkumbula's party, political violence was almost always a consequence of card-demanding in public places.<sup>25</sup> Though declared illegal in 1962, card-checking remained a common means of screening and enforcing membership of the new nation through its most visible manifestation: the possession of a UNIP card. To be found without a card meant nothing less than rejecting national affiliation and its necessary attributes: freedom and independence. Speaking in the Legislative Council during a debate on "week-end rioting" in the Copperbelt, Kaunda bemoaned the widespread tendency to see "a person [who] carries a different party card" as an "enemy who should be hit at any time."<sup>26</sup> What the then Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare appears not to have realized was that, far from being a result of the lack of "education of the public," interparty violence was the natural offshoot of an exclusionary political philosophy to the formulation of which he himself had made a decisive contribution.

### Finding a New Political Platform

Nkumbula's initial reaction to the formation of ZANC was to blame his "ambitious" opponents for having "torn apart the solidarity of the Africans against colonialism and imperialism."<sup>27</sup> Nkumbula's defense of his nationalist credentials also passed through a series of

spirited performances in the Legislative Council, where he sat briefly between 1959 and 1960. On June 25, 1959, for instance, he opposed the extension of the anti-ZANC regulations by pointing out that

detention or further legislation to detain people is not the answer. The only way we can get any amicable solution in this country is to give the people what they want. If we do not [...], then we shall be sitting in this House day after day, passing legislation after legislation. We shall be declaring states of emergency time and again.<sup>28</sup>

Of more lasting legacy, perhaps, was the sustained appeal to his personal history of militancy and leadership. ANC propaganda sought to counter the youthful enthusiasm of UNIP by stressing what Michello called Nkumbula's "world of experience" and the need to be led by "one who has been on the battlefield long enough," "one who has an Incyclopedia [*sic*] of the past at the back of his mind, for reference at will. One who is in reality an International Driver, and not a Learner Driver."<sup>29</sup> Nkumbula was the initiator of modern African politics in Northern Rhodesia. By denying him the respect traditionally accorded to fathers and elders, UNIP's leaders and supporters behaved no better than "juvenile delinquents."<sup>30</sup> The ANC—Michello told the press in April 1962—was a party of "adults"; UNIP consisted of "teenagers and loafers."<sup>31</sup> This aspect of the ANC's discourse was more than a simple propaganda ploy, for the dismissal of UNIP's founders as mere "boys" was as distinguishing a feature of private exchanges between ANC top leaders as it was of the texts they wrote for public consumption.<sup>32</sup> Conversely, members of the ANC executive routinely addressed Nkumbula as "Sir" or even "father."<sup>33</sup>

Of course, para-political loyalties and the celebration of gerontocracy could not be expected to keep the party together in the long run. What was most needed clearly to distinguish it from UNIP was a coherent political philosophy. And it was precisely at this level that the Congress was, initially, found wanting, for what is most striking about the party's ideology until at least 1961 is its overall contradictoriness. For more than two years after the formation of ZANC, the ANC leadership appeared to be groping in the dark, sending mixed messages to the future electorate and losing much valuable ground to its "African socialist" rivals. Take, for instance, the "Provincial Statement" issued in mid-1960 by Amos Sichilaba,

the influential secretary of the party in the Southern Province. The “moderate” (and, as will be seen below, somewhat pharisaic) denunciation of UNIP’s “policy of intimidation” and penchant for “arson [and] stone throwing” did not prevent Sichilaba from accusing Kaunda of opposing the nationalization of the mines and, hence, “complete African Indipendence [*sic*].”<sup>34</sup> Sichilaba’s source was probably *Freedom Magazine* of May 1960, where Liso, the then head of the publicity bureau of the ANC, had suggested that Kaunda, who could not “withstand temptations of the capitalists,” was on the payroll of Rhodesian Selection Trust, one of the two Copperbelt mining giants. The wording of Liso’s editorial, in turn, may not have been unrelated to the fact that during the same spring of 1960 Michello was striving to reestablish contact with the International Union of Socialist Youth and Nehru.<sup>35</sup> These weak and improvised attempts to position the party to the left of UNIP were temporarily dropped in October, when the ANC headquarters issued an abrupt statement commending “private enterprise” and “cuts in public expenditure.”<sup>36</sup> But the party’s ideological gyrations were not yet over, for in January 1961 John Banda, Nkumbula’s deputy, sought to reinvigorate the argument about UNIP’s duplicity and covert imperialist leanings by calling into question its professed policy of “multiracialism”: “[t]hey are trying to please two masters. We have one master to please, the AFRICAN.”<sup>37</sup>

Signs of greater ideological cohesion around a moderate platform became detectable during Katilungu’s brief interlude as acting national president from April 1961. For the first time, Kaunda’s white supporters and “advisors” were accused of hostility toward “the Western World.”<sup>38</sup> Thereafter, open professions of anticommunism became more frequent and raucous. The consolidation of the alliance with the secessionist regime of Katanga—about which more will be said below—had an obvious bearing on the ideological positioning of the ANC. Another key turning point was the *chachacha*, the campaign of civil disobedience launched by UNIP against the constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia issued by Colonial Secretary Macleod in June. By dissociating itself from the ongoing “disturbances,” the Congress took its sharpest yet turn to the right of the political spectrum. While confirming UNIP’s assessment of the ANC leaders as “cowards” and “stooges,”<sup>39</sup> Katilungu and Nkumbula’s refusal to mobilize their followers against the Macleod plan granted their party an incontrovertible badge of moderation and provided it with the chance to dispute UNIP and Kaunda’s much-heralded

commitment to nonviolence.<sup>40</sup> Sykes Ndilila was among the first ANC officials to seize the opportunity.

Mr. Kaunda himself has preached nonviolence several times [...]. But according to what his followers are doing, does it appear that they agree with what he says [?] Kaunda further preaches the protection of property, persons of all races and the protection of minority races. [...]. Either Kaunda is dishonest in what he says or his followers do not obey him. [...]. Can people who burn the only schools for their children protect you and your property? You have a good sense of humour. [...]. Congress leaders have proved to you and to the whole world that they are responsible and that they can rule this country without bloodshed.<sup>41</sup>

If anticommunism came to dominate the ANC's public discourse throughout 1962, Nkumbula's release from prison at the beginning of the year also coincided with the adoption of a more explicit and informed liberal-democratic agenda. In an important interview in July, Nkumbula accused UNIP of "believ[ing] in a totalitarian form of government" upheld by "coercion and intimidation." His party, on the contrary, was committed to "private enterprise" and the "complete freedom of the individual." Perceptively, Nkumbula pointed out that UNIP struggled to reconcile its vision of Zambian future with the existence of a strong parliamentary opposition. This was little wonder—he concluded—since "UNIP has aligned itself with the Casablanca Group of countries, which are Communist inclined. We in the ANC to the Monrovia Group which is democratically inclined.... Kaunda is not carrying out his own policies. They are Nkrumah's ideas."<sup>42</sup>

The candidness of Nkumbula's liberalism at this stage should not be overemphasized, for, as will be seen below, his support for the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy did not rule out the recourse to more opportunistic forms of political mobilization. What needs to be stressed, however, is that Nkumbula's opposition to UNIP's state-driven blueprint for economic development from 1962 was both a cause and a consequence of his party's enduring popularity among market-oriented agricultural producers in the Central and Southern Provinces. Building upon the legacy of Congress-sponsored agricultural protests from the early 1950s,<sup>43</sup> Nkumbula had openly employed his position in the Legislative Council in 1959–1960 to voice the multiple concerns of an increasingly differentiated peasantry. While his denunciation of the inefficiency and authoritarianism of



the Ministry of African Agriculture's soil conservation measures had been meant to court the support of subsistence farmers, upon whom the burden of unpaid conservation work tended invariably to fall,<sup>44</sup> by questioning the performance of the AFIF, Nkumbula had explicitly claimed for himself the role of spokesman of those "rich peasants" who felt systematically discriminated by the workings of the colonial state's credit and marketing systems.<sup>45</sup>

By 1962—and thanks also to the fervor with which Nkumbula and his lieutenants kept at the centre of the political debate the themes of the "lost lands" and the inadequacy of the "Native Reserves" along the line of rail<sup>46</sup>—few informed observers could miss the now openly ruralist orientation of the ANC. Agricultural matters featured prominently in the otherwise bland and unremarkable campaign material issued by the party on the eve of the first Northern Rhodesian general elections of October. In September, Nkumbula spoke of the need for a "mighty agricultural revolution," which he sought to justify by pointing to the vagaries of the international price of copper: "should those market prices be unsympathetic, then we should have to depend on our agricultural industry to offset losses and maintain a balance of overall trading, possibly even in a sense subsidising the metal industries."<sup>47</sup> The results of the elections—in which the ANC scooped three of the four lower roll seats comprised within the borders of the Southern and Central Provinces—confirmed the successful outcome of Nkumbula's attempt to portray himself and his organization as the defenders of rural interests and respectability against the onslaught of UNIP's "young urbanised boys."<sup>48</sup>

The ideological cohesion that the ANC struggled to find in 1959–1961 was compounded by its increasingly obvious administrative meltdown. Most of the organizational problems faced by the ANC stemmed from its desperate financial position. Nkumbula's flamboyant life style and, much more importantly, the hemorrhage of members and subscribers to the advantage of UNIP meant that the party proved less and less able to service existing debts without having access to new lines of credit.<sup>49</sup> And with the ANC being widely perceived as being on the verge of total collapse, creditors themselves became both stricter and more assertive. The first of a long series of bankruptcy summons and notices was served upon Nkumbula in as early as September 1959.<sup>50</sup> In May 1960, with Harry's trip to the London Federal Review Conference looming large on the horizon, national treasurer Wingford Jere was forced openly to admit that the coffers of the party were "empty."<sup>51</sup> So dire was Jere and the party's predicament

that the costs of Nkumbula's defense during the trial that followed his car accident in July could only be met through *ad hoc* fund-raising campaigns launched in Lusaka, the Copperbelt and elsewhere.<sup>52</sup>

Lack of resources greatly reduced the party's effectiveness at both the national and provincial levels. While Lusaka-based leaders could not tour the country as much as the threat posed by UNIP would have warranted, provincial officials had to cope with insufficient means and the erratic payment of personal allowances and emoluments.<sup>53</sup> The chaotic series of provincial reshuffles by which the party was plagued in the years that followed the exit of Chona and Mukupo was partly a consequence of this state of affairs. In UNIP-dominated regions, where the costs and risks of political involvement were even higher than elsewhere, provincial officials were hard to find and harder to retain. Most new appointees would routinely hand in their notices after a mere few months in office or, at best, request a transfer to a less demanding area. Notable exceptions to the rule were the Southern and Central Provinces, where the party still counted on strong mass support. In administrative terms, the Bantu Botatwe strongholds of the party were islands of stability, with the composition of provincial executives in both Monze and Lusaka-Broken Hill exhibiting a remarkable degree of continuity throughout the early 1960s. This, in turn, must have contributed to the coeval "south-ernization" of the ANC's National Executive, where the positions of president, chairman, secretary, publicity officer and treasurer were all held by either southerners (Nkumbula, Millambo, Michello, and Liso) or former Southern Province-based officials (Jere).<sup>54</sup>

This was the party over which Nkumbula presided with an iron fist. For, and this is one of the many paradoxes that characterized his political life, Nkumbula's liberal-democratic faith and opposition to the one-party state did not prevent him from establishing a truly dictatorial hold over the ANC. Having granted Nkumbula the constitutional right to appoint and dismiss members of both the national and provincial executives at the conference of October 1958, the party was centralized to an extent unimaginable even by UNIP. The obvious disadvantage of the concentration of administrative powers in Nkumbula was that the party was brought to a complete standstill during the president's enforced or wilful absences. On the other hand, it was precisely the "patrimonial" nature of his rule that empowered Nkumbula freely to pursue those buccaneering strategies to which the Congress partly owed its survival in the early 1960. It is to these latter that we now turn.

### The Alliance with Katanga

The formation of ZANC/UNIP ushered in a period of increasing international isolation for Nkumbula, whose former place in the hearts and minds of African and European anticolonial leaders was rapidly taken over by Kaunda and his organization. When, in December 1958, both Nkumbula and Kaunda attended the All African Peoples' Conference (sometimes described as the Sixth Pan-African Congress<sup>55</sup>) in newly independent Ghana, the former was genuinely "hurt" to discover that the latter was now Kwame Nkrumah and Hastings Banda's preferred interlocutor. Old friends from Nkumbula's London days "would not pay attention to [him]." Padmore, now serving as Nkrumah's special advisor of African affairs, only "listened to Kaunda, who acted as Banda's agent.... Nobody listened to me with sympathy...." Harry felt as if his "presence [was] repugnant" to the conference's organizers and delegates.<sup>56</sup> Ghanaian authorities did not see fit to reply to this and later lamentations or to consider Nkumbula's request "for financial assistance amounting to £6,000."<sup>57</sup>

Snubbed by Pan-Africanists, Nkumbula did not fare much better with British supporters of African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia. Although Nkumbula managed to retain a few "Labour Party friends,"<sup>58</sup> the Labour Commonwealth office soon resolved to throw its weight behind the newly formed UNIP, with which John Hatch was keen to establish a "close liaison" from as early as the end of 1959.<sup>59</sup> The same was true of such influential pressure groups as the FCB, the Movement for Colonial Freedom and Thomas Fox-Pitt's Antislavery Society. Writing to Chona at the time of his faction's merger with UNIP, Fox-Pitt typified the feelings of many of his colleagues by stating categorically that while Nkumbula went "unregretted or regretted only by a few hangers on," Kaunda, once released, "will solve many of your problems for you and for the country and the Government if they have the sense to realize it."<sup>60</sup>

This painful process of international marginalization was probably no less significant a factor than the ANC's financial crisis in strengthening Nkumbula's resolve to seek for new allies across the Katangese border, where Moïse Tshombe, the president of the secessionist regime since July 1960, was prepared to use his virtually limitless resources to ease the diplomatic isolation by which his splinter state threatened to be suffocated and ensure the

installation of a friendly government in neighboring Northern Rhodesia.<sup>61</sup> Nkumbula's first meeting with Tshombe took place in 1960.<sup>62</sup> By February of the following year, the UNIP's national secretary was already denouncing Nkumbula's overtures toward the "imperialist puppet Tshombe.... It is obvious that if Tshombe and Nkumbula start working together, then our political problems will be immensely increased."<sup>63</sup> In May, Katilungu, acting national president of the ANC during Nkumbula's jail term, issued a statement condemning Hastings Banda for "demand[ing] that M. Tshombe be murdered in his telegram to [Congolese] President Kasavubu.... The African National Congress has taken no sides in Congo situation, but believes that Congo leaders if given the chance, including Moise Tshombe, would be able to find their solution."<sup>64</sup> During the same month, R. John Japau, Tshombe's fellow Lunda and the Congress' provincial secretary in the North-Western Province, paid his first visit to Elisabethville (colonial Lubumbashi), where he was delayed until August by the Katangese president's promise of "some valuable goods to help the ANC activities."<sup>65</sup>

While it is difficult to gauge the precise volume of Katangese financial assistance to the ANC in 1961, there is little doubt that the sums involved were considerable, oscillating between Mulford's estimate of £10,000 and the *African Mail's* reported figure of "2,000,000 francs (about £14,000) and six Land Rovers."<sup>66</sup> Before the end of the year, Berrings Lombe, the ANC's deputy national secretary, settled in Katanga as the party's local representative.<sup>67</sup> Thanks to Lombe's exertions in Elisabethville and the Congress' ever more open professions of support for the secession,<sup>68</sup> the flow of Katangese aid continued unabated and may well have reached a grand total of £25,000 by February 1962.<sup>69</sup> With ANC officials and Katangese dignitaries exchanging frequent visits throughout the year, UNIP was left ranting at Nkumbula's party—"which was bankrupt [but] has suddenly become very wealthy, purchasing 20 motor vehicles; its officials have bought expensive suits and watches as well as furniture and other luxuries"—and stigmatizing its alleged decision to dispatch some of its members to Katanga to receive military instruction.<sup>70</sup> UNIP's denunciations notwithstanding, following a new request from Nkumbula to Godefroid Munongo, the redoubtable Katangese Interior Minister, an additional £20,000 were seemingly made available to the ANC in September.<sup>71</sup>

The solidity of the ANC's alliance with Tshombe, and Federal Prime Minister Welensky's absolute certainty that a UNIP victory

in the general elections of October 1962 would ensue in the immediate dissolution of his cherished Federation, help explaining the relative ease with which Nkumbula pulled off his greatest yet tactical masterstroke. By dangling before Welensky and Roberts' eyes the possibility of a future coalition government between their United Federal Party (UFP) and the ANC, Nkumbula convinced them to support each other's candidates on the so-called national roll, which comprised both upper (i.e., white) and lower roll voters. To the dismay and fury of UNIP—which only learnt of its existence on nomination day—the circumscribed electoral alliance between the UFP and the ANC proved successful, culminating in the ANC supplementing its three lower roll seats with two “national” ones (these would become four after the by-elections of December). As a result of Nkumbula's coup—and since neither UNIP nor the UFP had the numbers to form monochrome governments—the ANC now “held the balance of power, a position of immense influence, . . . radically disproportionate to the party's actual strength in the country.”<sup>72</sup> Having used the UFP's votes to the greatest possible advantage and forced UNIP to enter negotiations from a paradoxical position of weakness, Nkumbula proceeded to drop his federal allies and stipulate a coalition pact with UNIP. Nkumbula would later remember with pleasure his moment of ultimate power, when UNIP leaders “came on their bellies and on their knees to [his] house” to persuade him to spurn the UFP's offer “to become the first Prime Minister of this country.”<sup>73</sup> Despite having nearly twice as many parliamentarians as the ANC, UNIP was eventually compelled to accede to Nkumbula's demands and allocate his party half of the six full ministerial posts reserved for elected representatives in the new cabinet.<sup>74</sup>

Though the undisputed winner of the electoral contest, Education Minister Nkumbula's position at the beginning of 1963 was fraught with dangers. For while relationships with UNIP remained tense and unfriendly both within and outside the cabinet, by forming a government with the latter party, Nkumbula was now exposed to the threat of retaliation from his former, disgruntled sponsors. Nkumbula had explicitly sought Tshombe's blessing before signing his pact with “Lumumbist” UNIP in December 1962.<sup>75</sup> But there was little that he could do to reclaim his erstwhile stature among Katangese leaders. After the end of the secession in January 1963, the deposed Katangese president became deeply wary of Nkumbula and must have regarded his renewed requests for financial succor as, at best, impudent.<sup>76</sup> The

same, of course, was true of Welensky and the UFP (NPP from April 1963). Though resigned to the impending dissolution of Federation,<sup>77</sup> federal politicians were not ready to forgive what Welensky called Nkumbula's "breach of faith,"<sup>78</sup> and they began actively to plot his demise by supporting the activities of a rebel faction grouped around national secretary Michello. The formation of Michello's ephemeral People's Democratic Congress (PDC) in August 1963 would soon remind Nkumbula of the power and vindictiveness of his enemies. With the ending of Katangese support, the ANC was plunged back into a state of serious financial turmoil. Late in the summer of 1963, the party's debts were already "in the region of £25,000."<sup>79</sup> There was to be no repeat of Nkumbula's coup of 1962 in the run-up to the general elections of January 1964, when a penniless ANC was cut down to size by a triumphant UNIP, the party under which Zambia would eventually achieve full independence in October 1964.

### "Nativist" Propaganda

Even though Nkumbula never renounced the national frame of reference within which his early political career had taken place and was wont publicly to "repudiate tribal chauvinism wherever it prevails among Africans,"<sup>80</sup> it is clear that his political survival in the early 1960s owed much to the intensification of inward-looking ethno-regionalist feelings among his core supporters. The tribal propaganda of the ANC took two different forms, each of which suited to a particular political arena. At the local level, the aggressive mobilization of ethnicity passed through the expression of open hostility toward the Bemba and Bemba-speaking peoples, with whom the formation of ZANC/UNIP was, as has been argued in chapter 3, closely associated and who, in virtue of their long experience of labor migrancy, were seen as embodying that urban ethos and "waged ambition" against which the more sedentary Bantu Botatwe were prepared to rally. Unencumbered by the party's national leadership, ANC provincial officials consistently portrayed UNIP founders and supporters as uprooted and poor "thieves" whose political activities were solely designed to rob honest peasants of the hard-won fruits of their agricultural labor. A UNIP government—ordinary members of the ANC were told throughout the early 1960s and beyond—would put the Bemba in a position to colonize the Southern Province and take away its women and cattle.<sup>81</sup> "[Y]our land"—future MP Edgar Musangu warned Chomavoters at the beginning of January 1964—will

only “be safe” in the event of an ANC’s electoral victory; “no piece of it will be given to Bembas and all jobs will be open to local people.”<sup>82</sup> The scare tactics used by the ANC were much the same in Mumbwa, one of the party’s strongholds in the Central Province, where such Tonga supporters of UNIP as Chona and Elijah Mudenda were ridiculed as “educated fools” and mere “tools of the Bemba Regime.”<sup>83</sup>

The emphasis placed by ANC propagandists on the alleged fragility of Kaunda’s position amounted to a variation on the theme of Bemba mischievousness. The leadership of Kaunda, whose parents hailed from present-day Malawi, was said to be resented by “true” Bemba leaders within UNIP. Their aim—charged the *Congress Circular*—was to give birth to a new political organization under the presidency of Kapwepwe.<sup>84</sup> The rumored tension between Kapwepwe and Kaunda and, more in general, Bemba hegemonic pretensions formed the kernel of “The Voice of Zambia Front,” a communiqué allegedly issued in the name of UNIP on the eve of the 1964 elections. The pamphlet—the author of which was in fact an ANC man, Dominic Mwansa—purported to be an appeal to the Bemba to support the ascent of Kapwepwe as a first step toward the attainment of a position of unassailable ethnic superiority.

All tribes shall be under one BIG TRIBE in our Zambia, that is Bemba Tribe. We shall have one vernacular language in our Zambia. BEMBA will be the MAIN LANGUAGE in our Zambia. All tribes shall be united and shall be called “The United Tribes of Zambia”. Every one shall speak Bemba. In every school of Zambia children shall be taught in Bemba, white or Black. The Bemba tribe shall be honoured for their bravery for bringing Freedom in Zambia. Vote KAPWEPWE, our first Prime Minister.<sup>85</sup>

However, given the pervasiveness of nationalist discourse, anti-Bemba propaganda could hardly command the same prominence on the national stage as it did in the Southern and Central Provinces. Its countrywide rendition was a bellicose form of “nativism”: the professed defense of the rights of “indigenous Northern Rhodesians” against the onslaught of foreigners. Both because of Kaunda’s origins and the privileged position they had historically occupied in Northern Rhodesia’s political economy, Malawians or “Nyasas” were the preferred target of the ANC. What may have begun as mere resentment at the alliance between Hastings Banda and Kaunda from the end of 1958, or as a cheap tactical ploy during the aborted Federal Review and Northern Rhodesian Constitutional

conferences of December 1960–January 1961,<sup>86</sup> soon became a major propaganda tool to which the party resorted with monotonous regularity throughout the period under discussion. The tone for many successive pronouncements was set by Nkumbula early in April 1961. In a speech entitled “Invasion of Northern Rhodesia by Nyasaland Africans,” he condemned Northern Rhodesia-based Nyasas for having

aligned themselves with United National Independence Party, which is apparently a branch of the Malawi Congress. It is their imagination that if there was a Malawi Government in Nyasaland and another government in Northern Rhodesia led by their fellow country man [i.e. Kaunda], Nyasaland will gain control of Northern Rhodesia for its economic redemption and also to enable them to hold key positions in our industry and commerce which they now enjoy at the prejudice of the Rhodesian Africans.<sup>87</sup>

At about the same time, Katilungu sought to impress ANC supporters by reminding them of his vernacular nickname—“*Lesawabwafa*” or “jealous God”—seemingly bestowed upon him on account of his hostility to “foreign natives meddling in our affairs.”<sup>88</sup> Undeterred by the inconsistency between its anti-Malawian stance and its coeval Katangese policy, the ANC continued to follow an openly chauvinistic course throughout 1962. Typical of the party’s mood at the time was the press release approved by the National Assembly of March. Authored by Liso, the communiqué demanded the immediate expulsion from Northern Rhodesia of Yatuta Chisiza, the Malawi Congress Party’s administrative secretary, guilty of having called upon “Nyasas working in N. Rhodesia to rally behind UNIP which is led by his nephew Kenneth Kaunda.” Chisiza

realises that Nyasaland is a poor country and is pulling wool over the eyes of true N. Rhodesia[ns], so that if Kaunda became the Prime Minister, Nyasaland shall be milking N. Rhodesia in the same way as she and S. Rhodesia are doing now.<sup>89</sup>

Even though the ANC’s nativism spread beyond the borders of the Southern and Central Provinces, it resonated particularly powerfully among the Bantu Botatwe, who, aided by the absence or insignificance of migration narratives in their traditional lore,<sup>90</sup> saw themselves, and were widely perceived, as the first occupants of Northern Rhodesian soil and the ultimate “indigenous.” “Please do



not let us be trodden by foreigners”—pleaded a Mr. Ngwewa from Mazabuka—“because this drives some of us mad—to think of being ruled by a foreigner in what we regard and know as our motherland.”<sup>91</sup> UNIP officials, who knew that many Southerners felt as strongly as Ngwewa, took the ANC’s anti-Malawian propaganda seriously. Secretary-general Chona, for instance, thought it wise to reassure UNIP branch officials in Kalomo Rural district to the effect that Kaunda “[was] not Nyasalander.”

If he was, how could he have been a secretary of ANC when it was still a strong organisation? Nyasalanders are not allowed to vote. If Mr. Kaunda is a Nyasalander, why is he being allowed to vote? Everyone should see that ANC is just foolish and deceiving our people and it is high time they woke up from sleep and leave the ANC led by drunkards and skirt-chasers, as well as liars.<sup>92</sup>

Chona’s frustration at the Bantu Botatwe’s unshakable faith in Nkumbula and stubborn refusal to “join UNIP like all other different tribes” was understandable.<sup>93</sup> He was, after all, the senior-most Tonga in UNIP. However, UNIP’s repeated accusations of gullibility or ignorance (“if the people all over Northern Rhodesia have accepted UNIP there must be something in it which we do not know we Tonga people”<sup>94</sup>) served merely to reinforce the Bantu Botatwe’s convictions, rather than leading them to change alliances. By stereotyping and harassing the Tonga and other kindred groups, UNIP unwittingly strengthened the effects of the ANC’s own tribal propaganda and favored the emergence of a distinctly insular mentality among ANC supporters in the Southern and Central Provinces. Thus crystallized along tribal lines, Bantu Botatwe support for the ANC would stand the test of time and lose nothing of its poignancy in postcolonial Zambia, whose rulers would have to contend with the continuing opposition of the country’s richest agricultural areas.

### Political Violence

The regionalization of the ANC influenced the pattern of inter-party warfare in the early 1960s. If UNIP was responsible for the bulk of political violence in the Copperbelt and other Bemba-speaking areas—a conclusion which the joint Whelan Commission of July–August 1963 obviously refused to draw, but which numerous internal ANC records forcefully suggest—the ANC made sure that

in its southern and central strongholds Kaunda's party was "treated with the same medicine that [it] treat[ed] others with in other parts of the Territory."<sup>95</sup> This writer's feeling—and that of a good number of people who knew him intimately<sup>96</sup>—is that Nkumbula, as he once told the leader of the Jehovah's Witnesses in Northern Rhodesia, "personally abhorred violence."<sup>97</sup> However, given the very deteriorated political context in which his party operated and UNIP's aggressive methods throughout much of the country, Nkumbula appears to have developed an awareness of violence's potential political usefulness or, at any rate, justifiableness. In the early 1960s, despite being wont to appeal for tolerance and calm,<sup>98</sup> Nkumbula did not shy away from occasionally condoning—or indeed encouraging—the resort to retaliatory violence on the part of his followers. "[Y]ou have been too submissive and patient for too long," he chided the delegates to the party's National Assembly of March 1962. From now onward, "if you are attacked you attack them too . . . remember our Policy is that if one Congress member is attacked in one District that means the Province and the whole of N. Rhodesia has been attacked."<sup>99</sup>

Such pronouncements—and Nkumbula's more general unwillingness unambiguously to condemn all forms of political violence—did little to curb the activities of those Bantu Botatwe officials who, going well beyond the letter of their national president's instructions, viewed *preventive* violence as the best possible means to defend the Congress' position in the Southern and Central Provinces. In this latter interpretation, violence was more than an enforced response to UNIP intimidation; its principal function was to demarcate a political field and consolidate existing loyalties. In Choma and Namwala, for instance, the ANC's aggressive occupation of the territory made the staging of UNIP public meetings risky

and not very profitable, i.e. because Congress has not yet lost its grip among the illiterate who make up the majority, the enlightened ones will always fear to come into the open until the resistance of the masses has been broken.<sup>100</sup>

Limited in the scattered southern and central townships, police protection was virtually nonexistent in the outlying rural areas, where UNIP activists fought a thankless, solitary battle against a belligerent enemy. Unlike in the Copperbelt—where large and murderous, but geographically and temporally limited, riots were the most visible manifestation of interparty hostility—political violence

in the Bantu Botatwe areas consisted of a myriad acts of daily intimidation. Some insights into the dynamics of Congress violence at the local level are provided by the detailed reports of Daniel Siamusonde, a UNIP branch (later constituency) secretary in Kalomo Rural, whose experience may be assumed to typify that of a good number of UNIP organizers in the Southern and Central Provinces in the early 1960s.

Right from the outset of his political career, Siamusonde was confronted with a barrage of increasingly truculent threats. No sooner had his Nkuntu Simwatachela branch of UNIP been formed than he was openly warned by ANC provincial secretary Sichilaba to keep out of politics and discontinue the sale of UNIP membership cards in Kalomo Rural.<sup>101</sup> During a public meeting on April 15, 1962, the same Sichilaba and other ANC provincial leaders were said to have sought to impress upon their supporters in Kalomo that local "UNIP leaders must be attacked or killed as dogs."<sup>102</sup> Words finally gave way to action on August 8, when Siamusonde, on his way back from the UNIP general conference of Magoye, was beaten up in Kayuni Siamalamo's village by ANC militants. When he went to report the incident to the UNIP constituency headquarters in Kalomo, he got involved in a fight between supporters of the two parties in the township's beer hall and was yet once more cautioned to the effect that plans were afoot to dispatch the "ANCO-Mobile Unit to graze [*sic*] down or to destroy [*sic*] [his] home or village."<sup>103</sup> At the end of the same month, "three headmen of chief Simwatachela" travelled to Nkuntu Simwatachela with the seeming purpose of assassinating Siamusonde. The latter being fortuitously absent, the ANC men confined themselves to threatening his family. Upon their departure, four frightened members of Siamusonde's minute local following returned their UNIP membership cards.<sup>104</sup> Siamusonde himself resolved temporarily to leave Nkuntu Simwatachela to relocate his family to Siajumba, the village of his father-in-law, "where they shall find save or safe from bitterly struggle of ANCO."<sup>105</sup> The formation of the ANC-UNIP coalition government at the end of 1962 did not dispel the poisonous atmosphere that surrounded Kalomo Rural's political life. In April 1963, UNIP sympathizers were still physically prevented from attending one of Siamusonde's many aborted public rallies.<sup>106</sup> The following month, having been made to understand that Congress planned to destroy the future crops of UNIP supporters and that Dan Munkombwe, the then provincial president of the ANC, had issued a renewed call for his murder, Siamusonde began to

move around with his “axe and two clubs” to “intimidate the hositel [*sic*] ignorant villagers.”<sup>107</sup>

Actively promoted (if not effectively coordinated) by provincial officials, Congress violence contributed to prevent UNIP from making any substantial inroads into the Bantu Botatwe areas. To the extent that it reinforced the party’s tribal propaganda, the ANC’s aggressive anti-UNIP campaign enjoyed a remarkable degree of popular support among the Bantu Botatwe. ANC southern organizers achieved this objective by presenting the adoption of violent means on their part as being inextricably bound up with the situation obtaining in the Copperbelt, where, as even some UNIP leaders reluctantly admitted, UNIP intimidation was frequently infused with ethnic overtones. Early in 1963, during a meeting called by the Plateau Tonga Native Authority with a view to bringing to an end the wave of political violence by which Monze district had recently been engulfed, the ANC representatives

told the Chiefs that their members were beating up UNIP members and particularly those from outside the Tonga area because UNIP members in towns beat up every Tonga man they find. He added that Tonga people who go to sell their fowls on the Copperbelt were beaten by UNIP members because all Tonga people were regarded as members of the African National Congress.

Samson Mukando, the UNIP regional secretary in Monze-Gwembe, felt the allegation serious enough to warrant explicit mention in a circular addressed to all of his peers in the Copperbelt and the Central Province.<sup>108</sup> While refuting the charge in public, Chona privately admitted to Dan Munkombwe that UNIP was

working hard to stop the violence against ANC on the Copperbelt. [...] if Tonga people in towns are being attacked, it will be impossible to UNIPify the Southern Province and [...] this, in turn, will or might lead to tribal warfare which we must fight against.<sup>109</sup>

Mukando’s worried missive was echoed a few months later by A.H.S. Munkombwe, the acting secretary of the Kalomo-Livingstone region of UNIP, who related the Congress’ current “roughness” in his area to the recent Nchanga riots, when “everyone who spoke Tonga had to be beaten whether he was a member of the United National Independence Party” or not. As a result of this, “organisers

and members of the African National Congress have been instructed by top officials from Lusaka that they have to beat and kill anyone UNIP who does not speak Tonga.”<sup>110</sup>

Both because it was interwoven with the process of Bantu Botatwe ethnicization and because it formed such a significant component of the ANC’s strategy in the Southern Province, violence remained a distinctive feature of the region’s politics long after 1964, even though, as will be seen in the next two chapters, UNIP’s pervasive control of the state apparatus meant that ANC supporters now found themselves more frequently in the position of victims than perpetrators. While this metamorphosis was probably not sufficient to turn the Bantu Botatwe into a veritable “community of suffering”—to use David Gordon’s captivating expression<sup>111</sup>—it most certainly contributed to entrench their hostility to UNIP and ensuing alienation from the national body politic.



## CHAPTER V

# RESISTING UNIP: LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC POLITICS IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC

“Afro-pessimist” authors such as Bayart, Chabal, and Daloz dismiss the public pronouncements and ideological orientations of contemporary African political leaders as purely rhetorical claims destined to mask the informal, but enduring, workings of patron-client networks, which they view as the “very stuff” of African “political life.”<sup>1</sup> For proponents of this approach to the historical relationship between the state and society in postcolonial Africa, opposition parties are either short-lived aberrations or ideologically empty shells whose only *raison d’être* is to secure their eventual “co-optation into the ruling circles.”<sup>2</sup> But Harry Nkumbula’s oppositional activities during Zambia’s multiparty First Republic cast serious doubts on such essentialist readings of African postcolonial politics and the predominant tendency to understand the latter solely in terms of vertical networks and the allocation of state resources on the basis of patronage.

Despite being plagued by crippling administrative and financial problems, the ANC succeeded in elaborating a coherent liberal alternative to UNIP’s political authoritarianism and state-led model of socioeconomic development. If elements of “political tribalism” undoubtedly underlay the interparty confrontation of the early 1960s (see chapter 4), the process of ideological consolidation that the Congress underwent once the battle for control of the independent state had been lost cannot be accounted for without making reference to Nkumbula and his lieutenants’ ability to draw on the most explicitly political aspects of the Bantu Botatwe’s “moral ethnicity.” And it was precisely because the Congress’ liberal platform was consistent with the Bantu Botatwe’s “discourse of self-mastery”<sup>3</sup> that the latter proved ready to put up with the very high costs of political opposition during the First Republic. The Bantu Botatwe’s

postcolonial political choices owed nothing to clientelistic mobilization. At heart, they were ideological and moral; as such, they deserve more careful analysis and, indeed, respect than dominant appraisals of opposition politics in postcolonial Africa allow.

