
Zambian Election Reconstruction Begins

STUART GRAHAM

PRE-ELECTION—UNIP

FOUR YEARS AGO Kenneth Kaunda was in prison, his party the Zambia African National Congress banned, its successor the United National Independent Party known only to a small group: the Federation had however by then been given its first shock with the explosion in Nyasaland following Dr. Banda's return from abroad. In the years that followed, Kaunda's UNIP grew at such a rate that in January this year it was able to take 55 of 65 main roll seats in the country's first election under a one-man-one-vote constitution: the 10 reserved roll seats went to the (White) National Progress Party, the pale surviving shadow of the defunct United Federal Party. Ten main roll seats were won by the African National Congress.

Kaunda's victory was not unexpected, and by looking at the results of the 1962 elections one might gain a good idea of the areas in which UNIP would win for sure. The chief interest in the contest centred on the reserved roll, where UNIP was challenging every NPP candidate, and on the constituencies which were regarded as ANC strongholds.

Following the Victoria Falls conference last June, the British government was pressed by elected members in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council to grant a new constitution which would carry the country to self-government with the demise of Federation. The Whites in Legco were clearly strong enough to demand the inclusion of a number of reserved roll seats, believing that they would thus be able to ensure a continuance of White influence on government, everyone knowing by this time that UNIP would win any election. The NPP argument has been: economic and technical power rests for the present with the Whites while political power belongs with the Africans; therefore let the Africans control Legco, but with a group of Whites (presumably rich and technical) on the opposite benches to help them run the country and prevent them from sacrificing economic and technical progress to politics. During the campaign the NPP constantly exhorted Whites to vote for it "so that there would be an opposition" in Legco.

UNIP has been telling the Whites, and other minorities, that the only way they can ensure their survival is to associate themselves with the controlling majority. UNIP

candidates on the reserved roll have been pointing out that the only way in which Whites can influence policy is by being inside the governing party: they also pointed out that to vote *en masse* for the NPP would be tantamount to rejecting the offer of a completely non-racial state made repeatedly by UNIP.

ELECTION

ON POLLING DAY all NPP candidates were returned, beating UNIP with majorities ranging from 70 to 500 in constituencies of about 2000, but UNIP won about 30% of the White vote, compared to less than 4% in the 1962 general election, and the party disappointment at not gaining the main roll seats, can at least be tempered with the knowledge that the White front has been finally broken. UNIP is pledged to abolishing the reserved roll before the country enters independence this October so as to do away finally with racial block voting, and representation by racial group.

PRE-ELECTION—ANC

UNIP's campaign against the African National Congress has been rather different, and has not gone unmarked by violence and death on both sides. The ANC is the country's oldest political party, and its name and intention were probably taken from the ANC of South Africa, as, was its thumbs-up salute. Its leader, ever since its birth before Federation has been Mr. Harry Nkumbula. The revolt against his leadership came in the late 1950's, and led to the formation of the Zambia African National Congress by Kenneth Kaunda and other young and impatient members of the party. A number of ANC branches immediately went over to ZANC, and until the party was banned it was gaining in influence. When UNIP was founded and Kaunda came out of detention, all the copperbelt except Mufulira supported it, as did the rural populations of the Northern and Luapula provinces. Support spread to Barotseland and to the Eastern Province, usually undercutting the influence of the chiefs and older men, many of whom remained loyal to Nkumbula as the father of the African nationalist movement. The 1962 election showed that the only area ANC could be sure of was the Southern province and parts of the Central province. The support here was largely tribal, the Tonga group of tribes being traditionally fearful of the powerful Lozi (Barotse) in the west and the Bemba in the Northern and Luapula provinces. Two other places which might have been thought safe for ANC are Mufulira, where many miners and African town dwellers had remained loyal to Nkumbula's party during the ANC-ZANC split (some believe out of respect for the now dead John Katilungu, a hero-worshipped miners' union leader from that town) and ANC Legco member; and Mwinilunga, an area in the north west whose tribal inhabitants, the Lunda, are part, ethnically, of the Lunda people of Katanga on whom Tshombe based his power in that province. Tshombe and Nkumbula were good friends in the past, and the ANC received large sums of Katangese money during the 1962 election campaign, Tshombe knowing that UNIP would be opposed to the continued secession of Katanga from the Congo.

STUART GRAHAM'S article on the school and the boys appeared in *The New African*, 17 August 1963.

ELECTION

IN THE 1964 ELECTION, ANC lost Mufulira to UNIP's trade unionist John Chisata, but retained all seats in the Southern province except Livingstone (which went to UNIP's Mainza Chona with a majority of 489 out of 19,841), and won one, Chisamba, in the Central province (Chisamba is a Tonga-group district). Nkumbula's candidate took Mwinilunga.

