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ZAMBIA

Scale: 80 miles = 1 inch
Introduction

PROFILE OF A PRESIDENT

Dr Kenneth Kaunda's career as a nationalist leader is by now well known. An important part of it is related in his autobiography, *Zambia Shall be Free*, while Richard Hall has amplified it in *Zambia*. Less well known is his role as a national leader with a special commitment to founding a non-racial society in a country which forms a tense frontier between the areas of independent African government and white supremacy. The speeches and writings of Dr Kaunda collected here cover the crucial years from the time he joined government in December 1962 to the opening days of 1966.

The transition from colonialism to independence—especially the year or so preceding the hauling down of the old imperial flag and the two succeeding years—is a time of particular hazard for all newly independent states. The pattern seldom varies. The opposition groups invariably seek to exploit to the full the weakness of the new Government not yet properly in the saddle. Their often desperate methods provide opportunities for external forces of one kind or another to meddle in the affairs of the nascent state. Simultaneously the cement provided by the independence struggle, which held together diverse groups, begins to crack. Within the ruling party itself leaders and groups begin to jostle for power or other rewards. The rank and file of the nationalist movement are seldom left unaffected by the intrigues in the political capital; but they are even more directly affected by the intoxicating sense of being 'in power'. They are no longer the servants; now they are the masters. But of what? And of whom? How do they assert their mastery? There is the easy temptation to behave arrogantly, crassly or brutishly towards those they identify as the enemies of their
independence. Their behaviour calls for both understanding and firm action by their own leaders. There is also the inevitable ‘crisis of expectations’ raised by grand promises and hopes of what independence is supposed to bring.

Few newly independent countries are left untouched by these political phenomena. In a country like Zambia they could easily have led to disaster. Not only is it landlocked, but virtually all its communications pass through neighbouring territories hostile to the ideas of the new State. Its wealth rests, as yet, entirely on the Copperbelt—a white supremacy oasis in a black republic. The extraction of its mineral wealth is controlled wholly by international mining companies, and the key jobs in the mines are held, almost exclusively, by expatriates—usually white South Africans and Southern Rhodesians. Race relations on the Copperbelt have been traditionally bad; but they became much worse through the pre-independence conflict over Federation and, subsequently, because of the threat of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the minority Government of Southern Rhodesia. Added to these dangers were the bitterness produced by the split within the African nationalist movement, incipient tribalism and the secessionist tendencies of the traditionalist leaders of Barotseland.

UNIP’s inheritance, except for the wealth of the Copperbelt, was by no means enviable. Nevertheless, except for the tragic Lumpa episode, it averted major upsets. More remarkably, during the most difficult stage in the transfer of power, it succeeded in creating a new sense of confidence between races, between tribes, between the Chiefs and the nationalists, and between the mining companies and the Government.

Kenneth Kaunda could not by himself have effected the dangerous transition so smoothly without the loyal support of his colleagues, and without the determination of the mining companies to stand behind his Government. Nevertheless, the decisive influence was Kenneth Kaunda’s. Had he been a different kind of leader, Zambia would have been a different kind of country. The ability to shape in an entirely benign way the future of a whole society has been given to few men.

To Kenneth Kaunda colour and race are merely distinctive characteristics; they are not arbitrary dividing lines within the human race: ‘My spiritual comfort from which I derive much
of my physical energy lies in the love I hold for mankind as a whole'.

He is first a humanist and secondarily a nationalist. Such a statement would probably shock Kenneth Kaunda because he is unable to conceive for himself the possibility of dividing his humanism from his nationalism. For him they are inextricably interwoven: he loves his own kind because of his love for mankind. He achieves this synthesis in himself through his acceptance of the Christian fundamentals requiring respect for the sanctity of the individual personality and acceptance of man's universality. These two elements—the dignity of man, and man's indivisible oneness—constitute the whole of Kaunda's nationalism. Speaking for Zambia at the United Nations he declared: 'If a nation must have an obsession we consider the most desirable one is a belief in the sanctity of man.' And at a mass rally of his UNIP supporters he urged them to remember: 'Politics is not enough; we must remember man's spiritual needs.'

In detention—weakened from malnutrition and frustrated by prolonged restriction—he was able to write in 1959: 'I shall always pray that no bitterness shall come into the picture and we freedom fighters shall be forever colour-blind.' Throughout the fourteen years of national struggle he ceaselessly reminded his own supporters that 'Black oppression is just as wrong as white oppression.' To those suffering under white oppression this reminder was not always welcome; nor was it calculated to strengthen Kaunda's own leadership at a time when it was by no means secure.

Should one marvel that a humanist can be so dedicated a nationalist? In Europe, nationalism and humanism have in the main been antipathetic forces, because the forces of nationalism all too often expressed themselves through war to assert the primacy of one nation over its neighbour. While African nationalism is not entirely free from such tendencies, one of its distinctive features is its supra-national aspiration exemplified in Pan-Africanism. Although Pan-Africanism is rooted in race-consciousness, it is fundamentally an assertion of the dignity of coloured peoples, and of their claim to share equally with non-coloured peoples in the right to conduct their own affairs and to have a proper share in managing world affairs. It does not,
however, seek to establish its own rights by denying these to others. It is natural, therefore, that humanists in Africa should find themselves drawn towards, not against, the nationalist movement. Within the movement they are bound to become involved in the clash for primacy between humanism and nationalism. The character of nationalist movements is determined by the outcome of these internal struggles; in this way, the quality of the embryonic nation-state is predetermined.

This explains why there is nothing contradictory between Kaunda's humanism and his nationalism: in him the first conditioned the second. It explains, too, how at the moment of approaching independence, with nationalism burning at its fiercest, the future President of Zambia was able to instruct his trainee ambassadors, attending their first Foreign Service seminar: 'Let us think now as world citizens.'

Another major strand in Kaunda's political make-up is his irrevocable belief in the philosophy of non-violence. Many African and Asian nationalist leaders have been profoundly influenced by Gandhi's teachings; yet how few who accept these teachings stand by them in situations where violence is a characteristic of the colonial situation? Gandhianism may not be the perfect prescription for every situation; but Kaunda held that it was correct for Northern Rhodesia, and he clung stubbornly to this view even when his own supporters disregarded his advice and took to violence. To denounce them would have been a betrayal of the cause of which he was leader; to uphold them would have been a betrayal of his own principles. It was a dilemma from which there was no escape. Kaunda discussed this dilemma in a letter written in February 1960 to his friend Frank Barton:

'I sincerely believe, Frank, that our only way here is one of non-violence. It is common sense to realize that apart from the humanitarian point of view, to say nothing of what the Christian conscience dictates, it would be the under-dog who would suffer more human losses in the event of a violent clash. One does not wish to destroy the lives of the very people he wishes to get to the Canaan of his dreams! There is another equally strong reason in support of a non-violent struggle. I suppose a non-violent struggle calls for deeper, far better and more useful
methods of discipline than otherwise. Properly grounded, it brings to those involved (the participants) a sense of confidence, understanding—both spiritual and otherwise—and loyalty that is bound to be of use even when national independence is attained. And, as we all know, post-independence days do shake and have shaken the best of men into all sorts of things; a well-disciplined party, therefore, schooled in this difficult way, becomes an invaluable asset to the country as a whole. There is yet another reason. In a non-violent struggle, there are more chances of developing an approach to life that is essentially democratic. What does this entail? Well, as far as I am able to see, non-violence includes in its trend consultations or bargaining with those whom you have cause to complain against. It would be cowardice to go behind them.

"The other question you raise is not easy to answer—"How possible is it to stop any nationalist organization from harbouring the inevitable roughs and toughs who want to strongarm others?" I am glad you are of the same understanding, Frank. I say this because you quite rightly employ the word "inevitable". I suppose the method used by the British Labour Party is the best. There one finds all sorts of people who hold widely differing views on this and that subject. They all, however, respect the views held by the majority of their group. This is one of those arts we must develop here in African parties if our yearning for constitutional democracy is to come to stay. "One man one vote" is now our watchword. We should stress, and indeed do stress, the importance of this not only at general elections but also as the only rightful method of deciding issues even within our own parties. Once this is grasped, it follows that a well-disciplined party will make its decisions by its majority binding. This, of course, is assuming that those "roughs and toughs" are in the minority which is, I suppose, what you also assume in your question. I believe anyway it is safe so to assume. If on the other hand, those "toughs and roughs" go out of their way to disregard majority decisions, they should be disciplined accordingly. Since we are here primarily and quite inevitably dealing with African organizations, it might be in order to stretch it a bit and say that any party leader or leader should insist on majority decisions standing since we ourselves are today insisting on MAJORITY RULE."
ZAMBIA: INDEPENDENCE AND BEYOND

Kaunda is sometimes accused of hypocrisy because he allowed his army and police to use violent methods in dealing with the Lumpa troubles, and because of his willingness to allow force to be used against Southern Rhodesia. In the case of the Lumpas he had personally tried hard to reason with the Lumpa prophetess, Alice Lenshina. The police used force only after some of their own members had been speared to death, and when failure to deal firmly with the situation would almost certainly have resulted in widespread killings. Although Kaunda justified the use of force against the Lumpas it was, as he told me at the time, the hardest decision he had ever taken in his life. His attitude to the Southern Rhodesian situation is that force should only be used to avoid the possibility of a violent racial clash, or if Southern Rhodesia directly threatens the safety of Zambia.

One of the extraordinary facts about contemporary African politics is that Kenneth Kaunda should have held so firmly to his principles of non-violence at a time when elsewhere in Africa—notably in Algeria—there were pointers to the success of a different kind of struggle, and when in South Africa the staunchest among those upholding the doctrine of non-violence had finally rejected it for their particular situation. Yet even when non-violent methods were having little apparent success either against the British Government or Sir Roy Welensky’s Central African Federation Government, Kaunda held fast to his beliefs. No less remarkable—and how fortunate that it should have been so—was Kaunda’s survival as the leader of Zambia’s nationalist movement despite the climate of angry frustration and violence which hardly favoured his kind of leadership.

Many have mistaken Kaunda’s gentleness, patience and reluctance to exercise his power as signs of weakness. But slow as he is to act toughly—especially against his own supporters—he is in no way weak. It is a common fallacy to suppose that a person with strong human compassion must necessarily be a weak person. Firmness and compassion are no less rare a combination than weakness and bullying. No man could have survived the tests of leadership in the Northern Rhodesian struggle unless he was fundamentally strong. But strength shows itself in different ways. In Kaunda it is the princely strength of what in Hebrew is called havlaga—self-discipline.
He has never spared himself from the disciplinarian tendencies which are inherent in most leaders; in this way, perhaps, he spared others.

Nor are the qualities of restraint or forgiveness signs of weakness in a leader. Even in the darkest days of the struggle Kaunda's militancy was constantly tempered by his own pre-disposition to avoid suffering wherever possible and to play the role of peacemaker. He is by nature a conciliator. But while always striving to reconcile conflicting interests and to show forgiveness, he never allowed himself to compromise with practices he regards as evil. This makes it impossible for him to come to terms with a society which encourages contempt for human beings on grounds of race, which denies the individual the right to govern himself, or which tolerates the exploitation of the weak.

Nevertheless, he has never been able to bring himself to hate those who defend these evils. He does not see them as evil men, but as victims of circumstance. He accepts it as a personal duty to show his opponents they are wrong and, if his attempts fail, to defeat them politically. But in victory there must be forgiveness as the first step towards helping them become good citizens.

Such a high-minded approach to politics has seldom proved successful when tried elsewhere. Even Gandhi, for all his qualities, failed as a practical politician. Zambia's good fortune—and the world's—is that Kaunda is a skillful and practical politician as well as being a principled leader. This idealism is rooted in tough fibre. Kaunda's gentleness and ready smile are not poses; he is naturally gentle and tolerant. But those who mistake his tolerance for weakness are apt to be surprised by his capacity for firm action. In a real crisis he can be as tough as the toughest of his colleagues.

These are the qualities that enable Zambia's first President to corrupt power to make it serve the interests of the powerless; and to teach the meek how to inherit their kingdom without the necessity of doing violence to those denying them their birthright. It is to the credit of Zambians that their nationalism could absorb, sustain and honour such a man as Dr Kenneth David Kaunda.

LONDON, 1966

COLIN LEGUM
PART ONE

THE PASSING OF THE OLD ORDER

1962–1963
The October 1962 elections marked the end of an era. The elaborate checks and balances of the Macleod constitution failed to check the African nationalist forces. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) won 14 seats, the African National Congress (ANC) 7 and Sir Roy Welensky’s United Federal Party 16. By agreeing to sink their bitter rivalries temporarily the two nationalist parties were able to form a coalition government. In December 1962 power passed into the hands of the majority in Northern Rhodesia.

Kenneth Kaunda became Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. His two close lieutenants, Simon Kapepwe and Reuben Kamanga, became respectively Minister for African Agriculture and Minister for Labour and Mines.

For Kaunda it was the end of a chapter started fourteen years earlier when, as a shy and unsophisticated teacher from Lubwa, he pledged himself to the nationalist struggle. On January 15, 1963, he took his place for the first time in the Legislature. Without previous experience he found himself in effect the senior leader of government business. Two days later, dressed in his familiar black toga, he delivered his maiden speech:

'We have no intention, having criticized the United Federal Party Government in the past for their racial attitude, and having succeeded in removing that Government or the interests of those people, to replace that type of attitude which we condemn most sincerely with one of our own choice or one of our making. So, Sir, we intend here to help—and I most sincerely believe under divine guidance—establish a truly non-racial society. This is not just a new invention for the benefit of
this House; it is something that we believe in; it is something that our freely elected Government believes in most sincerely.

'If has been argued by my hon. Friends opposite that if we succeeded in dismantling the present Central African Federation, we would be, in fact, succeeding in creating or building up in Northern Rhodesia a racial society, that the chances of ever building a non-racial society would go. . . . Without wasting the time of the House I would like to say the opposite, the direct opposite is the case. Once we succeed in dismantling the present Federation we shall have succeeded in laying the foundation stone of [building] a truly non-racial society. . . .

'This country has suffered economic setbacks not because of what is so very often referred to as irresponsible behaviour on the part of those leading mass movements. In fact, it is more the governmental set-up that was to blame for all this unrest and political instability. Now that we are moving towards a more representative Government I am quite sure that these so-called thugs are people who value economic development; value the fact that power should not be got just for the sake of getting it—they value, too, that power must be got because those who get that power must be in a position to serve God's own people and this I say irrespective of whether they are green, pink, blue or something else.

'We make, I repeat, a truly non-racial approach to our problems. We intend to create in this, our mother country, conditions that will attract investors to it, and this is one of the surest ways of leading the country to the stability it needs so very badly. But I am afraid to say that we have two things here that may continue to harass and embarrass us here. The first I have already referred to, and this is the presence in this country of the present federal set-up. As long as you have a political umbrella over our country which does not enjoy the confidence of the majority of the people—and here I mean all races, brown, black and white—the instability will continue. I referred earlier on to the question of constitutional progress which may help us to bring to this country a measure of stability. This—the present one—in so far as I am able to see, is only a temporary measure. . . .

'As long as you have a bad constitution, countries—whether
they be dominated by black faces or dominated by white faces — will continue to suffer instability. Let there be established in Northern Rhodesia once and for all a constitution that will command the respect of the majority of the people, whether they be black, brown or white. Once you have that I think you will have gone a long way towards solving most of your problems. I will not say all, far from it.’

A previous speaker in the debate had raised the question of Pan-Africanism, to which Kenneth Kaunda replied:

‘... Although I happen to be chairman, from January last year to this year, of what is called the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa, I must state here in very clear terms that this does not mean I am going to place the interests of Northern Rhodesia second to Pan-Africanism.

‘At the same time it must be very clear to all thinking men and women, whether they are in Northern Rhodesia or elsewhere, that disturbed situations around us will affect us, if not directly, then indirectly. Under such it is only right and proper for us, where this is possible, to take steps to try to help and solve those problems because in the end we are affected, as I have said, directly or indirectly. Certain Hon. Members whom I shall not mention, according to the traditions of the House, who are represented here by the leader of the Opposition, have taken it upon themselves to try to associate us with what is called the European Economic Market. To me the European Economic Market is just an expression of what I call Pan-Europeanism and as such have seen no reason why these same people should criticize me for being interested in Pan-Africanism. I happen to know that the leader of the group who criticized me was, in fact, born in Southern Rhodesia, and therefore I would like to call him an African and instead of his associating our country with Europe. In the same tune I would like to quote organizations that are Pan-American, and yet these same people who try to unite or link their countries through this organization come here and criticize us for our Pan-African ideologies. ... I would like to say that I have no regrets for being chairman of this
organization, and so long as my duties permit me in Northern Rhodesia, that is so long as these are not affecting my ministerial tasks or duties, I will continue to be as useful as I can possibly be to the Pan-African movement.'

He ended his speech on the reassuring note on which he had started:

'... So far as we are concerned, it is our intention to encourage non-racialism in this country. We intend to carry this right out; because of this, I would like to use this platform here to assure those of us who happen to be brown or white, that they have nothing to fear in an African-controlled Government, even less to fear in a fully African-controlled Government.

'I hope very shortly motions will be moved in this House that may lead to the dismantling of the Federation, motions that may lead, perhaps, to complete self-government in which His Excellency the Governor will have no more power of veto. It is our intention to treat our fellow-men like human beings because that is what they are. We have no intention, I repeat, of introducing either in this House at this stage or later, or when we are in full control of the House, anything that will be racial. We have fought and suffered against such a system, and I repeat it is not our intention to replace that type of system with one of our own.

'I have said also outside this House that racial discrimination is wrong whether it comes from white hands or black hands.'

The tasks facing the new Government were urgent and difficult. The greatest immediate difficulty was due to the strains within the coalition. Mr Harry Nkumbula used his balance of power to be as awkward as possible even though UNIP—for the sake of unity—had agreed to share equally in the distribution of Cabinet posts. Kaunda, however, knew there could be no substantial progress without a new constitution. But he knew, too, that to get it he needed Nkumbula's collaboration. Though weakened and dying, the Central African Federation clung like an albatross around Northern Rhodesia's neck. But there was danger, too, from an explosive situation in Katanga—on Northern Rhodesia's doorstep—where the UN
was poised to end forcibly Moise Tshombe's stubborn policy of secession.

Tshombe, scenting the defeat of his old ally, Sir Roy, was casting desperately to throw out a new lifeline to Kaunda. He relied on friendship with Nkumbula to arrange a meeting with Kaunda, which resulted in a good deal of inaccurate speculation. Kaunda tried to put the affair in perspective:

'Mr Tshombe is obviously concerned about the sort of Government that will emerge in Northern Rhodesia. He is afraid that the next Government of the territory will be hostile to him; and that he will find himself attacked, so to speak, from the south as well as the north. He has been supported in the past by Sir Roy Welensky in the Rhodesias; and fears that he will find himself without friends if the United Federal Party is out of office.

'Through my meeting with Mr Tshombe I was able to reassure him that UNIP has no intention of attacking anyone. We are concerned to find a peaceful way to reconciliation in the Congo. I was able to tell Mr Tshombe that UNIP is not hostile to him personally; and that we would use whatever good offices are available to us to help all the Congo leaders to come together. He need not rely on Sir Roy Welensky, who is not the true friend of anyone in the Congo.

'Of course I am constantly in touch with the Central Government of the Congo both as President of UNIP and as Chairman of PAFMECSA. As I said, we are very concerned about the continued conflict between the Katanga authorities and the Central Government. We think that as African nationalists ourselves we may be able to offer to help in ending the conflict and in re-integrating the Congo. All Africans are worried about this problem. And obviously we in Northern Rhodesia would like to see a harmonious and united Government in an important country which is our neighbour. PAFMECSA is also deeply involved in ending a serious conflict within one of its member states. If we can offer any help in that direction—and we are constantly trying to do this—we would be only too pleased.'

1 Interview with the Editor of Venture, London, January 1965
Chapter 2

SHAPING A POLICY FOR THE FUTURE

Early in January 1963 Kaunda and Nkumbula went to London to press their claims for a constitution providing for fully representative government, and for their country's right to secede from the Federation. Although their representations were not immediately successful, they were assured of quick results in the months ahead.

Back home Kaunda marshalled UNIP's forces behind a four-part programme. Firstly, to reassure the non-African communities that they had nothing to fear from the advent of African government. Secondly, to counteract the dangers of tribalism. Thirdly, to give every encouragement to industrial and private capital investment, while at the same time clarifying relations with the three major mining and financial companies which had interests on the Copperbelt. Fourthly, to give shape to the national policies of a future UNIP Government.

These were the themes at which Kenneth Kaunda hammered away. Having persuaded the British Government in April 1963 to allow Northern Rhodesia the same right of secession from the Federation as that given earlier to Nyasaland, Kaunda declared:

"The day we were given the right to secede by the British Government was just the same as any other day, but historically, politically and, indeed, economically it was significant. If in the past the majority of the people of Northern Rhodesia have felt bitter against the British Government, if in the past there has been unrest in the country leading to economic stagnation, after this important announcement that bitterness, as if by magic, turned into joy and friendship for the British Govern-"
ment. Now we can sit down to think constructively for potentially it is no exaggeration to say that Northern Rhodesia is one of the richest countries in Africa.

Fortunately leaders of African political thought have no racial feelings and are determined on establishing here, once and for all, a society in which the colour of a man does not count.

This gives the lie to those people who argue to defend the indefensible that once the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland goes that will be the end to what they call a great experiment in partnership which, in fact, has been a cover for apartheid policies which have been the source of unrest and political indecision leading to economic instability.

With the departure of Federation one may ask “What next?” Perhaps there is need for me to emphasize what my colleagues and I have said so often: that we welcome members of all races here, not because of their capital and know-how, although we value these, but because they are our fellow human beings, creatures of the same almighty God Creator, people who are capable of doing good as well as bad in the same way as we are.