### The Congress after Independence

The disbandment of the PDC and its reincorporation into the ANC on the eve of the general elections of January 1964 did nothing to reduce internal tensions or improve the administrative efficiency of Nkumbula's party. Not only did the hasty merger saddle the already cash-strapped Congress with an additional debt of approximately £60,000,<sup>4</sup> but Michello's followers also continued to plot against Nkumbula's leadership. Having sought to gain control of the party by forcing Nkumbula to accede to the demand that NEC posts be filled through elections, Michello and his closest allies, who included such important Tonga politicians as Job Mayanda and Dan Munkombwe, were eventually expelled from the party between March and April 1964.<sup>5</sup> By the summer of the same year, most former PDC leaders had shifted their allegiance to UNIP.<sup>6</sup>

After Michello's final exit from the Congress, the burden of seeking to overhaul the party's greatly enfeebled structure fell on the shoulders of Nkumbula's former special representative in Lubumbashi, the ambitious Berrings Lombe, who took over the post of national secretary early in 1964. Lombe's plan to bring about what he termed "a new great upsurge in the Party's Organisational machinery" was to curtail the prerogatives and executive responsibilities of provincial presidents and secretaries to the advantage of a newly instituted cadre of "constituency secretaries." Elected by local members (but confirmed by the headquarters), constituency secretaries would serve as the only full-time party workers at the territorial level. Covering much less extensive areas of operation than their provincial predecessors, the new officials would, in Lombe's intentions, enhance the visibility of the party's local articulations.<sup>7</sup> Constituency secretaries were to be models of efficiency: fully acquainted with "each and every village" in their respective constituencies, they would see to it "that a register of all members for all branches in the Constituency is kept, and kept well." Moreover, a constituency secretary

must inspect time and again that a Branch Secretary in his Constituency has kept the record of register book, cash book, cards

in stock with receipt books, cards sold, finished receipt books, fund raising forms and money transferred to the Constituency Secretary's Office in Cash or cheques which is supposed to be sent to the Headquarters.<sup>8</sup>

In practice, Lombe's circulars bore very little relation to the situation obtaining on the ground, the reality of which is more aptly captured by the desperate letter of a B. Mankinka, ANC organizer in Solwezi, who, having never "received any allowances" since his move to the town, was now "very dirty and . . . very naked together with my wife and children. I am even ashamed to stand in front of the people on platform."<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the key problem with Lombe's reforms was one of finances. With the party's dwindling funds proving insufficient even to support the headquarters' small permanent staff,<sup>10</sup> or to make any appreciable dent in the "colossal sum of money" the Congress owed its creditors,<sup>11</sup> Lombe seems to have been bizarrely nonplussed about how possibly to raise through the sale of membership cards alone the substantial resources required to pay the monthly salaries of the envisaged 65 constituency secretaries.<sup>12</sup>

Given its almost delusional character, it is hardly surprising that Lombe's plan should have been implemented very slowly and in a most haphazard fashion. As late as October 1964, most constituencies still only existed on paper, their secretaries having yet to be elected.<sup>13</sup> A reasonable number of constituency secretaries were probably in place by the beginning of 1966,<sup>14</sup> but by 1967 most regions where the party retained a significant presence appear to have reverted to the old province- and district-based system or to have surreptitiously reintroduced the latter within the constituency framework.<sup>15</sup> At any rate, definitional gimmickry could hardly mask the incipient meltdown of the party territorial structures.<sup>16</sup> Completely wiped out from the Northern, Luapula, and Barotseland Provinces,<sup>17</sup> by the mid-1960s, the ANC was barely alive in the Eastern Province, where it never recovered the sway it had once held under the leadership of provincial president MacDonald Lushinga, the one-eyed "lion of the east," murdered by UNIP activists in March 1964 in retaliation for the assassination of UNIP regional secretary Omelo Mumba one year earlier.<sup>18</sup> It fared a little better in parts of the Copperbelt (most notably in Mufulira, Lombe's base, which the party had lost by a whisker in the January 1964 elections<sup>19</sup>), the North-Western Province (Mwinilunga being the only electoral constituency outside the Southern and Central Provinces scooped by the Congress



in January 1964<sup>20</sup>) and the Central Province (especially in the Lenje areas of Mumbwa and Chisamba, both of which had returned ANC MPs in 1964). The only region where the party's structures remained solid and fully operational was the Southern Province, where the numbers of both branches and paid-up members continued to increase throughout the 1960s.<sup>21</sup> Late in 1966, it was frankly admitted that without the money forwarded by the Southern Province, the party's headquarters could not have "kept... going." And even so, Lusaka-based officials were "living on empty stomachs."<sup>22</sup>

Frustration with the negligible achievements of the administrative reforms of 1964 may not have been unrelated to Lombe's decision to initiate yet another assault on Nkumbula's leadership late in the summer of 1965. The national secretary and his fellow plotters, who, initially at least, included half of the ten-man-strong ANC parliamentary caucus, sought to enlist the support of party chairman Mungoni Liso, to whom the interim presidency of the Congress was to be handed over following the dismissal of Nkumbula by an *ad hoc* "steering committee."<sup>23</sup> When Mungoni stood firm, once more refusing to "stab in the back" his ailing mentor and tribesman,<sup>24</sup> the attempted coup was foiled, thereby paving the way for the resignation of its principal instigators and the formation of a new party, the United Front (UF), early in 1966. While Lombe, having served briefly as the UF's national president, ended up joining UNIP in May 1967 and disappearing from the Zambian political scene until his mysterious murder in October 1982,<sup>25</sup> former ANC deputy president and Mazabuka MP, Mufaya Mumbuna, a talented politician and a man of great local standing in Bulozhi, his home area, was instrumental in getting off the ground the UF's successor, the United Party, about which more will be said in the next chapter.<sup>26</sup>

Lombe and Mumbuna's departure, of course, worsened the already comatose condition of the ANC. In the eyes of Mainza Chona, Minister of Home Affairs and national secretary of UNIP, the latest crisis in Congress proved the party was "long dead and exist[ed] in name only.... What will now happen is the disappearance of the name itself."<sup>27</sup> At about the same time, a condescending editorial in the pro-government *Times of Zambia* commented on the sorry sight offered by Nkumbula, "the champion who fights on too long" and who "would be well advised to consider retirement with dignity."<sup>28</sup> The sketchy minutes of the ANC National Assembly of November 1965 certainly reinforce the impression of a party in disarray. While most members of the executive, beginning with acting national

secretary Shankanga, one of Nkumbula's favorite troubleshooters, held their posts in a merely temporary capacity and had to be publicly introduced to the comparatively few delegates in attendance, the gathering itself had to be brought to an end before the available territorial reports could be discussed "because there was insufficient food to keep the members any longer."<sup>29</sup> Nkumbula's principal administrative concern at this stage was to avoid incurring into further debt because of the actions of unscrupulous officials. "He mentioned that there were many outstanding Credits from shops, etc. . . . He warned that he would never tolerate any one getting anything in the name of the Party for his personal use."<sup>30</sup>

The events of late 1965 accelerated a tendency already evident in the Congress: the enhancement of the role and administrative functions of the party's small parliamentary contingent (nine MPs, following the resignation of Mumbuna).<sup>31</sup> Already in 1964, Nkumbula, who still remained solely responsible for appointing members of the NEC, had called upon several MPs to double up as headquarters officials.<sup>32</sup> By mid-1966, after a series of confusing reshuffles and following Nkumbula's decision temporarily to hand over the presidency to Liso, all the principal posts in the party's executive or "cabinet" were held by MPs.<sup>33</sup> Partly, of course, the delegation of responsibilities to MPs was a consequence of the latter having access to secure regular funds in the form of their parliamentary salaries and allowances, a portion of which they had been expected to donate to the party since their election in January 1964.<sup>34</sup> In the event, however, the experiment was hardly successful. While the MPs' administrative capabilities and commitment to the cause were often called into question (the secretary of the Lusaka district of the party, for one, accused the new office-bearers of being "useless" and doing "nothing for the party. They do not stay in the offices. They are here because of beer"<sup>35</sup>), very few among them took their financial commitments seriously.<sup>36</sup> Being erratically paid, the MPs' monthly contributions proved insufficient to enable the remaining full-time members of the head office staff adequately to look after themselves and their families,<sup>37</sup> or to assist in any way the work of local party organizers.

By the mid-1960s, the existence of a body of full-time salaried provincial (or constituency) officials was clearly a thing of the past. In turn, the predicament of the party's surviving territorial staff accounts for another long-term structural weakness of the Congress: the chronic inability on the part of the headquarters to raise enough money through the sale of party cards; most of the members' fees

and subscriptions simply remained in the provinces, as a frustrated Nkumbula reminded the National Assembly of July 1967.

We send out cards printed on credit and when we send you the cards money never comes back. [...]. Where is the money? The money is in your pockets. We can raise this money in a short time. People are the money. We cannot get it from Tshombe. Tshombe is in trouble and may be hanged. [...] since January 1967 30,000 card were printed and a sum of £7,500 should have been raised. If the money was here we should have done the work.<sup>38</sup>

Insufficient to rectify the party's dire financial situation, or even to enable it to put up a respectable performance in the local government elections of 1966, when as many as 563 wards out of 985 went unopposed to UNIP,<sup>39</sup> the demands placed on MPs may nevertheless go some way toward explaining why so many members of the group elected in 1964 ended up clashing with Nkumbula, abandoning the party and falling prey to UNIP's lures—a subject to which we shall return in the next chapter.

### Ideological Consolidation

The above picture of decay, however, tells only one side of the story. For the party's administrative and financial disabilities did not prevent the continuation of the process of ideological consolidation that had begun in the early 1960s. The paradoxical inverse relationship that obtained between administrative and ideological strength has led astray formalist analyses of Zambian politics, which often mistook the former for the latter. Even the best surveys of postcolonial Zambian politics all but completely ignore the ideological work of Nkumbula, viewing his party as a moribund "tribal" organization, unable to formulate a "substantive alternative" to UNIP policies or even to offer "effective detailed criticism" of the latter.<sup>40</sup> Here, as in the analysis of the events leading to the formation of ZANC (see chapter 3), the tendency among academic observers has been obvious to prioritize historical readings stemming from the hegemonic nationalist party, UNIP, which, especially in the run-up to the inception of the one-party state late in 1972, had an obvious interest in either dismissing the ANC ideology altogether or downplaying the significance of the very real differences that separated it from its own.<sup>41</sup> To be sure, the process through which Nkumbula came to occupy the

liberal-democratic space left open by UNIP's state-centered developmentalism was more "reactive" than "proactive"; equally clear is that it did not express itself in full-blown programmes and treatises, but rather in the heat of political debate and parliamentary argument. Yet it was undoubtedly more profound and coherent than the UNIP-centered scholarship has been prepared to admit. It is to the contents of Nkumbula's liberalism that we must now turn.

In December 1967, when prodded by Republican Vice President Kapwepwe in Parliament ("We want them to tell us that they are capitalists, or they are communists, or they are socialists"), Nkumbula refused to commit the ANC to a particular "political philosophy" and was adamant that what held his party together was a deep-rooted belief in the need to uphold "parliamentary democracy" at all costs.<sup>42</sup> I maintain that the centrality in ANC discourse of the reference to the Westminster model of democratic governance was less a sign of under-theorization on Nkumbula's part than the result of the urgent necessity to resist UNIP's equation between party and national interests and the one-party ambitions that such a monolithic vision of Zambian society served to legitimate. Thus, to be a liberal-democrat in early postcolonial Zambia meant, above all, to defend the prerogatives of parliamentary opposition and the viability of the multiparty dispensation against UNIP's intellectual skepticism.

As early as January 1964, reports to the effect that members of ANC might be "rusticated" in future prompted Nkumbula to remind the newly installed UNIP cabinet that it had only been his *opposition* to the British and Northern Rhodesian governments that had made the achievement of African self-government possible.

I have been talking about an African Government for 14 years now, but today we are telling [*sic*] of criticising an African Government. Many people have left and come back but I have remained the same. [...] we will never stop to criticise the Government until we fight to the last man in order that we retain our human rights and dignity, not by arms but by Constitutional means.<sup>43</sup>

While the "struggle against foreign rule was over," Nkumbula told his followers a few days before the formal declaration of independence, the fight was still on against "dictatorship and black slavery... which the country might be faced with in the near future."<sup>44</sup> In much the same vein, Lombe stressed it was wrong to assume there was nothing left to "fight for now" that Independence had been secured. "It is

not so at all. We have now the Black Imperialism far much more worse [*sic*] than White Colonialism.... It will go on growing in an endeavour to force people to accept a One Party State or else...."<sup>45</sup> But, Lombe wrote in a coeval text, the opposition will not be intimidated. If

our protests against certain Government activities, if the Opposition in itself[...] mean sedition or subversion or an insult to the Government or treason, then we must be prepared now to go to prison and sing our songs there.<sup>46</sup>

This impassioned defense of the democratic *raison d'être* of constitutional opposition contrasted sharply with the public pronouncements of many government and UNIP leaders, who often hinted at the possibility of dropping the official policy of achieving a one-party state through electoral—as opposed to legislative—means. On July 23, 1965, the day after Liso had been suspended from Parliament for making unsubstantiated allegations against Republican President Kaunda,<sup>47</sup> Sipalo, Parliamentary Secretary to the Office of the President, stated openly that the opposition had no right to challenge

a nationalist government that has not even completed a year in office [...] what right have they to come and tell us that we are wrong somewhere [?] [...]. It is not a question of creating a one-party State but in a cross-country debate like this one I would not mind saying this, "What is wrong in having a one party State? What is wrong in having a one party State?"<sup>48</sup>

In the absence of Nkumbula, who had embarked on a solitary boycott of Parliament in a show of solidarity with his suspended party chairman,<sup>49</sup> it was left to Chilimboyi, one of the most intelligent and effective ANC MPs, to answer Sipalo with a plea for government to "be broadminded" and

accept criticism [...]. There is no man who cannot make a mistake in this world and Members of the Government cannot pretend themselves that they are semi-angels. We are here to try to criticise Government where it goes wrong and we appreciate Government where it goes right.<sup>50</sup>

A common UNIP ploy to silence, and question the nationalist credentials of, the opposition was to cite the first independent

government's high level of social expenditure. The ANC's reply was that, however commendable, the infrastructural improvements promoted by government were no more than the realization of electoral promises. Besides, Liso argued with reference to his own constituency,

just because there is a secondary school in Namwala put up by this Government, that does not stop me from criticising this Government on other matters. They cannot turn to me and say, "Well, we have put you a school in Namwala, you cannot complain about anything else, we have done something for you." [. . .]. How is the Government going to improve the people, if we are going to say, "Hallelujah, there is a school in Namwala, therefore Government has never made any mistake whatsoever, they have done everything." [. . .]. My duty is to see what [the Government] have not done yet, so that you do it for the people and that is what I point out.<sup>51</sup>

The emphasis on the developmental contribution of opposition parties went hand-in-hand with the elaboration of a critique of what Nkumbula called the "evils of a one party ideology." On April 15, 1965, in a published "Appeal for Funds against a One Party State," Nkumbula stressed that the latter could only appeal to "power-hungry men," and that its adoption would plunge Zambia "into a bottomless pit of misery" reminiscent of "Nazi Germany" and jeopardize the independence of the judiciary. "Our courts will become instruments for enforcing the will of the party in power against the wishes of the people." Above all, Nkumbula struck at the heart of UNIP's historical mythologies by pointing out that it was "nonsensical" to imagine some sort of continuity between a one-party dispensation and "the African traditional form of government. . . . If this is the case advanced for a one party state, then it is right and proper that the traditional chiefs should govern this country. . . ." <sup>52</sup> Late in 1966, in a lecture delivered to the University of Zambia, Nkumbula further harped on these themes, equating the one-party state to

dictatorship, fascism, tyranny and corruption. The moment the right to oppose Government is taken away from the subjects of the state, misery and terror will follow. The rule of Law can be ruled out. [. . .]. The result of this will be a bloody revolution. Military governments or coups will become inevitable. [. . .]. Africa will go back to the dark ages [. . .] faced with the Law of the Jungle.

And he ended his peroration with yet another declaration of faith in the virtues of true democratic systems, “where governments are put into office and thrown out at the next general elections if they don’t carry out the wishes of the people they represent. . . . We must not forget that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”<sup>53</sup>

UNIP’s unassailable position after the 1964 elections and entrenched authoritarianism, Nkumbula intimately believed, posed a serious threat to civil liberties, beginning with the freedom of speech and information, which he accused the government of wanting to muzzle through such acts as the acquisition of the *Central African Mail* (which became the *Zambia Mail*, later *Zambia Daily Mail*) and the formal incorporation of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation into the Ministry of Information and Postal Services. Nkumbula was “quite sure” that once the latter bill was

passed and implemented, people inside and outside Zambia will hear nothing but “UNIP, UNIP.” [. . .]. It is the intention that the people in Zambia should not be allowed to hear the news of all political parties of different views—the Opposition parties, but only of Government. You want the people psychologically to believe in what Government believes.

Even Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, Harry went on provocatively, had to be found in every German home.

And that is known in English as dictatorship. We know that the Government, which is inseparable from UNIP, are trying to take all these instruments which are meant for the public, not for one particular party. They are, I think, almost persistently confiscating every public institution.<sup>54</sup>

And a few months later he sought to further substantiate his point that the Zambian press and radio were “nothing but instruments of the ruling party” by remarking that Richard Hall, the editor of the ostensibly independent *Times of Zambia*, was a mere “UNIP stooge” and that if his criticisms of the ANC had been directed at UNIP, “he would have either been deported or a petrol bomb would have been dropped on him.”<sup>55</sup>

Even more symptomatic of UNIP’s dissatisfaction with the liberal institutional framework inherited at independence was the repeal of the 1962 bill that had made it a crime to demand party membership cards in public. The cause of constant future troubles, the bill was weakly

defended by Minister of Justice Chimba, who expressed his conviction that the “law was strong enough” to deal with such “acts of thuggery” as the amendment to the penal code might induce, and violently attacked by ANC MP Mumbuna, who wondered whether “bloodshed in the country” was the ultimate intention of government, its “overwhelming majority” notwithstanding.<sup>56</sup> Even the *Times of Zambia* viewed the move as “dangerous” and warned that international opinion was likely to construe it as a deliberate attempt “to make life intolerably hot for the opposition” and as an “indirect way of using legislation” to bring about a one-party state.<sup>57</sup> Retrospectively, Nkumbula described the bill as an act of “savagery,” the sole intention of which was to force “the innocent citizens of Zambia into joining the ruling Party.”

The leaders of the Party do not care a hoot about how many members of the Opposition are killed, so long as they can consolidate their positions as perpetual rulers of our nation. But when their members are killed in retaliation they scream and label other parties as dangerous to the State. [...] they think that violence is UNIP’s monopoly.<sup>58</sup>

UNIP’s exclusionary nationalism, chapter 4 has shown, meant Kaunda’s party was signally ill-disposed toward independent expressions of civil society. UNIP’s intolerance extended to such religious groupings as the resolutely apolitical Jehovah’s Witnesses and the banned Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, thousands of whose members had been forced to seek refuge in Katanga following the sect’s brutal suppression by the semi-independent Zambian government in the summer of 1964.<sup>59</sup> The fate of these two persecuted minorities proved one of the Congress’ favorite rhetorical devices with which to expose the UNIP government’s illiberal tendencies and weak commitment to the protection of the freedom of association and worship of its citizenry. The only fault of the Lumpa exiles, Nkumbula was wont to point out, had been to refuse to bend the knee vis-à-vis UNIP. They should be allowed to return to Zambia and “continue in their own manner of worshipping God.”<sup>60</sup> By treating them as dangerous foes, and by using their continuing existence to prolong indefinitely the Republican President’s emergency powers, the UNIP government was behaving no better than the loathed settler regimes to the south of Zambia.

It is an old saying that before one can [...] teach people how to cook, one must be able to cook well for himself. Therefore now in Zambia we have the Lumpas, people who tried to worship God [...] but for



that matter we are punishing them and yet at the same time we shout about our fellow Rhodesians in Rhodesia, we are fighting for our fellow Africans in South Africa, forgetting that we have more than 10,000 of our own people outside this country, who have run away from the terror of our Government.<sup>61</sup>

The Lumpa tragedy, charged Mungoni Liso, ought to have taught UNIP not to interfere with the people's beliefs and personal rights. Instead, by handling the Jehovah's Witnesses as second-class citizens or by forcing them to sing the National Anthem and salute the flag, the government was unnecessarily "trying to provoke another church."<sup>62</sup> What was wrong, Liso asked rhetorically on another occasion, with wanting to keep out of politics or the sphere of the ruling party? No "sensible government" would take issue with the Jehovah's Witnesses;

they will never worry any government at all, they will obey any law and now we see the Government pounding on their doors, "You must join UNIP or you cannot live in Zambia". Whom do you want to govern in the end? The trees? If you have killed everybody who does not like to join UNIP, whom shall you govern?<sup>63</sup>

Underlying most of the above interparty arguments were different notions of the law and the state. In general, the Congress viewed the law as necessary for providing an orderly framework for the free operations of social and market forces; unlike UNIP, it did not consider it as a tool for social intervention and transformation. N.E. Chonga, a Luanshya-based ANC official, put it thus: "The aim of a good government is not to control or direct people but to establish and create conditions where an individual can choose for himself who to associate with and what to think, or all the preaching about democracy is hypocrisy."<sup>64</sup> Given his and his party's advocacy of a "weak state," it is natural that Nkumbula should have viewed with profound suspicion most government attempts at regulating social life. For instance, when opposing a bill which, *inter alia*, made the singing of the National Anthem mandatory at the beginning of every public meeting, Nkumbula asked ironically whether the government was also contemplating a law "to force people to drink tea next time."<sup>65</sup> And the same, *a fortiori*, was true of state-led efforts at wholesale popular mobilization. The Zambia Youth Service was one such attempt. While ostensibly intended to train and provide skills to the youth, the Youth Service camps, Nkumbula maintained,

were actually being used by UNIP as forums for political indoctrination. More damaging still, the idea itself of involving the state in the formation of the youth was “based on Hitlerism, in the same way as Hitler started all those sort of things when he was preparing for damage of the world.”<sup>66</sup>

The totalitarian ambitions of independent Zambia’s early rulers were predicated on a very materialistic notion of society—one that, as Liso once shrewdly remarked, contradicted the official ideology of “Humanism,” and one that was crudely epitomized by one of UNIP’s most infamous and long-lived slogans: “It pays to belong to UNIP.”<sup>67</sup> The entwining of state’s and party’s functions and resources, and the use of the former to generate consensus to the advantage of UNIP, traits which are normally associated with the one-party Second Republic, were actually already much in evidence in the 1960s. While multiplying the obstacles on the path of the opposition, the pervasiveness of state clientelism offered Nkumbula the chance to formulate a very early liberal critique of what he called “nepotism” and political scientists would soon term the postcolonial “system of spoil.”<sup>68</sup> It was a punctual and well-thought-out polemic that spoke loudly to, *inter alia*, the growing concerns of such western-trained businessmen and technocrats as would later find themselves involved in the 1980 coup attempt.<sup>69</sup>

As early as November 1964, the then ANC publicity chief denounced the fact that government’s educational programmes and bursaries were only being offered to UNIP members. “We are sick and tired of the Government’s expenses in One Political Party UNIP and warn the Government to stop committing this great injustice which may in future lead to Civil Disobedience” on the taxpayers’ part. “We do not either see the Justification of our slogan One Zambia One Nation when one section of the community is enjoying all the priveledges [*sic*] at the expense of the other . . .”<sup>70</sup> The formulation of the slogan “It pays to belong to UNIP,” Lombe pointed out in the spring of 1965, amounted to an admission that “nepotism” was rampant in government and was tantamount to saying that “those who are not loyal to UNIP will never get Government jobs and have no future in Zambia, which in essence means ANC.”<sup>71</sup> Nkumbula put it more eloquently, viewing the occupation of state institution by UNIP as a demonstration that

The same spirit which prevailed during the colonial and Federation days is still rife, i.e. intimidation, ostracism, favouritism and so on

are still the order of the day. [. . .]. For example: Government is publicly giving loans to the members of the ruling party and to those they hope will join their rank and file. It is a widespread allegation that in Government departments, promotions and appointments are given to members of the ruling party and this is also true of employment. This is a serious attempt to force citizens of the Republic of Zambia to joining the ruling party.<sup>72</sup>

The Africanization and growth of the civil service, of course, provided a prime opportunity for the exercise of government largesse. This was especially the case since most UNIP organizers struggled to reconcile their understanding of the nature and role of the state with the existence of a professional, apolitical bureaucracy. Late in 1966, for instance, senior regional officials of UNIP blamed the continuing fragility of the party in the Southern Province on the “weaknesses of most Civil Servants sent” to the area. “These Civil Servants are expected to make the presence of the UNIP Government felt and support whenever possible fully the actions of Party Organizers.” As other coeval meetings, the gathering ended with the compilation of a list of police officers and district administrators whose removal from the province was considered expedient on account of their having proved “unsympathetic towards the ruling party.”<sup>73</sup>

ANC voices were thus not mistaken in viewing the workings of the provincial administration as being particularly affected by the incipient politicization of the civil service under the first monochrome UNIP government. If the replacement of colonial PCs with UNIP MPs (known, successively, as provincial under ministers, resident ministers and, finally, as ministers of state) cast doubts on the ruling party’s willingness to distinguish between “a full time Politician and a Civil Servant,”<sup>74</sup> the institution of that most hybrid of figures, the “Political Assistant to the Resident Minister,” confirmed the ANC’s worst fears. Political Assistants, many of whom had earlier served as UNIP regional secretaries, were in effect full-time politicians “paid out of government rather than party funds.”<sup>75</sup> Appointed directly by the Republican President, the Political Assistants, Nkumbula argued convincingly, showed that public funds were “being used to further . . . the interests of one political Party in power.”

We cannot pretend that we are democratic [. . .] when a political party in power can appoint what they call Political Assistants to assist the Civil Service. In other words, to poison the minds of the Civil Service against the Parties in opposition, and that is what we have done.

Government should instead have “followed the British tradition” and preserved at all costs the integrity and impartiality of the civil service.<sup>76</sup> The public pronouncements of Political Assistants did nothing to dispel the ambiguity surrounding their position. In July 1965, Justin Kabwe, Political Assistant in the Copperbelt, caused a minor storm by openly stating that

Supporters of the ANC or any non-UNIP members will not be allowed to form cooperatives in the Western Province under the Government’s eighteen-month development plan. To me, this is the correct meaning of “It pays to belong to UNIP.” He added: “I am one of those who consider applications for formation of co-operatives, and I recently turned down applications from some Luanshya residents, whom I knew to be supporters of the ANC. Later, the applicants concerned joined UNIP, then their applications were approved. [...] I am not an ordinary civil servant, but also a politician, and as such I am not afraid of handling affairs this way.”<sup>77</sup>

Kabwe’s subsequent apology, of course, was taken by the ANC

with a pinch of salt [...] because we know what is going on throughout the country. We know the truth is that there is a policy of, “It pays to belong to UNIP”, it pays to belong to UNIP because if you are a UNIP member you will get promotion, you will have a loan, otherwise I do not see how it pays to belong to UNIP.<sup>78</sup>

More will be said below about the operations of government-sponsored cooperatives and agricultural credit. At this stage, it suffices to point out that by blurring the line between party and government’s roles, Political Assistants and other comparable fruits of UNIP patronage could only work toward reinforcing ANC suspicions to the effect that key state institutions were being used deliberately to sabotage the effectiveness of the opposition. The campaign for the local government elections of September 1966, for instance, was dominated by allegations of electoral malpractices. Not only were UNIP officials said to be intimidating returning officers and “civil servants who had nominated ANC candidates,” threatening “them with the loss of their jobs unless they withdrew,”<sup>79</sup> but the accusation was also repeatedly made of misuse of government resources.

You have the Opposition here who have no transport facilities as the Government have [...] and you have the Government with all the

Government machinery at their disposal, the radio, the newspaper, the Government cars, free petrol. [. . .]. With all those facilities available to Government, I would have thought that they would have given the Opposition at least the chance to organise.<sup>80</sup>

The impartiality of the police force was also called into question by ANC propagandists, with the frequent refusal to grant the party permission to hold public meetings proving a constant source of friction and disaffection<sup>81</sup>—friction and disaffection which could only be magnified by the sight of UNIP holding rallies without police authorization,<sup>82</sup> or the passing of the Public Order (Amendment) Bill of 1966, which exempted Ministers and Junior Ministers from obtaining permission before organizing public meetings. When describing the latter bill as “discriminatory” and “sectional,” Nkumbula felt impelled to remind government members of their own mortality.

Once [. . .] this law is allowed to go through, there will be more pieces of legislation of a similar nature, protecting Ministers and other individuals in our society, forgetting that those Ministers, junior Ministers, the Vice President and the President himself are human beings like ourselves. [. . .]. I cannot see the justification for this law. I do not think that even during the federal days and colonial days such legislation was passed.<sup>83</sup>

Nkumbula’s distrust of state patronage and the worldview of his party’s chief constituents (a subject which is explored at greater length below) led him to view the encouragement of private enterprise and the efforts of “small producers” as the keys to economic progress.<sup>84</sup> While this aspect of his thought would emerge with particular clarity in his opposition to the wave of nationalizations of 1968–1969, for the time being, his celebration of individual entrepreneurship expressed itself in the advocacy of a foreign policy dominated by economic considerations and untrammelled by such Pan-Africanist solidarities as he had once espoused. Already in 1964–1965, taking issue with the UNIP government’s barely concealed hostility toward Tshombe’s so-called *Gouvernement de Salut Public*, Nkumbula stressed the need for closer cooperation with the Congo “on defence problems and in trade.”<sup>85</sup>

The Rhodesian UDI late in 1965, and the well-known momentous problems it posed to Zambia’s military security and economic stability,<sup>86</sup> added further poignancy to Nkumbula’s foreign policy orientations. Already in December, Nkumbula, while condemning

unreservedly Ian Smith's rebel regime and conceding that the OAU was correct in stating that "we cannot treat Africa as an independent free continent if in one place in Africa there are Africans who are under minority rule," did not shy away from reminding the government that Zambians should be spared fruitless sacrifices and that it was "a very unwise policy to quarrel with your neighbour."<sup>87</sup> Sharing some common features with the "nativist" propaganda of the early 1960s (see chapter 4), the Congress' "Zambia First" policy hardened during 1966, with Chilimboyi pointing out that the imperatives of trade superseded political differences,<sup>88</sup> and Nkumbula stressing that the inflationary pressures brought about by the reduction of imports from the south were militating against meeting "the demand of the common man."

With all due respect to Government's attempts to end the rebellion in Rhodesia, [...] [o]ur principal objective is to meet the requirements of Zambians. Indeed, we are all agreed that we must give our brethren in the south our moral support so that they also can achieve international personality in the same way as we have done. But we must be careful not to commit suicide ourselves.

Members of the OAU, he continued,

have treated UDI as a subject for anyone to talk about when he has nothing to say at all. In other quarters UDI is being used as a political gain for individuals who seek personal international reputation at the sufferance of the people of Zambia. Apart from our Republic other member States of OAU have done nothing practical to end the illegal Smith regime.<sup>89</sup>

By the beginning of the following year, Nkumbula was even prepared momentarily to push aside his open dislike of his old colleague Hastings Banda (whom he normally described as "a tinpot dictator"<sup>90</sup>), applaud his pragmatic foreign policy and state that "Zambia, too, should establish friendly trade relations with all the 'neighbouring countries,'" including South Africa.<sup>91</sup>

## Understanding the Bantu Botatwe's Political Choices

"I have more property and money than he will ever have in his life. [...] Even if I left this House, I still would have a house."<sup>92</sup>

Beyond the realm of party ideology lay the tough daily life of ANC activists and sympathizers. For membership of the Congress during the First Republic entailed a vast array of social disadvantages and, often, physical dangers. This, of course, was especially the case in UNIP-dominated regions, such as the Copperbelt. Early in March 1965, a series of petrol bomb attacks rocked Masala township, in Ndola. One of these resulted in the death of ANC official Peter Choongo, his wife and child. Despite the attack receiving wide media coverage, its perpetrators were never brought to justice.<sup>93</sup> A mere two months after the death of Choongo, "some UNIP members raided the houses of ANC members" in Chingola, another Copperbelt town. In this case, four UNIP constituency officers were arrested and sentenced to one and a half year in prison.<sup>94</sup> Masala witnessed a new wave of anti-ANC violence during the local government elections campaign of 1966. Three local ANC officials were beaten up by UNIP activists around mid-August. One of them was the ANC candidate for the Chifubu ward, who, concerned about his personal safety, withdrew from the electoral race one week after the attack.<sup>95</sup> The situation obtaining in the Eastern Province, another region where a few scattered ANC pockets survived in a sea of UNIP, was much the same. Morris Chulu, Lushinga's former colleague in Chipata (formerly, Fort Jameson), lived in constant fear of UNIP violence: "a question of wishing to kill me in the same way they killed late Lushinga has been going on long time ago."<sup>96</sup> The windows of his house were regularly smashed by UNIP "thugs."<sup>97</sup>

The pervasive threat of violence against UNIP's opponents was no less significant than its practice. Having been legalized in the summer of 1965, systematic card-checking in public places became one of UNIP's favorite methods to police the political field and enforce obedience to the party. In August 1966, UNIP youth in Matero, a suburb of Lusaka, began preventing nonmembers of the party from accessing the market and the local bus station.<sup>98</sup> The Copperbelt was similarly affected by UNIP's occupation of the urban space, for even in Mufulira, where the ANC maintained strong roots, a "few" ANC supporters were said to "have bought UNIP cards for mere fear and being turned out from tarvens [*sic*] and buying food in markets."

For God's sake let UNIP supporters be warned here and now that this snatching of every freedom from their own people Africans must stop. It is for fear of being molested or being imprisoned that the African still support UNIP in this country.<sup>99</sup>

Early in 1968, probably as a result of the ANC's coeval victory in a series of by-elections in the Southern Province (see chapter 6), UNIP officials in Ndola condoned the staging of a particularly fierce card-checking campaign. Unable to travel, people without UNIP cards were reported to be "living in fear." Even UNIP regional secretary Chileshe was forced to "admit that we have been a bit harsh in carrying out the campaign. But it seems it is the only way we can make the people realise they should belong to the party."<sup>100</sup> By then, the inspection of political cards had become so significant a feature of urban social life in Zambia as to lead Nkumbula to advocate the dissolution of the UNIP youth wing.