At the outset of the election, 24 UNIP candidates were unopposed, and in most constituencies received overwhelming support on polling day (e.g. Lundazi—UNIP 20,800, ANC 155).

The election passed peacefully, but fighting broke out between ANC and UNIP supporters in Mufulira when the results were known.

POST-ELECTION

IN CHOOSING HIS CABINET, Prime Minister Kaunda has had to appoint both the best men for the job, and the men whose position in the party demands that they be given seats, the result being a group of men who represent

almost every aspect of national life, from the fiery youth leader to the cool headed economist. The key posts have gone to Mr. Simon Kapepwe (Interior), Mr. Mainza Chona the country's first African barrister (Justice—his parliamentary secretary is Mr. James Skinner, an attorney, and UNIP's only White candidate on the main roll: he won Lusaka East with a 5,722 majority out of 22,000), and Mr. Arthur Wina (Finance), economist graduate of American universities.

THE CONTEXT

IF FOR SOME PEOPLE, Africa begins at the Ebro, they would find on travelling further, that South Africa begins at the Congo-Zambezi watershed. This does not mean being hit in the eye with a Whites-only notice the moment you step into Northern Rhodesia from Katanga, but that you are made welcome by a friendly miner, employed by Harry Oppenheimer, with the offer of a Cold Castle (brewed in Ndola) a Rothman's cigarette or its sibling Peter Stuyvesant (made in Lusaka).

According to Margery Perham in one of her Reith

Words

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THE DRIEST OF ENGLISH-PRESS political correspondents have had their little joke about the Odendaal Report, even if only about that perennial laugh-subject, the Bushmen. Let us now praise the report, concerning nevertheless that its stern periods and ingenious cover-up arguments have their hilarious moments. Let us praise the editing of this Inquiry into South West African Affairs in one particular. A real attempt has been made to make it seem composed within universal, modern systems of thought. The technique is fairly simple: almost all words that connote Afrikaner Nationalist systems of thought have been cut out, or used to the minimum, and a thick overlay of humanitarian pro-African argument papers over the quite considerable cracks created by nearly fifty years of South African colonialist rule. The word apartheid, nowadays a shy stranger to our shores, is not to be found at all, likewise separate development, a phrase which the inner ear of

every UN diplomat must hear in Eric Louw's shrill and best-forgotten bark. Bantu is scarcely to be found, and even that useful word Native takes on the respectability of inverted commas here and there.

THE PRO-AFRICAN ARGUMENT stems from the terms of reference themselves. Were not these for the Commission "to enquire thoroughly into promoting the material and moral welfare and the social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa and more particularly of its non-white inhabitants"? Aside from a repeated boast that the whites stopped the blacks from killing each other off, and were responsible for the progress of the non-whites in "the social, economic and religious fields", the whites now fade from the scene, and the moral and material welfare of the blacks become the sole concern of Professor Bruwer, the brains behind the Report. (The hideous anti-Herero carnage of the 1904 German-Herero war is not mentioned).

THE SKILL OF the Odendaal Commission in hiding the 70,000 whites in their 60% of the land causes one to hunt the whites even more, and to wonder why they too have not been split up into their ethnic groups. An unreported interview between the Herero Chief's council and the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner underlines this. The Chief's Council, consisting of Herero leaders, some from distant parts of the Territory, was to have met the Administrator.

Mr. Wentzel du Plessis, on 30 January in Windhoek. The Chief's spokesman, Mr. Clement Kapuuo, went to protest to the Republican official when some of the councillors were told they could not stay on in Windhoek location until the date of the meeting. Mr. Eaton's suggestion that they go home and return in time for the 30th. must have struck even this BAD official as unhelpful, for he followed it up by telling Mr. Kapuuo that such worries would soon no longer afflict the Herero, who were to be placed all together in "their own homeland." The aristocratic Mr. Kapuuo's icy "And who has decided this?" must have made Professor Bruwer's unaristocratic ears tingle down in Stellenbosch.

THEN WHEN OFFICIALLY INFORMED of the Odendaal Report's findings, Mr Kapuuo asked, who was to decide where this was to stop. If the Ovambos, Hereros, Okavangos, Kaokovelders, East Caprivians, Bushmen, Damaras, Tswanas, Namas and Rehoboth "Basters" are to have each their own homeland, why not the Afrikaners, the Germans, the English and the Jews? It may sound a naïve question, but there is no logical answer to it.