We take this point of view because if we accept our European, Asian and other friends here on the basis that they have brought capital and know-how we presuppose a time coming when we will have our own source of capital and know-how and on this artificial basis we would be justified in saying “Please quit because we have our own sources of capital and know-how.” This would be wrong; it would be inhuman and, indeed, ungodly. This is the sort of principle that guides our thinking as to what type of society we intend to establish.

Now I would like to say a few words about our economic planning. I hope I have made myself clear that politically we intend to settle for nothing less than adult suffrage leading to self-determination. Economically we have made it plain that we intend to create a society in which private enterprise will play an important role in the development of the country. Coupled with this, of course, will be the inevitable public sector, but the two need not necessarily quarrel.

Some of our critics seem to take joy in misrepresenting us as people who are so power-hungry, so irresponsible and despot that the moment we take over full control we will nationalize
the copper-mining industry and all other important industries; as people who at the earliest opportunity will grab the land that today is being farmed by our white people and, indeed, cut away all the pension schemes, change conditions of service overnight, to the joy of our ignorant masses. All this is utter nonsense.

'We are sufficiently realistic and sufficiently morally equipped to realize that if we do any of these things we would be morally unjustified and, if I may be completely selfish, we would be driving away capital, chaos would follow and the very masses we intend to serve would jump at our throats.

'We have no intention of nationalizing any industries at all. We believe in negotiations and we also believe that industrialists worthy of the name will always work in partnership with our representative Government and help out by doing things that would lead to stability in the country.

'Speaking of stability reminds me of the serious unemployment in the country. How does one go about solving such a problem? We have rich copper mines, but rich as they are, they directly employ about 35,000, and yet unemployed African and European labour soars into several hundred thousand.

'It is our intention to encourage secondary industries and we are doing that now. But I believe that the answer to meeting the challenge of development lies in the rural areas where the majority of our people live and in those policy lines relying on and developing our agriculture potential.

'It has been said by experts that the Kafue Polder scheme, if handled properly, might accommodate something like 700,000 people in twenty years' time. Obviously this is where our future lies if we are to manage to diversify our economy. Not only would we be strengthening our currency, which is already strong, but we would be sure to have healthy individuals leading to a healthy nation.

'We would succeed in this way in combating the evils of malnutrition and disease. After all there are only between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 people now and if we tuned our economy in such a way as to aim at putting money into the pockets of our people, as well as getting rid of the evils I have mentioned, it would lead to such stability here that we might find Northern Rhodesia becoming the Switzerland of Africa,
SHAPING A POLICY FOR THE FUTURE

where banks would like to establish themselves, and where both employer and employee work happily for the benefit of their families, as well as for the benefit of the country.'

As Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare he was engaged in implementing plans to recast the country in a democratic mould and to establish a new priority for welfare, a cause close to his heart.

In April 1963 he was the guest of honour at Ndola—a town which had grossly misused him in the past, but which now became the first to accept the need for representative local government:

'What of the future? In the field of local government we are shortly to hold elections which will for the first time bring parity between elected African and non-African Councillors. This is, in my view, a big step in the right direction, one which has been accepted by your Council and one from which I feel nothing but good can flow. It will mean all shades of opinion will be represented on the Council and no longer will any one section of the community be in a position to allege that they are being neglected at the expense of the other. We will, I feel certain, have a Council which will think only of Ndola as a whole and what is in the best interests of the inhabitants. This can lead to nothing but good. That Ndola, in its normal forward-looking manner, has already adopted this attitude is evident by the fact that Ndola has the distinction, and I feel the honour, of being the first town in Northern Rhodesia to request Government to appoint Africans as fully fledged Councillors, a decision of which the town can be justly proud.

'Now that we have cleared the hurdle of the future of Northern Rhodesia, I think the course is set for a period of constructive thinking, planning and development. We know where we are going, and that we can go I am certain.

'That Northern Rhodesia is a country of immense potential wealth is an indisputable fact. What it is up to us to do is to exploit that wealth. To do this we need to develop not only our urban areas but also, and I think you will all agree, press forward with the development of our rural economy. This, if we are to have a balanced economy, is essential.
'To do this we need capital. To obtain this we must act in such a manner that the outside world will have confidence in us. 'To gain this confidence is the aim and object of my Government.

'We are determined that Northern Rhodesia will show the world that a successful non-racial society is not a pipe dream but in Northern Rhodesia a reality, a fact beyond dispute.

'This, ladies and gentlemen, is our aim, and if we achieve it, as I am certain we can and will, then our future and the future of all the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia is assured.

'I have recently been in the United Kingdom and during my visit I had the opportunity of meeting many people who are deeply interested in this our territory. From these conversations it was clear to me that confidence in our ability to run this land of ours on a sound basis and to keep it on an even keel was growing and that would-be investors were willing and eager to invest in this territory.

'I feel confident the capital necessary to continue our development and to assure our prosperity will be forthcoming. The future holds great promise for a healthy planned progress and period of prosperity in which Ndola will play its part and reap its just reward.'

As the unchallengeable future leader of the country, Kenneth Kaunda suddenly found himself in great demand from groups and organizations which in the past had shunned him. Setting out to create a mood of optimism and opportunity, he stressed the value of partnership between government and private enterprise; he urged the importance of linking the economic development of the rural areas to that of the towns; and he spoke tirelessly of the need to build a non-racial society. In a message to a new publication, the Northern Rhodesian Review, he wrote:

'The next five or ten years must see Government as well as private enterprise engaged in preparing our human resources to shoulder the responsibilities of meeting this challenge of development.

'I should point out now one other reason for laying emphasis on agricultural development. The greater percentage of our
population is rurally based and presently we are faced with the great rush from rural areas to urban ones. This is a problem that is not peculiar to Northern Rhodesia; older countries have had to face this and quite a good number still face this problem today.

'We are on the eve of great development and we therefore stand a good chance of tackling this problem if we can be objective.

'You will allow me, Mr Editor, to use this opportunity to state once again our pledge of non-nationalization to the country. We believe there is plenty of scope and room for both private and public sectors to operate hand in hand for the benefit of all concerned. Our dream of making Northern Rhodesia the Switzerland of Africa can only be realized if we bring confidence to both the investor of capital and the worker. We would like to create an atmosphere in which both the employer and the employee were satisfied, for unless we attain this, strikes, lockouts and other related difficulties will be the order of the day.

'Because of this great potential and because of its geographical position, Northern Rhodesia will have to play an important role in international affairs and, since charity must begin at home, I hold the view that Northern Rhodesia must play its part in the growing unity amongst African states, provided those participating do not neglect the affairs of the country as such.

'Northern Rhodesia is, just like any other country on earth today, a place where people of all shades of colour must learn to live side by side. In any case we are not taken in by such arguments as "Europeans and Asians have the know-how, the capital and all that", which indeed we appreciate, but would rather approach this from a very human and really more permanent basis than the artificial one I have mentioned. We take the view that these are our fellow human beings, creatures of the same God who created us, people subject to making mistakes and doing good in the same way as we are, who have, therefore, the right to live here with us. In fact, saying anything about this might sound a little odd, because already it is clear that right-thinking men and women of all races in Northern Rhodesia have wonderfully adjusted their thinking to fit in with the changed situation. In other words, majority rule has been
very well received by our minority racial groups for which I personally thank them. Northern Rhodesia has a great future.'

Kaunda’s years of intimacy with poverty, ignorance and disease were impressed on his thinking. He knew that though Northern Rhodesia had great opportunities, it also had great liabilities. He knew how heavily the country would need to rely on help from those who had the skills which his own people lacked. Addressing a banquet of the Scientific and Medical Congress in Lusaka in August 1963, he said:

'Independence is within sight and our people have great hopes and a firm determination to carve out a future for themselves, but they have no grandiose ideas about their own abilities. At no time in this long campaign for independence have I, or any other responsible politician to my knowledge, denied our need of help and guidance in the years ahead. We are not merely independent people with future problems to overcome. Unfortunately the body politic which we have inherited is disordered and in ill-health. It is in need of medicine—perhaps surgery. The country is a patient seeking a doctor to deal with its distempers and complaints—with its vast problems of unemployment, with its great need for education and professional training and with its moral, social and economic disorganization in the towns—these have to be seen to be believed.

'It has been suggested that if we can’t deal with these things ourselves we are not fit or ready to govern ourselves, but our predecessors have not dealt with them very effectively and even if we are under-developed this is no justification for not having the right to govern ourselves. As you doctors are always telling us—it is only when the patient begins to govern himself—however fitfully—that he begins to recover. We hope to recover but we will need help as well as our own determination.

'Wherever we turn there is work to be done and yet we also have such a tremendous problem of unemployment. It is a contradiction we must resolve. We are faced with what looks like a surplus of labour as well as a surplus of land but of course this is not true. With three million people in a land of nearly 300,000 square miles we are obviously not overpopulated. Our problem depends upon our ability to deal with the obvious dis-
location. We have far too many people in the towns unable to earn a living and far too few in the rural areas where a living is usually available. I am not going to suggest that we can stop the towns growing. What I am going to suggest is that we can offer opportunities for people to settle in rural areas and we can make it attractive for them to do so. We have to gear our education to our development so that we do not educate people out of jobs—and in some way we have to restore the dignity of manual work. Then, since our unemployment problem is very largely a juvenile one, we have to seek ways and means of tying the efforts of these enthusiastic, patriotic young people to a series of new conservation and construction schemes.

'In some of your papers you have been discussing the women of Northern Rhodesia and, here again, we are faced with a very great problem. Our level of education and culture has to rise fast. But the rate at which this will happen will depend upon our success in advancing the women of Northern Rhodesia. This is not an easy task. It cannot be done too rapidly since the question of personal adaptation comes into it.

'In our towns I mentioned social disorganization. Here the people are suspended between traditional and industrial ways of living. Most of them want to be educated to reach better positions, to improve their station in life—and why not? Is this not the aim of most of us? The difficulty is that in this drive forward we need to hold fast to some of our basic values; to lose ourselves in a sea of materialism will not help Northern Rhodesia and, whilst it may give us progress in one sense, it will reduce our people to a level they have not known before in the social and moral spheres.

'The problems of Northern Rhodesia then are economic, physical, social, cultural and moral. Happily they are no longer political. But you can see we need all the help we can get to overcome these difficulties.

'We have made a notable start in the field of higher education with the Oppenheimer College of Social Service which has an international reputation already and has brought a new meaning to social work and social leadership. This may become a part of a future university but we have a long way to go before we can provide Northern Rhodesia with all the know-how and the infinite variety of techniques which it will need. That is why
we welcome a Congress of this kind; that is why we are glad to be reminded of how far we have to go before we can reach a stage where we too are producing the kind of leaders in your various fields of study which we so badly need.

'There are, as you well know, two main theories of social progress. One is based upon conflict and follows the argument that we progress by strife and disorder. According to this, it is by our disagreements and struggles for advantage and opportunity that we move forward. It seems to me, however, that the hope for the future lies in the second theory of progress—namely, that we advance by peaceful co-operation, by increasing our interdependence and by complementing each other's efforts both national and international. That is the basis for our wish that the closest possible links be forged between our countries. This Congress will have served its purpose regardless of any other results if it has helped us—even in a little way—to achieve this. It will have done a great deal more if it encourages the belief that we can benefit mutually from an exchange of experts in the medical, scientific and cultural fields.

'The scarcity of people who are available to train others and the increasing demand for experts throughout the world makes it very difficult for independent countries in Africa to obtain the personnel which they need. I realize that a great many people from overseas cannot see a future for themselves over any long period in Africa. They are prepared to come for short periods to give us advice and guidance and then to go away. We are becoming well used to these ships in the night which signal advice and disappear leaving us with an atmosphere of good wishes and goodwill but still floundering for practical help. In fact, we need longer-term appointments, not just to tell us what to do, but also to help us to do it. And we are therefore very interested in those who are likely to be able to spend a considerable time with us. We realize that until we have established the kind of institutions which will offer them status and a position without them having to look back to their home universities, it may be necessary for some national schemes to be evolved in your countries which will allow them to retain their rights and privileges and prospects of promotion whilst they are serving us here. I would hope that this could be possible, because in the build-up of our services in Northern Rhodesia
we are seeking not merely guidance but partnership. We do not merely want to be told what should be done and how in theory it might be done; we want practical help in getting it done. We need someone to help us to grow our food, not to tell us how nutritious it would be if only we did grow it.

'We are not too proud to admit that in the years to come we are going to need our hands held by those who are more capable and experienced than we are ourselves. We obviously want our own African experts, but they in turn need experience as well as qualifications and this, as you all know, is something which cannot be forced, which cannot be achieved without allowing sufficient time for the maturity to grow. It is in this vital period that we need from outside—not people who will exploit our weakness and inexperience, but people who would be willing to bear with us over the difficult years of our early development, who will not leave us in disgust at our fumbling but who will guide our fingers until we know exactly what we are doing and how to do it.'
Kenneth Kaunda’s dream of building ‘a Switzerland in Africa’ had little to do with his admiration for a society which offered stability to bankers or which could produce the best cuckoo clocks in the world. The only justification he knows for creating wealth is its social purposes. His concern all along has been with the quality of the new society he was hoping UNIP would be able to create in Africa, rather than with turning poor men into rich men—a theme which he developed when, on September 6, 1963, he inaugurated the National Union of Rhodesian Students:

‘It is a particular pleasure to me because this is one more sign of the success of our national building exercise. As a students’ national organization of Northern Rhodesia, you will, as your constitution clearly states, be a very important part of the whole nation. You will, as an organization of young people, help to give our young country the vigour and energy which are characteristic of all new nations, but here in particular, you will have the greater challenges of leadership and greater challenges of vitalizing the national spirit of our people, in the interests of development based on humanistic considerations which are so dear to me and all my colleagues in the Government and the Party.

‘The history of countries has demonstrated that when changes are overdue where social injustices have been perpetrated and when development has been neglected, the spearhead for action has always been provided by the young and by the students. In this regard political, social and economic leadership in Asia and Africa has without exception emerged from student groups either studying abroad or at home. We in Northern Rhodesia
would like to see a further demonstration of these precedents in your organization.

'I cannot miss this opportunity to remind you that you will be called upon to play major roles in the life of your country at a much earlier stage and age than most other countries have relied on their students and young people generally. There will be several openings for you in government service, in commerce and in industry, in civic and in political life. Because the weight of responsibility is bound to fall on your shoulders at an early age, I must make it quite clear to you that your role as students must prepare you for responsibilities. We cannot afford here to put up with professional students whose whole life's career is to be a student. We cannot afford here the luxury of irresponsibility when greater responsibilities are suddenly entrusted in your hands in any walk of life. It is, therefore, important that I caution you to consider your student lives and your organisation as a training period and media for heavier national responsibility.

'In the past the opportunities that were offered to you were narrowly restricted because of the queer political system that we all had to suffer under. That is now a thing of the past. But equally, you must be careful not to think that because the sky is the limit to what you can achieve in a young country like Northern Rhodesia, you must therefore start from the sky! A good young citizen is one who is prepared to reach the sky through a ladder that starts on the ground. A most successful young man or woman is one who can exercise this patience and efficiency with his ambition to rise high. Let us all adopt the slogan "Give me anything, even a spade or a sickle, and I will prove my worth". Only when we approach our national problems with this sense of humility and guarded ambition can we take pride in our achievements, because they will be earned and based on real education and experience. Too often we hear of cases of students coming with a university degree from overseas and claiming that that degree alone is a passport to everything. Let me make this point clear in order to avoid any misconceptions. I and my colleagues want to open all the gates of our national life wide, to every one of our citizens with the necessary qualifications, but we also want to open wide our gates to anyone who is keen to learn his job and to improve his
efficiency regardless of his paper qualifications. While your academic background will be a great advantage in your future, it must also be quite clear that equally important for you and for those without these qualifications are experience and efficiency on the job. As Dr Aggrey would have us say, let us train our heads, hearts and hands.

‘Here in Northern Rhodesia we have communities of different sorts hitherto divided by ethnic, tribal and racial barriers emerging as one people and one nation. I cannot think of any better formula for achieving the objective of one nation than that of creating national institutions and organs that seek no tribal, racial or ethnic condition for membership. Attempts in other countries in this direction and, indeed, in our own country sometime in the past have always ended up in undermining national spirit and unity. It is my great hope that the claims of your constitution will be fully and practically implemented in fact.

‘My young countrymen, the struggle which we, your predecessors, have carried out for national freedom and development is a struggle that will as time goes on devolve on you, the younger generation. Your country is considered potentially one of the richest in Africa. The translation of these vast resources into material, cultural and spiritual benefit for the whole population of Northern Rhodesia is a task which we all must respond to with vigour. The world is too much pre-occupied with individual material well-being at the expense of human values. The advanced countries of the world have been too much over-awed by the magic of science and technology. Our goals must take the fullest advantage of the vast natural resources of our land and use them in the interest of all sections of the country. This is an ideal which needs safeguarding as much as the ideal of national independence. The old have a tendency to compromise on ideals and it is always the fortune of of the young to strive to maintain them. Happily the preamble to your constitution recognizes among other things—

(a) the important role which you occupy in our national society;
(b) the important part which you can play in national development;
(c) the non-racial, non-political qualification of your membership.

'These are some of the important objects which I fully share with you. May they indeed find nourishment and custody as well in your new organization.'

On the same day he spoke at a study course in industrial relations at the Oppenheimer College. His subject was social security:

'I should remind you that social security measures arise out of industrialization and wage-earning because it is in wage-earning that there is the greatest insecurity. People in agriculture, for instance, are not usually in fear of starvation—even a bad crop will often give them enough to provide substance for themselves and their families.

'But when a man and his family are dependent on a weekly wage which may suddenly be curtailed by sickness or age, then they need a system to protect them against the worst evils. In our villages or tribal systems we have always had a system of social security with relatives looking after their own in time of need. It is when people come to town to depend on wages and when the villages lose their able-bodied relatives to the town that the situation becomes serious.

'In Northern Rhodesia we do not give family allowances but we do have a wide variety of child-care services. Educational provisions you already know about in this country and we are trying to increase them as time goes on, and for sickness or old age we have a limited public assistance scheme which avoids starvation.

'I need not tell you, however, that the provisions we have in this country fall far short of social security in the real sense. There are few workers who get pensions; there are no comprehensive State pension schemes for the aged. We do not have unemployment insurance or sickness benefit except where this is provided by the individual firms, and there are thousands who get allowances much too small for them to be considered adequate.

'You may say "Why do we not provide more?" And the answer to this is to be found in taxation. Every State wanting social
security has to pay for it. It has to find the money and, without
going into too much economic detail, it does not matter whether
the money is found by employers or employees or by the State
itself; it still represents a form of taxation on the people. It is
those countries with social security which are amongst the
highest taxed of all—the people have to lose earnings to pay
for it.

‘You may say it is justified to provide for all these needs
which people have, but in Northern Rhodesia we need to get
very many more incomes before we are able to introduce a
widespread and comprehensive social security system. The
Development Plan is designed to draw people into peasant
farming or cash cropping, so instead of simply growing for their
own subsistence they will have an income—some of which they
will be able to share with the Government in providing for
these better schemes. We are already taxing the rich to provide
for the poor and to some extent this will continue. But, of course,
there is a point beyond which the taxing of the rich means that
we lose a number of jobs for the poorer people and we therefore
increase our problems rather than help to solve them. Our
social security must be based on greater productivity with
everyone earning more.

‘We have in Northern Rhodesia at this time two very serious
issues to face. The one is unemployment. For unemployment
we have a variety of figures and I am sure the Labour Depart­
ment would agree that statistically we are not really sure of the
position. Certainly we have thousands of unemployed and these
thousands are increasing every year. Social security for them
means a job and we must try as soon as possible to provide them
with work opportunities.

‘The second serious problem is destitution, increasing as
people get older. As these numbers of dependants who cannot
find work grow, the burden on the State becomes heavier and
we are obliged to tax the few people who have jobs to provide
for those who haven’t. This is a very unsatisfactory situation.

‘Our aim should be to ensure that people provide for them­
selves during their working lives and therefore the sooner we are
able to introduce a comprehensive scheme which would
enable those who have jobs now to save for their old age and
provide pensions for themselves and their families, the better
we shall be. We are now studying various ways of getting employers and workers to co-operate in more extensive pension and sick benefits. We have to see that those now in work do not go on to swell the numbers of destitute people as they fall ill or become too old to go on working.

For the unemployed the simple answer, as I say, is more employment and this, in turn, depends upon the development of the country. When we invite firms in from abroad and when we go outside to attract capital we are thinking of these thousands of our people in need of work. It is distressing, therefore, that sometimes the frustration and irritation of these people leads to outbursts of violence and the events which give the impression that this country is not a sound place to put one's money in. The unemployed therefore defeat their own purpose when they seek to force immediate answers to what are long-term problems. Our job as a Government is to get as many new industries, land settlement schemes and other outlets for labour into the country, and any political disturbance which prevents that is going to reduce the value of our independence. We may be able to cast off a great many outside influences as these industries and commercial organizations become estab­lished and, indeed, most of the people anxious to set up these new ventures in Northern Rhodesia are well aware of the need to localize the services, and they themselves are only all too anxious to ensure that as time goes on more and more business becomes locally controlled.

What is perhaps more distressing is that people already in jobs, in their anxiety and impatience for better conditions, create industrial unrest outside the constitutional machinery which exists. Obviously we want to improve their conditions but a few more shillings on wages at the expense of an invest­ment which might mean more pounds on wages in the long run is a false economy and a false interest in one's workers.