The youth organisation has been used to terrorise women and children in their own houses. The youth organisations have been interfering [*sic*] with the private lives of many people in this country. They have gone to the bus stops, to the railway stations stopping people [...]. They have gone to the same places forcing people to buy this wonderful UNIP card. And if one refuses to buy this UNIP card, he is beaten up by the youths. In most cases you find that the police are looking on when this kind of thing is happening. [...]. Why is the ruling Party [...] using these innocent little children, poison their minds against other people, teach them to hate, teach them to kill, teach them to steal? Can this actually be condoned by any decent and reasonable persons?<sup>101</sup>

But violence was not the only means at UNIP's disposal to attempt to reorient political choices and impress the extent of its powers on skeptical Zambians. Its control of most local authorities offered the party numerous attractive alternatives. As early as August 1965, in what was widely perceived as a politically motivated gesture, Minister of Housing and Local Government Wina ordered the closure of Mufulira's Kwacha market, ostensibly on account of its exceedingly high prices.<sup>102</sup> The decision sparked furious local reactions and was eventually rescinded after three weeks.<sup>103</sup> At other times, UNIP opted for more surgical strikes, as attested, in particular, by the experience of numerous ANC businessmen and -women whose trading licenses the relevant local and municipal councils refused to renew. Having suspended the licenses of eight ANC traders at some point in 1965, UNIP members of the Chingola Municipal Council told some of the victims' colleagues that their permits would also be withdrawn if they refused to "join or buy UNIP cards."<sup>104</sup> Having stood as a Congress candidate in the



local government elections of September 1966, Adamson Chilufya, a marketeer of twenty-three years' standing, had his license revoked by the Kitwe City Council.<sup>105</sup> One week later, Chilufya's wife was herself evicted from her stall at the New Chiwemwe market.<sup>106</sup> Again, similar pressures were brought to bear on ANC members in the Eastern Province, where a number of shops belonging to the latter were closed down and, on at least one occasion, demolished by the Chipata Council.<sup>107</sup> Following this and numerous other instances of victimization, the ANC National Assembly of July 1967 passed a unanimous condemnation of the way in which "Congress members [were] being treated in various Local Authorities' Areas" and resolved that a letter be urgently dispatched to the Minister of Housing and Local Government giving "detailed examples of people whose business [*sic*] ha[d] been closed down."<sup>108</sup>

Among the Bantu Botatwe of the Southern and Central Provinces, where most local councils remained in Congress' hands, the pattern of UNIP intimidation and patronage took a very specific form, revolving as it did around the manipulation of access to credit facilities, which, of course, were of central importance to a predominantly rural electorate such as the ANC's. The low maize prices offered by the Grain Marketing Board—the line-of-rail state marketing agency between Independence and the late 1960s, when the notoriously inefficient Namboard came into being—are to be inscribed in what Vaughan has termed the "urban bias of political and economic policy in Zambia" and should probably not be viewed as deliberately punitive measures directed at ANC-supporting rural producers in the Southern and Central Provinces.<sup>109</sup> But there is very little doubt that the UNIP government did make a conscious effort to use loans to cooperatives and, especially, from the Credit Organization of Zambia (COZ) as means to weaken the bond of loyalty between the Congress and the Bantu Botatwe.<sup>110</sup>

Replying to political assistant Kabwe's infamous remarks of July 1965, Chilimboyi stressed that

it would be a very bad thing if loans were directed to certain sections of people merely to please the followers of the ruling party, because farmers are God made. Farmers are born farmers, and fishermen likewise. Loans should depend [...] on individual capability.

Oozing rural pride, his statement ended with an open threat to such agriculturally underdeveloped areas as the UNIP government was

understood to represent: "If the loans are kept to one direction, we shall also stick to our maize and food and cattle and see who starves."<sup>111</sup> As for the COZ, the statutory body entrusted with the financing of small-scale individual (as opposed to both collective and capitalist) rural agricultural production, its operations were from the outset viewed with extreme suspicion by the Congress. Early in 1966, voicing the concerns of the Ila and Lenje-speaking peoples of Mumbwa, his home area, ANC acting national secretary Shankanga accused the UNIP government of hampering development in the district by making the award of agricultural loans conditional upon accepting membership of the ruling party.<sup>112</sup> At about the same time, Chikatula, the MP for the neighbouring constituency of Chisamba, registered his dismay at the fact that none of the 500 COZ applications from Chief Liteta's area, a well-known Congress stronghold, had been approved.<sup>113</sup> Eventually, it fell to Nkumbula to sum up widespread perceptions among his supporters. COZ loans, he charged during the budget debate of 1966, were "on the whole, being given to the members of the ruling party... or to certain ANC officials who the ruling party [were] organising in order to persuade them to join the rank and file of UNIP."<sup>114</sup> One year later, the Congress president forced Elijah Mudenda, a fellow southerner and the then Minister of Agriculture, to admit that members of the ANC, no matter how extensive their farming experience, would not be appointed to sit in the newly instituted district advisory committees of the COZ. Yes, Nkumbula mused sadly, "that is exactly what I expected, that this money, this Credit Organisation is not purely for the purpose of developing the country. It is going to be used for boosting up the governing Party..."<sup>115</sup>

UNIP records demonstrate beyond all reasonable doubts the soundness of the ANC's misgivings. In May 1966, C.M. Hamoya, of the Sinazongwe branch of the COZ, endorsed the local UNIP constituency secretary's application for a loan with the following words: "If the above bearer is helped, the ANC men here could know that it pays to join UNIP."<sup>116</sup> A few days later, J.B. Kalima, UNIP regional secretary in Namwala, admitted he was putting pressure on local COZ personnel to distribute "agriculture loan application forms" widely and efficiently, because "people want loans and are getting to believe in UNIP government."<sup>117</sup> And in September of the same year, after berating the ANC success ("disgusting results") in the recent local government elections in

the Southern Province, a conference of regional UNIP officials resolved that

The saying "it pays to belong to UNIP" should not be a mere slogan particularly in the Southern Province where we urge His Excellency and his Government to implement it more openly [...]. The Credit Organization of Zambia, Industrial Development Corporation, Cooperatives, etc. should adhere very strictly to this saying "It pays to belong to UNIP" so as to allow only those faithful to Government to benefit from their Government.<sup>118</sup>

Equally revealing of the principal function attributed to the COZ in the Bantu Botatwe areas was the choice of its administrative personnel. In the late 1960s, both Michello and Mayanda, former top officials of ANC with an intimate knowledge of the party's machinery in the Southern Province, figured on its payroll.<sup>119</sup> The impression is difficult to escape that their sole mission was to weaken the Congress by buying off its most capable local militants. As time went on, UNIP became more and more explicit about the politics of agricultural credit. Take, for instance, the following appeal to voters by the UNIP regional secretary in Mumbwa.

Should you make the same mistake this year by voting for ANC, you will again waist [*sic*] both your vote and your right to progress and economic stability. The main reason why ANC could not help you is that they are not the Government, where as [*sic*] all UNIP Members of Parliament being a Government, they have assisted people by encouraging [*sic*] them to get loans for farming and forming Cooperatives. [...]. Vote wisely, Vote UNIP for more loans, for farming and commercial. A vote for ANC is a waisted [*sic*] vote for empty thumbs.<sup>120</sup>

Yet, despite all of this—despite, that is, UNIP's sustained attempts to squeeze them, as it were, into clientelistic relationships based on the exchange of political loyalty for access to state resources—"rich," "middle" and "poor" Bantu Botatwe peasants—social categories that Momba introduces to distinguish their members from the minute number of African "capitalist" farmers on State Land (former Crown Land)<sup>121</sup>—stubbornly refused to bend the knee. Just like academic observers, UNIP leaders found it difficult to make sense of the Bantu Botatwe's political choices. Their answer, in keeping with the trends discussed in chapter 4, was to continue both their unrelenting anti-Nkumbula propaganda and the process of pathologization

of his supporters in the Southern and Central Provinces. If, by 1968, even the “moderate” Kaunda spoke of Nkumbula as “misdirected, politically adventurous, born loser. A man whose talents have not been developed, a man without direction,”<sup>122</sup> the Southern Province remained in UNIP eyes a potential “Katanga,”<sup>123</sup> a territory inhabited by “mentally stunted” people, who trusted “the trash..., the...rotten, really ill-conceived statements” preached by ANC,<sup>124</sup> and whose only hope of salvation was to be “rehabilitated” and “reintegrated into Zambian society.”<sup>125</sup> Uncooperative and credulous, Nkumbula’s followers, wrote an editorial in the *Times of Zambia*, had “degenerat[ed]... to the lowest political level, that of a tribal group held together by mindless fear and prejudices.”<sup>126</sup> The ANC, Kaunda alleged when kick-starting the 1968 electoral campaign, was not a “genuine opposition” party. It was a “sinking ship” whose passengers “stood aghast, as if in a drunken stupor, ... not knowing what to oppose.”<sup>127</sup> These characterizations also entered the specialist literature, where ANC supporters are, perhaps unconsciously, presented as simple souls, easily manipulated by the “highly coloured” rumors spread by party officials<sup>128</sup>—so isolated and unsophisticated, in fact, that some of them were even prepared to believe that Nkumbula, rather than Kaunda, was the real President of Zambia.<sup>129</sup>

These stereotypes, I contend, prove nothing except their proponents’ explanatory powerlessness. If crass economic self-interest, or the quest for admission into one of the postcolonial Zambian state’s many “rhizomes,” had been the principal determinants of the Bantu Botatwe’s political behavior, then the lure of UNIP patronage would have proved irresistible (and accusations of backwardness and stupidity unnecessary). But this, of course, was not the case. For to the extent that the ANC’s advocacy of a weak state and celebration of individual agency were deeply intertwined with the Southern and Central Provinces’ dominant understanding of social rights and duties, the Bantu Botatwe’s unflinching support of Nkumbula did have, *pace* Chabal and Daloz, a significant ideological subtext.

Conscious of their land’s agricultural potential, and deeply proud of their history of successful cash crop production despite the obstacles placed on their way by the colonial state,<sup>130</sup> the Bantu Botatwe, said ANC MP Beyani in 1965, were

a stay-at-home people, they are hard workers and they want to spend most of their time improving their way of life. They love peace and they hate interference which does not lead them to prosperity.<sup>131</sup>

The world of self-improving householders, Liso pointed out in a very well-taken critique of the historical bases of Kaunda's "Humanism," could be fiercely competitive. The Southern Province's traditional social life was anything but egalitarian. In

the part of Zambia that I come from achievement [...] was far more respected than anything else even than the man. It was what the man did that gained him respect. If a man was brave at war, fought bravely, usually gathered himself during the cause [*sic*, but "course"] of that war a lot of slaves and he was revered by everyone else and he was not regarded as equal. [...] in our society we did not regard everybody as equal. Even up to the present moment, Sir, at home a poor man is looked down in pure village life.<sup>132</sup>

Placing such a premium on individual initiative and achievement, the Bantu Botatwe were intensely suspicious of anything that could be construed as threatening the hard-won fruits of their agricultural labor and their unhampered control of the means of production.<sup>133</sup> In this sense, like Nkumbula, his supporters in the farming and pastoral areas of the Southern and Central Provinces expected very little of the state, by which they were more readily frightened than encouraged—a disposition which may not have been unrelated to the fragmentation that had characterized their precolonial political histories (see chapter 1). Unlike those "tribes" who had "been ruled with absolute power even before the whites came," said Liso with obvious reference to the Bemba and Bemba-speaking groups, "we the Tongas and Ilas worshipped nobody. We only had our leaders but we never worshipped them."<sup>134</sup>

Nowhere did the relationship between the Bantu Botatwe's civic thought and their inborn opposition to UNIP's state-centered developmental strategy and socialist rhetoric emerge more clearly than in their resistance to the introduction in their regions of producer cooperatives, the milestone of rural development in the thought of Kaunda. At a very profound level, collective farming flew in the face of everything the Bantu Botatwe had been socialized to believe in. Divorced from the twin principle of personal ownership and responsibility, and devalued by virtue of their effortless acquisition, collective loans, quite apart from the politics attending to their disbursement, were either a waste of money or, at best, unacceptable shortcuts to prosperity for people with "no knowledge whatsoever about farming."<sup>135</sup> Having been brought into being, not by the labor of the peasant household, but by unearned largesse from above,

state resources did not elicit the same commitment as autonomously acquired property. Contrasting the different attitudes to cattle in the Southern and Northern Provinces, Liso stressed that, having built their herds without “assistance from any Government whatsoever,” the Bantu Botatwe regarded their “cattle . . . as their bank to which they can go any time they are hard up and withdraw like a man who has got a million pounds in Lusaka in the bank.” Conversely

almost three-quarters of the cattle loaned in the Northern Province has been eaten by the cooperators. They regarded them as *munani*—as relish [. . .]. If we behaved like this with our cattle, there would have been nothing left now.<sup>136</sup>

And in case his ethnic message had gone unheard, Liso repeated it almost verbatim some two years later.

Sir, these cooperatives you are forcing on the people in the Southern Province, you are taking them back fifty years. [. . .]. What they want are the big individual farms the Europeans had. [. . .]. What do you find in these cooperatives? I was talking the other day to a Tonga boy [. . .]. He joined one of the cooperatives, about a few miles from Lusaka. It was a poultry cooperative. There were two Tongas and about eight Bembas. When the chickens grew, the chickens were eaten.<sup>137</sup>

If the Bantu Botatwe remained hostile to UNIP, it was because both the comparative wealth of their areas and their ingrained worldview predisposed them to value independent achievement above state patronage. The ANC victories in the by-elections of 1968, Chilimboyi once proudly declared,

proved that we got strong supporters who cannot be easily bought. Mr. Chairman, even bread was used in this previous election to give to people to vote for UNIP. [. . .]. Our people are not attracted by loaves of bread, they have more food than they need [. . .].<sup>138</sup>

Much berated by UNIP, it was this fierce “individualism” that provided the most intimate and profound bond between the increasingly solid liberal agenda of the Congress and the ethnic thought of the party’s most loyal followers.<sup>139</sup> As early as 1974, political scientist Rasmussen interpreted “UNIP’s failure to convert the Southern Province voter” as an indication that “voters do not make their choices solely on grounds of material interest; their political education and

historical experience must also be taken into account.”<sup>140</sup> Unheeded by recent scholars of postcolonial opposition politics, these early cautionary remarks would have been fully subscribed to by that most acute of interpreters of Bantu Botatwe political thought, Mungoni Liso, who, mocking UNIP’s covert overtures toward him and his people, stated:

People must join parties because they have been convinced of the need for it, not because they will have personal rewards. This thing of trying to squeeze all people into one Party by bribery is not true allegiance. It is bound to crack at any time, people have no true allegiance whatsoever. If you take me because you promise me a ministry, I may be a Minister, but I am not loyal to the Party [...].<sup>141</sup>



## CHAPTER VI

# “THE LAST BATTLE I WILL EVER FIGHT”: NKUMBULA AND THE DRIVE TOWARD THE ONE-PARTY STATE

In contrast to the previous chapter, which has revolved around the analysis of the ANC's and its key constituents' postindependence ideological choices, the present chapter adopts a more explicitly chronological perspective with a view to surveying the complex events that enabled Nkumbula to emerge from the enfeebled position in which he had found himself in the mid-1960s and to finally threaten the continuing dominance of the Kaunda regime in alliance with other, more recent oppositional forces. It is only when the full extent of the challenge faced by UNIP is realized that it becomes possible to account for the inception of the Zambian one-party state, a radical institutional transformation against which Nkumbula fought the last major battle of his long political career.

### “The Sinking Ship is Now Floating”: The Unexpected Revival of the Congress

“There are trees which, if cut, will dry quickly and there are trees which, even [if their] roots are cut, [will] quickly shoot up. This is true of the masakabale tree at my house in Maala. I always send boys [...] to cut the roots but they germinate quickly. This is true of Congress.”<sup>1</sup>

The organizational decay of the ANC reached its nadir in the summer of 1967, when Nkumbula's party, following a new round of high-profile defections, came closer than ever to disappearing from



the political map of Zambia. Yet, to the dismay of UNIP and the surprise of many foreign observers, within little more than one year, the ANC had not only managed to avert complete disaster, but it had also regained a position of comparative strength it had not enjoyed since the beginning of the decade. There is no better testimony to Nkumbula's political genius and resilience than this unforeseeable turnaround in his party's fortunes.

The year 1967 began on a very inauspicious note for the Congress, unable to defend its supremacy in Mazabuka, Mumbuna's former constituency, against the onslaught of UNIP. In fact, the by-election, characterized by "a clear distortion of the democratic process due to widespread intimidation and violence by UNIP activists,"<sup>2</sup> was less indicative of Tonga disaffection with the ANC than of UNIP's ruthless determination to fight its way into enemy's territory. The decision to "heat the urban areas" in the Southern Province had been taken by a conference of regional UNIP officials early in September 1966.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the month, Mazabuka was already said to be "torn by party fights." "Over the past week, reports of intimidation and fighting have been rife. Youths have demanded party cards from people in the town. Fear of being beaten has kept people in their homes."<sup>4</sup> So pervasive was the campaign of intimidation orchestrated by UNIP regional secretary Joseph Hamatwi that Maimbolwa Sakubita, the Southern Province's Resident Minister, was left with no choice but to demand the dissolution of the bulk of the UNIP youth wing in Mazabuka.<sup>5</sup> The minister was particularly disturbed that a group of UNIP youth bent on "organiz[ing] our people violently" should call itself the "Sakubita squad."<sup>6</sup> Despite the minister's efforts, however, Hamatwi's tactics were far from being universally condemned in Lusaka, and the tide of political violence could not be stemmed.<sup>7</sup> In the end, little more than one-third of the electorate felt safe enough to cast their ballots on February 19.<sup>8</sup> Still, if UNIP could hardly present its tight victory in Mazabuka as a triumph, for the ANC, the defeat was nothing short of a "disaster. Leaders of the crumbling party must sadly realise now that, with a little effort, the seat could have been won. The 'Old Lion' has lost his teeth."<sup>9</sup>

While Nkumbula was still railing against the "unfairness" of the by-election, desperately pointing out that his party's loss in Mazabuka did not amount to "a mandate for a one party state,"<sup>10</sup> a new storm was brewing in faraway Mwinilunga, in the North-Western Province, where the cause of the ANC had been greatly helped in the early 1960s by the local Lunda authorities' support for Tshombe

and his secessionist regime (see chapter 4). Suspected of recruiting on behalf of former ANC official John Samawino, the leader of the *mayouth*, a contingent of Lunda exiles in Angola who had been trained as a counterguerrilla force by the Portuguese military since their flight from chief Kanongesha's area late in 1965, John Japau, the Mwinilunga MP and a diehard Nkumbula loyalist, was arrested and charged with high treason on February 27, 1967.<sup>11</sup> The ensuing trial in Ndola's High Court in July–August 1967 revealed both the solidity of Japau's links with Samawino's dissidents in Angola and his obvious readiness to contemplate the resort to military action to unseat UNIP from power. Japau emerged victorious—though with his mental stability compromised<sup>12</sup>—only because his defense was able to demonstrate that the initial statements of prosecution witnesses had been extracted under duress. And though he acquitted Japau, Mr. Justice Evans was "left with the suspicion that [he] and others have been engaged in activities prejudicial to the State, and that this investigation has merely touched the fringe of such activities."<sup>13</sup> After his close escape, Japau, whose subversive plans must have been tacitly approved, if not enthusiastically supported, by Nkumbula, found it prudent to sever his direct connection with the *mayouth* and to devote more and more attention to Congress affairs in Lusaka.<sup>14</sup> Samawino's men, however, would continue to play a part in Portugal's destabilization strategy until at least 1971, the year of their last recorded cross-border raid into Mwinilunga;<sup>15</sup> later still, they would offer a first safe heaven to Adamson Mushala's rebels.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, the loss of Mazabuka and the arrest of Japau had reignited the fire of internal Congress dissidence. On June 13, 1967, as many as four of the eight remaining ANC MPs, Beyani, Hantuba, Musangu, and Walubita, all of whom hailing from the Southern Province, crossed the floor of the National Assembly and joined UNIP, after proclaiming the death of the Congress and praising "the tolerance and human sympathy to the common man" of "Mwami Kenneth Kaunda."<sup>17</sup> In a series of interviews and communiqués, a depressed, though still defiant, Nkumbula accused the defectors of having betrayed their electors for the sake of "personal gain," announced his intention of seeking immediate by-elections and stated that if the ANC was the "sinking ship" of UNIP propaganda, then he would go down with it like "a good captain."<sup>18</sup> Mungoni Liso, already spoiling for the by-elections fight, sought to rally the shaken ANC troops by pointing out that the first indication that a ship was leaking were rats "running out to the deck. The rats begin

running out first and that is the sign for the captain to check whether there is any leakage in his ship. And now we have seen the leakage because the rats are running away and we are mending the leakage.”<sup>19</sup> Nkumbula and his lieutenants delighted in exposing the four MPs’ past dalliances with the discredited Lombe (see chapter 5),<sup>20</sup> and the shady deals behind their defection.<sup>21</sup> But the situation of the miniscule ANC parliamentary caucus and the party they represented was now truly desperate—so desperate, in fact, that Western Province’s Minister of State Mutemba confidently predicted that the Congress would be fully extinct “within one and half years.”<sup>22</sup>

By staking everything on the outcome of the by-elections, in which all of the four defectors re-contested on a UNIP ticket the same seats they had been legally forced to vacate following their resignation from the ANC, Nkumbula was taking a huge gamble: it is difficult to imagine his party surviving a comprehensive defeat on March 1, 1968, the day eventually set for the Southern Province by-elections. In public, however, Harry chose to exhibit great confidence: “I know I have no money to fight an election,” he stated as early as June 20, 1967, “but I also know that it is not money which does the voting.”<sup>23</sup> Insofar as his Bantu Botatwe supporters were concerned, he was not wide of the mark. UNIP took the by-elections as seriously as the prospect of inflicting a mortal wound on the ANC warranted. During the latter part of February 1968, a command post was established in Choma under the direction of Unia Mwila and Sikota Wina, the party’s Director of Elections and Publicity Chief, respectively. A staggering “1,600 meetings” were to be addressed over the course of one week by a total of “forty ministers” and MPs.<sup>24</sup> It was all to no avail. Despite Kaunda’s own involvement in the final phases of the campaign and the countless obstacles placed on the path of the Congress,<sup>25</sup> on March 1, Beyani, Hantuba, Musangu, and Walubita were all soundly beaten by, respectively, Godson Kanyama, who became the new MP for Gwembe, Moffat Mpasela (Kalomo), Edward Nyanga (Choma), and Hamwende Kayumba (Magoye). Nkumbula’s faith in his people had not been misplaced. Yet once more, the Tonga had proved ready to rally behind the old chief in his hour of need. The Congress bunker had withstood the siege, and the “‘sinking ship’ was now floating,” as Nkumbula told the National Assembly of the party held to celebrate the by-elections’ results.<sup>26</sup>

UNIP’s response to the ANC revival was swift and vindictive: on March 6, the irrepressible Liso was arrested on a charge of insulting

President Kaunda during a by-election rally.<sup>27</sup> Despite pleading guilty in the Choma Magistrate's Court, the ANC's deputy president was condemned to eighteen months with hard labor, a disproportionately severe sentence that also resulted in his being stripped of his parliamentary seat.<sup>28</sup> Nkumbula maintained that Mungoni had been jailed solely "as a compensation for the loss of UNIP... in the by-elections."<sup>29</sup> Government pronouncements did little to dispel his suspicions. Vice President Kapwepwe, for one, could hardly contain his joy at seeing Liso forcibly removed from the political scene: "We are very happy that we got the big fish of [Nkumbula's] Party because of this tape-recording... this time he could not escape it."<sup>30</sup> On the same day of Kapwepwe's outburst, Nkumbula was himself temporarily detained, also on a charge of insulting the President.<sup>31</sup> With the Congress' president out on police bond, the case dragged on for more than one month, until, on April 26, 1968, Nkumbula was acquitted and the police report that incriminated him exposed as a forgery.<sup>32</sup> Despite Minister of Legal Affairs Skinner's protestations to the contrary,<sup>33</sup> there seems to be little doubt that both the incarceration of Liso and the harassment of Nkumbula signified a new willingness on the part of UNIP to bring executive pressures to bear on the judiciary with a view to nipping in the bud the Congress' resurgence. Nkumbula, however, was ready for the challenge, for the by-elections success had clearly injected new energy into the ageing fighter, as attested, for instance, by his more frequent and lucid speeches both within and outside Parliament. To be sure, the financial position of the Congress remained critical throughout 1968;<sup>34</sup> yet Nkumbula knew that the worst period in the life of his party was over and that, with the simmering crisis within UNIP bursting through to the surface of Zambian politics in the aftermath of the contested 1967 Central Committee (CC) elections, new opportunities would soon present themselves to consolidate his still tentative achievements. The ban on the United Party was the first such opportunity.

Launched at the beginning of 1966 by ANC dissidents Mumbuna and Lombe, the United Front (rechristened the United Party [UP] in May of the same year) had become a force to be reckoned with after attracting a number of UNIP officials who criticized what they characterized as their party's neglect of Barotseland and the North-Western Provinces and its more general inability to meet popular expectations of independence.<sup>35</sup> Prominent among the latter had been Dickson Chikulo, UNIP's former education secretary and

the MP for Lukulu, and his erstwhile deputy, Mushala, who would go on to become the leader of the only significant internal armed rebellion against the Zambian one-party state.<sup>36</sup> A few days after his resignation from the party, Chikulo had accused UNIP of not being truthful to the motto “one Zambia, one nation.” “If this Government wants unity”—he had charged in the National Assembly—“then it should share the national wealth equally. Nothing has been done for North-Western and Barotse Provinces.”<sup>37</sup>

Specifically Lozi feelings of disaffection with the postindependence dispensation had grown more intense between the end of 1966 and 1967 as a result of the government’s ban on the labor recruiting activities of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association in Barotseland and the coeval defeat sustained by Lozi candidates in UNIP’s CC elections.<sup>38</sup> More high-profile resignations from UNIP had followed suit. William Chipango, the former mayor of Livingstone, had joined the UP in September 1967 and become its national organizing secretary shortly thereafter.<sup>39</sup> But the UP’s biggest catch had undoubtedly been Nalumino Mundia, an outstanding politician and a hero of UNIP’s independence struggle, who had been forced to relinquish his ministerial post for alleged malpractices over government loans at the beginning of 1966 and whose subsequent clash with the UNIP leadership had led to his expulsion from the party in March 1967.<sup>40</sup> Mundia had replaced Mumbuna as the UP’s national president early in 1968.

Besides its strong regional roots, the UP’s political programme had mirrored that of the ANC. Pledged to the defense of multi-party democracy against UNIP’s authoritarian temptations, the UP had espoused a loose right-wing agenda, the clearest expressions of which had been its commitment to individual economic initiative and resolve to establish friendly relationships with the white regimes of southern Africa.<sup>41</sup> A distinguishing trait of the UP, however, had been its assertive militancy or, to put it differently, its clear determination to expand outside its original ethnic constituencies and to confront UNIP’s predictably violent reaction. The UP’s attempt to gain a foothold in the Copperbelt in the early part of 1968 had plunged the industrial heartland of the country into a vicious spiral of interparty violence and prompted Kaunda to bring the party’s life to a premature end.<sup>42</sup> In August 1968, after branding the UP’s “activities a danger to national security, peace and order,” Kaunda had employed the emergency powers vested in him to ban the party and “rusticate” most members of its executive.<sup>43</sup>

Entreaties between the leaders of the ANC and the UP had taken place throughout 1967–1968. The idea of a merger had first been mooted by Mumbuna in the aftermath of the Mazabuka by-election early in 1967.<sup>44</sup> A few months later, the National Assembly of the ANC had entrusted Liso and Chilimboyi with the task of holding talks with Mundia, recently expelled from UNIP.<sup>45</sup> The UP ban, which Nkumbula had openly condemned,<sup>46</sup> now enabled the Congress president to orchestrate the fusion between the two organizations from a position of obvious strength. Within the space of a few months, and after a round of successful negotiations with Mundia and other UP detainees, most members of the banned party were persuaded to join the ANC.<sup>47</sup> The merger between the two parties accounts for the comparative success of the ANC in the general elections of December 19, 1968, when Nkumbula's party, despite being made the target of systematic intimidation and official harassment, managed to double its 1964 parliamentary contingent by supplementing its traditionally safe constituencies among the Bantu Botatwe of the Southern and Central Provinces with as many as eight out of the eleven seats allocated to Barotseland, where such prominent former UPers as Mundia, Mumbuna, Sefulo Kakoma and Morgan Simwinji inflicted heavy defeats on their UNIP opponents.<sup>48</sup> "Over the country as a whole, [the ANC] won 23 seats (plus one Independent) compared to UNIP's 81. The comparable results in 1964 when the National Assembly was smaller had been UNIP 55 and ANC 10."<sup>49</sup>

The results—gloated ANC's national secretary Liso—showed that it was "not possible to have a one-party state in Zambia" and that UNIP's much-heralded ambition of effecting this transformation through electoral means was destined to remain a pious intention.

Instead of decreasing its members in Parliament the African National Congress increased by more than 100%. It could have done much better if there was fairness in the conduct of the election. [. . .]. From now on you will find a lot of people coming to you in sheep's clothing trying to mislead you. Their gospel is that they want unity in the country, and therefore will preach for a one-party state. They will try to lure you in many ways. They will promise you wealth if you are poor. They will promise heaven if you are well off. Do not trust them. Tell them that we can have unity in Zambia without uniformity. What they want is not unity but uniformity so that they can promote one tribe above all others in Zambia.<sup>50</sup>

In the aftermath of the elections, a series of tendentious editorials in the *Times of Zambia* called on Nkumbula to disband “his moribund organisation” and take “the painful decision of leaving politics.”

Our sympathies are with the people of the Southern Province whom you continue to mislead. [. . .]. Your continued presence in the political arena in this country will only cause sectionalism amongst people who otherwise wish to be one.<sup>51</sup>

UNIP, to which the loss of Barotseland had come as a real “shock” and which had had once more to come to terms with the unflagging hostility of the Bantu Botatwe,<sup>52</sup> knew much better than that. As early as December 23, Kaunda, on naming his new cabinet, made clear his intention of turning the screws on the opposition by accelerating the pace of the integration between the state and the ruling party.

Turning to the future, the President announced a “tough” programme of “weeding out” disloyal civil servants and police. Saying that he had heard that some civil servants and police leaked secret information to Mr. Nkumbula at the time of the election campaign, he warned: “Efficiency will no longer be enough. We will now demand loyalty as well.” Civil servants who worked for the Opposition would be sacked [. . .]. It had been said before that it paid to belong to UNIP. Now, it would really be made to pay throughout the country.<sup>53</sup>

Symbols of the determination to bring the civil service under complete party’s control with a view to short-circuiting the Congress’ recovery and keeping internal UNIP tensions in check were the creation of the post of “Secretary-General to the Government” and the replacement of Political Assistants with another group of full-time politicians nominated by the President and paid out of government funds, the “District Governors.” Unlike their predecessors, mainly confined to the provincial capitals and the entourage of the relevant Resident Minister/Minister of State, the more numerous District Governors, whom Nkumbula understandably considered to be carbon copies of UNIP’s regional secretaries,<sup>54</sup> were expected to enforce the will of the party at the local level. Their first public pronouncements immediately dispelled any lingering doubts as to their principal *raison d’être*. On January 5, 1969, District Governor (DG) Fines Bulawayo took Kitwe by storm by enjoining civil servants with ANC leanings to leave the Copperbelt. Bulawayo’s tough line had earlier been endorsed by the newly appointed Western Province’s Cabinet

Minister, Dingiswayo Banda, who had promised "to clean 'all the rubbish in the Western Province. I do not want any opposition and we are going to draw up plans to eliminate pockets of ANC.'" Part of the plan, Banda had told an audience of 3,000 UNIP officials, was to identify all known members of the ANC on the Copperbelt and give them one month in which to choose between their party and UNIP.<sup>55</sup> Not to be outdone, the Choma DG, J. Ntambo, threatened to sack nonaligned police and civil servants and

pledged to thousands to "cut out the roots of Congress". ANC members would be evicted from their houses, denied loans, and kept out of all Government development, he said. [..]. "If they want houses, let Harry Nkumbula build them, if they want loans, let him provide them. They will not get one ngwee of Government money out of me."<sup>56</sup>

On January 14–15, as scores of Congress supporters were being evicted from townships in Lusaka and the Copperbelt, Ntambo's neighbor, the Gwembe DG, closed down a local court, whose assessors and officials were members of the ANC. The Gwembe DG backtracked after the Acting Registrar of the High Court in Lusaka described the move as "illiberal and unconstitutional," but similar actions were said to have been carried out in Barotseland and the Luapula and North-Western Provinces.<sup>57</sup>

Less than four years earlier, Political Assistant Kabwe had been forced to apologize for his remarks to the effect that Congress supporters would be prevented from forming cooperatives on the Copperbelt (see chapter 5). There is no clearer indication of the deterioration of the First Republic's political landscape than DG Bulawayo's unrepentant declaration of January 19, 1969: "I have no apologies to make. I will never help an ANC member, that is my policy. If he wants misery he should remain in ANC."

The ANC would not be wiped out by beating its members, but by the realisation [..] that "it pays to belong to UNIP". [..]. Mr Bulawayo asked UNIP followers to leave the ANC problem "to us, we know how to handle it—houses, licences and loans."<sup>58</sup>

An equally telling sign that UNIP's limited toleration for internal dissent was rapidly becoming a thing of the past was the decision, taken by the new Speaker of the National Assembly, Robinson Nabulyato, a rival of Nkumbula since the early 1950s, not to recognize the Congress president as the official Leader of the Opposition in the



House, despite the title and related allowances having been granted to him during the previous legislature, when the Congress's parliamentary group had been much smaller than in 1969.<sup>59</sup> Bizarrely, the *Times of Zambia* warned foreign observers against reading Nabulyato's move—one which would eventually precipitate a bitter quarrel involving the Office of the Speaker, Nkumbula and the High Court—as a proof that Zambia was “clamping down on the Opposition.”<sup>60</sup> Liso begged to differ, wondering whether the decision to thwart Nkumbula was truly Nabulyato's: “If one examines the statements in the press by certain ministers of Cabinet rank, it is not hard to give this ‘subject to numerous interpretations.’ Indeed many people want a one party state and they are using many ways to achieve it.”<sup>61</sup>

### The Murder of the Congress

The ANC's pro-business credentials, meanwhile, had been further enhanced by its opposition to the economic reforms with which UNIP had sought to stem the tide of internal discontent and to regain some initiative after the disappointing Southern Province's by-elections and the consolidation of the UP. According to the terms of the so-called “Mulungushi reforms,” which Kaunda had announced to the UNIP National Council of April 1968, the government had “bought a 51 percent (i.e. a controlling) share in twenty-six major companies and used its State power to restrict certain economic, especially retail trading, opportunities to Zambian citizens.”<sup>62</sup> In condemning UNIP's state-centered economic policy, Nkumbula had restated his commitment to private enterprise, with which no government ought to have been seen as competing. Kaunda's Humanism—he had charged in Parliament—was rapidly turning into “communism,” and the end result of the nationalizations would be “a flight of capital... followed by unemployment and general disaster.”<sup>63</sup> In seconding Nkumbula's private motion against the economic reforms, Nyanga, the newly elected Choma MP, had added that the state that the nationalization of the economy was bringing into being threatened to be so pervasive that “even crops grown by people in villages, even children will belong” to it. Perceptively, he had imputed the new economic orientation of the government to the need to increase the state's patronage capabilities.

In Civil Service or any other firm run by the Government, you will find that only a member of UNIP with a card could be taken on,

where will others find the jobs? [...]. So what is planned I think is this, that if these firms or shares are taken over by the Government, then many people will join the Party—UNIP—and help them voting for the general election. That is a true fact.<sup>64</sup>

As Nkumbula and others had predicted, the Mulungushi reforms had merely been a harbinger of more radical economic measures to come. In August 1969, Kaunda announced the nationalization of the copper industry.<sup>65</sup> While the ANC stopped short of launching into what would have been an obviously unpopular defense of the Anglo-American Corporation and Roan (formerly Rhodesian) Selection Trust, the two giant mining companies whose 51 percent shares the government had resolved to acquire, Nkumbula used the parliamentary debate on the subsequent "Mines and Mineral Bill" to voice his and his constituents' profound distrust of state ownership.