It is difficult to say whether this question, or Mr. Kapuuo's earlier one—"And who has decided this?"—is the more lethal, despite the elaborate word-play, maps and statistics of a solid year's highly expensive work by Professor Bruwer and his less active colleagues.

Lectures (published as *The Colonial Reckoning*), one of the reasons for imposing the Federation on British Central Africa was the fear in Whitehall that Northern Rhodesia would inevitably be drawn into Afrikanerdom, especially as Afrikaans mine workers on the copperbelt were becoming politically strong enough to control the destinies of the Protectorate. That danger (which surely could have been avoided merely by widening the franchise and without going through the expensive operations of Federal establishment and demolition) has now passed, as has the fear of political domination by the White settlers of Southern Rhodesia, but the stranglehold which South African-based concerns have on the economy of the country presents a problem whose solution will not be found in following Tanganyika and Kenya into a total boycott of South Africa.

The economy of Northern Rhodesia at present comprises little more than the copper mines and a scattering of light industry around them and in Lusaka and Livingstone. Half the mines are controlled by Anglo-American, based in Johannesburg, the rest by Rhodesian Selection Trust, a close relation of the mighty American Metal Climax group. Anglo-American is busy turning itself into as close an approximation to a local product as possible (RST has been doing this for some time), proclaiming its nonracialism, and its desire to employ local people of whatever colour at all levels, with a fervour that must be rather disconcerting to members of the Mynwerkersvakbond (or its equivalent) busy in the gold mines of the Free State.

What everybody knows is that Northern Rhodesia, in its transition to Zambia, will be the first independent African state in which a vital part of the economy is owned by South Africans: not the only part, for Zambians will probably go on drinking Castle beer and smoking Dr. Rupert's cigarettes. How the government will balance the needs of the country, in terms of investment and production (at present largely South African), with demands, and doubtless heartfelt desire, to aid in the liberation of South Africa, will face the leadership with one of its first and severest diplomatic tests.

Add to the South African grip on the economy the Portuguese control over the two rail routes which serve the country—the Benguela Railway through Angola and the line through Moçambique—over which the copper exports roll on their way to Europe and America and along which enter the country's requirements in oil and machinery, and one has a situation in which the powers of White supremacy in Southern Africa could strangle the infant Zambia at birth. It is these factors which will dictate the country's policy for some years—at least until the agricultural revolution which is getting under way provides food for the whole country, until diversification makes the treasury less reliant on copper, and until the Tanganyika railway (from the copperbelt to Dar es Salaam) is built. This project, planned before Federation and shelved, promises to solve a number of problems at once: it will eliminate Portuguese pressure, it will provide work for thousands of unemployed, it will open up a great tract of unproductive land to development, and will give the country its hallmark of independence like the Volta Dam in Ghana and Aswan in Egypt.

THE FUTURE

DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, UNIP leaders and candidates were at pains not to court votes by promising any immediate startling improvement in the voters' standard of living: instead they preached the necessity of hard work by everyone. If, Dr. Kaunda declared, everyone followed this exhortation, every foot in Zambia would have a shoe on it in ten years time. People voted for a government which was prepared to face publicly the difficulties ahead, and perhaps to push people on to solve them. The new ministers will not have an easy time.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS arise from the nature of the country itself, the result of being in the tropics, with their plethora of disease and uncontrolled soil erosion; social problems are largely the result of the uprooting of rural people in consequence of industrialization; but there can be no doubt that the country would have been in far better shape had not enormous revenues from the mines been exported, for the sole benefit of stockholders in South Africa, Europe and America, and latterly, for the benefit of Southern Rhodesia, which sucked £70,000,000 from Northern Rhodesia during the ten years of Federation. If that money had remained in the North, Dr. Kaunda would have been the Prime Minister of a country with as complex and developed an economy as his southern neighbour.

It is therefore with some justification that the new government speaks of the years ahead as a period of Reconstruction, and with revenues flowing into the treasury at a higher rate than ever before, with a popular, stable, capable and dynamic government, with an air of confidence in the future, this generation of voters will see the transformation of their country into a prosperous egalitarian state. But it will mean heavy toil. ●

The Ballad of The Headless Men

I walked along the beach one night
With Chaka and Dingaani;
In front a thousand headless men
Ten thousand more behind.

The pebbles and the stones were red
The sea was foaming blood;
The crested waves upreached the sky
We walked along the flood.

Under each left arm a gay head
And each right hand was speared
Upon the circle of a neck
A scarlet cobra reared.

The headless men need have no heads
For they are those who follow
And only those who lead need think
And those who follow, follow.