It is vital, therefore, that this country offers an image of peace and goodwill, of intense development and of innume­rable opportunities for investment. On the world market we have to compete with a large number of other countries who also need funds and therefore we have to present a very stable and satisfactory image. Strikes, riots, disturbances and uncertainties of all kinds are economic enemies at this time and
therefore it is very important that a conference of this kind should be discussing industrial relations. You obviously cannot be expected to disregard the interests of all the members of your organization and indeed this would be wrong. The machinery for collective bargaining in business and in industry is very necessary but over all there has to be a conviction that without the particular industry we serve, either as an employer or as an employee, there will be no work for any of us and we defeat our own needs if we succeed in crippling the business which is giving us our livelihood. Clearly injustice must be dealt with, but there are ways of dealing with injustice which do not necessarily lead to disruption, and if I can find a way to provide for the airing of grievances and for the remedying of injustice without the kind of disruptions we have had, you may be sure I will do so.

‘My Ministry then is working on the possibility of introducing a limited social security scheme. This will carry us to the stage where ordinary workers—people in regular employment now—can be encouraged to provide for their own pensions when they are too old to work. Gradually we would hope to expand a scheme of that kind to cover all workers wherever they may be even if they are in casual work. It may be difficult, however, to expand it to rural areas where people are dependent upon crops rather than wages and instead I hope it will be possible for us to devise some form of crop insurance which would safeguard the peasant farmers against a bad harvest and would encourage more people to take up farming, since we need so many more on the land. We may have to find funds to persuade large numbers of the unemployed to return to the land where incomes can be obtained, because most of our unemployment problem in Northern Rhodesia is really a problem of dislocation; people are concentrated where there are few jobs, and on the land where a living is readily available and profits may be obtained there are too few people for development. I realize only too well the related problems of marketing their produce: but all this is being looked into by the appropriate Ministry.

‘To do any of this we are going to need a great deal of help and, as I have explained, we are going to have to present to the world a picture of a steady, stable and reliable community. This country will require your efforts to ensure this.
‘PEOPLE RATHER THAN PLANS’

‘It will require a sense of realism and a willingness to postpone some of your personal interests to future prosperity. I know I can depend upon you to give me this support and encouragement in the years ahead.’

In October 1963 Kenneth Kaunda opened a United Nations seminar on Social Work Training in Africa at the Oppenheimer College. He used this occasion to explore more fully his ideas about the relationship between political, economic and social development. The ‘peculiar politics’ of his country had turned him into its leading nationalist; but not even the bitter years of nationalist agitation could weaken his fundamental humanism. His humanism conditioned his nationalism; and his nationalism strengthened his humanism:

‘Starting with evening lectures in one back-room in Cairo Road only three years ago, this college has developed in harmony with the aspirations and the wishes of the people of Northern Rhodesia. It has brought to this country a sense of the importance of its social as well as its economic development. It has kept firmly before us that our policy for the future must be based on the people rather than plans. It keeps us aware that whatever we do in the Government is a success or failure by the extent to which it helps the ordinary man and woman to lead a better life and to improve his or her own conditions. It reminds us continually that independence has a personal and family meaning as well as a national or political significance.

‘The college is working solidly to produce not only for Northern Rhodesia but for a number of other African countries, the trained people who will carry the responsibility for social policy and for finding the solutions to those profound social problems which are by no means the least of the many obstacles to our future progress.

‘When you begin to discuss social-work training, therefore, I hope you will not lose sight of the vital importance of practising what is being taught. The people want to see what can be done and not only to appreciate what happens to be known. We have here in Africa too many prophets and not enough pioneers. We have too many advisers and not enough workers. We have too great a dependence on slogans and not enough on practical
solutions to our problems. Our people belong to the land and they belong to the industry which is going to develop here; but as our children sit in classrooms and fill their notebooks they all too often grow away from the realities of their own country, they grow away from the very land which is their hope for the future. They grow away from the people who have worked to give them the opportunity to study. Our great need is to educate people for Africa and not merely to educate people from Africa. That is why training here in Africa becomes so vital to our future progress. Above all, it is important that we should not teach without practice. It is important that our education should be not merely in knowing but also in doing what is necessary.

‘Here in Northern Rhodesia we have no doubt about the problems which lie ahead. At any time we can get a team of experts or a number of learned individuals to tell us in perhaps more technical detail or in more academic terms what every man and woman knows from his or her own experience. We know that there are social problems in our growing towns. We know that the land is being denuded of its people. We know that a balanced economy and a large number of secondary industries based on a greatly enlarged agricultural programme will be necessary for our future growth and advancement. It is necessary that we be told at times how this situation arose. It is, of course, necessary that it be outlined for us quantitatively and according to the cultural, economic, psychological and sociological factors which are involved.

‘But we should not be satisfied with reports and recommendations. We will not meet our needs with pen and ink. We still have to turn our attention to the practical solution to our great problems. We therefore need even more than advice from the teams of people who will help. We need our own people—every one of them—to join in the great effort to improve themselves and their country.

‘We need to build our country with our hands as well as with our heads and by the use of tools as well as by the use of tongues. We should be proud of hard work and proud of manual work. We should be prepared to make our own contribution to the development of our country not merely from behind a desk but also amongst the people on the land, in the factories and
with the chiefs and their tribes. The challenge before us is not merely to unite but to unite in action. Our task is not only to consider but to create and this by our own efforts.

'Self-reliance is the basis of social work and you will make a notable contribution if you go forward to help Africa stand on its own feet—indeed, not only in name but in fact. And you begin with a great disadvantage in that the vast majority of people have no idea of what you are trying to do.

'We welcome you as brothers and colleagues in a drive for better conditions throughout this continent. We share our problems of unemployment, of family disintegration, of under-production and increasing populations with nearly all the independent countries of Africa. We all need vast development programmes. No one of our countries can depend upon politics or economics alone to give our people the vision of a better life which they can achieve if they pull together. We all need the deeper, more human and more personal attention with which social workers are concerned.

'I would urge you, however, to look not only at the narrow professional needs of Africa in social work but at the importance of social work for our total development in these countries. The first social workers—the social workers of the nineteenth century—may not have been fully professional but they were people of deep conviction and determined action. They made social action a very real part of the national development. It seems to me that whilst we must ensure that we do not lag behind in Africa in the production of social workers with high professional standards, we should also try to recapture some of that early reforming spirit which gave birth to social work; we should seek the spark of devotion to the people and the dedication and self-sacrifice which marked the advent of social work in America and in Europe, if we are to help Africa in this crucial period of its growth. His Excellency has referred to the motto of this College, "No man is born for himself alone". This is a slogan we could well adopt for the tremendous effort which each one of our countries is to make to develop its resources for the benefit of everyone. Our drive should bring in everyone in a deep spirit of service to his neighbour. We must all pull together.

'There is a danger that we may accept the urban jungle of
selfishness as an opportunity to seek our own advancement and we might leave the less able to fend for themselves. There is already a tendency for some people to despise their own traditional standards or customary ways of life. This is a danger we should avoid. Our urbanization can be better to the extent we are prepared to see that it is better.

'Social work and social workers do not then come easily within our African perspective. We look to the Government to supply our individual wants; we look to politics as the solution to many of our problems. Whilst no-one could doubt that politics has, in fact, brought the African people to a position of dignity, there is no politician of my acquaintance who believes that therefore politics can answer all our problems. We need your expertise, therefore, not merely to solve our problems but to help us to see them in their true light, to help us to know their real consequences for society, and to help us to use social-work skills not only for problem-solving but also in developing our country effectively for the benefit of the people.

'Economic progress—even political progress—is empty if it does not add to the happiness, the contentment and the prosperity of the people themselves. It is just not true that we have to tolerate this chaos of standards in our communities. It is not true that happiness lies in helping ourselves and not others. The evils exist only because we are not yet adequately organized to do something about them. We have to mobilize our traditional co-operative spirit and our kinship loyalties to the service of our people in modern conditions.

'But the social workers can only do this if they are trained in a way which puts them in touch with the people and helps them to feel, to think and to act as true members of their own community. The social workers can only do their part of the job by understanding just how much the body of our effort needs the spirit of service to infuse it.'

This synthesis between nationalism and humanism explains how in a few short months Kaunda could succeed, almost effortlessly, in changing from being a nationalist leader into a national one. He had never much enjoyed the role of agitator; he was much happier in his role as 'a potter shaping his pot', a
phrase he used when speaking at the Staff Training College in Lusaka in December 1963:

"In the long march of a colonial country to independence, there are a number of stages. First of all there is tremendous agitation in the country. The colonial power is resistant to change and this, as we all know, results in clashes. These clashes might turn into an outright outbreak of violence leading to the destruction of life and property. Inevitably whether clashes were long or short, there follows a period of negotiation. In this long wait for independence the agitator will condemn everything, left, right and centre, that is being done by the colonial power, be it good or bad.

'Some of the most popular targets are, almost without exception, regulations governing the operation of such departments as Game, Fisheries, Agriculture and Housing.

'When all is settled in favour of change, the "agitator" adopts a different attitude and begins swallowing his own words, and I would say the most important stage, the creative one, is then reached.

'Without being personal, I come now to tread on some very delicate ground. The first two stages, which I have outlined in rather an abstract manner, have taken place, as I said, wherever a colonial status has existed since the turn of the last century. When discussing the third stage with you, I would ask you to excuse me if I keep Northern Rhodesia in mind.

'On the eve of independence, the cold light of realism takes the place of the destructive tendencies of the nationalistic movement in its struggling stage. The energies which were directed against the colonial power are hanging loose and the stage is set for these energies to be redirected towards nation-building, which means development, for if control of them is lost they become more devastating and, since there is yet nothing firm to control them, chaos follows in the country, as we have had the misfortune to witness, in our own time, in certain countries recently.

'In Northern Rhodesia I would like to think we are in a happier category. We have reached a stage now where nationalist forces must have their energies redirected into constructive channels. This cannot come about by accident. It too must be
planned. To redirect these forces cannot be an easy affair. There will be many obstructive forces but this is not the occasion to discuss them.

'We can have many lofty plans, but if the attitude of mind of the people is not remoulded, we will find that even the best of plans will not work. For this reason I would like to suggest that any development schemes must not be isolated. The field worker must belong to one team, even if this is not obvious on the surface. They must be backed by powerful forces, forces able to disseminate information to the masses of the people. This can be done through the Information Department, the broadcasting and television media, through carefully worked-out brochures, and many other ways. Side by side with this must come mass literacy campaigns.

'This is very well on paper, but the problem of the technically qualified man and woman to handle this, is one that must be taken care of, seriously and immediately. It will not help us to cry, ‘We have not been trained all this time.’ For this will not solve any problem at all.

'What is required is to be far-sighted. Take into our stride and confidence those who are making efforts to meet this challenge, and if you will excuse me, I will quote institutions like yours. We are, quite frankly, pinning our hopes on institutions like this.

'I like to consider this time as our ‘take-off’ stage. It is a time to plan and a time to act.

'When a potter is shaping his pot, he gives considerable care and importance to its base, because it is on this the pot will rest. I can therefore say with a certain amount of pride and joy that our Government today has got some of the first-class brains of world economists of all types, who have come here to help us map out the future. Praiseworthy as these efforts are, the question of development still remains unsolved unless the people themselves can feel part and parcel of the whole planned activity. Following on this, of course, there is the importance of the trained field worker I have already mentioned.

'We must now pause and ask ourselves why all these experts; why all this need for trained field workers; why all this talk about plans and actions? I ask this question because in all our anxieties to try and plan and act we can very easily become so
unrealistic as to forget the most important thing, and this is
THE IMPORTANCE OF MAN.

‘If we want independence to have meaning in whatever we
do, MAN must come first. In other words what we loosely call
“independence”, “freedom”, “uhuru”, etc., will be meaning-
less unless as I say, MAN is put first, so that in fact he does not
just become a meaningless cog in the wheel, but an important
key-stone on which development hinges. After all, you want
independence to plan for a better future for your people. The
word “people” is rather abstract unless you come to the single
unit in that people, and this is MAN. If I over-emphasize the
importance of MAN it is because I fear young countries are in
danger of repeating the mistakes of older countries both of the
East and the West, where material development has been so
large that plans to advance more and more have become more
important than MAN for whom these plans, after all, are made,
or are supposedly made.

‘Whatever we do now and in future will be judged a success
or failure by the extent to which it helps man to lead a better
life, to improve his or her own conditions, to move forward with
confidence, ready to fight and beat off so many of the rough tides
that come in one’s way.

‘To do all this successfully, Government, I repeat, must base
its policy on people rather than on plans.

‘Those of us who have been in this nationalist struggle know
how many times we have invented slogans to achieve political
ends. The age of change is here. The pattern must be changed
and now, because the people to whom we have been teaching
slogans want to see them given shape. The castles we have built
in the air—these our people want to see down to earth. And yet
it is the people themselves who must do these things and I am
quite sure if their tremendous energies are handled carefully
and tactfully, like the River Zambesi at Kariba, these energies
will be conserved to be released at the right moment, in the
right measure, to yield the results we need.

‘I will go back a bit and say that to be successful in this direc-
tion of development, to carry the people with us, we should
find it easier if we taught and built from the known to the
unknown. This is not only for emotional reasons. It is a fact of
life.
'I am a firm believer in a co-operative way of life as it was practised in simple village-life fashion. Here family life was intact. The general rule was everyone helping their relatives and friends. The infirm were the responsibility of the entire village unit. The aged found hope and joy in their grandchildren. The spiritual and moral side of life was the responsibility of grannies, uncles and aunts, mothers and fathers, alike.

'I refuse to agree with those who say this was all very well for a unit as small as a village, before the advent of the powerful forces that exist in the Western type of colony. Surely it is not beyond the capacity of man to devise ways and means—especially in a place like Northern Rhodesia, where we have a big country with a comparatively small population—that would make it possible for us to accommodate the powerful forces in the Western type of economy, as well as preserve the man that is found in the small village unit who is not de-humanized, heart, soul, mind and body.

'I would like to be bold here and declare that to me independence would be meaningless if Northern Rhodesia is going to continue, just like any other country, a floating unit of human beings, travelling towards human destruction.

'Let, therefore, independence have meaning to the people. The people are expectant. Let us respond by meeting their needs through their active participation as individuals in the heavy programme of national development. The impact independence is going to make on this national development will depend precisely on how quickly we can make the people realize the importance of self-help. Self-help has a double meaning to any individual if properly taught him. His inner self grows tremendously in self-confidence and we all know a man who understands himself has more chance of actively contributing to his own family's good as well as to the national good. His spiritual and moral strength stands him in good stead against any outward forces of destruction and disruption like bribery, corruption, drunkenness and all forms of hooliganism. Secondly a man with this type of self-confidence will definitely find the physical burden of life less trying.

'Once we succeed in doing this, then the sky is the limit to what can be achieved by individuals as well as by the nation. We shall have succeeded in turning resistance into co-operation.
We shall then start building, through their efforts and energies as indeed we destroyed through their efforts and energies. Where once we had doubts, fears and hatred, we shall have confidence, courage and love.

'In short, independence could act as some sort of magic wand. What is required is to heighten the people's imagination, to inspire enthusiasm and capture both forces and direct them into constructive channels. This is the only way in which independence would be useful. It is of psychological and emotional value in the same way as each one of us will try at the beginning of the year to promise ourselves to do better than we did in the previous year.

'The forces and tools of progress are here—let us use them.'

What had happened to Kenneth Kaunda's spiritual beliefs during his spell as an agitator? For fourteen years this son of Christian missionary parents, himself a Christian, had spent more Sundays at mass rallies than in church. Yet he felt no guilt about it, as he confessed to Christian ministers at a refresher course for them held at the Mindola Ecumenical Centre in Kitwe in October 1963. His subject was 'The Role of a Christian Church in an Independent Northern Rhodesia'.

'I am one of the many whose souls are troubled because I go to the church only to be disappointed, because I come back asking myself whether the time I spent was worth while. And yet it cannot be said that I have no interest in worshipping God.'

As a political leader he was delighted to see masses of people bowing down in prayer to God—it was the policy of UNIP to open all its meetings with the prayer and national anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelela Afrika' ('God Save Africa'). He was saddened by the thought that the Christian Church was 'either static in its membership or making very little progress'. Why was this so?

'The Christian Church as it stands today cannot be described as a source of Christian unity. As Christians belonging to various denominations, we are busy criticizing each other instead of uniting ourselves. Are we sure, if the Lord came back in this
form again, he would be happy with the type of Church we are building? Reverend Gentlemen, you must do some research work, if the Church is going to continue to be effective. The orthodox way in which we preach and teach the Gospel must be changed if we are going to attract the young people who are born into this bewildering period when time and space are fast becoming defeated by man's scientific knowledge.

'As the Church stands today is it sufficiently attractive to draw to itself those thousands of leaderless souls in the country who bow before their Creator at these UNIP rallies?

'Reverend Gentlemen and my Christian friends, if today I sound destructively critical of the Church, it is because I believe the Christian Church has an important role to play in Northern Rhodesia.

'I have spoken of Northern Rhodesia's advantages geographically, its economic potential and of the presence of so many races in the country. For this we thank God the Creator, for we did not have a say in how our country was going to be placed. This is God's arrangement.

'If Northern Rhodesia's position is, through God's arrangement, an advantage, can it not be said God loves us and not others? The answer is, other countries have been granted their own gifts. If they have not discovered them, they will, if they can make efforts to recognize them. God hath made all and hath provided all.

'The question is, are we, as Christian leaders, responding to this call when materially Northern Rhodesia is sufficiently developed to be of use to her neighbours? Is that material development going to be accompanied by spiritual and moral responsibilities? "For man shall not live by bread alone." If the challenge to industrial leadership extends beyond our borders, the spiritual and moral leadership of the Christian Church must keep in step. If we are to survive as a nation, is the Christian Church sufficiently united, sufficiently strong, to face this challenge? I have no doubt at all that this is one of the reasons why you have met here, to discuss the ministry of the Church-in-the-World.

'Brethren, the Christian Church has as many chances of serving the peoples of Northern Rhodesia as the problems are legion. The pains of change in each young nation can be seen in
many a shape and form. The grinding poverty in the midst of plenty amongst our people. The ignorance amongst the vast majority of our people. The bewilderment that faces the unsuspecting rural-area people when the economic forces bring them to our towns; the fears of members of the minority groups for their future; the problem of re-adjustment on the part of these members of minority groups who hitherto have enjoyed racially privileged positions. The acceptance on the part of the majority of the people that now that the time for majority rule is here they must assume their new responsibilities without any feelings of revenge; the fears on the part of some of our members of the community who claim to belong to small tribes; the fears on the part of our tribal rulers, the Chiefs, that now that nationalists are going to take over, they will seek to avenge themselves because they, the Chiefs, sided with a colonial order. Indeed, the false pride that some of us belong to bigger tribes and therefore must, by virtue of that, dominate what we erroneously call "small tribes", are only some of the problems that I call legion in our young country.

I would call on the Christian Church to preach love in action, not only love from pulpits. The Christian Church has an important role to play so let it not be a dormant organization confined to church sermons, because it is the greatest force I can think of if only it can put itself in the right perspective, that is, in the active service of man. Can we as members of the Christian Church claim that these many problems—and these are only some of them—are not our responsibility? Whatever touches man—this is my contention—must involve the Christian Church whether leaders like it nor not.

Reverend Gentlemen, Brethren, the sky is the limit to what this instrument of God can do in Northern Rhodesia. Let us all "get up and get out" of our old shells of fear, racial, tribal and religious hatred. Let us make these old shells of weakness a source of Christian unity and strength. Let us get out of our forest of confusion that leads us to think the Church is limited in what it can do because of the division in the Church itself. I think it is Trine who said:

"This is the Spirit of Infinite Love. The moment we recognize ourselves as one with it we become so filled with love that we see only the good in all. And when we realize that we are
all one with this Infinite Spirit, then we realize that in a sense we are all one with each other. When we come into a recognition of this fact, we can then do no harm to any one, to any thing. We find that we are all members of the one great body, and that no portion of the body can be harmed without all the other portions suffering thereby.

"When we fully realize the great facts of the oneness of all life, that all are partakers from this one Infinite Source, and so that the same life is the life in each individual, then prejudices go and hatreds cease. Love grows and reigns supreme. Then, wherever we go, whenever we come in contact with the fellow-man, we are able to recognize the God within. We thus look only for the good, and we find it. It always pays. . . ."

With his own experience of prison life it was perhaps natural that during his brief sojourn at the Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare, he should have taken a special interest in prison reform. Even from prison he could write: 1

'I wish to state here categorically that we shall untiringly attack systems that for reasons of race alone deny about three million Africans the full enjoyment of democratic rights in this country. But I shall always pray that no bitterness shall come into the picture and that we freedom fighters shall be for ever colour-blind. We make no apologies for being in the fore-front in the struggle for national independence and self-determination. FREEDOM IS OUR BIRTH-RIGHT and we simply are determined to achieve it.'

Of his experiences in Rhodesian prisons he later recalled: 2

'In Lusaka Central Prison, I occupied cell No. 1 in what is called European, Asian and Coloured section of the prison, as I was not allowed to mix with other African prisoners. Here I polished floors, prepared meals for our section—the highest number recorded then was five. Periodically, I cleaned the toilet (primitive bucket type). On the 27th July, I was transferred to Salisbury Central Prison. Here I worked in the prison's book-binding shop where I learnt the art of book-binding. One

1 Communication to the Editor from his place of detention at Kabompo, April 23, 1959
2 From a letter to his friend, Frank Barton, written in February 1960
other thing happened there: I received my first lectures on elementary economics from Ruskin College in Britain through the kindness of my British friends—a course which has roused my interest in the subject greatly and I intend following it up closely.

‘You are right when you speak of “a spell inside is almost a necessity for any nationalist leader”. Don’t ask me why, Frank, for I don’t know why, but I found that I was able to ponder over problems a lot more clearly than I had ever done outside. I suppose this is due to the physically narrow confines of prisons which perhaps help one’s mental faculties to be more active. In any case, whatever the reasons, I was able to see more clearly that my line of thought is the right one and I have stuck to it ever since I came out. I put it to the British Prime Minister too when we met him.’