I have never seen anything which has been commonly owned which has been looked after properly. It may be a house for that matter, it may be a plate, it may be a spoon, if anything is commonly owned, the tendency is always to be careless about that property and that tendency leads to complete loss of that property. [...]. The mines that we have today, the Anglo American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust, are at present owned privately by investors who [...] care to see to it that production is maintained and, if possible, increased in order to increase the profits which they are making now. That should be, I think, the tendency of Government [...]. [...] if we take those things into account, Sir, you will find that we may very well, in spite of having these industries owned principally by Government, [...] increase production and increase wealth in this country [...].<sup>66</sup>

Such fears of an all-powerful state as the Congress had given vent to during the debate on the economic reforms resurfaced in the course of the referendum campaign of 1969. Intended to enable Parliament to modify any sections of the Zambian Constitution, including those covered by entrenched clauses, without recourse to popular consultations, the "referendum to end all referenda" was the most obvious sign to date that UNIP, following the shock of the December 1968 elections, was no longer fully committed not to legislate in favor of a one-party state. This was certainly how the UNIP's government determination to force the referendum through was read in ANC circles. By empowering the government to modify chapter 3 of the constitution, dealing with basic human rights and

freedoms, a victory of the “yes” vote, wrote MP Kakoma, would place Zambians at the mercy of “a group of individuals” who might well be tempted to employ their newly acquired prerogatives “to SHUT-UP everybody.”

What will stop the Zambian Government to alter the Constitution to mit [*sic*] its political motives at the expense of the common man? It is clear from the bill that the Government is seeking [...] ABSOLUTE POWERS that the people should forfeit their “Human Rights” [...]. When [the common man] will have surrendered all his sovereign power at the referendum, he will have no longer ANY right whatsoever to question the Executive [...] because by then he will only be a subject to the discretion of his Masters. [...]. A One Party system has always been the target of most African Leaders against the will of the people. This aim has always been defeated at the polls, hence, all sorts of tricks are being worked out to achieve this sinful goal.<sup>67</sup>

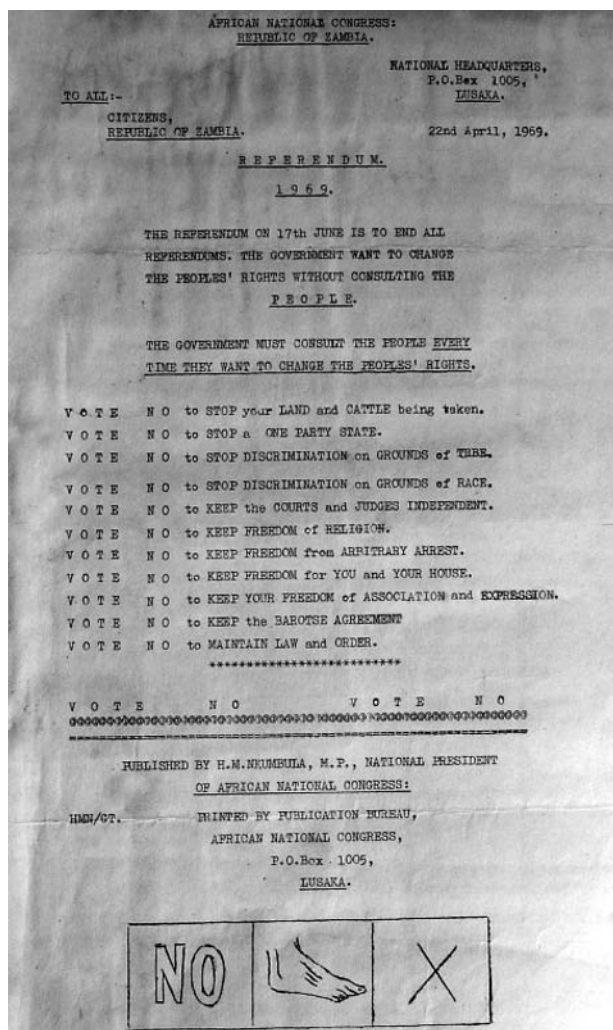
While Enock Shooba, in an open letter to his Mumbwa West constituents, pointed out that the referendum represented a betrayal of the ideals of the independence struggle, which Africans had fought precisely to secure their own “fundamental rights and freedom,”<sup>68</sup> Mungoni Liso chose instead to dwell on the threat that the referendum posed to the independence of the judiciary, as enshrined in chapter 7 of the Zambian Constitution. Why did the government, the Congress national secretary asked, want the right to tamper with “this important chapter [?] Is it because they feel there is no need to have Courts at all? Is it because they want to set up party courts?” “Section 100 subsection (2),” in particular, protected High Court and Appeal judges against unmotivated removal from office. Should this clause be scrapped, Liso went on,

a judge will have to consider, before making judgment, whether his decision will mean the loss of his job or not. Under such circumstances, he will not be able to give justice to people who appear before him. So if you want to have justice in courts of law place your X on the ballot paper in front of the word “No.”<sup>69</sup>

Such campaign material shows that the referendum gave Nkumbula’s party the opportunity to articulate a presciently modern platform centering on the defense of human rights and the freedom of the judiciary and on the need for a system of checks on the executive branch of government. But, as has been argued in the

previous chapter, Nkumbula's liberal aims also spoke to the traditional concerns of his core ethnic constituencies. The point is graphically borne out by the flyer reproduced on the next page. Thus, while keeping the one-party state at bay and safeguarding the independence of "courts and judges," a government defeat in the referendum would also, Nkumbula told Zambian voters, prevent "your land and cattle being taken" away. And the battle to preserve "freedom of association and expression" and "freedom from arbitrary arrest" was no less significant a reason for opposing the government's line than the need to resist Bemba dominance ("vote NO to stop discrimination on grounds of tribe") or—and this was clearly a sop to the Congress' newly enlisted Lozi supporters—to maintain Barotseland's privileged administrative status.<sup>70</sup>

The Congress' ideological work early in 1969 failed to produce any further electoral shifts.<sup>71</sup> But, for the first time in the course of the decade, it did find a counterpoint in a minor, but nonetheless noticeable, amelioration in the party's organizational efficiency. To be sure, the Congress' financial situation remained precarious. Nkumbula continued to be pursued by creditors of every ilk,<sup>72</sup> and the efforts of national treasurer Japau to streamline the party's fund-raising activities met with scant success.<sup>73</sup> As late as the end of December, Nkumbula reminded Congress officials that "no money" meant "no organisation" and that funds "should be found either by hook or crook."<sup>74</sup> Yet there were also signs of a somewhat improved cash flow, due, if nothing else, to the increase in the number of ANC MPs in the new Parliament, and attested, perhaps, by the party's ability to raise the substantial resources needed to petition the 1968 elections in the High Court.<sup>75</sup> Equally telling indications that a modest administrative revival was under way were the fact that the referendum campaign witnessed the first intensive tour of the country by members of the ANC executive in several years and the attempt, on the part of the Zimba MP, Matron Sialumba, to revive the party's dormant Youth Movement, a general conference of which was held in Lusaka between May and June.<sup>76</sup> Ex-UPers, moreover, did their best to inject new life into the party's territorial articulations. Their exertions were far from being uniformly successful. Late in 1969, for instance, the fearsome Chipango, who served briefly as the Congress' administrative secretary between the end the year and the beginning of 1970, criticized provincial leaders for spending most of their time in Lusaka, while Mundia, who had finally been released by Kaunda after spending nearly fifteen months in detention, felt it



**Figure 6.1** Referendum flyer authored and published by Nkumbula.

*Source:* UNIPA, ANC 9/31. Note the foot as the symbol of the antigovernment position.

necessary to remind ANC officials that the effectiveness of a party depended on the existence of “unbroken links from the branches to the Headquarters. . . . the chain is Branch, District, Province and the HQ. Each of these must function . . . to propound the smooth running of the Party.”<sup>77</sup> The efforts of former UP members, on the other

hand, appear to have contributed to the reemergence of the ANC in a number of Copperbelt towns where the party had all but ceased to operate since the early 1960s.

What is indisputable is that the merger between the banned UP and the Congress resulted in the latter organisation being infused with some of the assertive militancy that had characterized the former party. In January 1969, after he had been forced to seek police protection from a threatening gang of UNIP youths in Mufulira, Nkumbula warned he was "capable of organising the same sort of thing. I am trying to avoid it, but provocations must lead somewhere."<sup>78</sup> Harry's predictions came good in the course of the referendum campaign. Plagued by incessant episodes of interparty violence throughout the first part of the year, Lusaka's Kanyama compound was soon nicknamed "Biafra" by its exasperated residents.<sup>79</sup> An even worse state of affairs prevailed in Mumbwa district, the Congress' stronghold in the Central Province, where, during June alone, as many as 200 people were said to have been treated or admitted to hospital "with injuries caused in political incidents."<sup>80</sup> Having already carried out a series of arson attacks and stabbed a UNIP youth, on June 17, the day of the referendum, ANC supporters armed with spears and knobkerries surrounded a number of polling stations, preventing voters from casting their ballots. Kaunda responded by banning the Congress in the district and restricting its local leaders, including MP Shooba.<sup>81</sup> Similar events took place in Livingstone, Chipango's base. Throughout 1969, the town became the centre of what the then provincial Minister of State called a "terrorist campaign unleashed by the ANC and ex-UP members." With rumors of "military camps" being established by the ANC in nearby farms, "morale" among local UNIP members was "very, very low indeed."<sup>82</sup> As the number of violent incidents and related casualties mounted,<sup>83</sup> Chipango and Kalimbwe succeeded in reestablishing contact with the South African military intelligence services.<sup>84</sup> Their request for financial aid was turned down by the South Africans, but, once more, Kaunda may not have been unaware of their movements when, blaming the "serious acts of lawlessness" and the "many political murders... committed in the past and particularly in the last three weeks," he took the decision to impose a total ban on the ANC in Livingstone district in February 1970. While MPs Peter Muunga (Choma) and Kakoma (Sesheke) were promptly detained alongside most local party officials, all the other ANC MPs were served with restriction orders

preventing them from entering both Mumbwa and Livingstone districts.<sup>85</sup>

The Livingstone and Mumbwa bans and related police sweeps; the continuing poaching of his MPs by UNIP;<sup>86</sup> the enduring inability to put his and his party's finances on a sound footing<sup>87</sup>—all these damaging developments between 1969 and 1970 might well have pushed Nkumbula back to the brink. But UNIP's own difficulties ensured that was not the case. The infra-UNIP conflict had its origins in the ethno-regional tensions that had come to the fore during the disputed UNIP's CC elections of 1967, reference to which has already been made when examining the rise of the United Party. Kapwepwe's election as UNIP and Zambia's Vice President had sparked opposition, particularly amongst Easterners, who feared what they characterized as "Bemba dominance" of UNIP. Partly, these divisions can be understood as a reflection of rising discontent in much of Zambia at the ruling party's perceived failure to deliver on expectations of postindependence transformation. Politicians, under pressure to deliver development to their areas of origin, defended themselves by accusations of regional bias in the allocation of resources, which they in turn related to the skewed provincial representation in the UNIP leadership. Following Kapwepwe's resignation as Vice President in August 1969 after threats of a no-confidence vote by Eastern-based UNIP leaders, many Bemba-speakers in the party, believing they were being systematically excluded from party positions, had begun to organize a new underground opposition organization.<sup>88</sup>

Throughout 1970, UNIP's impending split fed the Congress' offensive. Liso drew satisfaction from pointing out that "tribalism," of which the ANC had so often stood accused in the past, was "destroy[ing] UNIP to a stage where they have begun to fear the ANC."<sup>89</sup> Indeed, the mounting crisis within the ruling party meant that Nkumbula and his lieutenants were now able to invigorate their ideological opposition to the one-party state with the charge that the move, the necessity of which was being more and more frequently discussed among Kaunda's closest acolytes, was the last-ditch resource of a discredited and fundamentally weakened political class, rather than a means to contain sectionalism or the legislative expression of the still overwhelming popular support for UNIP that Kaunda claimed. The usual Liso, soon to be expelled from Parliament to the delight of UNIP, reminded ANC officials that "Africa's leaders" tended to discover the virtues of the one-party

state once they "realised that more and more opposition [was] building against them."

This is because they haven't got the guts to stand up to the challenges of the opposition. They feel their highly placed positions in society are threatened while they still want to retain them. So while they become more oppressive to their opponents, real or imaginary, they preach a certain amount of righteousness—"Unity, one country, one leader" and all the other nonsense.<sup>90</sup>

UNIP's leaders—Nkumbula wrote in a fund-raising circular in June 1970—were behaving like "frightened animals."<sup>91</sup> The real extent of both their fears and authoritarian inclinations became evident in August 1971, when, after months of frantic speculation, the United Progressive Party (UPP) was finally launched.

On the very day in which he came out into the open as the UPP's national leader, Kapwepwe, his supposed left-leaning radicalism notwithstanding, hinted at the possibility of a merger between the new organisation and the Congress.<sup>92</sup> Nkumbula promptly allowed Kapwepwe to operate from the Congress' Chilenje headquarters.<sup>93</sup> However, despite these early entreaties, it quickly became clear that a full-blown merger was not a realistic option: too significant were the legacy of more than a decade of vicious anti-ANC propaganda and the differences in the social and ethnic bases of the two parties (what Kapwepwe called their "completely different background"<sup>94</sup>). Kapwepwe, Chimba and a number of other Copperbelt and northern politicians now in the UPP had, after all, been the driving forces behind the formation of ZANC/UNIP in 1958–1959 (see chapter 3) and among the most virulent antagonists of the ANC in postindependence Zambia.<sup>95</sup> Although Nkumbula might well have been ready to put the ugliness of the past aside for the sake of recreating the original unity of the nationalist movement and finally ousting UNIP from power, his southern supporters were not. As early as the end of August, Liso was forced unconvincingly to deny reports to the effect that Nkumbula was facing "a tough time persuading his supporters in Southern Province to accept the party merger."<sup>96</sup> A few days later, the ANC general conference resolved that a merger with the UPP was "completely out of question." At the same time, it expressed itself in favor of establishing a "working relationship" with the latter party.<sup>97</sup>



While the Bemba-speaking Northern and Luapula Provinces were the obvious rural constituencies of the UPP, during its short-lived trajectory, the party's political message was "ambiguous" enough to appeal to both organized workers and small businessmen in the economically strategic Copperbelt, as well as the intelligentsia and radical students in Lusaka.<sup>98</sup> Given the UPP's potentially large pool of supporters, the prospect of even such limited electoral alliance as Kapwepwe and Nkumbula's organizations were prepared to enter into struck fear and an impending sense of doom into UNIP.<sup>99</sup> The formation of a mainly Bemba party, many opposition members and nonmembers alike predicted, would result in UNIP losing its grip on the Copperbelt and the Northern and Luapula Provinces, the very regions with which the UNIP nationalist project and tradition had been associated from the outset.

The rest of the Provinces are all strong ANC holds. This is not merely buttering on this piece of paper before you. [...] Luapula, Copperbelt and Northern Provinces' residents treated UNIP as a personal proper [*sic*] [...] which they used to bull [*sic*] other workers from other Provinces. It never proved the other Provinces as a national one. To hear that they have formed their own party. Whom have they then left in UNIP? They have left the Eastern Province Residents and floating voters.<sup>100</sup>

Raising the specter of the government party's defeat in the next general election, due in 1973, the UPP was immediately made the target of fierce repression. The vast majority of UPP leaders (except Kapwepwe) were detained within weeks of the party's launch after Kaunda alleged they had been engaged in military training abroad.<sup>101</sup> However, despite the continuing harassment of its members and supporters, the party was able to compete in a series of parliamentary by-elections in December 1971. While the ANC, which did not put up candidates in the constituencies contested by the UPP, demonstrated its enduring popularity by holding four of its six seats in a situation hardly conducive to open campaigning, Kapwepwe won the Mufulira West seat despite being prevented from touring the mining town.<sup>102</sup> Being the first electoral loss experienced by UNIP on the Copperbelt since independence, the outcome of the Mufulira by-election was particularly disturbing to Kaunda and his advisers. After an assault on Kapwepwe the following month, violent clashes between UPP and UNIP supporters provided the excuse for Kaunda to ban the party at the beginning of February 1972 and arrest many

more of its leaders, including Kapwepwe, who was to spend the rest of the year in jail.

The brief efflorescence of the UPP and the signs that an electoral cartel between the ANC and northern dissidents might well bring its reign to an end led UNIP finally to sideline all its earlier pronouncements in favor of achieving a one-party state through the ballot box. Following Kaunda's announcement of the institution of a "national commission on the establishment of a one-party participatory democracy in Zambia" chaired by Vice President Chona,<sup>103</sup> Nkumbula embarked on what he promised would be "his last battle" equipped with solid arguments and real determination.<sup>104</sup> Oddly, one of Zambia's best-known historians has recently argued that "Nkumbula offered little resistance to Kaunda's moves towards the formation of a one-party state."<sup>105</sup> Nothing, in fact, could be further from the truth, for the old master's campaign in defense of multipartyism was, as he himself pointed out on more than one occasion, no less serious and personally involving than the battle he had fought against the Central African Federation twenty years earlier.

On February 25, 1972, the same day in which Kaunda launched the Chona Commission, Harry issued a bitter press statement demanding the immediate resignation of the Republican President, the dissolution of Parliament and the staging of fresh general elections "in order to enable people to express their opinion on [the] One Party State issue."

To us, One-Party State democracy is a terminology to conceal the intentions of power hungry men and women in Africa. It has been introduced under the guise of Unity and Peace when in fact it is not peace and unity, but when it means corruption and tyranny. There is not one state in independent Africa which succeeded in providing an acceptable government because of a One-Party State democracy. The results have been chaos, corruption and military government.<sup>106</sup>

Before the end of month, the Congress turned down Kaunda's offer of a seat on the commission with a communiqué stressing that the planned "one-party dictatorship" was merely a function of UNIP's fear that its "fast dwindling popularity" might translate itself into a defeat at the next general elections.<sup>107</sup> Authored by Liso, the statement gave rise to speculations that Nkumbula, who might himself have been inclined to accept the need for a one-party state, was being pressurized by "rebel extremist elements within his own party."<sup>108</sup> It was partly to dispel these rumors that, on March 1, Nkumbula

wrote a public letter to Kaunda. After proudly pointing out that it was he, and not his party's "so-called extremists," who was "directing the whole struggle against the introduction of a One Party State Democracy in the same manner as" he had "led the people of Northern Rhodesia... against the imposition of the defunct Federation... and... Independence," and having placed the blame for the one-party decision squarely on the shoulders of UNIP politicians with "no following in this country, particularly those who have no support in their home districts," the Congress' president asked Kaunda:

Are you not aware of the fact that the people have already realised that even under the present system of a democratic Government their future have [*sic*] been threatened? What would happen to them under a One-Party State Democracy where they will not be able even to cough [?] Do you realise that a One Party State Democracy means dictatorship, Communism, Fascism and tyranny? [...]. Dr. Kaunda, you and I worked together against evil in this country and together have freed the people from slavery. I am quite sure that you will not allow this country to be dragged into slavery once more.<sup>109</sup>

Enclosed in Nkumbula's missive to Kaunda was a lengthy memorandum entitled "'One Party State Democracy'—African National Congress Observations." Written by Harry himself or one or more of his closest associates, the text provided a detailed rebuttal of UNIP's most recent arguments in favor of a one-party state. It was false to assert that the previous December's by-elections amounted to a popular mandate for the abolition of multipartyism: had the UPP leadership not been decimated by arrests, charged the well-written essay, "UNIP would have lost all the three seats in the Northern Province."<sup>110</sup> Moreover, the by-elections had shown that Zambia now had, not one, but two opposition parties, both of which had managed to elect at least one of their representatives to the National Assembly. The claim that the ANC was "responsible for delaying development" was equally risible: the Central and Southern Provinces, the "ANC strongholds," brought a larger revenue "to the State Coffers" than any other rural province. Shorn of popular legitimacy, the proposed one-party state would further reduce "the liberty of the individual" and the independence of the judiciary; its leader would be nothing less than a "King," because there will be "no way to remove him from power no matter how corrupt and bad he may be." Overall, the Congress was convinced that

"in a number of Independent African States, a desire for a One Party State has existed only in those put in power by the people and [who] have since lost their popularity."<sup>111</sup>

Thus defined, the Congress anti-one-party platform would not change for the remainder of the year. Tactics evolved more rapidly, even though the options open to Nkumbula were painfully limited. Even if they had proved acceptable to the Congress' supporters, civil disobedience and/or violent protest may merely have played into the hands of the UNIP state's repressive apparatus. The imperative to avoid the same fate that had befallen Kapwepwe and the UPP must have been central to Nkumbula's calculations throughout 1972. The decision, taken by the Congress' National Assembly of early March, to pursue all legal avenues to stop the one-party juggernaut should be understood in this context.<sup>112</sup> Having got hold of the required resources,<sup>113</sup> on March 30, Nkumbula and Mundia, assisted by Counsel Mr. Geoffrey Care filed a petition against the introduction of the one-party state in the Lusaka High Court, stressing, *inter alia*, that the proposed move would infringe the fundamental rights and freedom guaranteed to Zambians under the Constitution.<sup>114</sup> A week later, the Congress' case was thrown out by Chief Justice Brian Doyle.<sup>115</sup>

Having lost the first round in court, Nkumbula sought to take advantage of the political vacuum that the demise of the UPP had left on the Copperbelt. In June, he addressed a Congress gathering in Chingola, his first public meeting on the Copperbelt since 1965.<sup>116</sup> Before rushing to Mufulira, Nkumbula, in what was clearly a sop to former UPPers, "bitterly attacked the Government for 'infringing public opinion and creating fear by mass detention'" and expressed his conviction that the "root cause of military take-overs in independent African countries" was the "suppression of internal oppositions by ruling parties."<sup>117</sup> By July, Chingola had become "solidly ANC"—or so at least claimed an old Congress man with a long experience of Copperbelt politics.<sup>118</sup> Late in June, meanwhile, at a mammoth provincial conference of the Congress, "the people of the Southern Province [had] re-affirm[ed] their loyalty to the Party and leadership" and their implacable opposition to the one-party state and the "tyranny, corruption, [and] dictatorship" it would bring about.<sup>119</sup> The resolutions of the Southern Province's provincial conference were then fully endorsed by the National Assembly of the ANC, held in Lusaka on July 10–11. The party gathering was also informed that the services of a British lawyer were being enlisted to appeal against the

April High Court judgment, and it heard a still defiant Nkumbula challenging Kaunda thus:

If Dr. Kaunda does not know that UNIP has lost the following, let him call for general elections this year and if he will attempt to stand for presidency, [he] is going to lose and none of his ministers will get elected to Parliament by the people, never. And he knows very well that should he dare calling for general elections now, ANC is going to sweep into power and reveal all the mistakes they have committed against the state, thus, they want to cling to power by introducing One-Party and force people into following them. [. . .]. When we criticise them upon these things they call us enemies of the country [. . .] is it not wrong for a group of persons to impose themselves upon people contrary to their wishes? UNIP loves power, in the process they have committed a lot of wrongs and they will never allow anyone to point at these wrongs and they will continue to misbehave as long as they remain in power.<sup>120</sup>

But throughout the summer of 1972 Nkumbula, who seems genuinely to have still believed in the possibility of persuading Kaunda to change his mind over the one-party state, also strove to keep a line of communication with State House open. No lasting peace would be possible if the Congress were to be outlawed, he had told the Republic President during a meeting on June 23.<sup>121</sup> At most, what the ANC could agree on was the formation of a "Coalition Government" with UNIP to tackle the difficulties "affecting our economy and social well-being."<sup>122</sup> And a similar message must have been delivered to Kaunda by the Congress delegation that met him at State House upon the conclusion of the July National Assembly of the party.<sup>123</sup> The meeting proved inconclusive, though it had raised the hopes of leading UPP detainee John Chisata, who, in a letter smuggled out of prison, also informed Nkumbula that Kapwepwe had now issued a directive to the effect that "all our members should be told to join the African National Congress." Chisata, a former UNIP Minister of State, then concluded his letter by thanking Nkumbula for having taken up the cause of the UPP detainees and by expressing his certainty that the Congress president would "not allow Kaunda to make a complete mess of our country."<sup>124</sup>

In fact, with the Chona Commission having completed its hearings and Kaunda declaring that "the decision to make Zambia a one-party state was irrevocable,"<sup>125</sup> Harry's room for maneuver was reducing by the day. Everything now depended on the outcome of the appeal case,

for which a new round of subscriptions was promoted in the Southern Province in October.<sup>126</sup> The appeal, led by Tom Kellock, QC, the British lawyer who had successfully defended Japau in 1967, began on December 4, the day after Kaunda had issued an ultimatum to Nkumbula and Kapwepwe to disband their followers and join UNIP before the end of the month. The one-party rule was consistent with "the wishes of the masses," Kaunda had stated before openly threatening its critics: "it was up to leaders in opposition to UNIP to make up their minds whether in detention or freedom."<sup>127</sup> In his submission to the Court of Appeal, Kellock charged that Kaunda had abused his constitutional powers by appointing a commission of inquiry which was not in the national interests and that Chief Justice Doyle had been wrong in finding that Nkumbula's "rights... were not affected by the commission."<sup>128</sup> For all of the ANC lawyer's efforts, however, the odds were heavily stacked against him, especially after Speaker Nabulyato refused to accede to the ANC's request to postpone the second reading of the Constitution Amendment Bills in the National Assembly until the Court of Appeal had deliberated on the pending one-party case.<sup>129</sup> Predictably, on December 8, UNIP obtained the required two-thirds majority, and the bills were passed. Nkumbula, who had earlier launched into a furious anti-UNIP tirade and voiced his profound anguish at the prospect of seeing Zambians deprived of the "freedom of association, of assembly and of expression—the real fundamental rights, the only rights we have,"<sup>130</sup> led a walkout of his MPs after voting against the bills. Once Kaunda signed the Constitution Amendment Bills during a public ceremony at the Lusaka High Court on December 13,<sup>131</sup> it would have taken a very brave judge to precipitate a major conflict between the executive and the judiciary by upholding the ANC appeal. The brave judge did not materialize, and the ANC lawsuit was dismissed on December 14, the day after Zambia's mother party had, in the eyes of the law at least, "ceased to exist," as the *Times of Zambia* gloated in a sycophantic article entitled "One Zambia One Nation One Party!"<sup>132</sup>

As UNIP celebrated the long-awaited demise of multipartyism, the only obvious option left open to opponents of the new dispensation was armed insurgency, with or without the backing of UNIP's regional enemies. This was a route that a minute group of former UPers within the ANC did take,<sup>133</sup> but one along which Nkumbula could most definitely not travel. Quite apart from the fifty-five-year-old hedonist's own inclinations, it is most doubtful that his key constituents, as mindful of the costs of full-blown

rebellion as they had been in the late 1950s (see chapter 3), would have followed him suit.<sup>134</sup> The ANC had been legislated out of existence but, as this book's epilogue will show, the nationalist tradition that it had embodied and the set of ethnic and social interests to which it had given expression during its long, troubled history would prove much harder to obliterate.



## CHAPTER VII

# EPILOGUE: NKUMBULA'S LAST INITIATIVES AND LEGACY

The UNIP one-party state lasted for almost twenty years. Zambia's eventual return to multipartyism in 1990–1991, one of sub-Saharan Africa's first democratic transitions, attracted worldwide attention and has spawned a considerable literature. While primarily devoted to examining Nkumbula's last years, this epilogue also wants to argue that to view the triumph of the *Zambian Movement for Multi-Party Democracy* (MMD) solely as the product of the 1980s economic crisis and ensuing contraction of state patronage is to ignore the long history of opposition politics that had predated and, indeed, outlived the inception of the one-party state.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, to stress the hijacking of the original MMD project by a reactionary coalition of businessmen, right-wing trade unionists and recycled UNIP politicians who had recently been excluded, or were facing the prospect of exclusion, from dominant patronage networks,<sup>2</sup> or the similarities that quickly came to the fore between Kaunda's and his successor Frederick Chiluba's leadership styles,<sup>3</sup> should not lead one to lose sight of the MMD's distant, *historical* origins. This epilogue, then, focuses on the activities of Nkumbula and his core constituents during the Second Republic with a view to presenting a less cynical appraisal of *Zambian* democratization than is currently the case in the specialist literature. For seen through the lenses of Nkumbula and his political tradition, the victory of the MMD in 1991 is less a proof of the African elites' knack for eternally recycling themselves than a demonstration of the UNIP state's ultimate failure to uphold its claim of being the sole legitimate heir to *Zambian* nationalism.

### The Lion's Last Roars

Between 1972 and 1973, Nkumbula, who regarded the one-party state as a regressive move with which an illegitimate regime threatened



to roll back the gains of political independence,<sup>4</sup> seriously contemplated retirement from active politics, informing his followers that while he would never join UNIP himself, they were free to make their minds up about their own political future.<sup>5</sup> The “painful” Choma declaration, with which Nkumbula and his old secretary-general, Mungoni Liso, agreed to become members of UNIP and resolved that all former ANC branches in the Southern Province and elsewhere “should forthwith identify themselves with the United National Independence Party,” heralded the beginning of a new strategy: the penetration of UNIP structures and of the one-party National Assembly with a view to “criticising from within, without being destructive,” as Harry himself would openly admit less than one year after condoning the merger of what was left of the outlawed ANC and UNIP.<sup>6</sup> Rumors to the effect that Nkumbula’s U-turn had an ulterior economic motive may not have been entirely baseless.<sup>7</sup> But it is significant that at about this time the recently released Kapwepwe, the other major opponent of the new institutional dispensation, had apparently matured a similar conviction, urging former UPP supporters to rejoin UNIP and “agitate for progressive change from within.”<sup>8</sup>

Despite being initially supported by Kaunda, who obviously deemed the promise of finally reincorporating the Bantu Botatwe into the Zambian body politic to be of more immediate importance than the risk of making a further contribution to the consolidation of discrete factions within UNIP, Nkumbula’s plan proved only partly effective. Under the terms of the new one-party constitution, the primary elections that produced the slate of candidates for the subsequent general parliamentary elections were restricted to UNIP officials, from the branch level upward.<sup>9</sup> This meant that the success of Nkumbula’s entryism depended on a sufficient number of former ANC branches among the Bantu Botatwe being officially recognized as new UNIP branches and on scores of erstwhile Congress members joining existing UNIP branches with a view to gaining control of their leading positions and, therefore, primary votes. But Nkumbula’s determination to carve out a space within UNIP for old national leaders of the Congress clashed against the hostility of long-serving local UNIP officials in the Southern and Central Provinces. Understandably reluctant to let their party being hijacked from under their noses and to forsake their own chances of competing for a parliamentary seat, pre-Choma UNIP officials resisted the assimilation of ANC members and sought to prevent them from forming

new branches of UNIP. As a result, as Kaunda himself felt obliged to point out, the impression was given that “we are trying to keep them out with a view to taking advantage against...them...at the primary level.”<sup>10</sup>

All but two of the twelve Southern Province MPs who had remained in ANC until the end of 1972 ran for parliament in the first one-party elections late in 1973.<sup>11</sup> Nine of these took part in the November primary elections,<sup>12</sup> but only four (Nkumbula, Muunga, Nyanga, and Hamwemba) managed to make it to the shortlist and, following the second electoral round of December, Parliament.<sup>13</sup> Out of the other ten or so recognizably ANC candidates who contested the elections elsewhere in the country, only Mufaya Mumbuna, ANC MP in 1964–1965 and then again between 1968 and 1972, was returned to the National Assembly as the representative of Luena, in the Western Province.<sup>14</sup> Even though old ANC leaders could still count on Liso, who had been appointed to the Central Committee of UNIP, the highest collective decision-making body in the Second Republic, in October,<sup>15</sup> the electoral results represented a setback for Nkumbula, who lost no time in expressing his “disappointment” at the “difficulties” which were marring the implementation of the Choma agreement.<sup>16</sup>

Particularly troubling for Nkumbula must have been the realization that his Tonga supporters were clearly unconvinced by his entryism. To be sure, wherever former ANC MPs had managed to overcome the obstacle of the all-UNIP primaries, southern voters had elected them to Parliament in preference to UNIP veterans.<sup>17</sup> But unreconstructed grassroots opposition to UNIP had also led to massive levels of abstention in the Southern Province, where a mere 29 percent of the eligible voters had taken part in the December general elections, and to the rejection of Kaunda, the sole presidential candidate under the terms of the new constitution, by more than a third of those who had bothered to vote.<sup>18</sup> In two Southern Province constituencies, including Harry’s own constituency of Bweengwa, the number of “No” votes in the presidential elections had actually exceeded the number of “Yes” votes.<sup>19</sup>

Not for the first time, local UNIP officials blamed the electorate’s “ignorance” for the high percentage of “No” votes in the Southern Province.<sup>20</sup> More perceptive observers, however, knew that the Tonga’s proud refusal to yield to UNIP had much more to do with their loyalty to the memory of the Congress, the party which since the early 1950s had provided a consistent vehicle for the expression of

their rural interests and ethno-political thought. Shortly before the primaries, Andrew Mutemba, Member of the Central Committee (MCC) and Cabinet Minister for the Southern Province, had been forced to concede that a good many southerners thought the ANC was “still alive” or would soon resurface.<sup>21</sup> Even Liso, now closely aligned with UNIP, was no longer in a position to assuage the province’s grief. In the spring of 1974, the CC entrusted him with the task of touring the Southern Province with a view to impressing upon skeptical Tonga that “it would be madness for any former member of the defunct African National Congress to sit idle and wait for the formation of another political Party in the Second Republic.”<sup>22</sup> The ANC was no more, Liso preached to all who cared to listen. Few believed him.

The modest results of his efforts to gain a position of influence within UNIP and the recognition of the extent of his core constituents’ alienation go a long way toward explaining Nkumbula’s renewed oppositional vigor in the mid-1970s. No less important, however, were the indications that the Choma declaration had done nothing to lessen UNIP’s authoritarianism. Early in 1974, MP Nkumbula, while paying lip service to the “wise” leadership of Kaunda, used Parliament to voice his disquiet at the “excessive powers” that post-colonial constitutions had bestowed on African heads of state.<sup>23</sup> A few weeks later, throwing caution to the wind, he openly berated the abuses to which Zambia’s “many political prisoners” were routinely subjected.

When these people relate their sufferings one would think of what happened in Hitler’s Germany at the beginning before they started to send people to the furnaces; one could compare this very well with Hitler’s Germany [...].<sup>24</sup>

Still in the same year, and while conceding that it was “too early” to judge the new Zambian political system, he went as far as admitting that his views on the one-party state had not changed: “there will never be anything like one party democracy. The one party system embraces dictatorship and Communism, whereas democracy is an ideal which carries with it official opposition.”<sup>25</sup> Nkumbula and the party he had been forced to join were already proving incompatible.

At some point in the mid-1970s, Harry began to dream of challenging Kaunda for the presidency of the Republic at the next general elections, due in 1978. In 1977, the year in which his health took a turn

for the worse following a stroke,<sup>26</sup> Nkumbula, joining the debate on a report on Zambian development by a Special Parliamentary Select Committee, spoke of his intention to seek to amend the Zambian constitution with a view to avoiding a repeat of 1973, when Kaunda, having been elected UNIP president by the party's general conference, had been the sole running candidate for the republican presidency.<sup>27</sup> Having failed to push through the desired amendment, which would have opened the presidential race to all eligible members of UNIP, the old man rekindled his tactical alliance with Kapwepwe, who had rejoined UNIP in September 1977,<sup>28</sup> and resolved to stand against Kaunda at the next general conference of the party.