His experiences as a prison inmate shaped the policies he laid down for the Department of Social Welfare. In an address to the Northern Rhodesia Prisoners’ Aid Society at the end of October 1963 he said:

‘I have seen what happens inside the prison walls; I have had the experience of meeting the band of social misfits with which you are so deeply concerned—the failures of our society who need our help so greatly if they are to be reclaimed and live socially useful lives. I have seen, too, the value of your work both here and in other countries and I am very glad to be amongst you at a time when you are taking stock and planning for the future.

‘It seems to me that one of the first things we must do in this country is to keep as many people as possible out of prison. We should carefully study how many of our offenders could possibly be dealt with by various methods of treatment other than prison sentence.

‘I am given to understand that eighty per cent of those placed on probation do not come back before the courts. Does this not indicate probation should be used wherever possible, particularly with young offenders? I am not suggesting for one moment that first offenders should always be placed on probation. Probation is not confined to first offenders nor can we always say that it is the right treatment for all first offenders.
Indeed probation has been shown to be very effective with the habitual offender. But it does seem to me that probation which is such a well-tried and effective reformative measure should be applied as extensively as we can in order to relieve our prisons. After all we have not got so very many prisons and we cannot really afford to build many more.

'Secondly, I would like to see extra-mural labour used as an alternative to short-term imprisonment. By this system people who have to be punished would be required to give their free time to public works. If this could be organized—and I know that the efficient organization of this is the big difficulty—then we could again hope to have many less people in prison.

'Finally, I am anxious that those who come out of prison should be given adequate after-care help. I would like to be in a position to provide officially a comprehensive service for the after-care of prisoners so that every person discharged from prison could depend on at least six months of careful help and supervision. I am told that most of the studies of crime show that if a person is to fail after prison or reform school then he will probably do so in the first six to twelve months. It is therefore important for us to provide him with the guidance and the help which he needs so desperately during this period. It is all the more necessary because we have such an enormous problem of unemployment in this country, and therefore greater care is needed when a person cannot get a job than might be needed if jobs were in fact readily available. By these three means I would hope to reduce our prison population to much more manageable proportions.

'Then we have to think how much we can do to make the experience of prison life a rewarding one rather than a waste of time or a rather pathetic attempt at deterrence. It seems to me that we are very confused about the real purpose of imprisonment. At one time we made prisons really harsh in the hope of deterring; nowadays we go out of our way to try to reform, and we say a person is sent to prison as a punishment or for a punishment. This is all very well—as far as it goes—but the practical effect of all this is so often that we suspend ourselves between these various motives for imprisoning a man and in the event we seem to do neither one thing nor another.

'Clearly we do not want to go back to harsh deterrents. But
if not then we must spend far more time than we have done on constructive occupations in prison. We must arrange for a more careful classification of prisoners. We must offer them the best form of training in a job. We must attempt to study each person individually and to give him the private help and care which he needs whilst in prison, to review his life and to plan his future. We need to give more attention to those prisoners who are illiterate. Putting them on labouring work with no training value is not sufficient either to deter or to reform and since they have so little intellectual activity the experience of prison life is likely to be one of simply waiting for release if not actual deterioration. There is nothing very imaginative or constructive and obviously nothing effective about it. I would like to see the long-term offenders given help to achieve a measure of literacy. I would like to see them given personal attention by welfare staffs and officers of your society inside the prison. And I would like to see them put to work on projects which may have some interest.

'I believe, for example, that in the Middle East, prisoners have been used in excavation work by archaeologists. This may seem a very fancy or exotic idea but these prisoners, who were also given talks on the significance of what they were looking for, proved to be not only good workers but to have benefited tremendously from their stay in prison. Something similar is not impossible here and by extending the use of open camps we can give these prisoners not just work but *creative* work on a variety of projects of scientific or national importance—work which would give them a feeling of belonging to the general effort being made in the country as a whole.

'I do not pretend to be an expert on your particular subject of prison after-care but I appreciate how difficult is your task—and because I know of conditions inside prisons I can appreciate the great value and significance of what you are doing.'
A majority of Northern Rhodesia’s white community are South Africans and South Rhodesians who work in the mines, on the railways, or in commerce and industry. Many own farms. The country’s main communications pass either through Portuguese territories, Southern Rhodesia or South Africa.

What does the future hold for white people from Southern Africa? The question was asked when the first African Government was formed. From the outset Kenneth Kaunda adopted an unequivocally non-racial approach, exemplified in his answers to a series of searching questions put to him by a South African journalist, Mr Wallace in June 1963:

‘I have said we would not recognize South African and Southern Rhodesian passports. This still stands but it does not mean we would deport those people who come from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. They would still be kept here provided they follow and accept the conditions laid down by the Government. By this I mean provided they are loyal to Government and country.

‘The very fact that we will allow South Africans to come here means we will not sever all links for this is not practicable. Again, it is not possible to cut off telecommunications and postal communications with any country at all, because no matter how much you disagree with any given country, there will always be individuals who will communicate with each other, and there are thousands, in fact millions, both black and white, in that country who would like to communicate with people in Zambia, who should not be penalized because of the behaviour of that Government.

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'The Postal Union services are such as serve both the individual as well as the Government in the same way as any economic services do, but the difference is that there is little that would be useful in bringing down the present regime in South Africa by fighting to remove South Africa from the Postal Union.

'I have already said that we are going to look more at the behaviour of a person rather than at his country of origin. The fact that we shall not recognize South African and Southern Rhodesian passports does not mean we shall not accept men and women from those countries who decide to come here and stay, that is, knowing there was an African Government here.

'I have said before and I repeat here, that no-one likes to see bloodshed anywhere at all and the only thing that makes African leaders suggest military operations against South Africa is the stubbornness of that regime not to yield to what is desirable and inevitable, namely majority rule. I still hold the view most strongly that if only those so-called "big countries" and so-called "small countries" could be sufficiently and morally "big" they could save South Africa and the Continent the bloodshed that will definitely make the results of the French Revolution a dwarf. They must wake up and use economic sanctions. I know this will hurt individuals but this is certainly much better than losing those individuals and I am hoping this will materialize, provided African independent states make the necessary pressures at UNO and through their diplomatic channels in various states and countries where they have these established. If this doesn't work—and the only thing that can stop this working is failure to act—then I am afraid as a last resort, Northern Rhodesia will help to free Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, just like any other African state.

'If a man is coming to Northern Rhodesia to do business, obviously he must come knowing what the conditions are, and if, knowing as he did, a South African refused to do what was required of him here, he would forfeit his rights as a citizen of Zambia, and if on the other hand he wished to remain here in peace, the decision would be his. So that Government action here would be justified as conditions would be laid down for anyone who wanted to come here, and for anyone who wanted
to live here, and this should not be used as a deterrent for people of South African origin. The decision is left to individuals.'

As chairman of PAFMECSA, Kaunda continued to play an active part in African affairs. He was deeply concerned over the Congo, where he had developed a close relationship with the then Premier Cyrille Adoula. Because Northern Rhodesia was not yet fully independent, Kaunda had to miss the historic summit meeting of African Heads of State in Addis Ababa in May 1963 where the Organization of African Unity was born. He was enormously heartened by this development. One of its results was the dissolution of PAFMECSA in response to the Addis Ababa meeting's view that regional political organizations were harmful to the growth of African unity.

Although Kaunda made frequent speeches about African unity, his major statement on this question was delivered to a symposium arranged by the Roan Selection Trust on September 2, 1963:

'In dealing with the place of Northern Rhodesia in Pan-African affairs we must first of all discuss its geographical position, its people, its wealth and, indeed, its problems.

'First, its position. Northern Rhodesia is land-locked and surrounded on the east, south and west by countries that might not agree with its political thought and development. Its trade is dependent on lines of communication that are controlled by the countries I have just referred to.

'Its people belong to many different tribes. There are as many as seventy-two different indigenous tribes. Its wealth has brought in a good number of other tribes and this leads us to our last point which is its problems.

'Northern Rhodesia's newest tribal groupings carry an outstanding feature difference in the form of white and brown colours. Indigenous tribes have their differences in the form of language. This definition is an attempt to look at difficulties that stand in Northern Rhodesia's way towards nationhood because it goes without saying that a tribally and racially divided Northern Rhodesia cannot expect to play any role of importance in Pan-African affairs.

'However it is gratifying to see that like the walls of the
biblical Jericho, tribalism and racialism are falling down before the forces of nationalism and industrialization.

'Speaking of its land-locked position, the African nationalist is not frightened by the fact that its outlets or inlets are controlled by people who hold different political views, because he considers this a phase which will quickly pass away and so all his future planning is completely uninfluenced by this present state of affairs.

'Naturally a rich country materially can negotiate all round from strength. The only thing is that material wealth alone is not a sufficient passport to success in the present-day world. This must go hand in hand with moral and spiritual responsibilities. Where these two sections of life operate, success is assured not only within the given country but also in so far as its contacts with its neighbours are concerned.

'I believe the present group of African leaders is conscious of the depth of their responsibilities to their own people, that is Northern Rhodesians of all types, as well as their responsibilities to the world organization called "the United Nations" and to the smaller organization called "the Commonwealth of Nations".

'Let me now confine myself to the place of Northern Rhodesia in Pan-African affairs. So very often one hears of the evils of Pan-Africanism. To the West it is on a par with Communism and therefore must be resisted. To the East it is a barrier in their struggle with the West. To the African people Pan-Africanism is a constructive force which today is throwing all its resources into the fight for the political emancipation of its peoples.

'Tomorrow when all this is done, it is hoped Pan-Africanism will be constructive in so far as uniting economic operations on the Continent is concerned, leading to political unity.

'Those who argue or speak against Pan-Africanism must be told, if they belong to the West, that calling Pan-Africanism the same as Communism is as good as calling the Organization of American States a Communist organization, because that to me is an expression of Pan-Americanism. I might follow this by pointing out that rather late in the day Western Europe is succeeding in pooling its resources through various organizations. They are achieving European unity peacefully, which
Napoleon failed to do through the use of force. I describe this movement as a form of Pan-Europeanism. Is this Communism?

'To those who argue in the eastern bloc that Pan-Africanism was barring their struggle with the West, I would say, all right-thinking men and women must agree it is right and proper to lead a life of their own and if it was sufficiently constructive and attractive, individuals as well as nations shall want to copy, of their own free will and no compulsion would be necessary.

'Whilst dealing with this subject, I should point out that Pan-Africanism, just like any other powerful force, can be used for evil if placed in the wrong hands. To my personal knowledge, all leaders that have emerged in various independent states give me great hope. Differences as to how the force of Pan-Africanism shall be used, will rise from time to time. Who can successfully argue this does not happen between older countries?

'Northern Rhodesia, apart from its rich copper-mines which give it a dominating position in Pan-African economic affairs, has another importance in its geographical position. Here I am thinking of the present political strife in the countries all Pan-Africanists condemn without reserve, namely, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and indeed the Republic of South Africa.

'First of all let me say right away that there is no question of us condoning the racial attitudes that obtain in the four countries named. At the same time there are factors that guide our thinking over this issue. From the purely selfish angle, about forty-five per cent of our European manpower on the Copperbelt emanated from South Africa, but on a deeper level, I consider that to penalize an individual for the sins of his Government would be just as wrong, morally and spiritually, as the particular Government whose policies we condemn without reserve.

'Therefore, rather than penalize an individual because of his country of origin, we have decided to follow the universally accepted way of penalizing the guilty. In other words only the behaviour of a person will count, whether he comes from "X", "Y", "Z" country or any other.

'Northern Rhodesia happens to be the most industrialized country south of the Sahara under the control of Africans politically. It would be a mistake to say at this stage that because
we have the rich copper-mines and intend to diversify our economy by stressing, as we are doing, the importance of developing our rural areas, where the majority of our people live, and because we aspire to build a non-racial society, with a high moral and spiritual code, we are going to play inevitably an important role in Pan-African affairs. But I think it is equally true to say that only our own limitations can stop us creating a truly non-racial society in which the tribe of a person did not count. A society in which only the behaviour of the individual counted and not his colour or creed. I say this because economically, politically and any other "icallies" one might think of, we have the makings to establish more easily such a society as I have already described.

Knowing a good number of African leaders in various independent African states, we have very little to offer them in the way of moral lessons. The possible exception is trained manpower.

My dream is that within twenty to thirty years from now we should have a highly developed system of producing technicians, technologists and many other such qualified people as can be trained only with the help of our copper-mines, coupled with the presence of political, economic, social and cultural stability.

In this dream I foresee us sending out "imperialists" to conquer, not through violence but through mutual love, trust and understanding. The target of our "imperialistic operation" will, of course, be to help defeat hunger and want. This is what I mean. Because of our very fast industrialization here, we are in a position, for which we must thank God and not ourselves, because we had nothing to do with it, to get very rapid advancement in the field of training technologists and technicians of all types. It would be idle thinking, I know, to say Northern Rhodesia's economy is buoyant and therefore we are satisfied.

Again, if I may begin from a purely selfish angle, history shows a good number of wars have been fought because of hunger and want. So that it is in our interest as a potentially rich country to plan fifty years ahead and that in this plan should be included possible aid to our neighbouring territories, so that they too can develop and therefore preoccupy themselves. The deeper level I have spoken of already demands that man shall serve man, and therefore morally and spiritually we are
bound, if we are to make our conscience clear, to help our fellowmen in those countries where there is today no potential for development. Of course I am making myself believe that with more and more technologists and technicians floating around on this continent, their chances of discovering many more mineral deposits will increase.

'Turning south of us, I would like to think that we have a lesson to offer to Southern Rhodesia and indeed South Africa. The lesson is that any minority group has nothing to fear from majority rule. This is rather a bold thing to say, but it comes from my deep conviction that minority rule in Africa, or anywhere else for that matter, cannot last. It is a question of time and, of course, of the method to be used to bring majority rule about. This is where I think we might help the people south of the Zambesi. We can, and I believe are going to, help them by simply setting a good example.

'One might think this was an oversimplification, but when it is realized that no country can survive without political and economic stability—and Southern Rhodesia is heading for instability—and when it is realized that after our self-govern­ment here, stability is going to be the rule rather than the exception, it will be appreciated that the would-be investors will increasingly grow shy of Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

'People will argue and have argued that on the contrary the economy of the Republic of South Africa has never been more buoyant and therefore any suggestion that their economy will suffer is completely unrelated to facts. But we must realize that an explosion is now inevitable.

'We have been fortunate enough to see more of South African white people than our neighbours north of us, and therefore we justifiably claim to know more about the feelings of more South Africans as individuals than our brothers north of us do. If we allowed our anger against South Africa to rule and stopped all South Africans from coming here, we would be denying them the one hope that is left—the opportunity of seeing what majority rule can do. I am satisfied from the many contacts I have had with workers, as well as industrialists from that country, that this line is right. I repeat, it would be wrong for us to penalize the person because of his country of origin.
'I am afraid I have talked very much on the immediate future which for obvious reasons is not a very bright one. Let me now take the part that we might play in the distant future. Our position today is what I have described as land-locked and therefore a disadvantage at the moment. Our aim is to turn this into an advantage.

'It is a disadvantage so long as we have Angola, Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa and Mozambique what they are. All thinking men know, however, that the position will soon change. The political strife over, I foresee Northern Rhodesia as a very possible centre of industrial activity.

'The railway to Beira will take our trade to the Far East; the railway to Lobito Bay will take our trade to the Far West and indeed we are very anxious to prepare ourselves for the future by linking Lusaka with Dar-es-Salaam. This is not to fight against Southern Rhodesia's railway system or Angola and Mozambique. We cannot build this railway anyway before radical political changes take place in these countries. This line will take our trade to the eastern side of Europe. As for the Congo, we have the Matadi line there and also the Albertville one. The same goes for South Africa. Add to this our ever improving air lines and indeed the road communication system—which needs improving—and your picture of future communications is complete.

'In addition I would like to mention the Bank. Our country has the potential to become the Switzerland of Africa. Because of our economy we are in a position to attract world-renowned bankers and we are a very good candidate, after independence, for the Pan-African Bank.

'If we are going to be of use both to ourselves as a country, to the rest of Africa and indeed to the world as a whole, we must think of the importance of a university—not a prestige one—where important languages such as French, Arabic, Swahili, etc., will be taught. The importance of languages such as these cannot be overstressed if Northern Rhodesia is going to deal with former French Territories and Arab North Africa. When all this is done, development towards Pan-African union politically will be a lot easier.

'Whether this is achieved during our lifetime or not depends
on how quickly we can place these rungs on this ladder of Pan-African unity.

'I am fully confident of the important role Northern Rhodesia is going to play in Pan-African affairs, not in a pompous way that would mean throwing our weight around, because apart from the fact that no-one wants people who throw their weight around, the moral and spiritual code that we intend to follow dictates that this shall not be. If we want to serve others, let us establish love, trust and understanding between them and ourselves as individuals as well as between nations. In this way not only shall we be contributing towards what should be the final goal for all human activity, which is to eradicate completely hunger, disease, want and ignorance, but we shall also be very positively avoiding catastrophic wars, which if fought today would destroy half mankind, if not more.'
Chapter 5

THE END OF COALITION

The year 1963 marked the great divide between Northern Rhodesia's colonial past and its future as an independent African state. In July the Victoria Falls conference took the final decision to end the Central African Federation at the end of the year. In September the Governor announced fresh elections to be held in January 1964. This time they would be based on the principle of 'one man one vote', for which UNIP had fought so tenaciously.

Even while these political victories were being recorded, relations between the two African parties in the Coalition continued to deteriorate. Violence mounted especially on the Copperbelt, where the band of unemployed had grown to 50,000. By the middle of 1963 there had been 1,133 political crimes, almost four times more than in the first half of 1962. Internecine fighting between the nationalists reached a violent climax at Nchanga where seven men were murdered and 100 injured. A commission of inquiry, reporting in August, listed among the reasons for this lawlessness and disorder the facts of unemployment, lack of education and political frustration. The indecisiveness of the 1962 election results and the ineffectiveness of the Coalition Government had 'generated a sense of anti-climax and loss of direction'.

Now, with the announcement of new elections based on universal franchise, the political atmosphere changed dramatically. More than one million Africans registered under the new electoral regulations as compared with only 100,000 on the old restricted roll. The great test for UNIP's leadership would come with the elections in January 1964. It was against this background that Kenneth Kaunda addressed the National Council of UNIP on December 7, 1963:
‘I am particularly happy today to welcome you to this session of our National Council which is obviously our last before the most important occasion in the history of our country.

‘Brethren, we must consider ourselves fortunate that so many millions of people and the ages have gone by and yet it falls to us to be able to do what we are about to do. Never before, in a country, has any group of men and women been confronted with such a vast ocean of opportunities to serve MAN. In just over a month we shall be ordained by the country, through the electorate, to reply to this challenge. I have no doubt that we shall rise to the occasion.

‘As we all know, UNIP has succeeded in its number one task of bringing about a new constitution peacefully. This is a moment for rejoicing, but it is also a moment for thinking and planning. On what we decide today rests the future hope of our four million people. Ours is a heavy responsibility.

‘One of the many international visitors to our capital said to me only a few days ago: “You youngsters are going to be the centre of attraction for the next forty years.” The words of this great man did not bring out anything we don’t already know to be a favourable opinion in favour of Zambia, but they do underline its importance. Our claim to the justification of this point of view rests in the decisions we make today, decisions that must not be based on false pride and selfishness, but on a sense of duty to Zambia, the Continent and Mankind as a whole.

‘As one privileged to be National President and Leader of this mighty organization at this momentous point in time, I have to outline what I think is our responsibility today.

‘Let me take this opportunity, before speaking about the importance of the Party, to congratulate all of you who have brought success and honour to the Party through your successes at the polls in Municipal and Rural Local Authority elections. With the exception of Mufulira, the Party has been successful right through.

‘Friends and countrymen: let us not forget that we as individuals owe all this success to our Party.

‘You will allow me to say that now is the moment, now is the time, for us to think in terms of how we run not only the Party
but also the country. It is an added and much heavier, but a long-awaited and very welcome, responsibility. Up to now we have been running the Party for the good of Party members. From now on that chapter is closed and we open a new one. The Party shall be the instrument that leads us to perform the noble task of running the affairs of our country in the cleanest and tidiest way possible for the good of every individual citizen. In this matter we have no choice. Dissident elements there have ever been in any given society. There will be here. Our responsibilities must, of necessity, lead us to realize these will be part and parcel of our beloved country. If they are a threat to the security of the State, we shall deal with them firmly but fairly, in accordance with the law of the State and not through the Party.

'This leads me to the next point, the division of labour within the Party. Just in the same way as you cannot get into Government without the use of a well-oiled and well-polished ladder of a Party, when you get to Government, you have got to serve; and, through service your work is appreciated by both friend and foe, within and without the borders of the country.

'To effect this you must have trustworthy men and women in the Party as well as in the civil service, police and military forces. Because of this, I wish to say to you countrymen, firmly, that this is the right moment in time for us to appraise the whole situation in so far as division of labour will be the key to the smooth running of our country. Some of us must continue to run the Party. Some of us must continue as civil servants. Some of us will have to leave the Party and join the civil service to serve as ambassadors or diplomats of the country, which I believe most sincerely and firmly is a political post as dignified and as important as that of a Party organizer, administrator, legislator, or any other job in Government, for that matter.

'It would be a tragic error that all of us would live to regret, to try and cling en bloc to any one of these important tasks that must be performed by the faithful in this our land. We must spread out.

'There is one side issue, but one that is very, very important indeed, that I must mention to all of those here present, and that is that whether we are going to continue as organizers,
administrators, politicians or diplomats, we have an added responsibility of setting a personal example to the country.