Nkumbula and Kapwepwe announced their intention separately to contest the party presidency early in August 1978. Within less than one month, UNIP was panicked into amending the party constitution so as to make it impossible for any member of less than five years' standing to seek election to the presidency. Additionally, presidential hopefuls were now required "to be supported by 20 delegates from each province attending the General Conference."<sup>29</sup> Although secretary-general Chona was at pains to stress that the amendments, having been "under discussion for a long time," were not meant to shield Kaunda from what threatened to be an effective challenge,<sup>30</sup> there is no doubt that the insertion of the five-year clause was specifically designed to prevent Kapwepwe from taking part in the electoral race.<sup>31</sup> With Kapwepwe ruled out of the contest, Harry courageously went it alone, canvassing for support among hostile UNIP delegates at Mulungushi Rock, the venue of the party conference, in September. Having initially being refused entry and seen some of his electoral "agents [being] picked up by police,"<sup>32</sup> Nkumbula failed to obtain the required number of provincial sponsors and was disqualified from the race. Before the month was over, Kapwepwe and Nkumbula filed a joint petition against Kaunda's reelection at the Lusaka High Court. Represented by lawyers Pierce Annfield and Mundia Sikatana, Kapwepwe and Nkumbula argued that the Mulungushi elections had been unlawful, both because of widespread intimidation of delegates and because the amendments to the party constitution had not been explicitly approved by the general conference.<sup>33</sup> Despite the solidity of their case, the petition was thrown out by the High Court in November 1978 and, several months later, by the Supreme Court, to which Nkumbula and Kapwepwe had turned in desperation.<sup>34</sup>

His failure at Mulungushi and the dismissal of his legal challenge to Kaunda must have convinced Nkumbula that UNIP could not be

reformed from within. UNIP was not for him—nor his people, some of whom, beginning with Paul Maambo, a former ANC Southern Province's president, complained vocally about the treatment meted out to Nkumbula at Mulungushi and began actively to campaign for a "No" vote in the presidential elections.<sup>35</sup> Although Nkumbula, who did not seek reelection to what he now considered to be a thoroughly emasculated Parliament,<sup>36</sup> may not have personally coordinated the "No" campaign, it is clear that he did nothing to stop it. That was enough for the Tonga electors, half of whom voted against Kaunda on December 12, 1978, election day. "No" majorities were registered in as many as seven Southern Province constituencies (they had been two in 1973).<sup>37</sup> The size of the "No" vote in the Southern Province was clearly indicative of the survival of ANC affiliations and, possibly, underground organizational structures. Chona, for one, suspected that "elements of the defunct African National Congress might have been behind the 'whole phenomenon.'" <sup>38</sup>

In the aftermath of the elections, the exasperated Chairman of the Elections and Publicity Subcommittee of the CC thought a way should be found of forcing Nkumbula to "tow the Party line" and impressing on him and "all his followers now in leadership . . . that the Party is aware of their activities which they should abandon at once." After stressing the need to "find out what the former ANC MPs are telling people which make them to be believed," the author of the election postmortem came up with the suggestion that Nkumbula should be enjoined to tour the Southern Province in Liso's company to "tell the people not to follow him anymore and that ANC would not come back as long as Zambia remains a One Party State."<sup>39</sup> In the event, nothing ever came of the suggestion, for Liso, who by now was the vice-chairman of the CC's Political and Legal Subcommittee, stressed that his old chief would be so "ambiguous that he would confuse the people even more. But he should be approached individually of [*sic*] the danger of pretending that he is leading a Political Party."<sup>40</sup>

UNIP fears were not entirely unjustified, for although the evidence is patchy, it would appear that a daring—or reckless—plan for the revival of the ANC was indeed under way. Though broke and increasingly frail, Nkumbula remained central to any such initiative.<sup>41</sup> Late in 1979, speaking from the modest house in Libala he had once given to Kapwepwe's wife during her husband's detention, Nkumbula scolded Liso for remarking that the ANC was dead in the Southern Province. The area was still "essentially ANC,"

counterclaimed Harry. Besides, it was “painful to be reminded about the death of ANC. Former ANC members didn’t like being reminded about the death of their party because it was like a person being reminded about the death of his mother.”<sup>42</sup> In November 1980, shortly after a coup plot against Kaunda by members of the business community and former UPP supporters had been foiled at the last minute by Zambian security forces,<sup>43</sup> Nkumbula publicly announced that he had torn the Choma declaration and that “he still harboured dreams to lead Zambia someday.” Moreover, having taken stock of “the growing discontent among Zambians against the Government,” he was planning shortly to address a rally of his supporters in Lusaka to “outline his programme.”<sup>44</sup> In his reply to Nkumbula’s interview, Kamanga was scathing: Nkumbula’s “utterances,” said the Chairman of the CC’s Political and Legal Subcommittee, were either “wishful thinking” or the result of “old age.”<sup>45</sup> But Nkumbula was serious, sending the ever loyal Japau to seek a police permit to hold a public meeting “in the name of the African National Congress.” For his troubles, Japau was detained and “tortured” for three days. His interrogators wanted him to confess to having printed some ANC cards and held ANC meetings since January 1980.<sup>46</sup> In April 1981, after declaring that the ANC “was ‘still in existence,’”<sup>47</sup> Nkumbula was once more warned by Kamanga “not to joke about such serious matters because they bear very serious consequences.”<sup>48</sup> Later in the year, “a man” was arrested in Monze for selling old ANC cards. Liso, better attuned to Bantu Botatwe politics than most of his new UNIP colleagues, knew better than to dismiss the threat. “Appealing to people to be on the lookout,” he urged “anyone with information on the revival of the ANC [to] contact the police who should make arrests after investigations.”<sup>49</sup>

Whatever the great man’s intentions and real chances of success, time was not on his side. In January 1982, Nkumbula was readmitted to hospital, with doctors refusing to comment on the nature of his illness.<sup>50</sup> Despite—or perhaps because of—the obvious gravity of his condition, a bedridden Nkumbula pushed away thoughts of his impending death by claiming he would re-contest his former Bweengwa seat in the following year’s elections.<sup>51</sup> Politics had been his lifelong passion, and Harry was remaining faithful to it to the end. Aware that the time of the old opponent’s demise was fast approaching, Kaunda behaved gracefully, honoring him with the Order of the Grand Companion (first division) during the eighteenth Independence anniversary celebrations and allocating him



**Figure 7.1** Nkumbula late in 1979.

*Source:* *Times of Zambia*, December 16, 1979.

a house in the exclusive suburb of Woodlands, near State House.<sup>52</sup> A life lived to the full finally took its toll on October 8, 1983, when Zambia's finest politician lost his battle with cancer. One of the family members who witnessed Nkumbula's last hours vividly remembers him expressing his anguish at the state of the country he had done so much to bring into existence.<sup>53</sup> The lion was gone.<sup>54</sup>

**“Here, We are Still Voting for Harry Mwaanga”:<sup>55</sup>  
The Southern Province and the Return to  
Multi-Party Democracy**

“I shall continue to challenging Dr. Kaunda even at the time of my lying in the coffin, I shall maintain the challenge.”<sup>56</sup>

And he did. While UNIP continued to knock its head against a brick wall over the Bantu Botatwe's incomprehensible imperviousness to

the lure of state and party patronage,<sup>57</sup> their principled hostility to the ruling party spread to most areas of the country during the dark 1980s, characterized by continuing political authoritarianism, increasing economic mismanagement and corruption, and a sharp drop in living standards. But an exclusive emphasis on the contingent (and international) factors behind the rise of the Zambian pro-democracy movement obfuscates the extent to which the latter, in its initial conception at least, amounted to a modern-day recombination of the two nationalist traditions and, later, dissident strands whose trajectories this book has sought to uncover. In many ways, the fusion between the ANC and the UPP that did not happen in 1971–1972 took place twenty years later, when the MMD burst through to the surface of Zambian politics. Despite having received scant scholarly recognition, this aspect of the MMD's early history is essential to understanding both the party's successes and its failures.<sup>58</sup>

Among the MMD's first protagonists figured a number of former ANC national leaders. The Rev. Isaac Mumpansa, Nkumbula's administrative secretary in the early 1970s, was seemingly the only churchman to attend the "National Conference on the Multi-Party Option," the convention that launched the new movement in July 1990.<sup>59</sup> Mumpansa came close to being elected to the "National Interim Committee for Multi-Party Democracy," shortly to be reconstituted as a full-blown political party, the MMD.<sup>60</sup> But, of course, the most tangible link between the Congress of old and the emerging MMD was Harry's last-born son, Baldwin Mwanakumabu Nkumbula, a successful businessman and one of the first and most generous sponsors of the pro-democracy movement.<sup>61</sup> In the general elections that ushered in the end of the Kaunda regime and the beginning of the Third Republic in October 1991, Baldwin was returned to Parliament by his father's former constituency of Bweengwa alongside old ANC MP Peter Muunga,<sup>62</sup> who delivered the Livingstone seat to the MMD after defeating Kebby Musokotwane, a future president of UNIP.<sup>63</sup>

No less important a piece of the MMD puzzle was the Western Province, whose history of anti-UNIP dissidence was epitomized by Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika, the son of the late Litunga of Barotseland, Godwin, and the driving force behind the staging of the National Conference on the Multi-Party Option. Mbikusita-Lewanika served as the secretary of the MMD until the party's first national convention in February–March 1991. Another prominent



early Lozi sponsor of the MMD was Mufaya Mumbuna, former ANC MP and the first president of the United Party in 1966–1968.<sup>64</sup> Mumbuna acted as the Western Province's chairman of the MMD and was returned to Parliament in 1991 alongside his erstwhile UP and ANC colleague Sefulo Kakoma.<sup>65</sup> William Chipango, another anti-UNIP rebel of UP/ANC extraction, ran on the MMD ticket in the North-Western Province, but lost the Chavuma constituency by a whisker.<sup>66</sup> Chilufya Kapwepwe, Simon's daughter, numerous former UPP leaders in the Northern and Copperbelt Provinces and, most importantly, popular trade unionists Chiluba and Newstead Zimba, the *Zambian Congress of Trade Unions'* president and secretary, respectively, came to embody the Copperbelt-centered and predominantly Bemba set of social interests that had been behind the formation of ZANC/UNIP in the late 1950s and that had later found a new voice in the UPP.<sup>67</sup>

The emergence of the MMD, then, went hand in hand with the reappearance of both a "Congress" and a "UPP" tradition that the UNIP one-party state had failed to obliterate. But the passage of time had not decreased the poignancy of socio-ethnic differences, and the new party soon proved as internally divided as had been the ANC in the late 1950s and UNIP in the late 1960s. Regional divisions came to the fore even before the electoral triumph of the MMD late in 1991. The party's first national convention witnessed not only a manifest conflict between progressive intellectuals, on the one hand, and moderate businessmen and/or recycled UNIP politicians, on the other,<sup>68</sup> but also an initially more latent cleavage between delegates from Bemba-speaking regions and delegates from minority regions, most notably the Southern and Western Provinces. While Baldwin Nkumbula failed in his bid to be elected to the post of party's vice-president, as many as 18 of the 28 seats on the new National Executive Committee went to Bemba-speakers from the Luapula, Northern and Copperbelt Provinces. Following the convention, complaints of "under-representation and ethnic bias" began to be voiced by "party members from the minority provinces," who "coalesced in opposition to the party leadership due to their mutual opposition to party leaders' regional origin, ideological orientation, and previous or recent association with UNIP."<sup>69</sup> And perceptions of growing marginalization on the part of the heirs to the Bantu Botatwe and Lozi opposition to UNIP were reinforced by the comparatively lightweight ministries allocated to both Baldwin and Akashambatwa in the first Chiluba's government.<sup>70</sup>

Social and ethno-regional tensions within the MMD could not be contained for long. Nkumbula and Mbikusita-Lewanika resigned their ministerial jobs after less than one year in office, citing widespread corruption and authoritarianism within the party and the government as their principal grievances.<sup>71</sup> In 1993, the duo was instrumental in the formation of the National Party,<sup>72</sup> of which Baldwin became president until 1995, the year in which, days after having rejoined the MMD, he died in a car accident.<sup>73</sup> Baldwin's untimely death left the Southern Province leaderless and with little option but to continue to vote for the MMD and Chiluba in the flawed 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections.<sup>74</sup>

A major transformation of the political landscape occurred in 1998, when Anderson Mazoka, a Tonga and the former managing director of the Anglo-American Corporation in Zambia,<sup>75</sup> launched the United Party for National Development (UPND). The UPND's claims to national representativeness were boosted in 2001—when the party won constituencies in five of the nine Zambian provinces and Mazoka “came within roughly 35,000 votes of wresting the presidency” from the MMD candidate, Patrick L. Mwanawasa<sup>76</sup>—but largely shattered in 2006, when, having lost its sway over the Western and North-Western Provinces and its formerly strong position in the Central and Lusaka Provinces, the UPND only managed to scoop 22 parliamentary seats, 17 of which were located in the Southern Province.<sup>77</sup> The UPND, now led by the late Mazoka's successor, his fellow Tonga Hakainde Hichilema, is back to where the African National Congress had been in the mid-1960s—able to formulate a coherent liberal-democratic, ruralist agenda, but unable to expand outside its core ethnic constituency. At the time of writing, shortly after the presidential by-election rendered necessary by the death in office of Mwanawasa in 2008, the Southern Province is still voting as a cohesive bloc in opposition to the rest of the country,<sup>78</sup> which is now divided between the still ruling MMD and a new mainly urban and mainly Bemba party, the Patriotic Front.<sup>79</sup> The Southern Province is still voting for its son, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula.



# NOTES

## Introduction

1. Notable exceptions, of course, are G. Shepperson and T. Price's classic *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origin, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915* (Edinburgh, 1958), and, more recently, T. Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men? The Samkange Family and African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920–64* (London, 1995). Sketchy biographies of two early Zambian nationalists are M.C. Musambachime, "Dauti Yamba's Contribution to the Rise and Growth of Nationalism in Zambia, 1941–1964," *African Affairs*, 90 (1991), and M. Wright, "An Old Nationalist in New Nationalist Times: Donald Siwale and the State in Zambia: 1948–1963," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23 (1997). See also J. McCracken, "'Marginal Men': The Colonial Experience in Malawi," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15 (1989).
2. See, e.g., E. Brizuela-Garcia's extended review article, "The Past Never Stays Behind: Biographical Narrative and African Colonial History," *Journal of Historical Biography*, 2 (2007).
3. P. Chabal, *Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (Cambridge, 1983), 11.
4. Good cases in point are the following analyses of democratic transitions and electoral competitions: M. Bratton and N. van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, 1997); L. Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalisation in Zambia, 1991–2001* (Uppsala, 2003); and D.N. Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (Cambridge, 2005).
5. See, e.g., S. Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanzanian Nationalism, 1955–1965* (Portsmouth, NH, 1997).
6. Early student of Zambian nationalism to author, e-mail of July 24, 2006.
7. Edward Mungoni Liso, deputy president of the African National Congress, in *Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the... National Assembly* (hereafter *National Assembly Debates*), February 13, 1968, col. 220.
8. See, e.g., J. Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta* (London, 1972); P. Short, *Banda* (London and Boston, 1974); F. Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of*

- Zambia: The Times and the Man* (Lusaka, 1974); and J. Hatch, *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania* (London, 1976).
9. See, especially, R.I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873–1964* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), and D.C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957–1964* (Oxford, 1967).
  10. Similar considerations have been made with regard to the Asante's National Liberation Movement in late-colonial Ghana; J.M. Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison, 1993), 3–4.
  11. The works of Miles Larmer (see bibliography) are a significant exception to the rule.
  12. J. Lonsdale and E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "Introduction," in E.S. Atieno Odhiambo and J. Lonsdale (eds.), *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration* (Athens, OH, 2003), 5.
  13. For a more detailed treatment of these themes, see J.-B. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar, and G. Macola, "Introduction," in id. (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), and M. Larmer, "What Went Wrong? Zambian Political Biography and Post-colonial Discourses of Decline," *Historia* (Pretoria), 51 (2006).
  14. On Ghana, see Allman, *Quills of the Porcupine*, and R. Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951–60* (Oxford, 2000). The key work on Guinea is E. Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958* (Portsmouth, NH, 2005). For Kenya and Zimbabwe, see, e.g., T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (London, 1987); D. Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of the Mau Mau, 1945–1953* (London, 1987); T. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study* (Berkeley, 1985); and N.J. Kriger, *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices* (Cambridge, 1992).
  15. "Tradition," of course, is a loaded word. Here, I employ it in much the same way as Osei does when describing the survival in post-colonial Ghana of "*filiations partisans*" whose ultimate origins are to be found in the nationalist period and the clash between Kofi Busia and J.B. Danquah's UGCC, on the one hand, and Kwame Nkrumah's CPP, on the other. A. Osei, "La connexion entre les partis et les électeurs en Afrique: le cas Ghanéen," *Politique Africaine*, 104 (2006), 44–45.
  16. Throughout this work, I use the term "liberalism" in a conventional sense (i.e., as a post-Enlightenment system of thought that stresses the primacy of individual rights and liberties and that expresses itself in the open advocacy of multiparty parliamentary

- democracy). Debates about multiculturalism and the “politics of recognition”—and the extent to which they might necessitate a reconceptualization of liberal individualism—fall outside the purview of this work. But see H. Englund’s stimulating “Introduction: Recognizing Identities, Imagining Alternatives,” in H. Englund and F.B. Nyamnjoh (eds.), *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa* (London and New York, 2004).
17. P. Chabal and J.-P. Daloz, *Culture Troubles: Politics and the Interpretation of Meaning* (London, 2006), 289; id., *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* (Oxford and Bloomington, 1999), 51; J.-F. Bayart, the inventor of the metaphor of the “rhizome state,” speaks of “practices of sociability”; *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (Harlow, 1993; orig. ed., 1989), 216.
  18. Bayart, *State in Africa*, 211. For a completely different take—one that stresses the long-term importance of the ideological choices and commitments of African postcolonial leaders—see the recent special issue of *Africa* (76 [2006]) on “African Postsocialisms.”
  19. The “cultural essentialist perspective [that] fuels Afro-pessimism” has been stressed by D.F. Bryceson, “Of Criminals and Clients: African Culture and Afro-pessimism in a Globalized World,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 34 (2000), 426.
  20. Chabal and Daloz, *Africa Works*, 55–56. See also B.J. Berman, “Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism,” *African Affairs*, 97 (1998), esp. 341.
  21. “Bantu Botatwe” (i.e., three peoples) is here used as a convenient, if crude, synonym for Tonga, Ila, and Lenje, ethnic groups who spoke mutually intelligible dialects and who had indeed been conceived of by some missionaries and colonial administrators as forming one distinct linguistic and cultural entity. Unlike the Southern Province’s Tonga and Ila, the Lenje, another community of comparatively successful rural producers, were mainly found within the borders of the Central Province. E. Colson, “The Bantu Botatwe: Changing Political Definitions in Southern Zambia,” in D. Parkin, L. Caplan, and H. Fisher (eds.), *The Politics of Cultural Performance* (Providence and Oxford, 1996), 62–63.
  22. Chabal and Daloz, *Culture Troubles*, 262.
  23. R. Werbner, *Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Kalanga Elites* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2004).
  24. The most succinct and accessible of many formulations is probably “Moral Ethnicity, Ethnic Nationalism and Political Tribalism: The Case of the Kikuyu,” in P. Meyns (ed.), *Staat und Gesellschaft in Afrika: Erosions und Reformprozesse* (Hamburg, 1996).
  25. See, e.g., D.M.C. Bartlett, “Civil Society and Democracy: A Zambian Case Study,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26 (2000); Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalization*.

26. Bayart, *State in Africa*, xii–xiii.
27. Needless to say, to recognize the MMD’s historical origins is not the same as justifying or condoning the numerous failings of Zambia’s Third Republic, from 1991 to the present. For a balanced treatment of both the continuities and changes underpinning Malawian democratization, see H. Englund, “Introduction: The Culture of Chameleon Politics,” in id. (ed.), *A Democracy of Chameleons: Politics and Culture in the New Malawi* (Uppsala, 2002).

## I Imagining the Nation: Methodism, History, and Politics in Nkumbula’s Early Years

1. Identical (and undated) copies of “Life and customs of the Baila” are to be found in the archives of the Institute for Economic and Social Research (INESOR), Lusaka, the historical archives of the Livingstone Museum (TH 2/17, Box 3), Livingstone, and in the possession of Mrs. Ompie Nkumbula-Liebenthal, of Lusaka. An earlier copy, with some handwritten corrections and drawings, is also available at the INESOR. This is kept in a folder dated “1949.” All references in this chapter are to this latter version.
2. The above passage, of course, must be read alongside E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1991; 1st ed. 1963), 436–437. It also draws on Ranger’s acute discussion of Thompson Samkange’s Methodism in colonial Zimbabwe; *Are We Not Also Men?*, chapter 1.
3. A recent apology is W.J. Young, *The Quiet Wise Spirit: Edwin W. Smith 1876–1957 and Africa* (Peterborough, 2002).
4. E.W. Smith and A.D. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), vol. I, xiii.
5. Ibid. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown contrasted favorably Smith’s “liberal approach to native customs” with that of another flag-bearer of early twentieth-century missionary anthropology, Henri-Alexandre Junod. P. Harries, *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa* (Oxford, 2007), 250–251.
6. J.W. Price, “Quarterly report of the Kasenga station for the quarter ending December 1929,” Methodist Missionary Society’s Archives (MMSA), Primitive Methodist Missionary Society (PMMS), Archives of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London (SOAS Archives), London, Fiches Box Number (FBN) 2.
7. Ibid.
8. R.M. Nabulyato (ed. G. Macola), *African Realities: A Memoir* (Lusaka, 2008), 11–12.
9. J.W. Price to J.H. Hirst, Kasenga, March 12, 1926, MMSA, PMMS, FBN 18.

10. R.J. Fielder, "Social change among the Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia with particular reference to their relations with the Primitive Methodist Mission," MA thesis, University of Manchester, 1965, 33, 45.
11. J.W. Gerrard, *Africa Calling: A Medical Missionary in Kenya and Zambia* (London and New York, 2001), 163.
12. Price, "Quarterly report of the Kasenga station." In the late 1970s or early 1980s, Nkumbula told his Zambian biographer, the journalist G.B. Mwangilwa, he was born in "March 1917" (*Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula: A Biography of the "Old Lion" of Zambia* [Lusaka, 1982], 9). Some years earlier, however, he had put "January 1916" as the month of his birth; "Harry M. Nkumbula's profile," encl. in B.L. Lombe, "Official press statement," Lusaka, July 15, 1964, United National Independence Party's Archives (UNIPA), Lusaka, ANC 7/62.
13. P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945* (Lusaka, 1990; 1st ed. 1974), 210; Minutes of District Synod, Broken Hill, May-June 1934, MMSA, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS), FBN 7.
14. Nkumbula, "Life and customs of the Baila," 66.
15. H.M. Nkumbula to H.S. Gerrard, Kasenga, November 8, 1934. The letter is to be found among the still unsorted papers of H.S. Gerrard, now at the SOAS Archives, London. In Gerrard's, *Africa Calling*, 106, Nkumbula's letter is mistakenly dated "8/1/34." My thanks to J.W. Gerrard, Herbert's son, and Lance Martin, Archivist at SOAS, for granting me permission to consult the relevant files.
16. J.G. Soulsby to J.L. Matthews, n.p. [but Kafue?], April 5, 1937, Archives of the United Church of Zambia's Theological College (UCZA), Mindolo, Kitwe, MMS/09/122.
17. J.L. Matthews to J.G. Soulsby, Kanchindu, May 14, 1937, UCZA, MMS/09/122.
18. H.M. Nkumbula to J.G. Soulsby, Kanchindu, July 24, 1937, and J.G. Soulsby to H.M. Nkumbula, n.p. [but Kafue?], September 10, 1937, both in UCZA, MMS/09/122. Mention of Nkumbula's business ventures in the Zambezi valley is made in H.M. Nkumbula to D. Lessing, n.p. [but Lusaka], October 6, 1956, UNIPA, ANC 9/43.
19. Minutes of District Synod, Broken Hill, November 1938, MMSA, WMMS, FBN 7.
20. Minutes of District Synod, Masuku, November 1940, MMSA, WMMS, FBN 7.
21. In 1955, Nkumbula would call the missionaries "the biggest hypocrites in the land." Quoted in Gerrard, *Africa Calling*, 163.
22. Nkumbula, "Harry M. Nkumbula's profile." Nkumbula would use similar words in a 1971 interview with Fergus Macpherson, Kaunda's biographer (Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 93, 98 n. 28). Disappointingly, the transcript of the interview in question is not

- to be found among the late Macpherson's papers at the University of Edinburgh's Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World. I am indebted to Margaret Acton for searching the Macpherson collection on my behalf.
23. H.M. Nkumbula to Editor (*Mutende*), Mufulira, n.d., encl. in K. Bradley to Secretary for Native Affairs, Lusaka, February 19, 1942; H. Franklin to K. Bradley, [Lusaka], March 14, 1942, National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), Lusaka, SEC2/1130. See also R. Smyth, "War Propaganda during the Second World War in Northern Rhodesia," *African Affairs*, 83 (1984), 354–355.
  24. J.G. Soulsby to T.F. Sandford, Lusaka, March 14, 1942; DC (Mufulira) to Provincial Commissioner (Western Province), Mufulira, April 2, 1942, NAZ, SEC2/433. Soulsby's views on amalgamation are to be found in J. Soulsby, "Notes for memorandum to be submitted to the Royal Commission on Closer Union . . .," n.p., June 11, 1938, MMSA, WMMS, FBN 35.
  25. "Results of essay competition," *Mutende*, April 23, 1942.
  26. H.M. Nkumbula, "Brief tribal history of the Baila," n.d. [but late 1941–early 1942], is to be found, alongside the other historical essays entered in the ALCNR competition, in the historical archives of the Livingstone Museum, Boxes G. 104.
  27. H.M. Nkumbula, "The African Teachers' Association of the Copperbelt," *Mutende*, April 8, 1943.
  28. Minutes of the meeting of the Mufulira Urban Advisory Council, October 2, 1942, NAZ, WP 1/1/2.
  29. "News about books," *Mutende*, November 18, 1943.
  30. On Yamba, see Musambachime, "Dauti Yamba's Contribution."
  31. "First Regional Council meeting," *Mutende*, February 10, 1944. A fragment of Nkumbula's speech against amalgamation can be read in Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 215–216.
  32. Cited in R.I. Rotberg, *Black Heart: Gore-Browne and the Politics of Multiracial Zambia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1977), 244.
  33. R.J. Mason to Chief Secretary, Mazabuka, December 24, 1945, NAZ, SEC 1/452.
  34. D.S. Miller to Director of African Education, Ndola, May 19, 1944, encl. in Director of African Education to Chief Secretary, Mazabuka, May 25, 1944, NAZ, SEC 1/560.
  35. H.M. Nkumbula, "African representation," *Mutende*, February 24, 1944.
  36. Draft minutes of the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board on African Education, Lusaka, July 31, 1944, NAZ, SEC 1/560.
  37. S.K. Mwase to H.M. Nkumbula, Kitwe, March 1, 1945, UNIPA, ANC 9/43. Cf. also Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 91. An earlier, aborted attempt to establish a Congress in the Southern Province



- in 1937–1939 is discussed by M.R. Dixon-Fyle, “Politics and agrarian change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1924–63,” PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976, chapter 5.
38. The available evidence suggests that early English and Ila versions of “Life and customs of the Baila” were ready by 1943–1944. The Ila MS, which I have never been able to trace, was entitled “Buumi bwa-Baila Usiyanza Syabo.” See minutes of District Synod, Masuku, October–November 1943, MMSA, WMMS, FBN 7; and minutes of the meeting of the ALCNR, October 27, 1944, NAZ, SEC 2/1140.
  39. Nkumbula, “Life and customs of the Baila,” 16.
  40. Cf. *ibid.*, 19–22, and Smith and Dale, *Ila-Speaking Peoples*, I, 32–36, 40–46.
  41. R.M. Nabulyato, Personal notebook, NAZ, HM 79/PP/10/1.
  42. T.R. Batten, *Thoughts on African Citizenship* (London, 1944), 16. Mention of Nkumbula and Safeli Chileshe’s proposed translation is made in the minutes of the meeting of the ALCNR, March 23, 1945, NAZ, SEC 2/1140.
  43. Nkumbula, “Life and customs of the Baila,” 52.
  44. *Ibid.*, 39.
  45. *Ibid.*, 59.
  46. On whom, see G. Macola, “Historical and Ethnographical Publications in the Vernaculars of Colonial Zambia: Missionary Contribution to the ‘Creation of Tribalism,’” *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 33 (2003), esp. 355–360.
  47. Constitution of the FASNR, encl. in G.W.C. Kaluwa to Chief Secretary, Mazabuka, August 5, 1946, NAZ, SEC2/1119.
  48. R.J. Mason to H.M. Nkumbula, Mazabuka, January 22, 1946, UNIPA, ANC 9/43.
  49. H.M. Nkumbula to S. Gore-Browne, n.p. [but Kampala], n.d. [but March 1946], UNIPA, ANC 9/43.
  50. L.K.M. Kombe to H.M. Nkumbula, Kampala, December 4, 1945, UNIPA, ANC 9/43.
  51. E.J. Waddington to A.C. Jones, Lusaka, December 31, 1946, NAZ, SEC 1/522.
  52. H.M. Nkumbula to J.L. Keith, n.p. [but Kampala], n.d. [but March 1946], UNIPA, ANC 9/43.
  53. Waddington to Jones, December 31, 1946.
  54. Gore-Browne went to the extent of undertaking personally to sponsor Nkumbula in the event of the expected British Council scholarship not materializing (S. Gore-Browne to Secretary for Native Affairs, Lusaka, February 17, 1947, NAZ, SEC 1/522).
  55. I am indebted to Fiona Spencer, the Student Records Manager of the Institute of Education, for providing me with details of Nkumbula’s studies in 1947–1948; F. Spencer’s e-mail to the author, December 19, 2007. During his time at the Institute, Nkumbula

- taught for “eleven months in London County Council schools.” *National Assembly Debates*, June 21, 1967, col. 293.
56. H.M. Nkumbula to S. Gore-Browne, London, April 4, 1948, NAZ, HM 94/2. The full title of John Dewey’s book, first published in New York in 1916, was *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*.
  57. Barry Warner and Graylin to Registrar (University of London), n.p. [but Livingstone], July 5, 1961, UNIPA, ANC 8/8.
  58. Minutes of the meeting of the African Bursaries Committee, Lusaka, March 22, 1949, NAZ, SEC 1/523; Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 24.
  59. R.M. Nabulyato, “Nkumbula’s education,” letter published in the *Central African Post (CAP)*, August 2, 1951; see also Nkumbula’s own recollections in “Face to face with the ‘Old Lion,’” *Sunday Times of Zambia*, March 10, 1974.
  60. J.L. Keith, “Colonial students in the United Kingdom and Eire,” London, February 25, 1948, National Archives of the UK (NAUK), Kew, London, CO 537/2573. Similar concepts had earlier been expressed in J.L. Keith, “African Students in Great Britain,” *African Affairs*, 45 (1946).
  61. See, for instance, his undated comments on “Communist influence on coloured African students in the UK,” September 1948, encl. in P. Sillitoe to M. Logan, London, October 11, 1948; and J.L. Keith to P. Mitchell, London, February 11, 1949, both in NAUK, CO 537/4312.
  62. J.L. Keith, minute of June 3, 1948, CO 537/2573. See also H. Adi, *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London, 1998), 140.
  63. J.L. Keith, minute of August 2, 1949, NAUK, CO 537/4312; Nkumbula to Keith, n.d. [but March 1946]. Late in 1956, when Keith returned to Northern Rhodesia for a brief visit, Nkumbula accompanied him on a tour of Namwala. The then DC, K.M. Chittenden, suspected Keith of being “engaged in homosexual practice” and described him as a “harmless though probably Fabian crank.” K.M. Chittenden, “Namwala district intelligence report, November 1956 to date,” December 13, 1956; and K.M. Chittenden, “Namwala district summary: January 1957,” both in NAZ, SP 1/318.
  64. B.S. Hinds to J.L. Keith, Lusaka, April 7, 1948, NAUK, CO 537/2577.
  65. Cf. Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 25.
  66. I. Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement* (London, 1974; orig. ed. 1968), chapters 17–19; M. Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad, 1935–1947* (Legon, 1996), chapter 8; and Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 125–128.
  67. Quoted in Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 122.

68. Ibid., 117; Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 120–121.
69. Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 127–128.
70. *The New African*, March 1946, 5, reproduced in *ibid.*, between 140 and 141.
71. Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 185–187, and Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 142.
72. While still committed to Marxism, Padmore had severed his links with the Comintern since 1934. Geiss, *Pan-African Movement*, 352.
73. S. Williams, *Colour Bar: The Triumph of Seretse Khama and his Nation* (London, 2006), 10; A.J. Stockwell, “Leaders, Dissidents and the Disappointed: Colonial Students in Britain as Empire Ended,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36 (2008), 503, n. 33.
74. Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 123; Short, *Banda*, chapter 3.
75. *National Assembly Debates*, January 24, 1974, col. 508. See also Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 92.
76. F. Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002), 184.
77. Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 133; Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 131–134. The expression “reassertion of empire” is borrowed from R. Hyam, *Britain’s Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation, 1918–1968* (Cambridge, 2006), 94.
78. S. Gore-Browne to R. Hinden, Lusaka, October 7, 1947, Rhodes House (RH), Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/4.
79. Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 25, where the name “Harold Laski” is given as “Nakald Lusky”!
80. Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 25; D. Howell, “Brockway (Archibald) Fenner, Baron Brockway (1888–1988),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39849>; accessed on July 26, 2006].
81. J. Stonehouse, *Prohibited Immigrant* (London, 1960), 14; Williams, *Colour Bar*, 10. Stonehouse, of course, is better remembered today for his financial scams and for faking his own death in the 1970s than for his earlier interest in African decolonization. C.S. Nicholls and T. McNally, “Stonehouse, John Thomson (1925–1988),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39863>; accessed on July 26, 2006].
82. J.L. Keith, minute of August 2, 1949; Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 235.
83. Draft minutes of the meeting of the “informal group investigating the political significance of colonial students in the United Kingdom,” London, January 13, 1948, NAUK, CO 537/2573; Stockwell, “Leaders, Dissidents and the Disappointed”; Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 140.
84. A.C. Jones to Colonial Governors, London, June 10, 1948, available both in NAZ, ED 1/23/22 and in NAUK, CO 537/4276.

85. Keith, "African Students in Great Britain," 69–71.
86. S. Chileshe to H.M. Nkumbula, London, April 12, 1946, UNIPA, ANC 9/43.
87. "Extract from Hansard no. 66, December 20, 1949," NAZ, ED 1/23/21.
88. "Extract from letter received by A/SNA from Mr. R.S. Hudson, February 26, 1949," NAZ, ED 1/23/22. Hudson's alarmed missive was used by Bush to press for the appointment of an unofficial liaison officer for Northern Rhodesian students in the UK. Retired Provincial Commissioner T.F. Sandford was eventually selected "to act as a liaison 'friend' to our African Students in England." R.P. Bush to T.F. Sandford, Lusaka, June 1, 1949, NAZ, ED 1/23/22.
89. "Memorandum against constitutional proposals," encl. in G.W.C. Kaluwa to SNA, Mazabuka, July 15, 1948, NAZ, SEC 2/1119; Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 211–212.
90. Constitution of the NRAC, encl. in R.M. Nabulyato to SNA, Kafue, 17 September 17, 1948, NAZ, SEC 2/1119.
91. Nkumbula to Gore-Browne, April 4, 1948.
92. Resolutions of the NRAC, encl. in R.M. Nabulyato to SNA, Kafue, August 27, 1948, NAZ, SEC 2/1119; G. Rennie to A.C. Jones, Lusaka, May 4, 1948, encl. in G. Rennie to A.B. Cohen, Lusaka, May 4, 1948, NAUK, CO 537/3647.
93. S. Gore-Browne to E. Locke-King, Lusaka, August 31, 1948, RH, Unsorted papers of Stewart Gore-Browne, Box 10; H.M. Nkumbula to E. Locke-King, London, August 17, 1948, NAZ, HM 94/2.
94. R.M. Nabulyato to S. Gore-Browne, Kafue, April 30, 1949, NAZ, HM 94/3.
95. G. Rennie to A.C. Jones, [Lusaka], June 15, 1949, NAUK, CO 981/29. Even though the Secretary of State for the Colonies had been prepared to grant Nkumbula "a Colonial Development and Welfare Fund scholarship," his B.Sc. (Econ.) at the LSE had been sponsored by means of a territorial fund bursary. Minutes of the meeting of African Bursaries Committee, Lusaka, June 26, 1948, NAZ, SEC 1/522.
96. H.K. Banda and H.M. Nkumbula, "Federation in Central Africa," London, May 1, 1949, NAZ, HM 70/4/49/2.
97. M. Logan to T. Smith, internal memo of July 29, 1949, NAUK, CO 537/4312.
98. Keith, minute of August 2, 1949.
99. Implausibly, Mwangilwa writes that Keith sought to prevent Nkumbula's return to Northern Rhodesia and that Harry contemplated the possibility of getting his return fare from "the Russians." "Harry nearly became a communist. But after arguments, Keith agreed to let Harry go." *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 25.

## 2 “The Father of Zambian Politics” between Padmore and Maala

1. Cf. Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 27, and “Face to face with the ‘Old Lion.’”
2. H.M. Nkumbula to M. Nicholson, Maala, November 15, 1950, RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/3.
3. Interview with Rev. Isaac Mumpansha, Lusaka, October 30, 2006.
4. H.M. Nkumbula, “Leadership,” Maala, n.d. [but before December 19, 1950], RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/4. An edited version of Nkumbula’s essay was published in the monthly journal of the FCB, *Venture*, 3 (February 1951), 8.
5. Dixon-Fyle, “Politics and agrarian change,” 258–259.
6. Nkumbula, “Life and customs of the Baila,” 57, 66–67.
7. H. M. Nkumbula, “Immigration and progress of the protectorate of Northern Rhodesia,” encl. in H.M. Nkumbula to M. Nicholson, Maala, May 17, 1950, RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/2.
8. Nkumbula to Nicholson, November 15, 1950.
9. M.D. Nkoloma, “G/S circular,” Banamwaze, May 1, 1951, RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/3. Macpherson is wrong in stating that Nkumbula had not been a member of the Congress until his accession to the presidency; *Kenneth Kaunda*, 92.
10. Nabulyato, *African Realities*, 43.
11. R.M. Nabulyato, Resolutions of the Executive Council of the NRAC, Lusaka, January 18, 1951, RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/3. Cf. with Banda and Nkumbula, “Federation in Central Africa.”
12. See Mulford, *Zambia*, 24, and A.D. Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London, 1976), 209.
13. N. Nalumango, in “Record of a meeting of the Southern Province African Provincial Council,” Livingstone, August 22, 1951, NAZ, Box 4c.
14. H.M. Nkumbula, in *ibid.*
15. There is a vast literature on the agricultural history of Zambia’s Southern Province. Here, I am drawing especially on Dixon-Fyle, “Politics and agrarian change”; “Land Alienation and the Initial African Reaction on the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) c. 1898–1935,” *Moblomi. Journal of Southern African Historical Studies*, 3–4 (1981); and K.P. Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialism, 1890–1939* (New York, Westport and London, 1986).
16. Interview with Mumpansha, October 30, 2006.
17. See, e.g., L. Vail, “Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History,” in *id.* (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London, 1989), esp. 14–15.

18. R.M. Nabulyato, "How the Congress works in Northern Rhodesia," n.p., n.d., encl. in R.M. Nabulyato to FCB, n.p., n.d. [but November 1951?], RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/3.
19. H.M. Nkumbula, Speech to the "Working Committee," Kitwe, December 25, 1951, UNIPA, ANC 7/81.
20. Ibid.
21. Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 240–241.
22. R.M. Nabulyato, Report on "African delegation to London on Federation," May 1952, NAZ, HM70/7/52/1.
23. H.M. Nkumbula, Report on the "first delegation to Britain to campaign against Federation," July 1952, NAZ, HM70/7/52/2.
24. "Note as to conference at Mr. Dingle Foot's chambers," January 16, 1953, encl. in Bryden and Williams to Chief Mpezeni, London, January 16, 1953, NAZ, HM 70/6/53/1.
25. D. Foot, "Northern Rhodesian African Congress. Opinion," London, March 24, 1953, UNIPA, ANC 9/49.
26. *Congress News*, October 1953.
27. See, e.g., H.M. Nkumbula to M. Scott, Lusaka, October 27, 1952, Ompie Nkumbula-Liebenthal's collection, Lusaka, and H.M. Nkumbula to "All chiefs and African people in N. Rhodesia," Lusaka, December 24, 1952, UNIPA, ANC 9/49.
28. R.P. Bush to [PC, Southern Province?], Lusaka, July 16, 1953, NAZ, SP 1/14/18.
29. Quoted in Dixon-Fyle, "Politics and agrarian change," 429.
30. Nabulyato, Report.
31. H.M. Nkumbula to "All chiefs and people," Lusaka, June 5, 1952, Ompie Nkumbula-Liebenthal's collection; G.W.C. Kaluwa to "Dear chief," Lusaka, July 5, 1952, SOAS Archives, London, Thomas Fox-Pitt' Papers (TFPP), PP MS 6, Box 13, File 6/7/2.
32. R.P. Bush to PCs, Lusaka, July 23, 1952, NAZ, SP 1/14/18.
33. Nkumbula to Scott, October 27, 1952.
34. The first written mention of the new name that I know of dates to June 1952 (Nkumbula to "All chiefs and people," June 5, 1952). There is considerable confusion surrounding the timing of the introduction of the new name, with Sikalumbi wrongly stating that it took place in as late as 1953 and Mulford and Roberts as early as 1951. W.K. Sikalumbi (ed. H.W. Langworthy), *Before UNIP* (Lusaka, n.d. [but 1977]), 9; Mulford, *Zambia*, 20; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 210. No precise dates are given by either Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa* or Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*.
35. H.M. Nkumbula, Presidential address, Lusaka, August 19, 1952, UNIPA, ANC 9/39.
36. H.M. Nkumbula, "The General President's Statement...at the Mapoloto African Township," Lusaka, June 26, 1952, UNIPA, ANC 7/91.

37. Nkumbula, Presidential address.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. M. Nicholson to T. Fox-Pitt, London, August 10, 1951, SOAS Archives, TFPP, PP MS 6, Box 2, File 6/1/2; "Record of a delegate conference held...by the Africa Bureau," London, May 3, 1952, SOAS Archives, TFPP, PP MS 6, Box 13, File 6/7/1.
41. "Proposed constitution for a self-governing state of Northern Rhodesia...", appended to Nkumbula, Presidential address.
42. "Executive Committee's interview with Mr. C.R. Attlee MP," Lusaka, n.d. [but August 30, 1952?], UNIPA, ANC 9/49. An imperfect reading of Nkumbula's constitutional plan is given by Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 246.
43. Since the second largest chiefly contingent came from the Central Province, more than half of the Native Authorities represented at the Conference belonged to the Bantu Botatwe. "A list of chiefs who attended..." encl. in minutes of the conference, Lusaka, August 18–25, 1952, NAZ, HM 70/6/52/1.
44. Nkumbula, Presidential address. On the AFIF, see M. Dixon-Fyle, "Agricultural Improvement and Political Protest on the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia," *Journal of African History*, 18 (1977), and J.C. Momba, "Peasant Differentiation and Rural Party Politics in Colonial Zambia," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 11 (1985).
45. Minutes of the conference.
46. H.M. Nkumbula to "All chiefs and people of Northern Rhodesia," Lusaka, December 22, 1952, UNIPA, ANC 9/49.
47. Minutes of the "first meeting" of the "African Inter-Territorial Conference of Rhodesias and Nyasaland," Fort Jameson, March 27–28, 1953, NAZ, HM 75/PP/3/53/1.
48. H.M. Nkumbula, "The President's statement on the White Paper of January, 1953," [Lusaka], March 22, 1953, UNIPA, ANC 9/49.
49. See, e.g., Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 24.
50. H.M. Nkumbula, "A statement on the imposition of Federation...", Lusaka, June 2, 1953, NAZ, HM 70/5/53/4.
51. H.M. Nkumbula, "The President's statement on the effects of the National Days of Prayer," Lusaka, April 11, 1953, NAZ, HM 70/5/53/2.
52. R.J. Randell, "Southern Province intelligence report" (hereafter SPIR) to August 25, 1953, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
53. See, e.g., G.C. Clay, SPIR to March 25, 1954, NAZ, SP 1/3/3; id., SPIR to January 25, 1957, NAZ, SP 1/3/18; and Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 48.
54. J. Lonsdale, "Jomo Kenyatta, God and the Modern World," in J.-G. Deutsch, P. Probst, and H. Schmidt (eds.), *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate* (Portsmouth, NH, and Oxford, 2002), 49.

55. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 113.
56. *Ibid.*, 103–104.
57. Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 129. Cf. also Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 275.
58. Nabulyato, *African Realities*, 31.
59. W.F. Stubbs to PCs, Lusaka, April 18, 1951, NAZ, SP 1/14/18.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. G.W.C. Kaluwa to R.M. Nabulyato, Mazabuka, August 22, 1951, UNIPA, ANC 2/22. The text in question was H.M. Nkumbula and R.M. Nabulyato, “The following points were presented to the MPs... on 4 August 1951,” NAZ, HM 70/4/51/1.
63. Kaluwa to Nabulyato, Mazabuka, August 22, 1951.
64. “Report on an interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 11 September, 1951... and on tour of the Copper Belt... from 15 to 22 September, 1951,” NAZ, HM 70/7/51/1. A copy of “The case against federal proposals... presented to the Secretary of State,” Lusaka, September 11, 1951, is to be found in Ompie Nkumbula-Liebenthal’s collection. This is not to be confused with the coeval *Case against the Federal Proposals* published by the Ndola Anti-Federation Action Committee in August 1951; NAZ, HM 75/PP/6/51/1.
65. M. Nicholson to H.M. Nkumbula, London, October 3, 1951, RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/6.
66. T. Fox-Pitt to S. Zukas, Kitwe, April 30, 1952, NAZ, HM 75/PP/1.
67. R.M. Nabulyato, “Circular letter,” Lusaka, March 8, 1952, UNIPA, ANC 9/29.
68. “Record of a delegate conference.”
69. As indirectly admitted by Nkumbula himself in his meeting with Attlee in August of the same year. In May, Nkumbula had claimed that each of the 75 Congress branches had an average of “about 300 members.” Attlee was told instead that each branch had “about 100–300 members.” “Executive Committee’s interview.”
70. “Minutes of the Executive and Working Committees,” Lusaka, August 27, 1952, UNIPA, ANC 9/39. The quoted appraisal of Liso’s qualities is to be found in K.M. Chittenden, “Politics,” April 1958, Namwala District Notebook, vol. 2, NAZ, KSF 2/1.
71. Mulford, *Zambia*, 25.
72. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 103.
73. E.M. Liso to S.B. Zukas, Broken Hill, July 10, 1953, NAZ, HM 75/PP/1.
74. K.D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography* (London, 1962), 52–55; Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 116–117.
75. These figures are inferred from K.M. Chittenden, “Namwala public opinion report” (hereafter NPOR), April 5, 1952, NAZ, SP 1/3/3; Nabulyato, Report, and *African Realities*, 41.



76. "Minutes of the Executive and Working Committees."
77. See the relevant district and provincial public opinion and intelligence reports in NAZ, SP 1/3/3, and Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 102–103.
78. Interview with Dan Munkombwe, Lusaka, April 22, 2005.
79. Chittenden, NPOR, April 5, 1952
80. K.M. Chittenden to PC (Southern Province), [Namwala], September 2, 1952, NAZ, SP 1/3/3. Mubitana, who may have been one of Nkumbula's teachers in Kafue in the early 1930s (interview with Lilly Mubitana Monze, Lusaka, October 27, 2006), was then working as the Ila Native Authority's treasury clerk.
81. K.M. Chittenden, NPOR, July 25, 1952, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
82. K.M. Chittenden, NPOR, October 4, 1952, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
83. K.M. Chittenden, NPOR, November 2, 1952, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
84. K.M. Chittenden, "Namwala intelligence report," August 14, 1953, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
85. See, e.g., interviews with Mubitana Monze, and Rhodia Mungaila Mulemba, Lusaka, October 28, 2006.
86. P. Fraenkel, *Wayaleshi* (London, 1959), 181.
87. "The African Congress," *CAP*, July 26, 1951.
88. Chittenden to PC, September 2, 1952.
89. G. Clay, "Southern Province public opinion report. December 1952," NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
90. K.M. Chittenden, NPOR, February 26, 1953, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
91. G. Clay, SPIR to September 25, 1953, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
92. G. Clay, SPIR to November 25, 1953, NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
93. This can be inferred from Chittenden, NPOR, November 2, 1952.
94. During the first two years of Nkumbula's tenure, the Congress' top six positions were equally subdivided between the Southern Province (president Nkumbula, secretary Nabulyato, and vice-secretary Kaluwa) and Bemba-speaking regions of the country (vice-president Yamba, treasurer Kakumbi, and vice-treasurer Chileshe). After the annual conference of 1953, the balance shifted in favour of the latter, with four Bemba-speakers (secretary Kaunda, vice-secretary Konkola, vice-president Puta, and treasurer Sokota) serving alongside two Bantu Botatwe (Nkumbula and vice-treasurer Mayanda).
95. Schooled at the Free Church of Scotland's Lubwa mission, in Chinsali district, Kaunda had completed Form II at Munali Secondary School in the early 1940s. In 1945, he had been appointed headmaster of Lubwa Primary School. For further particulars, see Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, chapters 2 and 3.
96. See, e.g., Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 275, 300 and Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*. Recent authors, too, have not escaped the facile binary between Nkumbula's joie de vivre and "taste for

extravagance,” on the one hand, and Kaunda’s “shyness,” “ascetic discipline,” and “deep religiosity,” on the other. E.W. Herbert, *Twilight on the Zambezi: Late Colonialism in Central Africa* (New York, 2002), 103–106.

97. Interview with Mumpansha, October 30, 2006.
98. K.D. Kaunda, Circular, Lusaka, September 18, 1953, NAZ, HM 70/3/53/5.
99. K.D. Kaunda, Circular, Lusaka, April 12, 1954, NAZ, HM 70/3/54/6.
100. K.D. Kaunda, “Annual review of African National Congress activities,” Lusaka, August 15, 1954, NAZ, HM 70/7/54/1.
101. K.D. Kaunda, Circular, Lusaka, September 13, 1954, NAZ, HM 70/3/54/8.
102. K.D. Kaunda, Circular, Lusaka, January 26, 1954, NAZ, HM 70/3/54/2.
103. K.D. Kaunda to J.E.M. Michello, [Lusaka], August 22, 1953, UNIPA, ANC 1/5.
104. K.D. Kaunda to P. Sokota, [Lusaka], December 21, 1954, UNIPA, ANC 1/5; *Congress Gazette*, January 1, 1955.
105. Kaunda, “Annual Review”; *Congress Gazette*, January 1, 1955.
106. See Mulford, *Zambia*, 36; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 218–219.
107. See, especially, Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 26–33, 43–50.
108. A point made by K.M. Chittenden, “Namwala intelligence report. Period ending 1 March 1954,” n.d., NAZ, SP 1/3/3.
109. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 47; Dixon-Fyle, “Politics and agrarian change,” 312.
110. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 26–33, 43–50.

### 3 The Explosion of Contradictions

1. See, e.g., *Congress Gazette*, May 7, 1955, and *Congress News Circular*, July 25, 1955.
2. Kaunda, for instance, posted identical letters to T. Fox-Pitt, of the Antislavery Society (Lusaka, December 2, 1958, NAZ, HM 71/1), and H. Selwyn-Clarke, of the FCB (Lusaka, December 2, 1958, RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 101/3).
3. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, chapters 12 and 13.
4. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*. Sikalumbi’s “The growth of African nationalism,” n.d. [but 1957], and “The circumstances which gave rise to the banning of the Zambia African National Congress—Northern Rhodesia,” n.d. [but 1959] are to be found in NAZ, HM76/PP/6/1–2.
5. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 60–61.
6. *Ibid.*, 63.
7. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958.
8. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 63.

9. Ibid., 66–67. See above, 35–36.
10. Ibid., 73. The proposal was elaborated in the “Joint statement on constitutional changes made by D.L. Yamba, Esq., MP, and H.M. Nkumbula, Esq., President General of the African National Congress,” encl. in K.D. Kaunda to ANC officials, [Lusaka], August 28, 1955, NAZ, HM 70/5/55/2.
11. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 75.
12. Ibid., 81.
13. Ibid., 88–89. The meeting, for which Sikalumbi fails to provide a firm date, took place early in August 1956; “African Congress denounce ‘strong arm’ tactics,” *CAP*, August 3, 1956.
14. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 99–100.
15. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 101.
16. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958; Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 93–94. And cf. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 111.
17. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958.
18. Ibid.; Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 113.
19. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 114.
20. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958; Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 116.
21. Lusaka, 1958.
22. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958. The “statement” to which Kaunda refers is H.M. Nkumbula, “Statement on the constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia,” Lusaka (dated “24 April 1958” in the copy available in RH, MSS Brit. Emp. s 365, 103/2, and “May” 1958 in the copy held in UNIPA, ANC 2/2). The “memorandum”—also known as the Congress’ “Black Paper”—is H.M. Nkumbula and K.D. Kaunda, “Comments on the proposals for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies,” Lusaka, “May” 1958, UNIPA, ANC 2/2. Written “for, and on behalf of, the National Executive Council of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia,” this latter text was made public toward the end of the month (as evinced from “Treachery, says ‘Black Paper,’” *CAP*, May 28, 1958). It was also reproduced as an appendix to Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*.
23. While making no mention of the episode in his letter of December 2, 1958, Kaunda later charged that Nkumbula, “resting in bed at his hotel,” had missed the opportunity of meeting Lennox-Boyd during his last visit to London before the inception of ZANC; *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 96.
24. The ordinary annual conference had been held early in July.
25. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958.
26. A remark, however, that does not apply to Fergus Macpherson, who wrote his adulatory biography of Kaunda (*Kenneth Kaunda*) while attached to the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation and who had

therefore more extensive access to restricted archival records than his coeval analysts.

27. Rotberg's account of the split draws almost solely on Sikalumbi's "Circumstances" and Kaunda's *Zambia Shall Be Free (Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa)*, 275–282, 284–285, 289–291). Cf. also Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 175, 178, 187–188, 197, 202, 232–260, and R. Hall, *Zambia* (London, 1965), 176–184. While also relying on Sikalumbi's "Circumstances" and Kaunda's *Zambia Shall Be Free*, Mulford's narrative is better informed (*Zambia*, 61–76), though still weakened by numerous factual and interpretative mistakes. A recent recension of the Sikalumbi-Kaunda *vulgata* is to be found in H. Macmillan, "Nkumbula, Harry Mwaanga (1917?–1983)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75930>; accessed on February 2, 2008].
28. D. Lessing, *Walking in the Shade: Volume Two of My Autobiography, 1949–1962* (London, 1997), 181, 183. Lessing's 1956 journey, of course, forms the subject of *Going Home* (London, 1957), sections of which, including an interview with Nkumbula, had already appeared in her "The Kariba Project," *New Statesman and Nation*, June 9, 1956. Lessing's appraisal of Nkumbula's oratory was not shared by Peter Fraenkel, who, when witnessing the burning of the *Federal Scheme* in 1953 (see above, 40), thought that Nkumbula "spoke with all the detachment and mannerisms of touring district commissioners"; *Wayaleshi*, 173.
29. Sikalumbi, acting deputy treasurer-general of the Congress since December 1954, explains his exit from the party after the 1956 general conference by pointing to his "long criticism and disagreement with Nkumbula's policies of finance and party control, and a more recent quarrel due to Nkumbula's change of mind about a decision to buy a printing press." (*Before UNIP*, 105.) Nkumbula, however, would later allege that Sikalumbi's animosity was due to his having lost the election to the post of treasurer-general at the same 1956 conference. ("Franklin backs a new anti-Congress party—Nkumbula," *CAP*, September 25, 1957.) And for a refutation of Harry's claim, see "We weren't defeated—Africans," *CAP*, September 27, 1957.
30. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 65.
31. H.M. Nkumbula, "Statement and message . . .," Chibolya, Lusaka, March 6, 1955, UNIPA, ANC 7/90.
32. M.D. McWilliam, "Colonial leaders," letter published in *The Times* (London), December 24, 1955.
33. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 63.
34. Cf. "Nkumbula warns of boycott extension," *CAP*, April 6, 1956, and H.M. Nkumbula, "Statement made . . . on the alleged boycott of European and Indian owned shops at Kabwata on the 8th of

- April 1956," UNIPA, ANC 7/81, with "Lusaka boycott ends," *CAP*, April 23, 1956.
35. "Kaunda condemns hooliganism," *CAP*, April 13, 1956; *Congress Circular*, July 31, 1956. For Sikalumbi's account of the boycotts, see *Before UNIP*, 85–88.
  36. *Congress Circular*, July 31, 1956.
  37. Quoted in "Lusaka boycott ends."
  38. Contrary to what is asserted by Sikalumbi (*Before UNIP*, 98), labour unrest on the Copperbelt in the summer of 1956 had nothing to do with Nkumbula's "moderation." The strikes' immediate cause was the perceived attempt on the part of the Chamber of Mines to undermine the AMWU through the creation of the African Salaried Staff Association. The only leadership which the strikes might be construed as challenging was that of Katilungu, the president of AMWU, whom Fox-Pitt described as a "right wing type" of unionist, "satisfied with steady gains in wages and 'advancement' in industry" and bent on trying "to keep out of politics." T. Fox-Pitt to J. Johnson, [London], July 30, 1956, SOAS Archives, TFPP, PP MS 6, Box 13, File 6/7/3.
  39. "African Congress denounce 'strong arm' tactics."
  40. H.M. Nkumbula to T. Fox-Pitt, n.p. [but Lusaka?], September 27, 1956, UNIPA, ANC 5/9.
  41. Ibid. This, in itself, gives the lie to Sikalumbi's rather ludicrous allegation that Nkumbula had been warned by "people in high government circles" of the impending declaration of the State of Emergency and had therefore been advised to steer clear of the Copperbelt in September. "It evidently was felt that if he went there and was arrested his 'New Look' policy would fail..." *Before UNIP*, 99.
  42. Nkumbula to Fox-Pitt, September 27, 1956.
  43. "Nkumbula warns of 'strife,'" *CAP*, October 8, 1956.
  44. H.M. Nkumbula, "President's speech at the seventh Annual Conference, October 8th 1956," NAZ, HM 70/5/56/1. Bizarrely, Mulford describes Nkumbula's speech as "notably moderate"; *Zambia*, 62.
  45. James Johnson eventually visited the country under the aegis of Congress in March–April 1957.
  46. "Congress bringing out Labour MP on visit," *CAP*, October 10, 1956.
  47. "It was honky-tonk for the 'Man of Destiny,'" *CAP*, October 12, 1956.
  48. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 103. And see above, 44.
  49. G.C. Clay, SPIR to October 25, 1956, NAZ, SP 1/3/18
  50. "'Recall Sir Arthur'—Nkumbula," *CAP*, December 31, 1956.
  51. "My life in peril says leader," *CAP*, July 26, 1957.
  52. "Congress gives a warning on its 'no violence' rule," *CAP*, November 4, 1957.

53. "MLC objects to a speech by Nkumbula," *CAP*, November 8, 1957.
54. "Franklin attacks Harry Nkumbula," *CAP*, November 11, 1957. That the relationship between Franklin and Nkumbula was much less profound than has hitherto been assumed is also indirectly borne out by the entirely marginal place occupied by the latter in the former's account of federal politics, *Unholy Wedlock: The Failure of the Central African Federation* (London, 1963). By the end 1957, Nkumbula was certainly less close to Franklin than Sikalumbi, who was briefly involved in the manoeuvres leading to the inception of the interracial Constitution Party alongside African MLC Chileshe and trade unionist Katilungu. ("Franklin backs a new anti-Congress party—Nkumbula"; see also E. Scott to S. Gore-Browne, Lusaka, November 21, 1957, NAZ, HM 94/7.) Unsurprisingly, *Before UNIP* (115) makes no mention of an episode that would have greatly weakened its author's radical credentials.
55. Quoted in "Congress will send propaganda men 'to tell them in Britain,'" *CAP*, December 13, 1957.
56. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 116.
57. "Congress will send propaganda men 'to tell them in Britain.'" Welensky had taken over the Federal Premiership from Huggins on November 1, 1956.
58. Nkumbula, "Statement and message."
59. "Memorandum on the representation of Africans and other races in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and in Northern Rhodesia," encl. in H.M. Nkumbula to A. Lennox-Boyd, London, n.d. [but November–December 1957], SOAS Archives, TFPP, PP MS 6, Box 13, File 6/7/3.
60. "Joint statement on constitutional changes."
61. H.M. Nkumbula, "Statement on the central African political situation by the National President," [Lusaka], May 2, 1957, NAZ, HM 70/5/57/2.
62. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 114.
63. See above, 38.
64. T.B. Mukupo to K.D. Kaunda, Lusaka, n.d. [but late September 1957], UNIPA, ANC 9/40.
65. H.M. Nkumbula and K.D. Kaunda to A. Benson, [Lusaka], January 24, 1958, NAZ, HM 70/4/58/1 (also available in UNIPA, ANC 2/2).
66. See note 22, above.
67. *The Legislative Council Debates: Official Report of the First Session of the Eleventh Legislative Council* (hereafter *Legislative Council Debates*), April 8, 1959, cols. 67–68.
68. At the Congress conference of July 1958, Nkumbula had remarked he had "never come across any British Colonial Constitution so confused, reactionary and contradictory as the proposed constitutional

- reforms for Northern Rhodesia." (H.M. Nkumbula, "The National President's address to the territorial Annual Conference," Lusaka, [4-6] July 1958, UNIPA, ANC 2/2.) As late as mid-September, following the publication of the final constitutional proposal for Northern Rhodesia, Nkumbula was still keen to express his disappointment with the Colonial Secretary for not having "met the demand of the African people for parity in the Executive and Legislative Councils." "Nkumbula is upset by the new proposals," *Northern News* (NN), September 17, 1958. And cf. also Mulford, *Zambia*, 72-73.
69. Kaunda to Fox-Pitt, December 2, 1958.
  70. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 93-94. And cf. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, III.
  71. "UK will refuse—Nkumbula," *CAP*, July 12, 1957; "My life in peril says leader," *CAP*, July 26, 1957. For troubles connected with the Lusaka boycott, see, e.g., "Boycott: African is beaten up," *CAP*, July 3, 1957.
  72. "My life in peril says leader."
  73. H.M. Nkumbula to K.D. Kaunda, [Lusaka], September 13, 1957, UNIPA, ANC 1/1. The late Fergus Macpherson, Kaunda's apologist, was aware of the existence of the missive, for a second copy of it is to be found among his papers at the University of Edinburgh's Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World. (I owe this information to David Gordon.) By omitting it from his otherwise encyclopaedic biography of Kaunda, Macpherson left himself vulnerable to the charge of deliberate deception.
  74. Mukupo to Kaunda, Lusaka, n.d. [but late September 1957].
  75. "Mutepa" [K.D. Kaunda] to "Lad" [S.M. Kapwepwe], [London], October 7, 1957, NAZ, HM 70/1.
  76. T.B. Mukupo to K.D. Kaunda, [Lusaka], October 28, 1957, NAZ, HM 70/1.
  77. Sikalumbi, *Before UNIP*, 103. In 1955, Dixon Konkola, a maverick trade unionist and one of Nkumbula's earliest critics, denounced the Congress president's tendency to regard both NEC officials and provincial presidents as his nominees. "There is no any other man who controls Congress except a few appointed Provincial Presidents mostly small businessmen, these people have to carry out the policies of one person who appointed them, inspite of protests from the masses for appointments without consulting them." D. Konkola to S. and C. Zukas, Broken Hill, December 16, 1955, NAZ, HM 75/PP/1.
  78. "Action Group Members" to M. Sipalo, Choma, August 11, 1957, UNIPA, ANC 9/40.
  79. E.C. Thomson, SPIR to August 25, 1957, NAZ, SP 1/3/18.
  80. E.M. Liso to K.D. Kaunda, Mbeza, February 1, 1958, UNIPA, ANC 7/43.

81. E.M. Liso to T.B. Mukupo, Mbeza, September 22, 1958, UNIPA, ANC 7/43.
82. "Now lad, what truth is there in the allegation that some Congress branches will not obey your orders from the HQ [?] This is alleged to have taken place on the Copper Belt where the P[resident] G[eneral] ordered boycotts should cease but no body paid any heed! If this is true I hope you will emphasize the need for a first class form of discipline." "Mutepe" [K.D. Kaunda] to "Lad" [S.M. Kapwepwe], October 7, 1957.
83. Nkumbula is on record as having once cryptically remarked that ZANC "was not a new organisation, but that it had been started secretly by the present leaders in 1953." (A. St. J. Sugg, SPIR to November 20, 1958, NAZ, SP 1/3/18.) And in 1955, he was apparently worried that Kapwepwe might "'destroy [his] Congress'" during his jail term. Hall, *Zambia*, 176 (quoting a personal communication from Kapwepwe).
84. Nkumbula's anti-Kariba writings are too numerous to enumerate here. As examples, see H.M. Nkumbula to A. Lennox-Boyd, Lusaka, March 4, 1955, UNIPA, ANC 7/90 ("Petition to Her Majesty's government on the Kariba Gorge decision"); and "Petition concerning the evacuation of the people from the Zambezi valley," London, November 17, 1955, encl. in H.M. Nkumbula to 'Dear Friends,' Lusaka, February 12, 1956, NAZ, HM 70/2/55/3.
85. "Nkumbula reveals the names of men alleged to be in overthrow group," NN, August 28, 1958. Mulford, *Zambia*, 70, describes Shankanga as a "cousin" of Nkumbula. This, however, appears not to have been the case, unless the word "cousin" stands for "fellow Bantu Botatwe"; interview with Bruce Munyama, Lusaka, November 7, 2005. Shankanga did tour the Copperbelt early in September, but his activities were hampered by Chivunga, who continued to regard himself as the rightful provincial secretary. "Backing for Nkumbula," NN, September 9, 1958; "Yield leadership, Nkumbula urged," NN, September 11, 1958.
86. "ANC 'old leader is finished,'" CAP, September 22, 1958
87. A.B. Mutemba to E.M. Liso, Kasama, October 17, 1958, UNIPA, ANC 7/107.
88. "Nkumbula attacks Chimba," NN, September 27, 1958. In the early 1950s, Chimba had been a member of Zukas' Ndola Anti-Federation Action Committee. In 1954-1955, he was one of the leaders of the General Workers' Trade Union (J.H. Chimba to S. Zukas, Ndola, January 13, 1954, NAZ, HM 75/PP/1/54/3) and senior trustee in the Northern Rhodesia African Trades' Union Congress; D. Konkola to S. Zukas, Broken Hill, May 10, 1955, NAZ, HM 75/PP/1/55/12.
89. "Central province ANC censures Nkumbula," CAP, October 1, 1958



90. For Chitambala's background, see *Africa Who's Who* (London, 1996), 332–333. Upon Chitambala's expulsion, the vote of no-confidence he had engineered was reverted by a "Provincial Conference" held in Fort Jameson on September 13. J.J. Mwanza and P.T.J. Nyoka, Resolutions of the "Provincial Conference," Fort Jameson, September 13, 1958, encl. in P.T.J. Nyoka to K.D. Kaunda, Fort Jameson, n.d., UNIPA, ANC 2/19.
91. My reading of the ZANC split is consistent both with Dixon-Fyle's recognition of the "Copperbelt-oriented" character of the leadership of ZANC/UNIP ("Politics and agrarian change," 377, and "Agricultural Improvement and Political Protest," 595) and with Phiri's off-the-cuff, though profoundly insightful, remark that "ethnicity" might have played a "bigger role" in the split "than has until now been admitted." B.J. Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the 3rd Republic* (Trenton and Asmara, 2006), 102.
92. It is clearly not coincidental that the Southern Province was the first region visited by Nkumbula upon his hurried return from the UK in July 1957. Thomson, SPIR to August 25, 1957.

#### 4 Nkumbula, UNIP, and the Roots of Authoritarianism in Nationalist Zambia

1. Recent, inspiring analyses of the undemocratic foundations of the ideology of hegemonic nationalist parties elsewhere in the region are J.R. Brennan, "The Short History of Political Opposition and Multi-party Democracy in Tanganyika, 1958–64," in G.H. Maddox and J.L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania* (Oxford, 2005); T. Ranger, "Introduction to Volume Two," in id. (ed.), *The Historical Dimensions of Democracy and Human Rights in Zimbabwe. Volume Two: Nationalism, Democracy and Human Rights* (Harare, 2003); and, especially, J. McCracken, "Democracy and Nationalism in Historical Perspective: The Case of Malawi," *African Affairs*, 97 (1998).
2. For all of the above, see Mulford, *Zambia*, chapter 3.
3. Ibid., 135–136.
4. J.E.M. Michello to E.M. Liso, Lusaka, October 22, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 7/107. Cf. also Mulford, *Zambia*, 238.
5. W.K. Sikalumbi to [R.S.K. Makasa], Namwala, July 29, 1959, NAZ, HM 76/PP/1; P.J. Kalichini to T. Fox-Pitt, Lusaka, August 5, 1959, UNIPA, UNIP 6/7/4.
6. S. Wina to W.K. Sikalumbi, [Luwingu], August 19, 1959, NAZ, HM 76/PP/1.
7. N. Tembo, "Copperbelt Circular no. 5. Organ of UNIP—Western Division," Ndola, n.d. [but March 1960], UNIPA, ANC 5/15.