'I want to say advisably, that it is our intention to offer training facilities in a very limited way to begin with, for the wives of those of our people who are to go into foreign service, as well as administration, to help avoid break-ups of family life. I would take strong exception to anyone who said to his wife: “Now that I am becoming an administrator or a diplomat, I need a more educated woman to fit in with my new responsibilities.” It is our task to help these, our women, whose loyalty and fidelity to us made it possible for us to wage the battle we did, when we were called upon by the country to spend tons and tons of time in prison or detention camps. I promise to defend the rights of these women to live with you until death should separate you.

'A nation led by men with broken family lives is itself half broken because no matter how much material wealth you might amass, the spiritual and moral state is, to me, much more important, because it is the key to your success. You and I, therefore, are charged with the responsibility of leading a disciplined life.

'There is one other point and this is the question of bribery and corruption. Those who have been your opponents and who are not happy at the prospects of your coming to power, will have many ways of trying to destroy you, and through you, your country. We must safeguard the nation most determinedly. To those of us who remain organizing the Party, our influence with the Government will be feared. To those of us who become administrators, our posts will be the centre of attraction because we shall administer. To those of us who will be legislators, we shall be looked at with fear, and to those of us who are to be diplomats, we shall be looked at as a way through which to influence important decisions in what is now potentially one of the richest countries on this continent.

'This world can be cruel to the souls of many. Most of us are going to be laid bare to these savage forces for the first time. Brethren, you have been warned. I am doing this in the name of the Party, in the name of the people and of the country you love. It is our duty to lay down a code of behaviour which must be followed by all of us, and failure to do so must be dealt with
THE END OF COALITION

without fear or favour. Make no mistake about this, there shall be one law for all of us. This is right for the country and I proclaim it as such. Bribery and corruption we shall fight wherever these show their ugly heads.

‘Let me mention another of these deadly weapons of destruction. I fail to understand how some of my people, both young and old, people who have shown courage and have a sense of responsibility, fail to defeat the bad habit of drinking. This stuff is poison. It suspends clear thinking and action. When we are drunk, we are half-thinking, and as many people as are drunk at any one time would have a nation reduced to inactivity by the number of hours they remain drunk. How long shall we tolerate this cancer? I have seen men and women who today would be great by any standard in the world, who have been eaten up by this deadly disease. It worries me. And yet I know that you can get rid of it by fighting against it in as determined a way as you have fought against colonialism and imperialism. You cannot lead unless you are sober. Please, in the name of the country you love, I implore those of you who are still in the habit of drinking, not only to stop but to see that others who will heed you also stop.

‘As we move into this new era, there are those of us who might be brooding over the past, saying that such and such a District Messenger, such and such a Boma Clerk, District Commissioner, Police Officer, Provincial Commissioner, or businessman for that matter, or any other person, did this against me or my friend, or my family, and now that the tables are turned, I am going to avenge myself against them. I am afraid, brethren, that if we took this attitude, there would be no future for this wonderful country of ours. Several times I have said, men do not live in the past, they live in the present and prepare themselves for the future. There is simply no place for such in our programme. We must make ourselves so busy with the heavy programmes of development that we will just not find the time for thinking of such petty and stupid things as avenging ourselves. If there are any people in the civil service, in the police force and any other public posts who do not accept the inevitable, the desirable and that which is right to happen, they will find it completely intolerable to continue where they are, because just as we are now laying down our code of behaviour, we shall expect them
to follow the code of behaviour that we shall lay down for them.

‘And again I repeat. It will not be for the Party or for anyone else to discipline them. It shall be left to those whom our system shall empower, so to act. We want to avoid such a shameful display of immaturity and disorganization as has been shown elsewhere.

‘And now, as we leave this place tomorrow, let me say, brethren, that I know that amongst some of our junior officers in the civil service, provincial administration mainly, and amongst the lower ranks of our police force, there are men who have failed to accept the changes that are coming. No matter what you do at the moment, you cannot change that attitude of mind in them. But by attacking these few publicly you are only lowering the morale of those who are willing to continue working for you, as you develop the locally based civil service and police force. After this I expect you to go back and report any unwelcome incidents to the highest in your Provinces. If the highest in the Provinces do nothing about it, or if they themselves are directly involved, which is rare, then I expect you to contact the National Headquarters at Freedom House, or me directly, without giving publicity to your request, or shall I say, to the steps you have taken.

‘Let me move to my next point. It will not help Zambia to start looking at our national problems through the eyes of the West or the East. We shall not have Moscow and Washington, or London and Peking, fighting in Lusaka, through our Party or otherwise. The Party, the people and the country have only one task before them, and this is to build a country in which all its citizens will go with full stomachs as our first target, thereby making it possible for them to think properly and plan properly for their social and economic development, which should see them not only clothed from head to foot, but also see them living in good houses. We intend to be friendly to all because all of them are human beings. We love them all because they too are children of one God and we wish them nothing but happiness and prosperity now and in ages to come. Over this our voice rings and shall continue to ring, long, loud and clear.

‘And let us remember that there is more to this question of setting a good example than catches the eye. Those who rise by the sword shall perish by the sword. Those who preach hatred of
any type at all must expect to reap hatred. We of UNIP must leave the preaching of hatred to meaner figures. We have something more noble to perform. To rule we must love and serve.

‘Finally, if today I seem to go into terribly minute details, it is because this is the hour in which to declare our highest and noblest ideals. Not for the sake of impressing people, majority or minority, but so that we can state our pledges to God our Creator, to Man our Brother and to the country to which we are wedded; the goal towards which we work and the road we intend to travel to get there.’
PART TWO

TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE

1964
Chapter 1

A NEW PRIME MINISTER AT THE HELM

The New Year opened on a troubled scene. To the north, Kaunda’s colleagues faced mutinies in their armies when the Zanzibar revolution set up a chain-reaction first in Tanganyika, then in Kenya and, finally, in Uganda. At home, with the decisive elections in the offing, Kaunda’s opponents—black and white—whipped up racial and tribal feelings. There were the familiar old warnings that Kaunda would lead the country to ‘bloodshed and chaos’.

Kenneth Kaunda dealt with these allegations when he opened a new factory in Ndola on January 2. He spoke with a new note of firmness and authority:

‘There is no doubt at all, if I may for the time being speak as Party leader, that my Party is going to form a Government this month. As I have said before, we intend to be fair to all but firm to all. In other words, there is going to be fair play and a just Government whose laws shall be obeyed. There is going to be one law for all and anyone who misbehaves will be dealt with firmly but fairly.

‘I do not need to say any more than this. No government worth the name can sit back while irresponsible people make such wild statements. We mean to rule and if anyone is in doubt about my statement, and thinks he can flaunt the laws of the country, then he will be shown that such conduct will not be tolerated.

‘All sensible people in business or outside, want a calm atmosphere and this we intend to maintain at any cost. Today we have an example of what can be done. We have an example of confidence in the future of our great country. Let us take courage from this example. Let us go forward together to still greater things.’
On the eve of the elections Kenneth Kaunda was in a ‘happy frame of mind’ when he made his final appeal to the nation:

‘As you know, twenty-five of our candidates have been returned unopposed. That we are going to form a Government next week, therefore, goes without saying. However, what is important is what we intend to do for the country—that is for you as an individual—and what we expect from you.

‘Time and again we have made it clear that it is our intention to put this country well on the road to progress through intensive economic activity based on our present rich copper-mines, as well as exploiting other mineral resources.

‘Be this as it may, all thinking men and women know that the majority of our people are dependent on the land and therefore we must not only help to equip all our present farming communities, but also make arrangements to assist those presently less equipped both with capital and “know-how”.

‘This naturally will mean taking a close look at our transportation and communication facilities. I am thinking now of the railways, airways, river transport and our road services.

‘In so far as education is concerned, it is our intention to bring about universal primary education at the earliest possible moment, leading later to the Second Form. It is also our intention to make a vigorous drive to provide free education for all our people. Naturally this will take time. As a first step, however, we intend to reduce the present exorbitant school fees. In all this we are not forgetting adult education.

‘In the field of health, it is our intention to make both preventative and curative services available to the nation.

‘All these facilities cost a lot of money, but from our contacts, capital for development is not going to be a problem to the same extent it is in other developing countries. Quite a bit of this will be raised here locally but, of course much more will come from outside. Our country will not be a happy one if we don’t keep taxes low. If we are going to encourage capital to flow in here, we must keep taxes fairly low and indeed it is our avowed intention to keep the cost of living to a minimum. I
foresee the birth of a rich country in which there will be equal opportunities for all.

‘All this, ladies and gentlemen, as my colleagues and I have said so many times, will not come about, potentially rich as we are, without all of us putting our shoulders to the wheel. Through hard work, through the dignity of manual labour, we promise a happy, prosperous and peaceful country.

‘Let me declare here and now that politically the United National Independence Party has what I call a very human approach to our problems. We look at no-one through tribal, religious or racial spectacles. We leave this to meaner figures. This is the only sensible approach. Any other would lead to self-destruction and this is why I appeal to all our voters, black, white and brown, to rally behind the United National Independence Party.

‘I would now like to turn to those of our people who are on the reserved roll, white and brown alike. My colleagues and I agreed to five or ten reserved roll seats, racial as they are, because of the importance of time and not because we are racially minded as are those who proposed these seats. Those who talk glibly about how effective the NPP opposition was in the last House, must be reminded that that was a three-legged Coalition Government.1 We do not intend to encourage any tribal or racial opposition and I have promised the country already that we are going to march to independence as one nation.

‘I am taken by surprise when NPP members declare rather unashamedly that they were going to protect the interests of our European, Asian and Eurafriacn people. Ten years ago these gentlemen, among other things, promised you a Federation that had come to stay. Later they promised you a Dominion in Central Africa. They promised you further economic development in Northern Rhodesia under their old name of the United Federal Party. Federation is dead: Dominion status has not come. Through the Bambazonke system we have been drained of over seventy million pounds to feather the nests of the other two territories. In other words they promised you the earth and gave you nothing. Now they are promising you the moon; are you going to believe them?

1 UNIP, ANC and the Colonial Civil Service
‘Ladies and gentlemen, the truth is, your future lies with the United National Independence Party and please do support us.

‘I am pleading for your votes because my colleagues and I are keen to show that the country is marching as one nation and not as two in one. This is important and please vote for UNIP candidates.

‘There is no truth in the nonsensical allegation that the ten reserved roll UNIP candidates are voting for self-destruction. These men will be accorded the same facilities in the Party as any other citizen. We are not so diabolical as to use anyone’s services in that way. I repeat, these gentlemen to us in UNIP are just as good as any other members of the Party.

‘There are also other points worth noting. We believe that the institution of Chiefs is an important one. They have an important role to play in a democratized system of local government and we have no intention whatsoever of tampering or interfering with our Chiefs.

‘Some people are suggesting to our electorate that we are going to do away with an independent Judiciary. All this is stupid and cheap propaganda. We are very conscious of the importance of the independence of the Judiciary. The Government will use an independent Judiciary as a mirror to find out whether it is behaving properly.

‘Ladies and gentlemen, so much play has been made of the Bill of Rights. Let me reveal to you that when the Northern Rhodesia wing of the UFP, now parading as the NPP, walked out of the Lancaster House Conference and irresponsibly left the country without a government, we in UNIP responsibly introduced this Bill of Rights at that conference. This was not designed to preserve minority rights, it was designed to look after the interests of each and every individual citizen in the country. Now they would have you believe it is through their grace you have this Bill of Rights. If we had any intention of hurting the interests of any of our European, Asian or Eurafican people, why did we, unsolicited, introduce this Bill of Rights? Please be deceived no more.

‘Ladies and gentlemen, let me add a word on the issue of the one-party system. We are not dictators. We have sufficient support, and this is growing every day, not to resort to any
dictatorial methods. We are genuine in our efforts to find a system of government that will make all our people happy. To us the question of an opposition is one that must be left for all time to the individual voter to decide. His decision must be respected by both Government and the Opposition. The voter must be given a periodic opportunity to give you a fresh mandate to continue ruling, or to show he has changed his mind.

'All this imposes on the opposition the most important obligation of being a responsible opposition. A responsible opposition accepts the ruling of the electorate before, during and after any given election. I repeat, we have no intention of frustrating any opposition that is not tribal or racial.

'Nothing can stop us from fulfilling our pledges to the country. Among these pledges is that any tribal or racial opposition must go.

'I appeal to all of you, regardless of your colour, to vote for the United National Independence Party. Your vote will influence Government, through Parliamentary committees, through Parliamentary caucus, through Parliament itself and indeed through your Cabinet. Your voice will be heard again, regardless of your colour, more effectively through what I have mentioned, rather than through a racially elected shouting opposition.

'Let me end on this note. I appeal to all our citizens to keep to their homes as far as possible at election time. This is a time for thanking God our Creator. Let us pray to him at home as well as in the churches and ask for his blessings.

'It is important to remember, regardless of what we are, not to take the law into our own hands. The whole question of independence can be frustrated completely if we do not handle this delicate period carefully and responsibly. I therefore urge all responsible citizens to let bygones be bygones. No-one should say: "Now that we are self-governing, I am going to avenge myself." The task before us is one of nation-building. It is a serious one and let us perform it with dignity.

'All responsible citizens are going to have the law behind them and my Government intends to maintain law and order at all costs. I shall therefore expect every citizen, regardless of his political beliefs, to remember the importance of maintaining law
and order before, during and after the elections, now and for all

time.'

The elections gave UNIP 55 seats, the ANC 10 and the
National Progress Party (formerly the UFP) 10. Notwithstand-
ing his earnest appeals to European and Asian voters in the
Reserved Seats, Kaunda's candidates were all defeated. He
could only comfort himself that UNIP had attracted a third of
the white vote.

UNIP was at last in full control of the country's Government.
On January 23 Kenneth Kaunda was sworn in as its first Prime
Minister. His thirteen Cabinet Ministers included his close
friend, Simon Kapepwe, as Minister of Home Affairs; Reuben
Kamaga as Minister of Transport and Deputy Prime Minister;
Arthur Wina as Minister of Finance; Sikota Wina as Minister
of Health; Mainza Chona as Minister of Justice; John
Mwanakatwe as Minister of Education; Elijah Mudenda as
Minister of Agriculture; Solomon Kalulu as Minister of Land
and Works; Munukayumbwa Sipalo as Minister of Natural
Resources; H. Dingiswayo Banda as Minister of Housing
and Social Development; Nalumino Mundia as Minister
of Local Government; Alexander Zulu as Minister of
Commerce and Industry; and Justin Chimba as Minister of
Labour.

Two days after he became Prime Minister, Kenneth Kaunda
outlined the policies and plans of his Government in a question-
answer interview with Dick Hall, the Editor of the Central
African Mail.

CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

Q. Are you going to demand a new Constitution for Northern
Rhodesia or take the present one into independence?

A. Much depends on whether or not the present Constitu-
tion would take us to independence as one nation and not as
two in one. In other words the results of the present elections
will help us determine what we do.

Q. You say you want Northern Rhodesia to become a
republic with independence. Do you see Britain accepting such
A NEW PRIME MINISTER AT THE HELM

—as far as British Africa is concerned—an unprecedented constitutional development?

A. I believe that Britain bases her assent on both the issues of independence and a republic, on the prevailing situation. I believe we have proved we are mature. Our actions match our words and we have not much in the way of economic setbacks. Britain knows she will strengthen the hand of realism and human approaches to our problems by helping us to move fast to the status of independence and that of a republic. The best example of Britain’s flexibility is provided by an equally unprecedented constitutional development, the result of which is this great exercise—the present general elections.

Q. What is your stand on citizenship and the franchise after independence? Will dual citizenship be allowed?

A. No country wishes to encourage its citizens to enjoy dual citizenship. We like to think, at the moment anyway, that by the way we behave most of our present-day citizens will be encouraged to take on Zambian citizenship. Those who do not will naturally continue to live here but may not vote, either in local government or Central Government elections. The exceptions to this rule will, of course, be persons who are members of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Q. Will you, like Tanganyika, adopt a policy of immediate and wholesale Africanization in central and provincial administration?

A. No doubt we contemplate making some changes in the present methods of administration. This, however, does not mean wholesale Africanization. What it means is a non-racial loyalized civil service. All our people are going to be given equal opportunities to train for various jobs and then they will be able to compete on merit. We have started on providing these opportunities both as a party and as Government. With the advent of self-government these will be increased, so that none of our people can complain about the opportunities not being available.

Q. As a result of UNIP’s sweeping victory and of the schismatic tendencies of ANC, have you any plans for making only one political party legal?
A. Several times I have pointed out that we would like an opposition that is non-tribal, non-racial and non-religious (by non-religious, of course, I mean one that is not based on any religious grouping). A sweeping victory at any given election is no mandate to you to legislate against the formation of an opposition. It is our intention to give our electorate a periodic opportunity either to give us a fresh mandate or reject us if we do not serve them properly during any period in which we hold the reins of Government. I give this as a background. Coming straight to your question about the ANC, we are quite happy to give them an opportunity to start afresh, that is they must endeavour to be non-tribal and completely constitutional and non-violent in their behaviour. Any threats of bloodshed or chaos we intend to deal with very firmly.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Q. Can you clarify the situation about diplomatic links with the South?

A. First of all let us have one thing clear in our minds. We all feel very, very strongly about the situation in the Republic of South Africa. We all know that the various suggestions that have been made and that will continue to be made are aimed at one thing and that is finding a solution to that essentially human problem. We all must agree that if we can, let us try to solve the problem peacefully. If we fail then it is just too bad not only for all our fellow human beings in that country, black, white, brown or yellow, in Government or in opposition, those who oppress others and the oppressed, but also for mankind as a whole. Again as I have said before, should violence break out in the Republic it would be a matter of the French Revolution over again, only it would be worse, to the degree that there would be more destruction of life and property. No stone must be left unturned, therefore, to try and explore every avenue in the direction of a peaceful settlement. We of UNIP are therefore anxious to do something about this and we believe that we must still give the Government of the Republic of South Africa yet another opportunity, through this offer of diplomatic links on an ambassadorial level. Naturally we shall expect our ambassador and his whole team of approximately thirty men
A NEW PRIME MINISTER AT THE HELM

and women to be accorded the same diplomatic immunity as is accorded white diplomats. We would never want it to happen that any of our representatives would be pushed out of buses, cafés, restaurants, hotels, etc., as 'kaffirs'. I know that there is a division of opinion in the Cabinet of the Government of the Republic. Some say they should change their approach to the whole question of African diplomats, others say 'all of them are kaffirs'. This is a psychological moment to help mankind by taking this bold step and I am quite sure all our colleagues, who like us stand against apartheid, will understand what we are trying to do. If the Government of the Republic of South Africa should reject our approach, which we hope to make fairly soon—in terms of months—or if they should accept this and refuse to accord our ambassador and his team diplomatic immunity, we shall consider this scheme a flop and we shall take another step because we refuse to be idle onlookers where human rights are involved, and this is where the question of economic sanctions comes in. We all must know and appreciate the psychological effects on the whole situation should the Government of the Republic accept our offer to exchange diplomats.

Q. There is a strong likelihood of Lusaka becoming the headquarters of the anti-white-rule forces in Africa. Would such a development not be regarded as an unfriendly act by South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal with whom you apparently want to have diplomatic links?

A. Let me take the question of Southern Rhodesia first. We hope for changes in Southern Rhodesia as I have said before, within the next eighteen months, and we will do anything humanly possible to impress it on HMG to see that these changes take place before more violent activities embarrass the Southern Rhodesia Government as well as the British Government. To try and influence things there, we agreed to the Rhodesia Railways, Central African Airways and Kariba remaining joint ventures. What I mean here is we make a non-racial approach to our problems. Therefore, we are making arrangements to train all our personnel for the Railways, CAA and Kariba on a non-racial basis. If SR does not do the same our relations are bound to be strained. On the other hand,
if they should follow our example, it means Rhodesia Railways workers, black, white and brown, Central African Airways workers, black, white and brown, and Kariba Power workers, black, white and brown, will be able to work alongside each other, discounting their racial differences. This obviously must have its own impact psychologically and otherwise on the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

Angola is a different kettle of fish. There is a war going on there and there is nothing we can do to stop that now.

Mozambique is similarly placed although nothing comes out at the moment.

Our approach to the problem of South Africa I have already outlined in a previous answer.

Finally, I have already pointed out that refugees are going to be part and parcel of our human problems here, and there is no question of us shirking our responsibilities to mankind as a whole. And so to help the situation we would offer training facilities which we know do not exist in these four countries to those who have the appropriate qualifications as future administrators in their own countries, because we ourselves know, from our experience here, how much this can be a serious setback to a good and sound Government. If these countries consider this an unfriendly act, it is just too bad. I would understand their objection if we intended making Northern Rhodesia a training centre for violent activities in those countries.

Q. How do you reconcile your willingness to exchange ambassadors with South Africa with the Pan-African policy of a total economic and diplomatic boycott of that country?

A. This is no departure at all from that policy as I have shown elsewhere. It is just another way of fighting the same battle, and all our friends will understand, I am quite sure. There is mutual trust between us all.

Q. In the event of Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declaring herself independent under white rule, what would be the position with regard to Kariba, Rhodesia Railways and Central African Airways?

A. We would have to take a second look at all these agreements, and make no mistake about it, we would be very firm.
Q. Have you any hopes of visiting (a) the Russian Communist bloc countries; (b) the Chinese Communist bloc countries?
A. If I am invited I would be very happy to go and see what happens there. They are the only countries, with the exception of South America, Australia, New Zealand and the Far East, that I have not visited up to now.

Q. It has been reported that the Committee of Nine\(^1\) has decided to recognize Rev. Sithole's ZANU in preference to ZAPU. Are you going to follow suit and have no dealing with Mr Nkomo?
A. No. I still feel our policy is the correct one. We cannot decide who is the leader of the people in any given country. It is up to the people themselves to decide, so we still stand by our decision.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Q. Will we sell copper to Iron Curtain countries (now it is not allowed as it is a strategic material)?
A. We will have to consider the question when we are approached. I don't see much sense in us having stopped selling what we have to any country, when the West itself deals with the East in trade. I understand President Johnson has followed the late President Kennedy's policy of selling wheat to the USSR; France is thinking of recognizing Red China; various industrial leaders in Britain are pushing forward their volume of trade with China. In any case, our approach to all these international problems is one of helping man, if, where and when we can, and appreciating the importance of being able to lead different lives and yet remain friendly with each other. We cannot do this if we start taking sides in so far as the East-West struggle goes.

Q. What about BSA Company mineral rights? Will NRG buy them out?
A. This has been one of the saddest economic arrangements here, and we intend to put this right fairly soon, but whatever new arrangements we make will be such as not to worry the financial world. I can say no more about this.

\(^1\) The Committee of Liberation established by the Organization of African Unity
In some parts of Africa, Asian traders have been 'squeezed' after independence. This is happening in Tanganyika. Do you feel it could happen here?

A. We do not have what you might call an Asian problem here. The population is negligible and we hope fairly soon to have them playing an important role in other spheres and not confining themselves to trade only.

Q. Because Northern Rhodesia is so powerful economically, it is certain to be 'invaded' by big business tycoons from many countries. Most will be serious investors, but some may be 'spivs' looking for a fast profit. How will you sort out one from the other?

A. There are ways of doing this. No government worth the name is not prepared for such people, but I cannot discuss this with anyone outside the circle of those who are going to deal with this problem.

Q. Is there a possibility of your giving up your Tanganyika rail-link plan because of the big compensation you would have to pay to Rhodesia Railways if you went ahead with it?

A. There is no question of us, I emphatically state, giving up the rail-link plan. By the time we are through building this rail-link there will be a different government anyway, so the question does not arise.

Q. What will be the attitude of an independent Zambia to industrial monopolies?

A. This is not a question one can answer in general terms. If you are talking about nationalization, that is out. If it is monopolies in general, we do not favour them very much.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Q. In India the growth of population almost cancels out progress to raise the living standards of the masses. We are told NR has a 'population explosion'—so do you see the same crisis here?

A. While our population is growing very fast, it is still very far from reaching proportions where it might be comparable to that of India so again here the question does not arise.
Q. Many old people, too old to work, are living in dire poverty, on the Copperbelt in particular. What are you going to do to help them?

A. I appreciate this very much. It is a problem that we must face fairly and squarely by establishing better and well-looked-after Old Peoples' Homes. This again is a human problem and must be treated as such.

Q. You yourself (and all Church leaders) have declared that excessive drinking is the greatest menace to our country. Do you foresee a national government-backed campaign to beat it, as has been done in France?

A. I would definitely personally support any national campaign launched by Church leaders and others to beat down excessive drinking. I agree it is the greatest single menace to our country and I have, I think, already described it as a cancer eating into the most treasured possession we have in Zambia—MAN.

Q. Can you say anything further about the plans for the country's youth?

A. This is indeed a very important question and a Committee under the Chairmanship of one of my senior officials, which comprises various people from all walks of life, including youth representatives of all political parties, is about to submit a report on the findings, to me. I can say no more at the moment.

Q. Have you any plans to encourage and direct 'cottage' industries so as to give an additional source of income to villagers who at present rely only on subsistence agriculture?

A. Yes, certainly there are plans to do this.

Q. If Sir Roy Welensky wanted to settle, as a private person, in Northern Rhodesia would you let him?

A. Why not if he came as a law-abiding citizen?

The UNIP Government was a visible improvement over the previous Coalition Government. Business was no longer held up by incessant squabbles inside the Cabinet; Ministers had clear mandates: they travelled widely to meet and explain to the people what was expected of them, and what the Government was trying to do. There was a mood of national purpose and an
authority which had been absent for many years. Early in March, the Prime Minister made his first broadcast to the nation:

'It is just over a month now since we took office. It is important that all our citizens realize that nothing can be done without careful planning, especially if what you want to do involves large sums of money. Anything that is not properly planned leads our Government into some unnecessary expenditure to the detriment of our young country.

'Starting from here, let me tell you of some very important committees that have been formed. First there is the Emergency Development Co-ordination Committee which is working out immediate development schemes aimed at creating employment and development through, and I emphasize through, community effort. Next comes the Training and Co-ordination Committee which is to consider and co-ordinate all offers of assistance from external agencies in the sphere of training (this, of course, includes bursaries), and to decide upon the most appropriate means of making use of such offers by relating them to the needs and resources of the country. Then there is our Localization Committee. This is to undertake a survey of the existing localization position as a matter of urgency and to prepare a plan of acceleration of localization for approval by the Cabinet. And then there is the Legislation Committee.

'To make these committees effective Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries and other leaders have been visiting province after province and district after district because, as I have pointed out already, there is need for us to relate our limited resources to the most urgent problems in the country.

'I should like to say here that no sensible person should get into the habit of thinking that the Government is not doing anything about the serious situation of unemployment. Since 1953 neither the Protectorate Government nor ourselves were able to direct the economy of this country. This was done from elsewhere as we all know. I am not trying to find a scapegoat. I am not a coward to do that. I am here stating facts as you all know them. It is out of place for anyone to expect us to undo the economic ills of the last ten years in one month. Once again I would like to ask you to give your new Government time to
solve this problem, and Government is doing so vigorously. The
general wage structure of workers has been looked at and
already results are beginning to show. There is now a Salaries
Commission looking at salaries of civil servants and teachers.
This Commission is now going to cover both the police and the
military services. My Government is moving and moving very
fast indeed.

‘Let me now give one very serious warning to all our people
We, as a Government, are committed to the building up here of
a truly non-racial and non-tribal society, and I would like to
declare here and now that just as I say that do not let what has
happened in the past make you racially or tribally bitter, I say,
countrymen, we as your Government are in the process of pro-
viding you with numerous opportunities to reach the highest
point in your own sphere of operation. We would not tolerate
any civil servant, policeman or soldier saying to himself he was
this or that tribe, this or that race, and therefore he would not
obey Government instructions. We cannot successfully build a
nation here if we are going to look at each and everything
through the spectacles of tribe, colour or religion. The only
tribe or colour a civil servant should know is the civil service.
In the same way a policeman’s tribe is his police force and the
same goes for a soldier. Anything else, I repeat, will not be
tolerated. Government is going to crack very heavily on any
mischievous persons trying to fan the flames of tribalism or
racialism anywhere.

‘Speaking of training, Government would like every citizen
to take these new opportunities seriously as soon as they are
provided because only through hard work can we really expect
progress. Government is not only aiming at these training
facilities here and abroad. It is also moving fast towards the
building up of our Zambia University and to this end, the
Minister of Education is heavily engaged in plans to expand at
the bottom of our educational system. Again, we cannot expect
him to work miracles overnight. The problems of money and
staff cannot be underrated by any thinking person.

‘Then there is the question of our young people. The
National Youth Service is being given the final touches and
a high-powered and sufficiently dynamic group of men and
women will be chosen to lead this organization so that the
problems of our young people are taken care of in a practical manner. From this you can all see that we are making a double-pronged attack on the difficult problem of our young people. Both the Minister of Education and the Minister of Housing and Social Development are tackling this. All we ask for is time.

'Finally, let me say in all humbleness that these are obviously steps of a dynamic character implying that we know where we have come from, what we are doing and where we are going. The nation must not despair. There is nothing to feel despondent about. If there ever was a country with a future, ours is that country. Let us all be level-headed and not allow ourselves to be misled by those who think Rome was built in a day. No-one who listened to our election speeches will fail to remember that we always told our people prosperity would come only after hard work. This is still true and will always be true. Just as Rome was not built in a day we are not going to build a country like Zambia in a day, but you will agree with me that your Government is moving. Pray for us so that under Divine guidance we will continue to move in the right direction.'

The Prime Minister and his colleagues had firmly resolved that Zambia’s independence should come on October 24, 1964, the anniversary date of the United Nations. The choice was deliberate. But there was a vast amount of business to be completed if the target date was to be achieved. On March 26 Kaunda spoke at a Civic Luncheon in Lusaka of the problems that had to be faced:

'One of the problems of the immediate post-independence period is the adjustment of attitudes. When a country is striving for independence all its energies are devoted towards that goal, and it is natural that there should be resentment, indeed intolerance of anything that appears to delay or to prevent its attainment. This can have particular reference to the forces of law and order. Even when independence is gained, time is needed for understanding to spread throughout the country of the changes that have taken place. The people have to become aware that not only is the Government one of their own choice, but that its instruments are theirs to be co-operated with and assisted in carrying out the Government’s policies and pro-
A NEW PRIME MINISTER AT THE HELM

grammes. A period of education is therefore needed so that people who may have come to regard the forces of law and order with suspicion, should realize that with independence the very same forces which they perhaps resented in the past are there to help them, and will serve loyally whatever government is in power. I am happy to be able to say that this adjustment of attitudes is now taking place in Northern Rhodesia, even though the Government has been in office for only two months. It has depended to a large extent on the co-operative approach and understanding of civil servants, particularly police officers, and Party leaders at all levels throughout the country. I am convinced that what can be a major problem in any independent country—the relationship between the policeman and the man in the street—is well on the way to solution in this country.'

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

'And now, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to refer particularly to the role of the Press.

'It is the aim of my Government to establish a stable and closely knit society without racial or other prejudices and it will, I hope, be the endeavour of all our people to strive towards that end. In this regard my Government is very well aware of the important part which the Press can play—and by the Press I include all publications which are available to the public whether they are Party newspapers or periodicals or magazines. The freedom of the Press is a subject which excites the strongest emotions and is one fraught with danger for the unwary or the inexperienced. It is a matter which the gentlemen of the Press themselves are very sensitive about—and, after all, it must be remembered that they almost always have the last word! I wish to say here what I have often said before—a free Press has a great and constructive part to play in this country. Pressmen have a heavy responsibility to present the news accurately, impartially and conscientiously. They have the burden of discharging this responsibility with proper regard for the standards of their profession and the general good of the community. We and the public will continue to have confidence in the Press, provided these responsibilities and privileges are not abused.
These remarks are a reaffirmation of the Government's wish to uphold the freedom of the Press. We look forward to the Press playing a full part in helping us to achieve our objective of a united and prosperous country.

**NON-ALIGNMENT WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH**

As I have already stated publicly it is the desire of my Government that this country on achieving independence should become a Republic within the Commonwealth and in world affairs it would be the intention of my Government to adopt a policy of non-alignment. This is not a negative policy of treating Northern Rhodesia as an island, but rather the very positive one of trying to do, quite impartially, whatever it is possible for us to do to make a bridge between the Eastern and the Western power blocs and, nearer home, between countries to the north and south of us. It is thus in the general interest that our voice should be heard and carry weight in international affairs. Since 1945, no fewer than fifty new independent States have come into being. We shall shortly hope to add our voice to theirs in the interests of building bridges between nations, and in the interests of peace.

**DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION**

I hope we shall be helped in this endeavour by the Diplomatic Missions which will soon join us here in Northern Rhodesia, and by the work of the Missions which we ourselves intend to establish abroad. In the widest sense, our Ambassadors and High Commissioners and their staffs will represent the image of this country abroad. It will therefore be their duty to give that impression of Zambia and its people which we should like foreigners to have, and to establish friendly relations at all levels of society and over as wide a range as possible. In this way our Foreign Service will make its contribution to our policy of non-alignment.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Turning now to local government, a subject for which as Minister of Local Government in the last administration I was
myself responsible, the decision to provide greater elected representation in Municipal Councils, which was taken exactly a year ago, is soon to be extended to smaller local authorities and the position in rural areas is similarly being improved. The newly formed Local Government Recruitment, Training and Examinations Board in conjunction with the Local Government Service Commission and existing training establishments will have the task of training and building up adequate skilled staff for this need. It is not necessary for me to emphasize once more the major role the expatriate staff of the Government and Local Government have to play in advancing our country through these critical but exciting years.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE**

'You are aware of the problems of financial relationship between the Central Government and local Authorities. These are complex and are alleged by some to require the "wisdom of Solomon" for their resolution. But I am confident that it will be possible, with understanding and the correct allocation of national priorities to find a solution which will place local government finance on a sound basis.'

**ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PLANNING**

'Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to say that this Government starts its economic and financial planning with the great advantage of being freed from the burden of Federation. At last we can use our own money to further our own plans for, and in, our own country. Federation has of course left its mark: we have a quite inequitable burden of public debt; the acceptance of this burden is something the Northern Rhodesia Government did not willingly agree to, but it had no practical alternative but to acquiesce under protest. My Government feels very strongly that it has an irrefutable claim on the British Government for some alleviation of this burden. We shall soon be presenting our detailed case to that Government.
EMERGENCY EXTENSION TO DEVELOPMENT PLAN

'The unsatisfied reasonable needs of our people are very great. First amongst these is the need for useful remunerative work. This problem, and its solution, go much wider than the provision of work for wages; and we are tackling it on a broad front under the £10 million emergency extension of our development plan. Many of the projects provide some work for wages. About £4 million is being spent on Government building construction, over £1 million on road development and improvements, and £500,000 on loans to urban local authorities for African housing.

In selecting the projects, we have, however, had another important purpose in mind—to enable the people to improve their ability to contribute to the economic development of our country, and at the same time to benefit themselves from the return on their increased productivity. Emphasis has also been laid on projects involving community effort.'

HEALTH

'In matters of health, the responsible Minister has been authorized to begin the planning, as quickly as possible, of a number of capital projects in various parts of the country. These projects include rural hospitals, health centres and staff housing. Urban areas, too, are not being neglected and a considerable amount of money will be spent during the next sixteen months on hospitals in those areas. I must, however, remind you that our rural areas, which contain three million out of our three and a half million people, constitute the main source of our manpower potential and I want to ensure that they receive a fair share of our expenditure on hospitals and health centres.'

AGRICULTURE

'On the agricultural front, our theme is one of increased production on a broad basis. The aim of the Government is to bring prosperity to the whole of our agricultural community and to all who live in the rural areas. We are now happily solely responsible for our own agricultural development. The
Minister of Agriculture has already established Grain Marketing and Dairy Marketing Boards as well as the Cold Storage Board. He is also examining commodity prices with a view to achieving a fair balance between producer and consumer interests.'

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

'Education, and especially secondary education, is therefore a major feature of the extension of the plan, with a capital allocation of £1 million, over £600,000 of which will be spent on secondary education. Good health and good housing are also essential; so we have allocated over £1 million for these two purposes throughout the territory. Improved roads, especially in the rural areas, are needed for the expansion of the economy; again the allocation is over £1 million.'

FUTURE ECONOMIC PLANNING

'I have outlined my Government's policy on development planning by referring to what we are doing now. For plans, while essential, are only a means to an end; it is the results that matter. But we are of course already thinking much further ahead than the end of the present plan on June 30, 1965. I have just received an advance copy of the report of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission, which completed its task here last week. We are now studying it and shall soon decide the guide lines for the next full plan for the development of the whole economy of the territory. That plan will be ambitious. It will be expensive; and it will call for good will and hard work from everyone. We shall all benefit from it, but we must all also contribute to it. Some words of the late President Kennedy have the greatest relevance for the people of an underdeveloped country. Those words I repeat to you now. They proclaim a principle we must all constantly have in mind: "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."'

A special problem was the Government's future relation to the Chiefs. While many of the traditional leaders had loyalty supported the nationalist struggle, others had been suborned by
the colonial regime and especially by the Federal Government to treat the nationalists as enemies of chieftaincy and of African traditional institutions. The Chiefs had to be made to understand that they owed an overriding duty to the Central Government, and that, while their positions as traditional leaders would be respected, their role would have to change to meet the modern circumstances of a new society. Based on genuine co-operation, the Chiefs had an important role to play.

On April 8, the Prime Minister appeared before the Chiefs with several of his Ministers as 'an indication of the importance which the present Government placed upon the House of Chiefs as an instrument of the constitution'. The Prime Minister went on to say:

'I would also like to point out to you that the subject of Chiefs is one which is retained within my own portfolio; this again is an indication of the importance which I personally place not only upon the House of Chiefs but upon the position of the Chiefs themselves.

'It is our intention that the status and standing of this House should be maintained within the framework of the constitution, and that Ministers should obtain the advice and opinions of this House on all matters which are the direct concern of the Chiefs and their peoples. We hope thereby to continue to foster a spirit of goodwill and co-operation between the Chiefs on the one hand and the Government on the other. Consultation between this House and the Government can take place in a number of different ways, and the method of Ministerial Statement, which I am adopting now, will be followed at this meeting by a number of my colleagues. We will be putting to you the policies of this Government in a number of fields, and it will be open to Honourable Members to ask us questions upon what we have said.

'In this way, Mr President, or by means of debates in this House, the views and opinions of Honourable Members who are representative of some 230 Chiefs in the whole territory, can be made readily available to the Government. I can say that we intend now and in the future to continue to ask for your advice, and having done so, to give the fullest consideration to your views.'

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Early in May, Northern Rhodesia’s leaders gathered in London to follow in the footsteps of nationalist leaders who, having borne the brunt of the independence struggle, were now in a position to make their own terms with the colonial power. Kenneth Kaunda led the Government side, Harry Nkumbula headed what was left of the ANC, and John Roberts (meeker than in the days when his leader, Sir Roy Welensky, dominated the Central African scene) led the NPP. This time the conference was dominated by Kaunda. But he was a forgiving victor.

‘I and my colleagues who represent the Government of Northern Rhodesia are delighted to be here at this Independence Conference and we are grateful to Her Majesty’s Government for having convened it without undue delay after the introduction of our self-governing Constitution in January of this year. We are anxious to see the early realization of our political ambitions and we are grateful to your Government, Mr Chairman, for the co-operative manner in which the political relationships between Northern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom have developed since that important day in our recent history in December 1962, when the first Northern Rhodesia Government with an African majority, the coalition of the United National Independence Party and African National Congress, was formed. There has been no looking back since that day on the friendly political relationship between ourselves and Her Majesty’s Government.

‘If we could not entirely square this happy picture with the
earlier days of our struggle for independence and with that period when our faith in Her Majesty’s Government was dimmed by the imposition of a Federal Government in Central Africa, nevertheless we do not wish to indulge in recriminations. There is no bitterness in our minds and we can offer the hand of friendship to all men, whether they have been our political friends or opponents. When we embarked upon this struggle for independence many years ago our origins were humble but our heads were high. We realized that the struggle might be long, it might be arduous and would often result in personal inconvenience; but we know so well that anyone who looks for honey in the bush must expect bee stings. We have been stung in the past, but we feel that the reward of the honey is now ours to share amongst our people.

‘When we look back along the path which led to this conference room today we cannot entirely forget, but we can certainly forgive, the days of our imprisonment and the occasions when many of us have been subject to personal indignities and hardship because of our political ideas. These unhappy memories have served only to broaden our minds, just as fruitful labour builds the body; and, let me repeat, Mr Chairman, we have no place for bitterness in our minds or in our actions.

‘To the contrary, I would state most emphatically and without fear of contradiction from any man at any time, that our promise as to our beliefs and our attitudes to people is both a solemn pledge and also a promise to God and to the people whom we serve. Our pledge is that we regard all our people as equal human beings. The possibility of ill-treatment or discrimination against people because of their tribal or racial origins, or their religious or political beliefs does not exist; this problem does not arise because it has no place in our hearts or in our intentions.

‘Our aim is to create a society in our independent Zambia in which every law-abiding citizen throughout the country will feel free at all times to go about his legitimate business and to lead his own life without fear of interference.

‘We recognize the past contribution of Her Majesty’s Government to the establishment of a modern form of Government in this country and we are indeed grateful for the assistance which the people of this country have been given in building up the.
CLEARING THE DECKS FOR INDEPENDENCE

modern state which Northern Rhodesia has become. The range of assistance has been considerable; staff for the civil service, teachers and financial aid for economic development—in fact there are few aspects of our country's development which have not been touched at some stage and in some degree by assistance which originated from Her Majesty's Government. We are most truly and sincerely grateful.

'It is not possible for me to over-stress the importance that we attach to our past and present friendship with Her Majesty's Government and we are most anxious that there shall be no doubt as to our future intentions. The Federal issue has been settled to the satisfaction of our people; we have reached self-governing status by agreement of the three political parties and without even having to request Her Majesty's Government to call a conference to settle the issue; we are poised for independence.

'These political changes of the past two years form a happy basis for future relationships between Her Majesty's Government and an independent Zambia. We shall in due course submit a formal request that we should become a member of the Commonwealth of Nations with Her Majesty the Queen as the head of this growing family. We sincerely hope that our request will be acceded to so that we may proudly take our place alongside the many nations of the Commonwealth.

'It is with considerable satisfaction, Mr Chairman, that I am able to inform you that as a result of discussions that I and my colleagues have had in Lusaka with leaders of the African National Congress and of the National Progress Party, and with a Committee of the House of Chiefs, general agreement has been reached on the type of Independence Constitution we want for our country. Without any intention of disrespect for Her Majesty it is the general wish of the people that the country should become a Republic, but as I have said, it is our wish to become a full member of the Commonwealth and so acknowledge Her Majesty the Queen as the head of the Commonwealth.

'It has also been agreed that there should be a President, who should be elected by members of the National Assembly, as Head of State, and who should not be a mere figurehead, but should have certain executive powers. It is the intention, however, that it should be ensured that he would not be able to
assume dictatorial powers, and for that reason it is proposed that he should be Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers and therefore subject to their advice and influence. It is also intended that there should be a fully democratically elected Parliament with full law-making authority, elected on a universal franchise of persons who are citizens of Zambia and over the age of twenty-one. The retention of the existing Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of our proposals and a House of Chiefs representing the traditional rulers of our country, who have given us their support, would form an integral part of the Constitution. As is the case under the present Constitution their advice and their deliberations on matters of particular concern to the people in rural areas would be given the most careful study and consideration.