8. [S.M. Kapwepwe] to W.K. Sikalumbi, Mongu. December 7, 1959, NAZ, HM 76/PP/1; N. Tembo to S. Zukas, Ndola, January 16, 1961, NAZ, HM 75/PP/1; UNIP (Southern Division), "Circular no. 2," April 23, 1961, UNIPA, ANC 5/15.
9. F.S. Mubanga, L.S. Chivuno, and A.B. Chisanga, "Catalogue of Nkumbula's political masturbation," Monze, January 16, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/48.
10. Ibid. The ANC National Assembly discussed the possibility of suing UNIP for producing the "nasty document"; minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, March 10, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/45.
11. S. Wina to H.M. Nkumbula, Lusaka, December 10, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 7/55.
12. "Memorandum on constitutional changes submitted to His Excellency the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone... on 24th November, 1959," UNIPA, ANC 5/15.
13. *Voice of UNIP*, May 1960.
14. Minutes of the UNIP National Council, Lusaka, January 18, 1961, UNIPA, UNIP 1/1/3.
15. S. Wina, in *Voice of UNIP*, February 1962.
16. A. Simbule to M.M. Chona, Broken Hill, August 31, 1963; A. Milner to A. Simbule, n.p. [but Lusaka ?], September 13, 1963, UNIPA, UNIP 5/8/1/2/13.
17. *Central African Mail (CAM)*, July 17, 1964.
18. *CAM*, August 7, 1964.
19. See, e.g., Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 299, 308–310, and chapter 12.
20. Kaunda's quote is taken from the "National president's speech at Magoye Conference in August 1962," UNIPA, UNIP 16/1/16.
21. *Voice of UNIP*, May 1960.
22. M. Sipalo to R. Makasa, Accra, December 8, 1961, UNIPA, UNIP 9/1/24.
23. Mulford, *Zambia*; Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*. Marginally more satisfactory on this point is Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*.
24. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, April 14–19, 1960, UNIPA, ANC 7/73.
25. See, e.g., the findings of Northern Rhodesia Government, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Unrest on the Copperbelt, July–August, 1963* (Lusaka, 1963) [Whelan Commission].
26. *Legislative Council Debates*, June 18, 1963, cols. 44–45.
27. Untitled and undated (but late 1958?) fragment in Nkumbula's handwriting, UNIPA, ANC 3/30. See also "Nkumbula on the Kaunda split," *Freedom Magazine*, June 1959.
28. *Legislative Council Debates*, June 25, 1959, col. 98.
29. J.E.M. Michello to "All chiefs and people of Northern Rhodesia," Lusaka, September 4, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 7/65. Excerpts reprinted in *Freedom Magazine*, May 1960.

30. S.V. Kasonde, in *Week by Week*, February 18, 1961.
31. J.E.M. Michello, "Press statement," n.p. [but Lusaka], April 24, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/93.
32. See, e.g., J.E.M. Michello to H.M. Nkumbula, n.p. [but Lusaka], December 5, 1960, UNIPA, ANC 2/21.
33. See, e.g., B. L. Lombe to H.M. Nkumbula, Mufulira, March 26, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 7/55. In this same missive, Lombe informed Nkumbula of his intention of calling his newborn son "Nkumbula II."
34. A.S. Sichilaba, "Provincial statement," n.p. [but Monze?], n.d. [but mid-1960], UNIPA, ANC 2/14.
35. J.E.M. Michello to Youth Section (Convention Peoples' Party of Ghana), n.p. [but Lusaka], April 27, 1960; and J.E.M. Michello to J. Nehru, n.p. [but Lusaka], May 13, 1960, UNIPA, ANC 2/22.
36. ANC, "Press statement," Lusaka, October 19, 1960, ANC 7/93.
37. C.J.A. Banda, "Press statement," n.p., January 24, 1961, ANC 7/93.
38. *Week by Week*, May 20, 1961.
39. M.M. Chona to J.E.M. Michello, Lusaka, August 22, 1961, UNIPA, ANC 9/36.
40. Mulford, *Zambia*, 243.
41. S. Ndilila to "All members of all races," Broken Hill, n.d. [but summer of 1961?], UNIPA, ANC 7/93.
42. "Nkumbula: I am against merger," *CAM*, July 24, 1962.
43. See T. Rasmussen, "The Popular Basis of Anti-Colonial Protest," in W. Tordoff (ed.), *Politics in Zambia* (Manchester, 1974), 51–53, and, especially, M.R. Dixon-Fyle, "Politics and agrarian change", chapters 6 and 7. See also chapter 2, above.
44. *Legislative Council Debates*, August 6, 1959, col. 1167. See also S.N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930–1986* (Lusaka, 1988), 112–113.
45. *Legislative Council Debates*, July 9, cols. 366–367; August 6, 1959, cols. 1169–1174, 1184; August 3, 1960, cols. 1219–1221. Here, my overall interpretation owes much to Momba, "Peasant Differentiation."
46. See, e.g., *Legislative Council Debates*, November 26, 1959, col. 83; and "Land," *Freedom Magazine*, May 1960.
47. H.M. Nkumbula, "Presidential address 1962," Lusaka, September 19, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/101.
48. Quote taken from J.T. Mawere to H.M. Nkumbula, Fort Jameson, April 13, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 9/6.
49. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, April 14–19, 1960.
50. Ellis & Co. to H.M. Nkumbula, Lusaka, September 16, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 9/48.
51. W.K. Jere, "Statement from the national treasury," *Freedom Magazine*, May 1960.
52. W.K. Jere to [B. Mulenga], n.p. [but Lusaka], July 26, 1960, UNIPA, ANC 7/70; and J.E.M. Michello to ANC district chairman (Mumbwa East), Lusaka, August 2, 1960, UNIPA, ANC 2/8.

53. See, e.g., minutes of the ANC National Assembly, April 14–19, 1960.
54. After the ZANC split, the NEC of the ANC was renamed “National Assembly.” But a smaller National Executive or “Cabinet” also remained operational. T.B. Mukupo to E.M. Liso, n.p. [but Lusaka], November 19, 1958, UNIPA, ANC 5/15.
55. Geiss, *Pan-African Movement*, 420.
56. H.M. Nkumbula to J. Markham, n.p., January 6, 1959, encl. in id. to id., n.p., February 13, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 2/22.
57. H.M. Nkumbula to A.Y.K. Djin, n.p., February 27, 1959, UNIPA, ANC 4/8.
58. Tembo to Zukas, January 16, 1961.
59. J. Hatch to F. Chitambala, London, December 31, 1959, UNIPA, UNIP 6/7/13. Hatch, the then head of the Labour Commonwealth office, would go on to write *Two African Statesmen*.
60. T. Fox-Pitt to M.M. Chona, London, October 1, 1959, UNIPA, UNIP 6/7/4; T. Fox-Pitt to M.M. Chona, London, December 18, 1959, UNIPA, UNIP 6/7/3.
61. For a recent reassessment of the relationships between the Federal and the Katangese regimes, see M. Hughes, “Fighting for White Rule in Africa: The Central African Federation, Katanga, and the Congo Crisis, 1958–1965,” *International History Review*, 25 (2003).
62. As stated in J.E.M. Michello to M. Tshombe, Lusaka, November 21, 1961, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Edinburgh, Fergus Macpherson’s papers, Box 7–8. I owe this reference to David Gordon.
63. M. Sipalo to Q. Armah, n.p. [but Lusaka], February 27, 1961, UNIPA, UNIP 6/7/3.
64. Reproduced in *Week by Week*, May 20, 1961.
65. B. Mashata to J.E.M. Michello, Mashata’s village, August 1, 1961, UNIPA, ANC 2/7. For a more detailed treatment of the links between Katanga and Northern Rhodesia’s North-Western Province, see M. Larmer and G. Macola, “The Origins, Context and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion against the Zambian One-Party State,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 40 (2007), 473–475.
66. Cf. Mulford, *Zambia*, 241, and “Money and trucks to ANC from Katanga,” *African Mail*, November 1, 1961. The six Land Rovers mentioned by the *African Mail* may (or may not) have comprised the five vehicles that Japau is said to have obtained from Katanga at some point between 1961 and 1962. Interview with Winston Japau, Mwinilunga, August 1, 2005.
67. Michello to Tshombe, Lusaka, November 21, 1961.
68. See, e.g., R.J. Japau and B. Mashata to “National Peace Council,” Mwinilunga, December 28, 1961, UNIPA, ANC 2/7.

69. "Congress money mystery," *CAM*, February 27, 1962.
70. J.K. Chivunga, W.K. Sikalumbi, J.K. Mulenga, and R.S.K. Makasa, "Memorandum circulated by the United National Independence Party... to the emergency conference of the Pan-African Movement of East and Central Africa held at Mbeya, Tanganyika, on 13th to 14th May 1962," UNIPA, UNIP 9/1/44. The source of the allegations made in the memorandum was "ANC 'soldiers' in Katanga," *CAM*, May 8, 1962. A later eyewitness report that appears to confirm their veracity (A. Wilson, "'ANC soldiers' in Katanga: new facts," *CAM*, July 31, 1962) was explicitly—if unconvincingly—refuted by Nkumbula in an *ad hoc* press conference held on August 16, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/93. And see also Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda*, 388–390.
71. H.M. Nkumbula to G. Munongo, Lusaka, July 7, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/54; "ANC plans own radio link-up," *CAM*, September 11, 1962.
72. Mulford, *Zambia*, 286.
73. *National Assembly Debates*, July 14, 1967, cols. 1105–1106.
74. This paragraph provides a greatly simplified account of what was in fact a dense and convoluted set of events. For a fuller narrative, see Mulford, *Zambia*, chapter 7.
75. *Ibid.*, 293–295.
76. In the summer of 1963, Ernest Kapota, Nkumbula's envoy to the exiled Tshombe, was given the cold shoulder and thought that "to get something substantial from him [was] not a reality. ... However I am still hanging on to hear finally from him. ... But there is very little hope of getting some help." (E.C. Kapota to H.M. Nkumbula, Barcelona, August 25, 1963, UNIPA, ANC 7/120. See also "Nkumbula-Michello Ask Tshombe to Be the Leader," in *Voice of UNIP*, September 1963.) Nkumbula himself visited Tshombe in Spain in October of the same year. Minutes of the ANC "Central Executive Committee," October 10, 1963, UNIPA, ANC 7/114.
77. J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Durban, 1983), 1123.
78. Quoted in Mulford, *Zambia*, 307.
79. "NR men beg at Moise's hotel," *CAM*, August 24, 1963.
80. H.M. Nkumbula, "President's speech on the public meeting: 13th September, 1959," UNIPA, ANC 2/13.
81. This passage is based mainly on interviews with Daniel Simoloka, Choma, August 14, 2003, and Job Michello, Lusaka, February 15, 2003. But see also C.J.A. Banda to "Dear Sir," Lusaka, July 13, 1962, UNIPA, ANC 7/69, and M. Lukata to "UNIP H.Q.," Namwala, September 19, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP5/4/1/3.
82. "ANC meeting held at Singani court on 9–1–64," NAZ, SP 4/2/171.
83. P.B. Hamane and P. Singoyi, "Report of our tour in Mumbwa," n.p., n.d. [but late February 1963], UNIPA, ANC 7/49.

84. *Congress Circular*, September 30, 1963.
85. The full text of this rather clever example of *disinformatja* is to be found in UNIPA, UNIP 16/1/14; the attribution to Mwansa in W.B. Sauti, "The truth about the 'Voice of Zambia Front,'" n.p., January 20, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 9/35. For the extensive ripples caused by the appearance of the "mysterious pamphlet," see "UNIP witch-hunt for Zambia Front is on," *CAM*, January 17, 1964.
86. Nkumbula to Markham, January 6, 1959; and J.E.M. Michello to I. Macleod, n.p. [but London], December 19, 1960, UNIPA, ANC 2/2.
87. H.M. Nkumbula, "Speech delivered...at the Western Province rally held at Mufulira on Sunday 9 April 1961," UNIPA, ANC 7/93.
88. *Week by Week*, May 20, 1961.
89. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, March 10, 1962.
90. E. Colson, *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: Social and Religious Studies* (Manchester, 1962), 68, 98; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 92.
91. M.A. Ngwewa to J.E.M. Michello, Mazabuka, June 11, 1963, UNIPA, ANC 7/61.
92. M.M. Chona to [S.B.D. Siamusonde], n.p. [but Lusaka], July 10, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/2.
93. *Ibid.*
94. M.M. Chona to Chief Simwatachela, n.p., November 25, 1963, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/27.
95. A. St. J. Sugg to DC (Namwala), n.p. [but Livingstone], October 12, 1962, NAZ, SP 1/14/58.
96. See, e.g., interview with Bruce Munyama, Lusaka, July 18, 2005.
97. J.S. Mundell to H.M. Nkumbula, Kitwe, October 21, 1963, UNIPA, ANC 9/38.
98. See, e.g., K.D. Kaunda and H.M. Nkumbula, "Joint press statement," n.p. [but Lusaka], March 2, 1963, UNIPA, UNIP 16/1/23.
99. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, March 10, 1962. Cf. M. Temple, "Who wants violence," *CAM*, October 30, 1962.
100. UNIP (Choma-Namwala Region), Report to the National Council, Choma, July 30, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP 16/1/63.
101. S.B.D. Siamusonde to M.M. Chona, Nkuntu Simwatachela's, August 13, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/2.
102. [S.B.D. Siamusonde] to UNIP Regional Secretary, Nkuntu Simwatachela's, April 19, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/2.
103. Siamusonde to Chona, August 13, 1962.
104. S.B.D. Siamusonde to UNIP Regional Secretary, Nkuntu Simwatachela's, September 1, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/2.
105. S.B.D. Siamusonde to UNIP Regional Secretary, Nkuntu Simwatachela's, Kalomo, September 7, 1962, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/2.

106. S.B.D. Siamusonde to UNIP Regional Secretary, Nkuntu Simwatachela's, April 20, 1963, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/27.
107. S.B.D. Siamusonde to UNIP Regional and National Secretaries, Nkuntu Simwatachela's, May 24, 1963, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/27.
108. S.C. Mukando to UNIP Regional Secretaries (Central and Western Provinces), n.p. [but Monze?], n.d. [but April 1963?], UNIPA, UNIP 16/1/14.
109. M.M. Chona to D. Munkombwe, Lusaka, May 23, 1963, UNIPA, ANC 9/25. But in the *Voice of UNIP* of June 1963, Chona advanced the counterclaim that the attacks against the Bantu Botatwe in the Copperbelt were in fact the work of hit squads of the ANC, the intention of which was "to say, 'look how bad these UNIP people are. They attack you because of your tribe.'"
110. A.H.S. Munkombwe, "Report submitted to the National Council meeting on 3rd–5th August, 1963," Livingstone, UNIPA, UNIP 1/2/1.
111. D.M. Gordon, "A Community of Suffering: Narratives of War and Exile in the Zambian Lumpa Church," in D.R. Peterson and G. Macola (eds.), *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa* (Athens, OH, 2009).

## 5 Resisting UNIP: Liberal Democracy and Ethnic Politics in the First Republic

1. Bayart, *State in Africa*, 211
2. Chabal and Daloz, *Africa Works*, 55–56.
3. Lonsdale, "Moral Ethnicity," 95.
4. The figure, together with the ANC's own debt of £35,000, is given by Nkumbula in minutes of the ANC Emergency National Assembly, Lusaka, January 24–26, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/114.
5. B.L. Lombe, "Official press statement," n.p., March 9, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/93; B.L. Lombe, "Official press statement," n.p., April 21, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/62.
6. B.D. Kalota, "Official report on the tour of Mazabuka, Magoye and Monze constituencies," Lusaka, June 11, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/1.
7. B.L. Lombe to "All provincial general secretaries, constituency secretaries and branch secretaries," Lusaka, [April?] "1964," UNIPA, ANC 7/31.
8. B.L. Lombe to "All constituency secretaries," Lusaka, "1964," UNIPA, ANC 2/27.
9. B. Mankinka to H.M. Nkumbula, Solwezi, January 10, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/41.
10. Minutes of the ANC National Executive Committee, Lusaka, June 25, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/58.

11. B.L. Lombe to "All members of the National Executive and Steering Committee," Lusaka, September 25, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/86.
12. As many, that is, as the main roll electoral constituencies into which Northern Rhodesia had been subdivided for the 1964 general elections.
13. B.L. Lombe, "National secretary's report to the National Assembly ...," Lusaka, October 8–11, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/34.
14. P.J. Mulenga to "All members of the National Assembly, constituency secretaries," Lusaka, February 26, 1966, UNIPA, ANC 2/24.
15. See, e.g., draft and incomplete minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, July 1967 (UNIPA, ANC 7/103), where mention of both "constituencies" and "provinces" is made.
16. Which is also indirectly attested by the very noticeable reduction in provincial records in the party archives from 1965.
17. No delegates from the three provinces appear to have attended the party's National Assembly of October 1964; minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, October 8, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/91.
18. On the murder of Lushinga, see B.L. Lombe, "Press statement," n.p., March 27, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/93, and S.M.G. Tembo to B.L. Lombe, Fort Jameson, March 30, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 8/11. His nickname is mentioned, by Mainza Chona, in *National Assembly Debates*, December 6, 1972, col. 53. For an account of UNIP-organized "beatings, burnings and killings" in the Eastern Province in the run-up to Independence, see R. Short, *African Sunset* (London, 1973), chapter 12. I owe this reference to Ian Phimister.
19. The full results of the general elections are to be found in Elections Office, "Analysis of polling—Northern Rhodesia General Elections 1964," Lusaka, January 28, 1964, UNIPA, UNIP 16/5/17.
20. For a detailed analysis of political life in Mwinilunga in the early 1960s, see Larmer and Macola, "Origins," 473–476.
21. The 173 branches existing in 1964 had been supplemented by 89 new branches in 1965, "making a total of 262 branches" and 21,763 members. (S.J.K. Habula, "Southern Province ... annual report," n.p., n.d. [but late 1965?], UNIPA, ANC 7/30.) Two or so years later, the Southern Province boasted as many as 444 registered branches, as against, for instance, the Central Province's 63 and the Western (Copperbelt) Province's 72; minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, March 9–11, 1968, UNIPA, ANC 7/14.
22. P.J. Mulenga, "Secretarial report presented to the National Assembly" of the ANC, Lusaka, December 27, 1966, UNIPA, ANC 7/30.
23. "Nkumbula deposed by ANC chiefs," *Times of Zambia* (TZ), September 20, 1965.
24. These were the words used by Nkumbula himself in "'Harry is still boss,' says Liso," TZ, September 22, 1965.



25. "Lombe names new party United Front," *TZ*, March 8, 1966; "Berrings Lombe now in UNIP," *TZ*, May 12, 1967; B.S. Chisala, *The Downfall of President Kaunda* (Lusaka, 1994), 165-166.
26. "United Front in business," *TZ*, May 31, 1966; "United Party challenged," *TZ*, June 1, 1966.
27. M. Chona's letter, published with the title "Old Harry will win against ANC rebels," *TZ*, October 7, 1965.
28. "Old fighters can go on too long," *TZ*, September 21, 1965.
29. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, November 8, 1965, UNIPA, ANC 7/30.
30. Ibid.
31. For an early recognition of this feature of the Congress' central organization, see W. Tordoff and I. Scott, "Political Parties: Structures and Policies," in Tordoff, *Politics in Zambia*, 135.
32. See, e.g., "New H/Quarters Cabinet," [Lusaka], November 6, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/31.
33. Acting national president Liso (MP for Namwala) was flanked by Amos Walubita (Magoye), deputy president; Allan Chilimboyi (Mumbwa), national secretary; Edgar Musangu (Choma), deputy national secretary; Aaron Chikatula (Chisamba), national treasurer; Landson Hantuba (Kalomo), deputy national treasurer; Maxwell Beyani (Gwembe), deputy administrative secretary. Patrick Mulenga and Wingford Jere, administrative secretary and protocol officer, respectively, were at this time the only important party administrators who were not also sitting in Parliament. "Harry steps down in ANC," *TZ*, June 16, 1966, and Mulenga, "Secretarial report."
34. H.M.E. Mwinga, Memorandum, n.p., n.d. [but April 1964?], UNIPA, ANC 7/45; Lombe to "All members of the National Executive and Steering Committee."
35. E. Chulu, "Lusaka district report," December 27, 1966, UNIPA, ANC 7/30.
36. See, e.g., Mwinga, Memorandum, and minutes of the ANC Parliamentary Caucus, Lusaka, January 22, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/14.
37. Minutes of the ANC Parliamentary Caucus, January 22, 1969.
38. Draft and incomplete minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, July 1967, UNIPA, ANC 9/15.
39. "UNIP well ahead," *TZ*, August 18, 1966.
40. R. Molteno and I. Scott, "The 1968 General Election and the Political System," in Tordoff, *Politics in Zambia*, 157, 188. And see also, in the same volume, Tordoff and Scott, "Political Parties," 147-148, and Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 242.
41. See, for instance, C. Gertzel, C. Baylies, and M. Szeftel, "Introduction: The Making of the One-Party State," in C. Gertzel (ed.), *The Dynamics of the One-Party State in Zambia* (Manchester, 1984). Convinced that the "most important level of political

conflict” after independence “was not between UNIP and the ANC but within UNIP itself” (7) and that the First Republic’s key political process was the attempt to contain “sectionalism” within UNIP through “the judicious use of patronage,” (12), the authors do not even attempt to make sense of the Congress, the endurance of which they take as an independent variable.

42. *National Assembly Debates*, December 15, 1967, cols. 218, 222.
43. Minutes of the ANC Emergency National Assembly, January 24–26, 1964.
44. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, October 8, 1964.
45. B.L. Lombe to “All constituency secretaries, branch secretaries and all members and sympathizers,” Lusaka, n.d. [but ca. October 15, 1964], UNIPA, ANC 7/34.
46. Lombe, “National secretary’s report to the National Assembly.”
47. Liso had wrongly accused Kaunda of having attacked “the police ‘for supporting Congress’ during a speech he made in Fort Jameson in May.” “Parliament in uproar as Liso criticises President,” *TZ*, July 21, 1965.
48. *National Assembly Debates*, July 23, 1965, col. 290.
49. Nkumbula viewed the measure against Liso as “an attempt by Government ... to create in this country a one-party sort of life ...” After all, “we criticise even God, do we not? But the President cannot be criticised when we can criticise even God.” *Ibid.*, July 22, 1965, cols. 218–219.
50. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1965, col. 543.
51. *National Assembly Debates*, August 11, 1966, cols. 641–642.
52. H.M. Nkumbula to “All members and general public,” Lusaka, April 15, 1965, document in the possession of the author.
53. “A speech delivered by [the] Leader of the Opposition to ... the University of Zambia in November, 1966,” UNIPA, ANC 2/23.
54. *National Assembly Debates*, December 7, 1965, cols. 12–13. For the ANC take on the nationalization of the *Mail*, see B.D. Kalota, “Official press statement,” [Lusaka], May 31, 1965, UNIPA, ANC 7/62. Further details are provided in F.P. Kasoma, *The Press in Zambia: The Development, Role and Control of National Newspapers in Zambia, 1906–1983* (Lusaka, 1986), 108–112.
55. *National Assembly Debates*, August 11, 1966, cols. 604–605.
56. “Minister says there is ... ‘no crime in demanding party cards,’” *TZ*, August 18, 1965.
57. “Government’s folly on party cards,” *TZ*, August 18, 1965.
58. *National Assembly Debates*, August 28, 1968, col. 457–458.
59. For a recent reappraisal, see D.M. Gordon, “Rebellion or Massacre? The UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited,” in J.-B. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar, and G. Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden and Boston, 2008).

60. *National Assembly Debates*, March 16, 1967, col. 255.
61. *National Assembly Debates*, October 17, 1967, cols. 21–22. And cf. also A.J. DeRoche, “‘You Can’t Fight Guns with Knives’: National Security and Zambian Responses to UDI, 1965–1973,” in Gewald, Hinfelaar, and Macola, *One Zambia*, 91.
62. *National Assembly Debates*, March 25, 1966, col. 720.
63. *National Assembly Debates*, September 14, 1966, col. 1968.
64. N.E. Chonga, “People have been misled by UP,” letter to the *TZ*, May 10, 1968.
65. *National Assembly Debates*, December 13, 1966, col. 52.
66. *National Assembly Debates*, March 15, 1968, col. 1463.
67. Liso had asked himself whether it was possible to reconcile the belief “in man centred society [...] with the slogan ‘it pays to belong to UNIP’. If the slogan still holds good it means [...] anyone who is not a member of UNIP is not a man.” *National Assembly Debates*, February 13, 1968, col. 215.
68. See, e.g., R.H. Bates, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1981).
69. On which, see M. Larmer, “Chronicle of a coup foretold: Valentine Musakanya and the 1980 coup attempt in Zambia,” paper presented to the Africa Studies Centre, Leiden, December 12, 2007. And see 151.
70. B.D. Kalota, “Official press statement,” n.p., November 3, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/62.
71. B.L. Lombe, “Official press statement,” n.p., May 17, 1965, UNIPA, ANC 7/62.
72. H.M. Nkumbula, Presidential address, Lusaka, November 6, 1965, NAZ, HM 70/5.
73. “Minutes of a meeting held in the Mazabuka Rural Council appeal chambers,” November 19, 1966, NAZ, SP 1/14/58. Copies of the “top secret” minutes, chaired by Resident Minister Sakubita, were sent to President Kaunda and UNIP national secretary Chona. Cf. also, e.g., J.M. Mutti, “Resolutions passed at the Southern Province regional secretaries conference,” Monze, November 18, 1966, NAZ, SP 1/14/58.
74. B.L. Lombe, “Official press statement,” n.p., July 11, 1964, UNIPA, ANC 7/62.
75. Tordoff and Scott, “Political Parties,” 127.
76. *National Assembly Debates*, March 27, 1968, cols. 1518–1520. See also “Civil servants like UNIP officials, claim Opposition,” *TZ*, March 30, 1968.
77. “‘Co-ops for UNIP only’—Kabwe,” *TZ*, July 19, 1965.
78. E. M. Liso, in *National Assembly Debates*, March 25, 1966, col. 737; “Now Kabwe says: I’m sorry,” *TZ*, July 26, 1965.

79. "Charges of Govt. nepotism denied," *TZ*, August 18, 1966.
80. E. M. Liso, in *National Assembly Debates*, August 11, 1966, col. 633, and September 13, 1966, cols. 1835–1836.
81. See, e.g., "Meetings banned, says Nkumbula," *TZ*, April 15, 1966, and "ANC angry over ban on rallies," *TZ*, April 27, 1966.
82. See, e.g., "Riot police called out in Lusaka," *TZ*, May 9, 1966.
83. *National Assembly Debates*, December 13, 1966, col. 50.
84. "'Savagery will meet UNIP violence in C'belt by-election,'" *TZ*, January 11, 1968. See also "Elections rigged, claims Harry," *TZ*, August 12, 1966.
85. "Nkumbula calls for friendship with Congo," *TZ*, September 13, 1965. Throughout 1964 and, perhaps, beyond, the ANC maintained a representative in Lubumbashi, Bunda Chisenga, about whose activities very little is presently known (B. Chisenga to H.M. Nkumbula, Elisabethville, April 14, 1964, and B. Chisenga to B.L. Lombe, Elisabethville, September 15, 1964, both in UNIPA, ANC 2/7.) As late as March 1966, Nkumbula was still prepared openly to admit he had not entirely given up the hope of obtaining some fresh funds from the exiled Tshombe. *National Assembly Debates*, March 10, 1966, col. 207.
86. A recent, lucid reappraisal is DeRoche, "'You Can't Fight Guns with Knives.'"
87. *National Assembly Debates*, December 15, 1965, cols. 232–233.
88. *National Assembly Debates*, August 2, 1966, col. 248.
89. *Ibid*, August 11, 1966, cols. 599–600.
90. Interview with Bruce Munyama, Lusaka, July 18, 2005.
91. "Nkumbula cheers Banda's speech," *TZ*, March 31, 1967. See also "Nkumbula hits at Zambia's attitude to neighbours," *TZ*, October 7, 1968 and "Harry pledges links with the South," *TZ*, December 5, 1968. Nkumbula's foreign policy in the mid-1960s was occasionally caricatured by UNIP as a mere ruse to obtain funds from the colonial and settler regimes to the south, east and west of Zambia. In fact, South African contemporary appraisals of Nkumbula were similar to UNIP's: "Harry Nkumbula is a powerless personality and under his weak leadership the ANC almost went under." (English translation, dated "28/1/66," of a secret 1965 memo on Zambia in Afrikaans, South African Foreign Affairs' Archives, Pretoria, 1/157/3, vol. 2.) Partly because of this, it is most unlikely that any serious direct contact was made between the Congress president or his representatives and the secret services of the apartheid state until 1970, when the ANC, having incorporated the banned United Party, also inherited the latter organization's networks of international contacts (see chapter 6). There are, however, one or two pieces of evidence that cast some doubts on this interpretation. In November 1964, Berrings Lombe wrote in a "personal capacity" to

the South African Premier, H. Verwoerd; his "very urgent" request for a confidential audience appears not to have been taken up by South African authorities. (B.L. Lombe to H. Verwoerd, Lusaka, November 16, 1964, South African Foreign Affairs' Archives, Pretoria, 1/157/1, vol. 1.) And early in 1966, the same Lombe, who, as we know, had recently brought his association with the Congress to an end, accused Liso of having failed to inform his coworkers before "sneaking out of Zambia" into an unspecified "neighbouring country for financial aid negotiations." (B.L. Lombe to E.M. Liso, Lusaka, January 19, 1966, UNIPA, ANC 7/30.) I am indebted to Miles Larmer, to whom I owe all of the references to the Archives of the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

92. H.M. Nkumbula, during a polemical exchange with Minister of Local Government and Housing S. Wina, in *National Assembly Debates*, July 6, 1967, col. 714.
93. "Petrol-bomb case: Kabungo freed," *TZ*, July 29, 1965.
94. B. Chibingu, "Government activities against ANC," Chingola, n.d. [but late 1965?], UNIPA, ANC 7/30.
95. "ANC men beaten-up by UNIP members: charge," *TZ*, August 15, 1966; "Two more ANC men quit local elections," *TZ*, August 23, 1966.
96. M.P. Chulu to H.M. Nkumbula, Chipata, May 31, 1968, UNIPA, ANC 9/3.
97. E.M. Liso to H.M. Nkumbula, Chipata, October 8, 1968, UNIPA, ANC 7/86.
98. "UNIP youths intimidate shoppers," *TZ*, August 17, 1966.
99. N.C. Phiri to Constituency and branch officials and members of the ANC (Mufulira), Mufulira, June 30, 1967, UNIPA, ANC 7/32.
100. "Revenge warning by ANC follows battle for members," *TZ*, March 6, 1968.
101. *National Assembly Debates*, August 20, 1968, col. 232.
102. "Beerhall boycott threat," *TZ*, August 2, 1965.
103. "Wina allows market to re-open," *TZ*, August 20, 1965.
104. Chibingu, "Government activities against ANC."
105. "After 23 years, market trader banned," *TZ*, January 17, 1967.
106. "Evicted Kitwe trader's wife gets same treatment," *TZ*, January 24, 1967. Eventually, following a long-drawn-out dispute, the Kitwe City Council, having been found guilty of having unlawfully evicted Chilufya, awarded him £1,000 compensation. "£1,000 offer over trade ban," *TZ*, November 1, 1967.
107. "ANC of Republic of Zambia: Eastern Province reports," July 15, 1967, UNIPA, ANC 7/110.
108. Resolutions of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, July 1967, UNIPA, ANC 9/19.

109. M. Vaughan, "Exploitation and Neglect: Rural Producers and the State in Malawi and Zambia," in D. Birmingham and P. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa: The Contemporary Years since 1960* (Harlow, 1997), 180. See also Bates, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*, chapter 2.
110. A praiseworthy early awareness of the political role attributed to the COZ is shown by I. Scott, "Middle Class Politics in Zambia," *African Affairs*, 77 (1978), esp. 323; and J.C. Momba, "The State, Rural Class Formation and Peasant Political Participation in Zambia: The Case of Southern Province," *African Affairs*, 88 (1989), esp. 352.
111. *National Assembly Debates*, August 5, 1965, cols. 547, 549.
112. "ANC deny charge and blame UNIP," *TZ*, January 18, 1966.
113. *National Assembly Debates*, March 23, 1966, col. 586.
114. *National Assembly Debates*, August 11, 1966, col. 598. See also "Elections rigged, claims Harry."
115. *National Assembly Debates*, July 13, 1967, col. 1002.
116. C.M. Hamooya to Resident Minister (Southern Province), Sinazongwe, May 23, 1966, NAZ, SP 1/3/47.
117. J.B. Kalima to Resident Minister (Southern Province), Namwala, June 4, 1966, NAZ, SP 1/3/47.
118. "The Resolutions passed at the Provincial Regional Conference of the United National Independence Party, held at Mbabala Rural Council headquarters from 3rd to 4th September, 1966, Choma," NAZ, SP 1/3/47.
119. Mention of Michello and Mayanda's affiliation to the COZ is made in G.H. Mutale to J. Mwanakatwe, Livingstone, March 18, 1969, NAZ, HM 89/1/F6, a "top secret" missive exposing a seeming move on the part of prominent Tonga members of UNIP to "replace Bemba elements and others in the Southern Province administration."
120. M.S.K. "Mansa" [*sic*, but "Mwansa"] to "All voters, Mumbwa constituency," n.p., n.d. [but late 1968], UNIPA, UNIP 16/5/20.
121. Momba, "The State." On the African commercial farmers' alignment with UNIP, see C. Baylies, "The Emergence of Indigenous Capitalist Agriculture: The Case of Southern Province, Zambia," *Rural Africana*, 4-5 (1979), 65-81.
122. "Zambia goes to the ballot box," *TZ*, December 19, 1968.
123. S. Wina, quoted in "Uphill battle, but 'scientific' UNIP is confident of victory," *TZ*, February 18, 1967.
124. M. Sipalo in *National Assembly Debates*, March 23, 1966, cols. 597, 605.
125. R.M. Siamasamu to "All constituency chairmen," Chisekesi, March 4, 1971, UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/1/55. Siamasamu was UNIP regional secretary in Gwembe district.

126. *TZ*, April 29, 1968.
127. "Independents contributed more than ANC—Kaunda," *TZ*, November 18, 1968.
128. Tordoff and Scott, "Political Parties," 135.
129. Rasmussen, "The Popular Basis of Anti-Colonial Protest," 60.
130. Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia*, chapter 7, and "Saving Settlers: Maize Control in Northern Rhodesia," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 11 (1985).
131. *National Assembly Debates*, August 4, 1965, col. 494.
132. *National Assembly Debates*, February 13, 1968, cols. 213–214.
133. Momba, "The State," 348.
134. *National Assembly Debates*, July 16, 1969, col. 255. Liso used this historical argument to defend his right to criticize the Presidency of the Republic.
135. A. Chilimboyi, in *National Assembly Debates*, June 23, 1967, col. 440.
136. *National Assembly Debates*, February 13, 1968, cols. 218–219.
137. *National Assembly Debates*, December 5, 1969, col. 164.
138. *National Assembly Debates*, March 14, 1968, col. 1005.
139. In seeking to account for the problems encountered by the co-ops movement in the Southern Province, Minister of State Shamabanse described "our people [as] individualists by nature," an admission which he employed to press home the point that "individual loans" were preferable to collective ones. "Minutes of the Provincial Political Committee held in Choma on Saturday 31st August, 1968," UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/2/2/3.
140. Rasmussen, "The Popular Basis of Anti-Colonial Protest," 59.
141. *National Assembly Debates*, July 6, 1967, cols. 755–756.

## 6 "The Last Battle I Will Ever Fight": Nkumbula and the Drive toward the One-Party State

1. H.M. Nkumbula, in draft and incomplete minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, July 1967, UNIPA, ANC 9/15.
2. W. Tordoff and R. Molteno, "Introduction," in Tordoff, *Politics in Zambia*, 23.
3. As is clarified by the "Minutes of the Monze Regional Conference held on 9th July, 1967, in the conference hall of the Mazabuka Rural Council headquarters," UNIPA, UNIP 5/4/2/2/3.
4. "Mazabuka torn by party fights," *TZ*, September 22, 1966.
5. M.M. Sakubita to UNIP Regional Secretaries and District Secretaries (Southern Province), Livingstone, November 7, 1966, NAZ, SP 1/3/47.
6. M.M. Sakubita to J. Hamatwi, Livingstone, November 14, 1966, NAZ, SP 1/3/47.