'We also fully support the ideal of an independent and impartial Judiciary and, whilst it is proposed that appeals should not go beyond our own Court of Appeal, it would be the intention to maintain a Judiciary of the very highest calibre and to that end it is proposed that qualifications for appointment to the bench should be laid down in the Constitution, together with a complete security of tenure for judges. The advice of a Judiciary Service Commission would also be available to the President.

'It is our view that there should be an impartial Public Service Commission to advise the President in whom we consider the powers of appointment and dismissal and disciplinary powers over the public service should be vested. It is, however, realized that the President must delegate his powers and the extent of the delegation is a matter for consideration. It may well prove convenient and acceptable to delegate some of the powers to the Public Service Commission itself.

'I appreciate, as do my colleagues and, I know, the whole delegation from our country to this conference, that one of the main essentials of a Constitution is for it to give confidence to the people and so create a climate which will foster a feeling of unity among the people and thus facilitate the growth to nationhood. This is our aim above all, and we are therefore satisfied that it is necessary to make provision under the Constitution so that it cannot be easily amended. To that end it is our proposal that any amendment of the Constitution should require a two-thirds
majority of all the members of the Assembly at both the second and third readings of the amending Bill through Parliament.

'I said, Mr Chairman, that general agreement had been reached between the Government and opposition parties on the main points of the Constitution, and I hope that on the points of disagreement that do exist, and which no doubt my friends will raise when they speak later this afternoon, we may discuss them in a spirit of goodwill and friendship.

'Mr Chairman, we have been invited here to discuss and decide on the manner in which Northern Rhodesia can emerge as an independent state and join the other new countries of Africa and Asia in the United Nations. We place great importance on the contribution of that organization to the peaceful settlement of the issue of independence for former colonial territories and we consider therefore that United Nations Day has a special significance for us. We request that United Nations Day, 1964—October 24—should be marked by the grant of independence to Northern Rhodesia, so that the Republic of Zambia can emerge and take its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations and in the United Nations.'

The conference lasted a fortnight, ending in amity and agreement. The jubilant UNIP team flew home to an enthusiastic welcome from their supporters and well-wishers. On May 27 the Prime Minister appeared before the Legislative Assembly:

'The achievement of our independence is the aim towards which we have all been striving for so long; and it is therefore of the very greatest satisfaction and joy to me personally and to my colleagues in the Government that our goal has been reached in such a wonderful atmosphere of goodwill, co-operation and friendship. May this long continue so that we can the more quickly and easily achieve our second goal of building our country into one nation—a nation of which we shall all be truly proud.

'This is my fervent prayer and I solemnly ask and exhort all the people of this country—all Zambians—to dedicate themselves solemnly to this end. In particular I appeal to all Zambians to forget past differences and to forget any injustices which have befallen us, and to think of one thing only: the
country that we love and which we will build into a great and happy country.

'I wish to repeat now what I said at the concluding meeting of the conference when I specially mentioned the name of my honourable friend, the Member for Monze, and said that the history of our country could not be written in full if the name of Mr Nkumbula was not mentioned. I added that in so far as the Government party was concerned we did not consider that any of our colleagues at the conference were vanquished nor did we consider ourselves victorious. What had prevailed in London was common sense for the good of all the people of Northern Rhodesia, whether they belong to opposition parties or to the governing party, whether they are white or black, whether they are Christians, Hindus, Moslems or something else.

'We are being given a new opportunity to make Northern Rhodesia a country where all our people will be happy to stay, a country where people for twenty-four hours in every day will not feel afraid to go outside their own houses on account of their political, religious and other beliefs.

'I say now, Mr Speaker, that this is the way my Government and I intend to proceed in the future—a future which I am confident holds out high hopes for us all provided we grasp and make the most of our opportunities, use to the best advantage our human and other resources and strive, strive, strive—ever forward in honesty of purpose and with truth and sincerity.

'I trust that I accurately reflect the views of Hon. Members when I say that I am confident that it is the wish of the people of this country that the new state should be called Zambia, and if I am correct, I hope Hon. Members will indicate their support in the usual manner adopted in this House.

'Our Independence Constitution has been described as a combination of the American and British pattern. This may be so but I wish to make it clear that whatever similarities there may be, our constitution is essentially our own—designed to suit our own needs and conditions and our own way of life—the Zambian way.

'The Constitution will create a Republic and although an elected President rather than a Governor or Governor-General representing Her Majesty the Queen will be the Head of State, we will by our membership of the Commonwealth (which we
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intend to seek at the earliest opportunity) acknowledge the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth and at the same time we shall maintain our close and friendly ties with Great Britain.

‘In accordance with our African way of life, we intend that the President shall be no mere figurehead and that he will have strong executive powers. He will appoint the Vice-President and fourteen Cabinet Ministers, all of whom will be elected members of the National Assembly. The National Assembly will comprise seventy-five members elected on a universal adult franchise and the President may nominate up to five additional members. But until the first dissolution of Parliament after independence the present Legislative Assembly will continue, and will be the first National Assembly. This will mean that the existing reserved seats will remain for the life of the present Parliament and this will, I hope, be proof to our European friends and colleagues of our good intentions and of our wish for friendly co-operation between the races.

‘It is our firm and steadfast intention to preserve and protect the rights of the individual, and to ensure this the existing Bill of Rights with necessary minor modifications will be repeated in the Independence Constitution.

‘An independent and impartial Judiciary will be the cornerstone of our system of justice and this will mean a continuation of the existing system suitably adapted to meet the changed circumstances of an independent government. There will be, as at present, a Judicial Service Commission and the appointment of judges will be by the President on the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission. The tenure of judges will be assured by including a provision similar to that in the present constitution whereby judges may be removed from office by the President only on the report of a tribunal of three persons with judicial experience specially appointed to investigate any allegation of infirmity or misbehaviour. Magistrates will be appointed, disciplined and removed from office by the Judicial Service Commission who in this respect will be required to act in accordance with such general directions of policy as the President may see fit to give.

‘The enforcement of the provisions of the Bill of Rights will be by the High Court as at present, but there will be no Constitutional Council since in our country a permanent Council of
this kind is an unnecessary luxury and expense. Instead arrange-
ments will be made for the Chief Justice to appoint a tribunal
of two judges or former judges, as required, in order to consider
whether the provisions of any Bill which has been passed by the
National Assembly, and has been referred to the Chief Justice
by the Speaker at the request of not less than seven members of
the National Assembly, are inconsistent with the code of human
rights. The tribunal will report to the President—and to the
Speaker—and the President will, upon the report, be able to
decide either to assent to the Bill, to refuse his assent, or to return
the Bill to the National Assembly. This is, I believe, a useful
provision to have in our Constitution for it is proof of our good
intentions, but it is a provision that I believe will seldom if ever
be used. It was at this Government’s suggestion that the Bill of
Rights was included in the present constitution and it is most
certainly NOT our intention to introduce legislation into
Parliament which infringes that Bill of Rights.

It is, however, all a matter of creating confidence and for
that reason I am glad that a provision for the setting up of a
tribunal will be included in our Independence Constitution and
that the tribunal will be able to grant certificates for legal aid in
the same manner as the existing Constitutional Council is
empowered to do.

I have said that the intention is that the President shall be no
mere figurehead but shall have strong executive powers, and
fears have been expressed that a future President may assume
dictatorial powers. I do not believe that this is so, and I believe
that there are sufficient checks in the Constitution to prevent
this from happening even if a President had such inclinations.

First of all the President will be elected by the people them-
selves each time there is a general election, and each time there
is a dissolution of Parliament there must be a new Presidential
election. I should add here that the election of the first President
will be by secret ballot of the members of this House since there
will be no general election prior to independence.

Secondly a provision will be included in the Constitution which
is designed to prevent the President, on pain of removal from
office, from violating the Constitution or committing some other
act of gross misconduct. The procedure for removal will involve
the passing of a resolution by a two-thirds majority of all the
members of the National Assembly calling for the appointment by the Chief Justice of a tribunal of three persons with judicial experience and the passing of the tribunal's report disclosing that the President has committed gross misconduct by a three-quarters majority of all the members of the National Assembly. Should the occasion arise when the President is removed from Office, in this manner, or he dies or resigns, the Vice-President would become President until the next dissolution of Parliament. A President will not, therefore, be able to ignore or ride rough-shod over either Parliament or the electorate without running the risk of removal or at least rejection at the polls.

'A third safeguard against the assumption of dictatorial powers by the President is the fact that he will be the Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers who with the President will constitute the Government. Decisions of the Cabinet will therefore be reached by the President in discussions in Cabinet with his ministerial colleagues who will themselves be answerable to the National Assembly. The President himself will not be a member of the National Assembly but he will be able to address it or send a message to it whenever he wishes to do so.

'Fourthly I may add that the President's salary will be fixed by the National Assembly so that a very salutary lesson could be given to a President by the National Assembly which disapproved of certain of his actions.

'I have already spoken about the system of justice and the code of human rights and there is one other connected matter to which I must refer. This concerns the process of criminal proceedings which is, I know, a matter on which all persons who have a keen sense of justice—and in this I know I can include all Honourable Members—put great store. I can put any fears at rest that Hon. Members may have, and tell them that provision will be made in the new Constitution for the post of Director of Public Prosecutions, who will be a public officer and whose tenure of office will be protected. It will be he and not the Attorney General (who will be a political appointee) who will have the power to institute and discontinue criminal proceedings on his own responsibility, provided that he will be required to bring to the notice of the Attorney General any case that appears to the Director to involve questions of public policy and to act in accordance with the directions of the Attorney General.
in such cases. I would add that this is a normal provision and one that is similar to our present procedure and to the procedure adopted in Great Britain.

'Another feature of our present Constitution which will be adopted in the Independence Constitution is the House of Chiefs. My views on, and support for, our Chiefs are well known, and I reaffirm that it will be the intention of my Government to uphold the position of Chiefs in our country and to consult them, and seek their advice, on all matters affecting their people and themselves. As proof of this I need only point to the last meeting of the House of Chiefs when not only I, but a number of Ministers, addressed the House of Chiefs and sought their advice on a number of most important points. It is our full intention to continue in this manner in the future.

'There was some criticism of the fact that the Chiefs were not represented at the conference in London, but as I pointed out to the House of Chiefs they are now represented, as are their people, by an elected Government and it would not therefore be appropriate for the Chiefs to be specially represented at the conference. It would in fact have suggested a lack of confidence in their elected representatives and I may add that this point was agreed by the Chiefs at a private meeting I had with the Standing Committee of the House of Chiefs before leaving for London, when they also gave complete support for our proposals for the Independence Constitution. In this respect I am glad to report that the provisional agreement, which was reached in Lusaka with the Litunga and the Northern Rhodesia Government under the chairmanship of His Excellency the Governor, has now been endorsed by the British Government. I am glad to say that common sense has prevailed and that Barotseland will be part and parcel of the independent Republic of Zambia.

'I have not yet referred to the public service. We are all aware of the importance of an efficient and loyal civil service and of how much the development of our country depends on their devotion and ability. The public service must look to a head and in an independent country this must clearly be the Head of State, for in him is embodied the loyalty of all the people in the country. The President will therefore be responsible for the
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appointment of members of the public service and for their disciplinary control and removal from office. In this task he will be assisted by a Public Service Commission which will itself be empowered to act in his name and on his behalf in making initial appointments and promotions to offices in the public service below the rank of Permanent Secretary or Commissioner of Police. The Public Service Commission will similarly be able to exercise disciplinary control over and remove such persons in the public service from office, and will be able to delegate its powers to public officers of appropriate rank in appropriate cases.

In the exercise of these powers, the Public Service Commission will be required to act in accordance with such general direction of policy as the President may see fit to give, and further the President will be able to require that any particular matter before the Commission should be referred to him for his consideration and decision.

This will, I am sure, prove to be a satisfactory and practical arrangement. Whilst making the ultimate responsibility for the public service clear, it allows for the delegation of powers so that the running of the public service can be carried out smoothly and expeditiously—without any undue delays in the consideration of appointments and promotions etc., and with the public service, as far as it possibly can be, insulated from political interference so that all civil servants will be confident that their progress in the service will be determined on merit and efficiency rather than on other considerations.

I have not yet touched on one other very important matter which will be included in the Constitution and that covers citizenship. To build a nation it is necessary to lay down qualifications for citizenship of that nation, and the qualifications to be a citizen of Zambia will be laid down in the Independence Constitution. Very briefly there will be two main types of citizens. Those who are citizens by birth and those who are citizens by registration, or naturalization as it is sometimes called, after a period of residence in Zambia of not less than four years. Provision will also be made in the Constitution for Commonwealth citizens and for reciprocal privileges for a citizen of any Commonwealth country or a citizen of any specific foreign country.

Other provisions relating to citizenship will be the subject of
discussions to be held shortly in Lusaka and these provisions will be incorporated in legislation which with the permission of the British Parliament will be introduced into this House before Independence.

'Finally, Mr Speaker, whilst on the subject of the Independence Constitution I wish to refer to the question of land. This I am well aware is a subject which is of great concern to all our people. Land is dear to them, and their rights are jealously guarded. I wish to say now, Mr Speaker, that these rights will be fully preserved and that there is no intention of tampering with those rights. Since this is such an important matter I can do no better than, with your permission, Mr Speaker, quote from the part of the conference report dealing with land—as follows:

"There are at present in force a number of Orders in Council dealing with Crown Lands, Native Reserves and Native Trust Land in Northern Rhodesia, under which Crown Land is vested in the Crown and Native Reserves and Native Trust Lands are vested in the Secretary of State and under which all these lands are administered under prescribed systems of some complexity.

"Since it would not be appropriate for the Crown or the Secretary of State to continue to hold land in Northern Rhodesia in this way after independence, the conference agreed that the relevant Orders in Council should be suitably amended shortly before independence so that, with effect from the date of independence, the lands in question would vest in the President on behalf of the Republic, and the functions of the Governor would be transferred to the President or to such other authority or authorities as the President might prescribe by order.

"The amending Orders would confirm the validity of any interests in, or rights over, land granted to or enjoyed by any person before independence under the Orders in Council. The intention of these provisions would be to make it clear that the amending Orders would not have any adverse affect on any rights or interests derived from the Orders in Council and in existence at the time when the amending Orders were made, and that the persons entitled to those rights and interests would thereafter enjoy the same protection under the code of human
rights included in the Independence Constitution as other persons with rights and interests in land.

"The Orders in Council, as so amended, would continue in force after independence as part of the law of the Republic and would be subject to amendment or repeal in the same way as Acts of Parliament of the Republic."

'I have spoken at length, Mr Speaker, on the Independence Constitution, for I wish there to be no misunderstandings of our intention or as to the provisions giving legal effect to these intentions.

'It has been the Government's aim throughout the discussions with the opposition parties, and with the Chiefs, prior to the Independence Conference, and at the Conference itself, to do all that was possible to create confidence in the new State of Zambia among our people, and in the world outside. The provisions of the Constitution are ones which, I believe, will give that confidence and will convince all our people, and those in other countries, of our good intentions to establish, and continue the establishment of institutions of Government, which will provide good government and justice in our country, and will clearly demonstrate our honesty of purpose.

'The Constitution provides the framework for the development of our country, but so much more depends on our own effort and on help from our friends.

'As I said earlier in this speech we are at the end of the first stretch of the road, around the first corner only, and now the road stretches way ahead. How well and how quickly we pass over that road will depend very largely on our own efforts and by our determination to overcome the difficulties that will inevitably lie ahead—particularly in the early days of independence. Here we will seek advice and assistance from our friends in other countries and especially from Great Britain, with whom we hope the present ties of friendship will grow stronger as time goes on—and from other Commonwealth countries. In this respect we will seek to promote world peace by the pursuit, as I have said on a number of occasions, of a strict policy of non-alignment in connection with international problems.

'Our progress will undoubtedly depend on the help which we receive from outside our country, but important as that help
will be, our progress will depend to a much greater extent on our own efforts. We must all dedicate ourselves to the task that lies ahead and for the completion of which I can offer no easy success. The development of our country, and the attainment of great opportunities and happiness for our people depends on our own hard work. There is no simple remedy. We must all determine to do our best, and everything in our power, to achieve the end to which we dedicate ourselves and not to rest until we have made Zambia into the nation of which we have dreamed for so long.

'I do not, however, speak of material benefit only, however important that may be, for material benefit without honesty of purpose, and the contentment and true happiness which inevitably follow, is an empty thing which neither satisfies nor endures. I look to a Zambia in which all men will have the basic needs of life and the opportunity to use the qualities which God has given them to the full to the benefit not only of themselves, or of their fellow men, but of their country—ZAMBIA.'

Having announced the new constitution to the Legislature, the Prime Minister on July 2 summoned a special meeting of the House of Chiefs:

'We consider, and we have said it before in public and private, that the Chiefs have a major role to play in the future development of Zambia. My Government has already announced some of its plans for the expansion of economic and social activity in the rural areas where you all come from. I hope before long that we shall be able to indicate our long-term plans for this major task of re-construction in the rural areas, which must be a top priority. The mobilization of the efforts of the people will be a task for which all Chiefs are fitted, by reason of the respect for a chieftainship which you have inherited from your predecessors. You can act as a link between the old and new in Zambia which will enable the country to go ahead as one nation, as one people. Your customary rights and responsibilities in respect of land will remain unaffected by the new Constitution. Chieftainships will be respected by my Government as part of our inheritance, but narrow, rigid and obstructive tribalism cannot be tolerated.'
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'The House of Chiefs will continue to function after the grant of independence in exactly the same form as at present. This Government will wish to seek the advice of the Chiefs on all matters affecting their people and themselves, and it is the House of Chiefs which will form a platform for discussion and consultation. This House will continue to meet shortly before meetings of Parliament, so that proposed government legislation and other matters on which the advice of the Chiefs is needed can be placed before you for discussion. My Cabinet colleagues and I have established a system by which we, or our senior officials, address you and answer your questions so far as we are able. This method of consultation at that level will continue as before. In brief, Mr President, the House of Chiefs is to be preserved without any basic change, and I am confident that your contribution to the future successful government of this country will be greatly enhanced by virtue of our success in obtaining the type of Independence Constitution which I have outlined.'
Chapter 3

A TIME OF TROUBLES

The Kaunda Government was born out of conflicts and crises. Its leaders had shared fourteen years of anxious struggle. They knew the difficulties that came to them with the legacy from the past. But if they had hoped they might be spared the necessity of dealing with these until after independence in October, they were quickly disillusioned.

In March 1964 there was a strike by the African workers of Rhodesia Railways over a racial incident involving a white engine-driver who had called a fellow-employee 'a kaffir'. It showed how perilously close to the surface lay the dangers of racial conflict. But the Kaunda Government did not lose its head. It avoided the easy temptation of coming out on the side of the African strikers. Instead it took a disciplined view of the problem by appointing a commission of inquiry. Then a few months later there was a second strike; this time it was more prolonged and more damaging. It affected only the white workers on Rhodesia Railways who were engaged in a dispute between two rival unions. But the effect was to paralyse the country's economy. It was a serious reminder of the country's vulnerability. Kenneth Kaunda took a strong line in a broadcast he made on August 17:

'The Government is faced with a very difficult situation indeed over this strike. It was bad enough when a fortnight ago, the Amalgamated Engineering Union downed tools without warning. Then, when that Union reached a settlement last Friday, the Rhodesia Railway Workers Union dashed everyone's hopes of an early resumption of train services by also calling out its members on strike so as to achieve all the benefits conceded to the Amalgamated Engineering Union for the
members of the Rhodesia Railways Workers Union. As is well known, Government does not normally interfere with the processes of collective bargaining over wages and conditions of service. It leaves such matters to the employers and trade unions. Thus the Government has not interfered in the present disputes because it hoped that the good sense and the constructive attitudes of the parties to the disputes would have at least brought about an end to the various strikes in the interests of the country and all its inhabitants at this present time of stress and strain.

'Whatever the merits of the past and present claims by the two unions, they should have been, and should be, argued out while the trains continued running. In spite of a great number of meetings that have taken place between the Ministers of Transport and Communications, and Labour and Mines, and their officials, and the representatives of the Railways Administration and the unions over the last two weeks, the country is still without any train service and Government services and industry and commerce are themselves gradually verging on coming to a complete halt in spite of the agreement of the Rhodesia Railways Workers Union to allow the running of one essential services train once more. This present state of affairs whereby increases in earnings are being obtained by holding a pistol to the head of the Railways Administration and the Government cannot continue. It is nothing more than industrial anarchy.

'This strike commenced at a time when we were all faced by the tragic events in the Chinsali and Lundasi districts\(^1\)—a time when every loyal citizen's first duty was to assist and not embarrass the Government in its very difficult task of restoring law and order and in bringing back peace within, and confidence both within and without, our boundaries. Instead of this assistance, which all of us could rightly expect, a strike—not only ill-timed, but illegal—was precipitated upon us. A strike which took no heed of the normal channels of arbitration and conciliation provided by the law. A strike which can only be described as a stab in the heart of our nation and of our Government.

'Government cannot afford to sit back and watch agents of evil influence reduce the whole economy of the country to a

\(^1\) These events are discussed later in this chapter
shambles. We cannot allow the irresponsible actions of a small section of the community to continue.

‘Our duty is clear and our course of action can only be guided by our duty to the country and its people. We have allowed time for common sense and reason to have full play but, so far, without success and now I and my Government must issue a straightforward warning that if the leaders of the Rhodesia Railways Workers Union do not call off this illegal strike within forty-eight hours then firm action will be taken.