7. Hamatwi's supporters included Dingiswayo Banda, the long-serving UNIP Director of Youth, and Justin Chimba, the then Minister of Commerce and Industry. See J. Hamatwi, P. Lumumba, and A. Chindima to H.D. Banda, Mazabuka, November 30, 1966, and M. Chona to H.D. Banda, Lusaka, December 13, 1966, both in NAZ, SP 1/3/47.
8. "Elections: Mazabuka and Lukulu go to UNIP," *TZ*, February 20, 1967; Tordoff and Molteno, "Introduction," 23.
9. "Small poll at Mazabuka," *TZ*, February 20, 1967.
10. "Elections: Mazabuka and Lukulu go to UNIP."
11. "M.P. denies charge of high treason," *TZ*, March 10, 1967. For more details on the origins of the *mayouth*, see Larmer and Macola, "Origins," 476–477.
12. Interview with Aaron Chikatula, Keembe area, May 12, 2007.
13. M.T. Paynter, "Acquitted: Japau had 'no case to answer,'" *TZ*, August 2, 1967.
14. Interview with Japau.
15. "Civilians die in border attack," *Zambia Daily Mail*, May 18, 1971.
16. For a detailed account of the Mushala insurrection, see Larmer and Macola, "Origins."
17. H.M. Nkumbula to ANC members, n.p., n.d. [but June 24, 1967], UNIPA, ANC 7/86.
18. *Ibid.*; "Expel defectors, says Harry," *TZ*, June 13, 1967.
19. *National Assembly Debates*, June 13, 1967, col. 54.
20. Nkumbula to ANC members, , n.p., n.d. [but June 24, 1967].
21. Chilimboyi, for instance, thought it necessary to remind the National Assembly of Walubita's recent purchase of "a big farm for £13,000 or more." (*National Assembly Debates*, June 23, 1967, col. 435.) To this day, former ANC MP Chikatula is convinced that, exception made for the same Walubita, "who was already rich," the Tonga defectors "were bought with the promise of farms." (Interview with Chikatula.) These claims may well have been embellished, but they were by no means baseless. Two of the Southern Province's African capitalist farmers interviewed by Baylies in the 1970s were members of the Tonga quartet. While both had "acquired state land prior to their crossing of the floor," at least "[o]ne... obtained his first loan from COZ only subsequent to making the switch and later went on to purchase two farms." Baylies, "The Emergence of Indigenous Capitalist Agriculture," 79.
22. *National Assembly Debates*, July 12, 1967, col. 925.
23. "ANC war on defectors," *TZ*, June 20, 1967.
24. "UNIP campaign slips into top gear with extra petrol," *TZ*, February 24, 1968.
25. "Kaunda in final bid to swing by-elections," *TZ*, February 28, 1968. For some of Nkumbula's complaints about the conduct of the



- by-elections campaign, see “ANC kicks off election campaign,” *TZ*, February 9, 1968, and *National Assembly Debates*, March 14, 1968, col. 1003.
26. “ANC chief will call on K.K. to quit,” *TZ*, March 11, 1968. See also “We’ll win again—Nkumbula,” *TZ*, March 5, 1968. What has been argued above and in the previous chapter leads me most emphatically to disagree with Colson’s strange take on Tonga postcolonial politics. Although it may well be true that Tonga supporters of the ANC in the mid-1960s did not regard their behavior as “heroic,” it is simply mistaken to argue that the ANC’s defeat in the general elections of 1964 produced a “rapid retreat from fierce political opposition” and that “[a]ctive ANC officials vanished into the obscurity of village life and tried to forget their former boasts, rather to the amusement of those whom they had once sought to inspire with fervour.” Had the Tonga valued “compliance” and “acquiescence to force” to the extent imagined by Colson, then it is not at all clear why they continued to defy UNIP’s pressures both in the by-elections of 1968 and in subsequent electoral contests, none of which are actually discussed, or even mentioned, by Colson. “Heroism, Martyrdom, and Courage: An Essay on Tonga Ethics,” in T.O. Beidelman (ed.), *The Translation of Culture: Essays to E.E. Evans-Pritchard* (London, 1971), 25–26.
  27. “Liso is arrested on charge of insulting President,” *TZ*, March 6, 1968.
  28. “Liso is jailed for 18 months on insult charge,” *TZ*, March 14, 1968. The sentence was eventually reduced on appeal, and Liso walked free in August; “Harry hugs freed Liso,” *TZ*, August 14, 1968.
  29. *National Assembly Debates*, March 14, 1968, cols. 1017–1018.
  30. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1968, cols. 1066–1067.
  31. “Nkumbula arrested,” *TZ*, March 16, 1968.
  32. “Nkumbula acquitted,” *TZ*, April 27, 1968.
  33. *National Assembly Debates*, March 14, 1968, cols. 1018–1019.
  34. See, e.g., “ANC is broke, can’t print cards,” *TZ*, May 21, 1968, and H.M. Nkumbula to “Dear Headman,” Lusaka, September 13, 1968, UNIPA, ANC 9/20.
  35. On this broader theme, see G. Macola, “‘It Means as if We Are Excluded from the Good Freedom’: Thwarted Expectations of Independence in the Luapula Province of Zambia, 1964–1966,” *Journal of African History*, 47 (2006); and M. Larmer, “‘A Little Bit like a Volcano’: The United Progressive Party and Resistance to One-Party Rule in Zambia, 1964–1980,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 39 (2006).
  36. Larmer and Macola, “Origins.”
  37. Quoted in “Development cost will top £35m,” *TZ*, March 24, 1966.
  38. “Barotse hit by WENELA ban—MP,” *TZ*, November 21, 1966, and C. Gertzel, “Western Province: Tradition, Economic Deprivation

- and Political Alienation,” in id., *Dynamics of the One-Party State in Zambia*, 212–213.
39. “Chipango quits UNIP to join United Party,” *TZ*, September 22, 1967; interview with William Chipango, Livingstone, April 15, 2005.
  40. “Two ministers resign,” *TZ*, January 29, 1966, and “Mundia expelled from the party,” *TZ*, March 7, 1967.
  41. See, e.g., “United Front in business,” *TZ*, May 31, 1966 and “U.P. says a re-think is needed,” *TZ*, January 6, 1968.
  42. *TZ*, February to August 1968.
  43. “UP banned,” *TZ*, August 15, 1968. Kaunda’s decision may have had something to do with the fact that the Livingstone-based Chipango and his right-hand man, Timothy Kalimbwe, had by then made contact with members of the security branch of the South African police stationed across the Zambezi, in the Caprivi Strip. I.D. Du Plessis, “Zambië: hulp aan Zambiese politieke partye (ANC),” secret memo encl. in id. to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria, December 31, 1970, South African Foreign Affairs’ Archives, Pretoria, 1/157/1, vol. 36. I am indebted to Marja Hinfelaar and Paul la Hausse de Lalouvière for translating this fundamental document.
  44. “Harry rejects Mumbuna’s merger proposal,” *TZ*, February 22, 1967.
  45. Resolutions of the ANC National Assembly, July 1967.
  46. “UP banned.”
  47. “No strings, says ex-UP man,” *TZ*, August 27, 1968; “ANC men go a-wooing,” *TZ*, September 2, 1968; and T.L. Kalimbwe to H.M. Nkumbula, Livingstone, November 29, “1969” [*sic*, but 1968], UNIPA, ANC 9/2.
  48. As early as August, Nkumbula complained of being refused police permission to hold rallies. (“I can’t address meetings, says Harry,” *TZ*, August 20, 1968.) Two months later he claimed threats were being made on his life “wherever I go for the election campaign.” (“Attempts to kill me, says Harry,” *TZ*, September 28, 1968.) While large riots and smaller instances of interparty violence punctuated the last three months of the campaign (see, e.g., “Thousands flee homes in riots,” *TZ*, October 2, 1968, and “26 are arrested after clashes,” *TZ*, November 13, 1968), many ANC candidates in UNIP-dominated areas were physically prevented by party activists from lodging their nominations. (“ANC get a ‘safety’ pledge,” *TZ*, November 26, 1968; “ANC candidates flown to their areas,” *TZ*, November 27, 1968; “8 ‘flown in’ ANC fail to register in time,” *TZ*, November 28, 1968.) The difficulties encountered by ANC candidates in the Northern, Luapula, and Eastern Provinces help explain the large number of seats going unopposed to UNIP and the ANC’s subsequent decision to petition 22 of the 30 uncontested seats in the High Court. For a comprehensive account of the campaign and

the role of violence in it, see Molteno and Scott, "The 1968 General Election."

49. Tordoff and Molteno, "Introduction," 28.
50. E.M. Liso to ANC members, Lusaka, February 11, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 9/44. Liso had relinquished the post of deputy president to the advantage of the still restricted Mundia early in January 1969; "Mundia now becomes no. 2 man in ANC," *TZ*, January 6, 1969.
51. *TZ*, December 21 and 23, 1968.
52. Tordoff and Molteno, "Introduction," 27.
53. "KK says what lies ahead," *TZ*, December 24, 1968.
54. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, March 1–3, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/45.
55. "Banda gives ANC quit order," *TZ*, January 6, 1969.
56. "ANC given three weeks to quit," *TZ*, January 13, 1969.
57. "Witnesses complain of 'terror tactics,'" "Uneasy peace in Chawama riot compound," and "'UNIP only' policy leads to court closure," all in *TZ*, January 15, 1969; "Governor closed court reopens," *TZ*, January 16, 1969.
58. "ANC will be removed by other methods—Bulawayo," *TZ*, January 20, 1969.
59. "ANC loses title of official Opposition," *TZ*, January 23, 1969.
60. "Opinion," *TZ*, January 23, 1969.
61. E.M. Liso, "Press statement: the letter that the newspapers refused to print," [Lusaka], "24/27, Jan. 1969," UNIPA, ANC 9/44.
62. Tordoff and Molteno, "Introduction," 26. Some of the negative consequences of the Mulungushi reforms are discussed by H. Macmillan, "'The Devil You Know': The Impact of the Mulungushi Economic Reforms on Retail Trade in Rural Zambia, with Special Reference to Susman Brothers & Wulfshon, 1968–1980," in Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola, *One Zambia*.
63. *National Assembly Debates*, April 24, 1968, cols. 25–27. See also "Attack on reforms," *TZ*, April 25, 1968.
64. *National Assembly Debates*, April 24, 1968, col. 41.
65. "Kaunda shapes the new Zambia," *TZ*, August 12, 1969.
66. *National Assembly Debates*, December 9, 1969, cols. 225–226.
67. S. Kakoma, "The truth about Referendum," n.p., March 12, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 9/3.
68. E. Shooba to "The Electorate, Mumbwa West constituency," n.p., March 29, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/14.
69. E.M. Liso to "Dear voters," Lusaka, April 18, 1969, NAZ, HM 70/3.
70. In the event, the Barotseland Agreement would be officially abrogated on October 15, 1969, when the second reading of "the Constitution (Amendment) (No. 5) Bill" was passed by Parliament. The bill, furiously opposed by the ANC's Lozi contingent, was widely interpreted in Congress circles as UNIP's retaliation for the Lozi "betrayal" of

1968. See also G.L. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878–1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province* (London, 1970), 220–221.
71. Votes in the very poorly attended poll mirrored quite closely the outcome of the 1968 general elections, with Congress-backed “no votes” prevailing in Barotseland and the Bantu Botatwe areas of the Southern and Central Provinces and also scoring respectable totals in such areas of traditional party strength as Mwinilunga and Mufulira. An incomplete table with the referendum results is to be found in UNIPA, UNIP 16/5/21. See also Election Strategy Committee, “Re-organisation in crisis areas (Barotse, Southern and Central),” “secret report” presented to the CC, n.d. [but late 1969], UNIPA, UNIP 16/5/19.
  72. See, e.g., Wasserberger and Co. to H.M. Nkumbula, Lusaka, June 24, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/32.
  73. [R.J. Japau] to All branch, constituency and provincial secretaries of the ANC, Lusaka, September 19, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/110.
  74. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, December 28–31, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/47.
  75. These were probably in the region of K.10,000. (ANC, “Trial balance sheet 1969,” n.p., n.d. [but December 1969?], UNIPA, ANC 2/23.) In the event, while successful in as many as 15 of its petitions (see note 48, above), the ANC only managed to put up candidates in three of the constituencies affected by by-elections.
  76. E.M. Liso, “June programme, 1969,” Lusaka, May 27, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/32; M.S. Sialumba, “Press statement,” Lusaka, May 13, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/76.
  77. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, December 28–31, 1969.
  78. “Protection for ANC leader after Muf. Incident,” *TZ*, January 17, 1969.
  79. “Stops this Kanyama trouble, orders Chona,” *TZ*, February 15, 1969.
  80. “Mumbwa’s former ANC members go into hiding,” *Zambia Mail*, June 24, 1969.
  81. “ANC men restricted,” *Zambia Mail*, June 20, 1969. In Mumbwa East, the gross poll was less than 10 percent, the lowest in the country (UNIPA, UNIP 16/5/21). The *Times of Zambia* gave as low a figure as 2.57 percent. “Peace comes to Mumbwa,” *TZ*, July 2, 1969.
  82. N. Tembo to A.K. Shapi, n.p. [but Livingstone], February 20, 1969, NAZ, SP 1/14/58.
  83. See *Times of Zambia*, 1969.
  84. Du Plessis, “Zambië: hulp aan Zambiese politieke partye (ANC).” See note 43, above.
  85. “ANC banned,” *Zambia Mail*, February 13, 1970.

86. MPs Maxwell Mututwa (Senanga) and Maboshe Silumesii (Lukona) crossed the floor of the National Assembly in September 1970 (R.M. Nabulyato to K.D. Kaunda, n.p. [but Lusaka], November 4, 1970, NAZ, HM 79/PP/1/70/1); they were followed a few months later by Chiinda Hamusankwa (Pemba), Kayumba (Monze East) and Simwinji (Nalikwanda). (R.M. Nabulyato to K.D. Kaunda, n.p. [but Lusaka], December 22, 1970, NAZ, HM 79/PP/1/70/7.) Earlier in the year, however, Isaac Mumpansha, a former ambassador and a UNIP backbencher, had clashed with Kaunda and resigned from the latter's party. A friend of Nkumbula since the 1940s, Rev. Mumpansha was promptly appointed administrative secretary of the ANC, a position he would hold until the demise of the party. Interview with Mumpansha, October 30, 2006.
87. In 1970 and 1971, Standard Bank repeatedly threatened to take bankruptcy proceedings against Nkumbula and Liso for failing to repay the party's overdraft. Ellis & Co to P. Cobbett-Tribe & Co., Lusaka, November 5, 1970, UNIPA, ANC 7/24; Ellis & Co. to E.M. Liso, Lusaka, September 20, 1971, UNIPA, ANC 7/109.
88. In the event, Kapwepwe was persuaded by Kaunda to continue to serve as Vice President for one additional year, at the end of which he was replaced by Mainza Chona. This paragraph draws on Larmer and Macola, "Origins," 483–484, and Larmer, "A Little Bit like a Volcano." See also Tordoff and Molteno, "Introduction," 29, 32.
89. E.M. Liso to ANC officials, Lusaka, May 30, 1970, UNIPA, ANC 9/15.
90. Ibid. Liso was expelled from the National Assembly for alleging that the Zambian government had paid "certain girls . . . to come and entertain" the delegates to a recent Summit of Nonaligned States; *National Assembly Debates*, September 25, 1970.
91. H.M. Nkumbula to ANC officials, Lusaka, June 25, 1970, UNIPA, ANC 7/77. The same circular was sent, again, on July 22, 1970, UNIPA, ANC 9/15.
92. "I'm the leader of UPP, says Kapwepwe," *TZ*, August 23, 1971.
93. "Police seize UPP men as ANC signs merger," *TZ*, August 24, 1971.
94. "UPP asks for official stamp," *TZ*, August 25, 1971.
95. On a personal level, moreover, Nkumbula and Kapwepwe could hardly have been more different—bonhomous and self-indulgent, the former, grave and single-minded, the latter. Faustino Lombe, Kapwepwe's personal secretary at the time of the birth of the UPP, was once warned by Nkumbula not to follow his hero's example: Kapwepwe "takes politics too seriously"—Harry teased Lombe—"he does not love himself enough." Personal communication from Faustino Lombe, Lusaka, November 29, 2005.
96. "It's a cheap lie, says Kapwepwe," *TZ*, September 1, 1971.

97. Resolutions of the ANC General Conference, Lusaka, September 9–12, 1971, UNIPA, ANC 7/14.
98. M. Larmer, “Enemies Within? Opposition to the Zambian One-Party State, 1972–1980,” in Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola, *One Zambia*, 105. See also, by the same author, “A Little Bit like a Volcano,” 51, 82–83.
99. Tordoff and Scott, “Political Parties,” 139.
100. J.S. Syankuku to E.M. Liso, Choma, August 12, 1971, UNIPA, ANC 9/1. See also Larmer, “A Little Bit like a Volcano,” 70.
101. “UPP smashed,” *TZ*, September 21, 1971. Also arrested was ANC MP Mumbuna, the party’s director of elections and Western Province (Barotseland)’s provincial president. E.M. Liso, “Press conference,” Lusaka, October 26, 1971, UNIPA, ANC 7/110.
102. The ANC retained Namwala, the expelled Liso’s former seat, and Pemba and Monze East, the two constituencies rendered vacant by the defections of former ANC MPs Hamusankwa and Kayumba, respectively (see note 86, above). Out of the three Western Province (Barotseland) seats affected by by-elections as a result of Mututwa, Silumesii and Simwinji having crossed the floor to UNIP in 1970, the ANC retained Senanga and lost Lukona and Nalikwanda by a mere handful of votes. The very poorly attended by-elections in Bulozhi (gross polls oscillated between 19 and 22 percent) were apparently marred by serious irregularities and intimidation of voters (“Mundia claim doesn’t worry UNIP—Simbula,” *TZ*, December 31, 1971). Violence, remember both Aaron Chikatula and Isaac Mumpansha, the ANC candidate in Monze East, was the order of the day even in the Southern Province. On the campaign trail, Mumpansha had to operate under the protection of Liso, who always moved around with a gun, which, on at least one occasion, he used to fire at a mob of UNIP supporters. Interviews with Mumpansha, October 30, 2006, and Chikatula.
103. “Now KK ends the guess,” *TZ*, February 26, 1972. A useful summary of the modus operandi of the Chona Commission and its final recommendations is to be found in J.M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era* (Lusaka, 1994), 88–94.
104. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, July 10–11, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 9/20.
105. Macmillan, “Nkumbula, Harry Mwaanga (1917?–1983).”
106. H.M. Nkumbula, “Press release,” Lusaka, February 25, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 7/14.
107. “ANC says NO to commission voice,” *TZ*, February 29, 1972.
108. “Opinion,” *TZ*, February 29, 1972.
109. H.M. Nkumbula to K.D. Kaunda, Lusaka, March 1, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 8/11. A summary of Nkumbula’s letter was given in “We won’t give in, vows ANC,” *TZ*, March 2, 1972.

110. The seats in question, Mpika East, Mkushi North, and Mporokoso South, had all been held by top UPP leaders, who, being detained, had been unable to re-contest them on the new party ticket.
111. "'One Party State Democracy'—African National Congress observations," encl. in Nkumbula to Kaunda, March 1, 1972.
112. Resolutions of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, March 4, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 7/14.
113. H.M. Nkumbula to "All branches, ANC," Lusaka, March 11, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 7/15.
114. "ANC big guns launch their attack," *TZ*, March 31, 1972.
115. "It's no rules Doyle," *TZ*, April 7, 1972.
116. "Why the armies take over—by ANC boss," *TZ*, June 12, 1972.
117. *Ibid.*
118. E.D. Kazembe, in minutes of the ANC National Assembly, July 10–11, 1972.
119. Resolutions of the Southern Province's ANC Provincial Conference, Muzoka, June 23–25, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 7/30. The conference had apparently been attended by as many as "fifteen thousand people."
120. Minutes of the ANC National Assembly, July 10–11, 1972.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*
123. "Delegates to State House on One Party Participatory Democracy," July 12, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 9/13.
124. J. Chisata to H.M. Nkumbula, Mpima Prison, Kabwe, July 12, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 8/11.
125. "Critics of one-party state are 'lost sheep,'" *TZ*, July 10, 1972.
126. H.M. Nkumbula to "All branch officials, village headmen, ANC officials, Southern Province," Lusaka, October 9, 1972, UNIPA, ANC 9/20.
127. "KK hammers 'half-baked' ANC lawyer," and "Opposition leaders given ultimatum," both in *TZ*, December 4, 1972.
128. "ANC fights its last battle," *TZ*, December 5, 1972.
129. *National Assembly Debates*, December 6, 1972, col. 40.
130. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1972, col. 72.
131. "KK will make history today," *TZ*, December 13, 1972.
132. *TZ*, December 14, 1972. The same article explained that, as the one-party bills had now become laws, MPs belonging to the outlawed ANC would "retain their Parliamentary seats as independents, until Parliament is dissolved or until December 31 next year, whichever is sooner."
133. See Larmer and Macola, "Origins."
134. In this regard, it may be relevant that Nkumbula's only recorded meeting with the security branch of the South African Police had taken place on October 4, 1970, and that no efforts were apparently,

made on his part to reestablish direct contacts throughout 1972. The South African agent who interviewed Nkumbula and Liso near Victoria Falls in 1970 had been distinctly unimpressed by the former, “a stupid African” (“*dom Afrikaan*”) who liked the sound of his voice. Du Plessis, “Zambië: hulp aan Zambiese politieke partye (ANC).”

## 7 Epilogue: Nkumbula’s Last Initiatives and Legacy

1. The school of thought I wish to take issue with is epitomized by Lise Rakner, who views Zambia’s “economic decline” as “the defining factor that triggered the political opposition leading to the 1991 political transition.” *Political and Economic Liberalisation*, 44. A similar argument is made by M. Bratton, “Economic Crisis and Political Realignment in Zambia,” in J.A. Widner (ed.), *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Baltimore and London, 1994), and, more broadly, by Bratton and van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa*.
2. C. Baylies and M. Szeftel, “The Fall and Rise of Multi-Party Politics in Zambia,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 54 (1992), esp. 80, 83; Bartlett, “Civil Society and Democracy.” For a consistent insider account, see M.C. Chitala, *Not yet Democracy: The Transition of the Twin Process of Political and Economic Reform in Zambia (1991–2001)* (Lusaka, n.d. [but ca. 2006?]), chapter 2.
3. J.K. van Donge, “Zambia: Kaunda and Chiluba. Enduring Patterns of Political Culture,” in J.A. Wiseman (ed.), *Democracy and Political Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London and New York, 1995), esp. 208–209; Baylies and Szeftel, “Fall and Rise,” 89–91; Bartlett, “Civil Society and Democracy,” 441–445; and Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalisation*, chapter 5.
4. On December 6, 1972, Nkumbula had ended his peroration against the one-party bills with the following words: “We fought for Independence and won it in 1964 and now we have lost it. I must say that the people of this country will continue fighting for Independence, they will regain it.” *National Assembly Debates*, December 6, 1972, col. 76.
5. “Opinion,” *TZ*, December 14, 1972.
6. “Face to face with the ‘Old Lion.’” The description of the Choma declaration as “painful” is to be found in the same interview. For the full text of the declaration, see H.M. Nkumbula and E.M. Liso, “A declaration,” Choma, June 27, 1973, UNIPA, ANC 9/21, and “Today the message is - tiyendi pamodzi,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, June 28, 1973.
7. It might not be coincidental that a prospecting license was granted to Nkumbula less than three months after Choma. (G.G.X. Lukwanda to H.M. Nkumbula, Lusaka, September 13, 1973, UNIPA, ANC 7/84.) In the event, Nkumbula’s emerald business proved quite profitable



- until 1979, when all operations in gemstones were temporarily suspended by presidential order. "Nkumbula can go for treatment," *TZ*, February 16, 1980, and interview with Munyama, November 7, 2005.
8. Larmer, "A Little Bit like a Volcano," 75.
  9. C. Baylies and M. Szeftel, "Elections in the One-Party State," in Gertzel, *Dynamics of the One-Party State in Zambia*, 30.
  10. K.D. Kaunda to Cabinet Ministers, Lusaka, July 13, 1973, UNIPA, ANC 9/8.
  11. Apart from Nkumbula himself, Edward Nyanga, Peter Muunga, Godson Kanyama, Matron Sialumba, Isiah Nakalonga, Robinson Muwezwa, Herbert Mwiinga and Bennie Hamwemba had all been MPs since at least the 1968 elections. Isaac Mumpansha, the tenth parliamentary candidate, had been a Congress MP since the by-elections of December 1971.
  12. In Mazabuka, Mwiinga's constituency, the number of parliamentary candidates did not exceed three, thereby rendering the primaries unnecessary.
  13. "Full primary election results," *TZ*, November 3, 1973; Baylies and Szeftel, "Elections in the One-Party State," 32.
  14. Among the unsuccessful candidates figured old Central Province MPs Aaron Chikatula and Enock Shooba and former headquarters officials Moses Shankanga, John Japau and Bernadette Phiri.
  15. "Party wants Liso to fill vacant seat," *TZ*, October 26, 1973. According to Mumpansha, Liso had been persuaded by Nkumbula to take up a post he initially did not want for the specific purpose of safeguarding the interests of former ANC members within UNIP. Interview with Isaac Mumpansha, Lusaka, March 27, 2009.
  16. *National Assembly Debates*, January 24, 1974, col. 511.
  17. Baylies and Szeftel, "Elections in the One-Party State," 35.
  18. The only province that registered a higher level of abstention (22 percent) had been Barotseland (Western Province), where the "No" vote in the presidential election had also been significant, 22.6 percent. Baylies and Szeftel, "Elections in the One-Party State," 48, and tables on 44 and 50.
  19. "KK for landslide," *TZ*, December 14, 1978.
  20. "Report of the tour of Southern Province by... Ananiah K. Chongo," n.p., n.d. [but ca. February 1974?], UNIPA, UNIP 8/9/10.
  21. A.B. Mutemba to A.G. Zulu, Livingstone, October 16, 1973, UNIPA, UNIP 16/5/10.
  22. S.C. Mwiimbwa, "Minutes of meetings addressed by... E.M. Liso and F. Chitambala... from 25th to 27th May 1974," [Namwala], UNIPA, UNIP 8/1/40.
  23. *National Assembly Debates*, January 24, 1974, cols. 505–507.
  24. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1974, col. 1643.

25. "Face to face with the 'Old Lion.'"
26. "KK visits old Harry," *TZ*, August 29, 1977; "Nkumbula can go for treatment."
27. *National Assembly Debates*, November 30, 1977.
28. Larmer, "A Little Bit Like a Volcano," 79.
29. "UNIP constitution brought up to date," *TZ*, September 2, 1978.
30. Ibid.
31. Larmer, "Enemies Within?," 112–114.
32. "Council vets short list," *TZ*, September 11, 1978; "Council wasn't aware of changes," *TZ*, November 2, 1978.
33. "Nkumbula petition in legal poser," *TZ*, October 3, 1978; "Council wasn't aware of changes."
34. "Kapwepwe, Nkumbula lose," *TZ*, July 21, 1979.
35. "Party officials spreading false stories," *TZ*, September 22, 1978; "Election meeting ends in uproar," *TZ*, November 27, 1978.
36. "Four ex-MPs rejected by party leaders," *TZ*, October 21, 1978.
37. "No" votes were also substantial in the Bemba heartland, Kapwepwe's home area, where three constituencies rejected Kaunda. Baylies and Szeftel, "Elections in the One-Party State," 50, and table on the same page.
38. "'No' vote shamed me, says Chona," *TZ*, December 23, 1978.
39. Chairman of the Elections and Publicity Subcommittee of the CC, Untitled and "top secret" memorandum on the reorganization of UNIP after the 1978 presidential and parliamentary elections, March 8, 1979, encl. in Secretary (Political and Legal Subcommittee) to Secretary (Elections and Publicity Subcommittee), Lusaka, March 30, 1979, UNIPA, UNIP 8/8/13.
40. Secretary (Political and Legal Subcommittee) to Secretary (Elections and Publicity Subcommittee), Lusaka, March 30, 1979, UNIPA, UNIP 8/8/13.
41. "I am starving, cries 'Old Harry,'" *TZ*, October 22, 1979. By now, Nkumbula, quite apart from a lengthy list of ailments of advanced age, had perhaps begun to suffer from the lung tumour that would eventually kill him. "Nkumbula can go for treatment"; interview with Mumpansha, March 27, 2009.
42. "Don't remind us about ANC—Nkumbula," *TZ*, December 16, 1979.
43. The evidence surrounding the still unclear relationships between the coup plotters and Kapwepwe shortly before his death in January 1980 is surveyed by Larmer, "Enemies Within?," 114–118.
44. "ANC revival futile," *Sunday Times of Zambia*, November 16, 1980.
45. Ibid.
46. R.J. Japau to Chigaga and Co., Lusaka, January 29, 1981, document in the possession of the late John Sakulanda.
47. "Don't lock up rivals—Old Harry," *Sunday Times of Zambia*, April 12, 1981.

48. "Shut up, 'Old Harry' told," *TZ*, April 15, 1981.
49. "Man held for reviving ANC," *TZ*, October 29, 1981.
50. "Old Harry's condition 'satisfactory,'" *TZ*, January 15, 1982.
51. "Nkumbula to contest elections," *TZ*, February 4, 1982.
52. "'Old Harry' honoured," *TZ*, October 26, 1982; "Nkumbula gets new home in Woodlands," *TZ*, December 22, 1982.
53. Interview with Mungaila Mulemba.
54. Readers interested in the orgy of shallow rhetoric that accompanied Nkumbula's three-day-long state funeral can consult the *Sunday Times of Zambia*, October 9, 1983 and the *TZ*, October 12–13, 1983.
55. Casual remark made in conversation with the author by an elderly resident of Monze, May 10, 2007.
56. H.M. Nkumbula, in minutes of the ANC National Assembly, Lusaka, March 1–3, 1969, UNIPA, ANC 7/45.
57. "The party"—wrote the author of the aforementioned 1979 election postmortem (see note 39, above)—"should identify what incentives were offered by the defunct ANC which incentives might not have been taken care of by UNIP and which could be exploited in order to win the masses."
58. But see van Donge, "Zambia: Kaunda and Chiluba," 206, 214.
59. A. Mbikusita-Lewanika and D.[M.C.] Chitala (eds.), *The Hour Has Come! Proceedings of the National Conference on the Multi-Party Option Held at Garden House Hotel, Lusaka, Zambia, 20–21 July, 1990* (Lusaka, 1990), appendix (h). See chapter 6, note 86.
60. Chitala, *Not yet Democracy*, 34. Kept out of the Interim Committee by the manoeuvres of other aspiring leaders, Mumpansha would go on to form the short-lived National Democratic Alliance in tandem with a few disgruntled ex-UPPERS such as Elias Kaenga and John Sakulanda.
61. Chitala, *Not yet Democracy*, 29; A. Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Hour for Reunion. Movement for Multi-Party Democracy: Conception, Dissension and Reconciliation. Volume One* (Mongu-Lealui and Lusaka, 2003), 134.
62. See above, 135, 147.
63. For the results of the 1991 elections in the Southern Province, see [http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_view&gid=32&Itemid=78](http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=32&Itemid=78) [accessed on 25 May 2008].
64. See above, 98, 147.
65. Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Hour for Reunion*, 135, 200; [http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_view&gid=33&Itemid=78](http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=33&Itemid=78) [accessed on 25 May 2008]. See above, 127, 135.
66. [http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_view&gid=30&Itemid=78](http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=30&Itemid=78) [accessed on May 25, 2008]. See above, 126, 133, 135.
67. Cf. Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Hour for Reunion*, 232–233.

68. Bartlett, "Civil Society and Democracy," 437–438; Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Hour for Reunion*, 139, 200.
69. Bartlett, "Civil Society and Democracy," 438. See also van Donge, "Zambia: Kaunda and Chiluba," 205.
70. Nkumbula and Mbikusita-Lewanika were appointed Minister of Youth and Sport and Minister of Science, Technology and Vocational Training, respectively. Mbikusita-Lewanika has written that the first Chiluba's cabinet was informed by "the old established trick of fake tribal or social interest balancing, whereby numbers could be balanced, but effective power is not balance [sic] and not equitably shared." *Hour for Reunion*, 256.
71. Bartlett, "Civil Society and Democracy," 442.
72. For an insider account, see Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Hour for Reunion*, 271–282.
73. J. Gould, "Contesting Democracy: The 1996 Elections in Zambia," in M. Cowen and L. Laakso (eds.), *Multi-Party Elections in Africa* (Oxford and New York, 2002), 311.
74. On the 1996 elections, see *ibid.* and Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalisation*, 107–111.
75. Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalisation*, 123–124.
76. J. Gould, "Subsidiary Sovereignty and the Constitution of Political Space in Zambia," in Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola, *One Zambia*, 281, fn. 11.
77. In 2006, the UPND ran under the banner of the United Democratic Alliance, an electoral cartel also comprising the Forum for Development and Democracy (FDD) and the remains of UNIP. UNIP and FDD candidates added a mere four seats, all in the Eastern Province, to the tally of 22 seats won by the UPND. The 2006 parliamentary results can be consulted on [http://www.elections.org.zm/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_view&gid=65&Itemid=78](http://www.elections.org.zm/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=65&Itemid=78) [accessed on May 25, 2008].
78. The point is graphically borne out by the chart available on [http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_view&gid=125&Itemid=78](http://www.elections.org.zm/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=125&Itemid=78) [accessed on March 5, 2009].
79. On which, see M. Larmer and A. Fraser, "Of Cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 Election," *African Affairs*, 106 (2007).



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Full archival citations are given in the notes. Below are the details of the repositories, and the series and collections, upon which I have relied most heavily.

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- United National Independence Party's Archives (UNIPA), Lusaka.

This newly opened and reorganized deposit, of which no professional historian has made any sustained use until 2003, forms the principal basis of this book. It is subdivided into ANC papers (ANC) and UNIP papers (UNIP). The former collection, consisting of approximately 300 files and including some of Nkumbula's personal papers, has been studied in its entirety. Of the UNIP collection, the following subdivisions have proved particularly useful: National Council (UNIP 1), Provinces (UNIP 5), External Relations (UNIP 6), Central Committee (UNIP 8), Foreign Representatives (UNIP 9), Publications (UNIP 14), and National Headquarters (UNIP 16).

- National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), Lusaka.

Southern Province (SP).

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Historical Manuscripts (HM): African National Congress (HM 70); Simon Zukas (HM 75); Wittington Sikalumbi (HM 76); Robinson Nabulyato (HM 79), Alex Shapi (HM 89); Stewart Gore-Browne (HM 94).

- Archives of the United Church of Zambia's Theological College (UCZA), Mindolo, Kitwe.

Methodist Missionary Society's papers (MMS).

- Historical Archives of the Livingstone Museum, Livingstone.

Tribal Histories (TH 2/17; G. 104).

- Archives of Institute for Economic and Social Research (INESOR), Lusaka.
- Mrs. Ompie Nkumbula-Liebenthal's collection, Lusaka.

### *United Kingdom*

- National Archives of the UK (NAUK), Kew, London.

Given the wealth of official party and administrative records available in Zambian archives, the NAUK have been used solely to throw light on Nkumbula's stay in London in the late 1940s. It is a great pity that, unlike Hastings Banda's, Seretse Khama's, and others', the personal "student file" of Harry Nkumbula appears to have been weeded out. Useful materials were, nonetheless, located in the following Colonial Office (CO) series:

Confidential Correspondence (CO 537).

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