‘This is a country with a future—its economy is booming and prospects for us all are bright. But through this strike the lives of innocent citizens are being inconvenienced. School children on their holidays are prevented from joining their families—the sick, in many cases, cannot travel to hospital—supplies of fuel cannot reach our mines and the export of our great national commodity—copper—is hindered. The expansion of our economy is in jeopardy and this state of affairs must not, and cannot be allowed to continue.

‘Action must be taken now and it is my fervent hope that each one of you, irrespective of race, will give me and my Government every support in whatever action we take to match the circumstances now prevailing. Have confidence in us to do what is right and best for you and for our country.’

There were signs, too, of potential trouble in Barotseland, the former British protectorate. Before and after the May agreements in London, the Paramount Chief (the Litunga) and his traditional supporters had looked uneasily to their future under a modern nationalist government. While UNIP’s leaders spoke the tough language of politicians, the Government reasoned firmly but patiently with the Litunga and his advisers. Reason triumphed, and on August 6 the Prime Minister travelled to Lealui, the headquarters of the Barotse Government, where he addressed the Litunga, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, the Royal Family and other members of the Barotse Government. It was a bloodless victory but a decisive one, as Barotseland was the only potential secessionist problem which faced Zambia:

‘I am aware that many changes are taking place in Northern Rhodesia at the present time. This is inevitable as the country
prepares itself for independence, and I realize that to many some of the changes come as something of a shock. It is my wish to explain to you this morning the reasons for some of these changes and to explain exactly what is intended by them.

‘When the new system comes into operation at the beginning of September, the former Provincial Administration will be known as Provincial and District Government. The intention behind the change is to achieve a separation of the executive, local government and the court functions of the former provincial organization, and in place of the Resident Commissioner and Provincial Commissioners, and the District Commissioners all of whom have played such a valuable role in the past in the administration and development of the country—there will be at each Provincial Headquarters a Resident Secretary, and at District Headquarters a District Secretary, who will be men who are at present serving in the Provincial Administration.

‘An Under Minister will be appointed to each Province as the personal representative of the Prime Minister—and after independence, of the President. In Barotseland the Under Minister will be a direct link between the Litunga and the Central Government, and he will be particularly responsible to the Prime Minister—and later the President—to ensure that the Barotseland Agreement, which was made in London immediately after the Independence Conference in May, is being honoured. It will be no part of the functions of the Under Minister to interfere in the day-to-day running of the Barotse Government, and advice and assistance on such matters will be the responsibility of the Senior Local Government Officer who will shortly be appointed to Mongu.

‘The Under Minister will be responsible for ensuring that Government policy is being carried out, and in Barotseland, as in the Southern Province, since the person selected as Under Minister has been a civil servant, I have decided that a political adviser should be appointed to assist and advise him in the political aspects of his post.

‘In order to ensure that there is no misunderstanding as to the position and role of this political adviser, I would like to

1 The seat of the Provincial Administration
explain in some detail precisely what is intended by the appointment. An important part of the Under Minister's functions will be his position as Chairman of the Development Team. He will be responsible for seeing that the Government's development plans are carried out and to ensure that there is co-ordination between the various departments of Government. In this task the political adviser will assist him in dealing with any political difficulties that may arise in the implementation of the plan and in helping him with its general implementation—in ensuring, for instance, that the people, and the political parties, understand what precisely is being done, and why.

'After very careful consideration I have decided that the political adviser in Barotseland should be Mr Lisselo. As the senior representative of the governing party—the United National Independence Party in Barotseland—he is the logical choice for the post, and as I have said, his main function will be to advise Mr Monga, the Under Minister, in the political aspects of his job. He will particularly advise him on party matters and on the attitude of the party to various events and happenings as they occur. I would like to make it quite clear that the post of political adviser will be directly concerned with the functions of the Under Minister, and the political adviser will have no authority to deal with, or to interfere in, the affairs of the Barotse Government.

'He will have an office in the Office of the Under Minister where the Resident Secretary will also have his office. I should add that the Resident Secretary will be in overall charge of the Government's administration, and he will have a co-ordinating function in regard to the activities of the Government departments in Barotseland. The relationship between the Resident Secretary and the Under Minister will be a similar relationship to that of Permanent Secretary to a Minister. The Resident Secretary will be the chief official adviser to the Under Minister just as the Resident Commissioner has advised the Government in the past. The Resident Secretary and the political adviser will thus have quite separate responsibilities and functions and one will not interfere with the other.

'In each district the role of District Secretary will be to ensure the co-ordination of Government activities in the District, and the implementation of Government policy and the
Government’s development plan in the District. District Secretaries will be responsible to the Resident Secretary and they will also co-operate with the District Heads of Kutas.

'I have explained all this in some detail since I want the division of functions between the persons to be appointed to these posts to be clearly understood by all. I hope that it will be appreciated that each has a particular and important role to play in the good government of the country, and that at the same time the Barotse Government has its own particular role. There is no intention that these new appointments should in any way change the role of the Barotse Government. I wish to emphasize that the new organization is intended to improve the co-operation that has taken place in the past and is not in any way intended to reduce the powers or responsibility of the Barotse Government. I am most anxious, as are my Ministers, to ensure that the development of our country proceeds as rapidly as possible, and the machinery which is being devised is in order to ensure that the development plans should proceed with the maximum speed and to the maximum advantage of all our people. In this I am certain that we shall receive the whole-hearted co-operation of the Barotse Government.

'I should now like to turn to the Barotseland Agreement which was reached in London in May, and I wish to give an assurance that it is the Government’s full intention that the Barotseland Agreement will be honoured fully after independence. I believe that the Agreement reached in London was an honourable Agreement from the point of view of both the Central Government and the Barotseland Government. I am very glad that the basis of the Agreement is that Barotseland is an integral part of Zambia, and I can assure you, Sir Mwanawina, and all Members of the Barotse Royal Family and of the Barotse Government, that the Government has no wish to interfere with the day-to-day running of the internal affairs of Barotseland. This is the responsibility of the Barotse Government and the intention of the Central Government will be no more than to give to the Barotse Government its maximum assistance and co-operation.

'I can give an absolute assurance that the customary rights in land in Barotseland will remain with the Litunga and National Council, and the District Heads of Kutas, and the
Government is satisfied that Government requirements for land for development projects in Barotseland will receive the active co-operation of the Barotse Government. This is all that the Central Government asks for and I am sure that there need be, and will be, no difficulty with regard to land, the use of land, and land rights in Barotseland.

'I should like before I close to congratulate you, Sir Mwanawina, and the Barotse Government on the wisdom of accepting the Barotse Reforms and I was extremely pleased to note the very large measure of agreement which was reached on all sides on the form which the Reforms should take. I think that they are very progressive measures and I am sure that their implementation will receive the support and the co-operation of all the Barotse people. It is inevitable that there should be some difficulties and misunderstanding to begin with in implementing such big changes, but they are, I am sure, merely teething troubles which with goodwill and understanding on all sides can be resolved. I appreciate that such radical changes to the old order are difficult for some to accept at once and I may say that I admire the manner in which they have been accepted by those who were formerly members of the executive government of Barotseland, many of whom I am glad to note are now filling other important posts in the country. The experience and wisdom of all will be required in shaping the future and I want to make it clear that the Government respects the traditions of the past and has no intention of advocating change merely for the sake of change. We are all proud of our heritage and we are determined to preserve all that is good in it.'

Another difficult problem arose over the civil service, which raised two immediate questions: how to speed up the Africanization of what had been a colonial service, while at the same time retaining the services of qualified expatriate staff whose skills were indispensable during the transition period. There had been considerable unrest among the expatriate civil servants over their future; at one time it seemed that mass resignations might be expected. African civil servants, too, were pressing for advancement and for improved conditions. Again the Government adopted the procedure of appointing a Commission which submitted its first report towards the end of March 1964. In
accepting its main recommendations the Prime Minister told
the Legislative Assembly:

'The Commission recognized, and I quote from the Report,
"that it is apparent that localization is in fact becoming Afri­
canization and this is a development which, in our view, should be
officially and publicly recognized". This recommendation was
accepted by the Government because it felt that in all honesty
it could not do otherwise. The acceptance of this recommenda­
tion will naturally have an impact, not only on those European
civil servants who decided to transfer from what are known as
1960 conditions to the local Civil Service, but also on former
Federal officers who had been offered the opportunity of trans­
ferring on a permanent and pensionable basis to the local Civil
Service. An announcement was very recently made in connec­
tion with the position of such officers to the effect that Govern­
ment was urgently considering ways and means of retaining
their services, until such time as they could effectively be
replaced by African officers. This is in fact the case and I
am not in a position to say more than this at the present
time.

'I should emphasize here that the Government would have
much preferred to have introduced a policy of Zambianization
rather than one of Africanization, with the object of implement­
ing our firm intention that the local Civil Service should be open
to all citizens of Zambia on equal terms and regardless of race,
provided that they are willing to accept the conditions laid down
for that service. Unfortunately, the Government is not yet in a
position to create a citizenship of Zambia and will not be in a
position to do so until independence has been achieved. For this
reason, the Government has decided on an interim policy of
Africanization pending such time as provision can be made for
Zambia citizenship.

'Since the policy in relation to the local Civil Service has been
changed to one of Africanization, the Government considered
that it was only fair to give European officers in the local Civil
Service the chance of transferring to 1960 conditions. By so
transferring, these officers will thereby acknowledge that they
are abandoning their prospects of a career which will in future
be reserved for members of the local Civil Service. Those
officers who transfer to 1960 conditions of service will accordingly be admitted to a scheme of terminal benefits on the same lines as those in force for officers already on those conditions.'

The bitterest blow, however, fell in July in the Chinsali district—the area where both Kenneth Kaunda and Simon Kapepwe had grown up—when armed forces clashed with the fanatical supporters of the Lumpa Church headed by a prophetess, Alice Lenshina. The situation soon got out of hand. It is estimated that 650 people—Lumpas and their victims—died before the disturbances were finally brought under control.

For almost ten years Alice Lenshina, who claimed to have been resurrected, had worked to create a fundamentalist Christian sect based on Sione in the Lenshina district. The Lumpas were fanatics who claimed that they were God's chosen people and that they owed no allegiance to any earthly authority other than that of their resurrected prophetess. The colonial authorities, far from discouraging her movement, had in fact encouraged her. It was perhaps inevitable with the approach of independence that a fanatical sect, which refused to accept the authority of government, should now have come into conflict with UNIP. The ruthless encounters with the Lumpas had a shattering effect on Kenneth Kaunda. Dressed in deep mourning he made a national broadcast on July 28:

'As a background to the present situation, I think it is only right that all our peoples should know that over the last year or so a large number of followers of the Lumpa Church, for reasons best known to themselves, have tended more and more to disassociate themselves with the activities of the ordinary peoples in the Chinsali District, and have gone to the extent of setting up separate villages and, to an ever-increasing degree, have demonstrated their unwillingness to abide by the normal laws of the land.

'The authorities in the district have used their best endeavours to persuade these peoples to return to their former mode of living and I am very grateful to them for the efforts they have made. I myself visited Chinsali in the month of January and addressed a personal appeal to the leaders of this religious sect. Others of my ministerial colleagues and Parliamentary Secre-
taries have done likewise and, as recently as July 13, in my official capacity as Prime Minister, I again went to Chinsali after there had been assaults on the police, to try and persuade the leaders of the Lumpa Church that the only peaceful long-term solution to the situation was for the followers of that Church to abandon their segregated way of life and to return and take their place within the society of the District. At the same time, I addressed influential persons in the registered villages of the District, including Regional and Constituency leaders of the United National Independence Party, and I received assurances of full co-operation from them in the scheme to resettle the Lumpa people in their original villages.

'Since July 13, Government agencies have done all they could to advise the Lumpa people to reassume their place in society, but it became clear a few days ago that these people were not prepared to listen to reason and that they were bent upon pursuing their own independent ways in defiance of orderly and good administration.

'This defiance culminated in the wanton attack on a police unit engaged in its normal course of duty and resulted, as you already know, in the murder of two police officers and injuries to others. As I have already indicated, I have also received reports of ruthless attacks on the villages of law-abiding people which almost inevitably have resulted in further loss of life.

'On more than one occasion I have said that my Government is determined that law and order will be maintained at whatever cost. You should, therefore, know that His Excellency the Governor, at my request, has assumed additional powers under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance, and last night signed the relevant notice bringing into force Sections Two and Three of the Ordinance which enable the prohibition of meetings and assemblies, the control of movement on roads, the introduction of curfews, the restriction of persons to any part of the Territory and the declaration of prohibited areas. It is not intended to keep these powers in force any longer than is necessary, but it is essential that Government should have these additional powers in order to assist in restoring the position in Chinsali as soon as possible. If these should prove inadequate I shall not hesitate to ask the Governor to assume even greater powers, in order that we may bring the situation under control.
'You should also know that very substantial forces from both the First and Second Battalions of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment will be assembling at Chinsali by the time I am speaking, to reinforce strong forces of the police already there, and that I have charged the officers commanding these forces to restore the situation as soon as possible and to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that those who have committed criminal offences are apprehended and brought to trial.

'Freedom of worship is something that I and my Government hold very dear, but these people have gone out of their way to become anti-social and it is now essential to take extraordinary measures to deal with what amounts to an emergency situation.

'I thank the ordinary people of Chinsali for their tolerance and forbearance, and I would appeal to all those who have lost either family or houses through the attacks made upon them, not to seek retaliation but to leave everything in the hands of the security forces. I realize that this will be trying and difficult, but it is the only and right way.

'I hope very soon that the ordinary citizens of Chinsali District will be able to go about their lawful business without interference, and I therefore appeal for complete co-operation with the forces of law and order. I address a last appeal to the followers of the Lumpa Church to desist from their misguided ways and to co-operate with those in authority in arriving at a peaceful solution which would be in the best interests of all concerned.'

Addressing the National Assembly he referred to the outbreak of violence as 'a national tragedy':

'I ask the whole nation to continue to pray, not only for the forces of law and order, but also for the misguided followers of Lenshina. I ask for your prayers, also, that God's wisdom will be granted to my Government in the distasteful task that we have undertaken.'

The great fear which pressed on the Prime Minister and his colleagues was that the attacks by the marauding bands of Lumpas on villagers would lead to bloody reprisals. How to prevent further loss of life was the Prime Minister's major preoccupation. The crisis was finally ended when the Government
accepted the terms of negotiators who had arranged for Alice Lenshina and her family to surrender. Safely in custody, she appealed to her followers to end their resistance. The Prime Minister told the Legislative Assembly:

‘For this appeal to be successful all non-Lenshina people must clearly understand that they must do nothing in the way of reprisals or retaliations, and I now instruct them to do nothing, absolutely nothing, that might prejudice the success of bringing to an end these terrible troubles. In this connection, Mr Speaker, I would advise you that I may have to ask for a short adjournment of Parliament to permit senior members of the United National Independence Party to go out into the troubled areas to help our local leaders to ensure that my instructions are carried out.

‘Mr Speaker, it is my earnest prayer that peace and quiet will be speedily restored in the troubled areas without any further wanton loss of life.’

In September the Prime Minister for the first time spoke a length about the Lenshina affair when he addressed the annual conference of UNIP at Mulungushi:

‘Of late the nation has been disgraced by a woman called Lenshina. We have prided ourselves in the past that there was, comparatively speaking, less bloodshed here during the struggle than in many other places in the world where similar struggles have taken place. Lenshina, however, has, for her own selfish reasons, left a blot on our record, and it will be a long time before we can erase it, for as long as man lives it is going to be remembered that the Lenshina uprising cost more than five hundred Zambian lives. This was known to the world for our actions were reported by an international Press which covered all the operations in the troubled areas.

‘All my understanding of true religious groups is that they base their teaching on human love, but in dealing with the problem of Lenshina or the Lumpa Church, we were not dealing with an ordinary religious group. We were, in fact, dealing with not only fanatics, but lunatics. In a stable society firmness must be tempered with human feelings and so my Government is working hard to try and rehabilitate, before the rains come,
not only the peaceful citizens whose villages were destroyed and who were mercilessly massacred by Lumpa men and women, but also the misguided Lumpa men, women and children themselves.

‘There are some facts which are not very widely known that make it impossible for me to accept the Lumpa Church as a religious group, and I list now those least known by most of you.

‘Lenshina persuaded her followers that they should be ready to fly to heaven, and to this end they were taught to climb trees and anthills and fall or drop from there. So enamoured were her followers that they did this, many of them sustaining broken limbs in the process. Lenshina further encouraged them to take certain herbs and mix them with excreta discharged from their own bodies. This revolting mixture they then rubbed into their skins in order—so they were told—that bullets would not harm them. This seems to me a clear indication that Lenshina was preparing her followers for war.

‘It has been alleged that the Lenshina people were driven into the position where they had to build new villages because of intimidation from UNIP followers. I admit that there were clashes between UNIP followers and members of the public generally on one hand, and Lenshina followers on the other. This was mainly at or around about the time of the 1962 election. There were some clashes after that, but for over a year from January last year, that is 1963, my colleagues and I worked hard to speak to Chiefs, village headmen, Party men and leaders about the importance of keeping the peace in the areas affected, and I am glad to say that our people responded and they still continue to respond to this call. They have agreed all along to welcome the prodigal party of our society—for that is what they are—prodigal children.

‘In January of this year when the most serious clash took place, I personally bought twenty-two bicycles for the Chinsali district and offered eleven of these bicycles to Lenshina deacons and the other eleven to UNIP district Councillors. They moved around the district in the company of District Messengers and Chiefs’ Kapasus. No sooner had they gone around addressing joint meetings than those deacons went back to say to their followers that they were not to follow the instructions they had given publicly.
'They have become anti-society. They have been known, husband and wife, to plan to kill their own parents because they were non-Lumpa Church members and this they have done.

'These evil people have gone on the rampage in a manner known only to the barbarians of the middle ages. Innocent villagers and children trying to escape from their burning homes have been captured by the followers of Lenshina and thrown back alive into the flames. Senior men in the country's security services have reported that the Lumpa followers have no human feelings and their ferocious attacks on security forces bear out the fanatical nature of what I can only describe again as lunatics.

'When they have surrendered and look back on their actions, some of these people realize the horror, damage and sadness they have brought to this young nation and say plainly that they require some treatment to bring them back to sanity. They just cannot understand why they acted as they did.

'From all the information I have about the Lumpa Church followers I draw the conclusion that it is too early to think of lifting the ban on this Church and I have no intention whatsoever of again unleashing such evil forces. Let me end by reiterating that my Government has no desire whatsoever to interfere with any individual's religious beliefs but I am sure the conference will agree with me that such a noble principle can only be respected where those charged with the spiritual, and I believe moral side of life, are sufficiently responsible to realize that freedom of worship becomes a menace and not a value when their sect commits murder and arson in the name of religion.

'No clean-living and thinking man can accept the Lenshina "Passports to Heaven" as anything more than worthless pieces of paper—a usurping by an imposter of the majesty of God Almighty. Such teaching cannot be allowed to continue to corrupt our people and cannot and would not be tolerated by any responsible government.

'Finally on this point I wish to take this opportunity to thank our Chiefs, Party officials, Government officers, security forces, mayors and their councillors, churches and all other voluntary organizations, and indeed the entire public, for the wonderful co-operation we as a Government have received from them.'
But the Government’s troubles did not end with the Lumpa troubles. Their toughest obstacle was to reach an agreement with the British South Africa Company—Cecil Rhodes’s old Chartered Company—over the surrender of their exclusive title to exploit the country’s mineral wealth. This entitled them to huge royalties from the mining companies engaged in the production of copper and other minerals. Up to 1963 they had earned about £160 million gross from what Kenneth Kaunda described as ‘the saddest economic arrangement ever made in this country’.

The BSA Company directors, while accepting that no independent African Government would tolerate the continuance of their monopoly over mining rights, were determined to obtain what they regarded as reasonable terms. But what seemed reasonable to them looked like ‘blackmail’ to the UNIP Government.

‘It must never be forgotten,’ Kaunda said, ‘that the circumstances under which the BSA Company acquired these royalties—and the historical background to this question—places the royalties in Northern Rhodesia outside the normal commercial or industrial activity existing anywhere in the world today.’

He entrusted his Minister of Finance, Mr Arthur Wina, with the task of breaking down the case of the BSA Company by challenging the moral and economic basis of the original treaties. The battle shifted from the government offices and mining headquarters in Lusaka to the City of London and Whitehall. For months the negotiations dragged on without conclusion. Unfortunately, Britain’s Conservative Government was reluctant to use its authority in compelling the BSA Company to come to terms. The new Labour Government, however, took a firmer line. It had come to power shortly before Zambia was due to become independent. One of its first tasks was to settle the royalties’ issue. The new Commonwealth Secretary, Mr Arthur Bottomley, flew to Lusaka where, after some tough speaking, a settlement was reached only a few hours before the new State was born.
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Despite the setbacks and crises which faced the UNIP Government in the ten difficult months it had been in office, the manifold tasks of nation-building were tackled with vigour. Kaunda might, at times, have felt downcast over the damaging strikes and the prolonged arguments with the BSA Company, and especially over the Lumpa tragedy; but his confidence grew stronger and his dreams for the future of Zambia grew bolder. Even in his own ranks there might be those who thought their leader was spending too much time elaborating designs for a non-racial society, but the Prime Minister was not to be deterred. In June he addressed the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation’s conference on the changes which occur in society when there is a shift of power from one group to another.

‘To you who during the past week have spent much time delving deeply into the past and probing into the future, it may seem an understatement when a simple man like myself defines a true Christian as a servant of man. Jesus Christ always taught love—but He did not establish a system of values enabling us to pre-judge our fellow men and in terms of which we are then to dole out the appropriate amount of love which they deserve. Christ’s love is unconditional—it embraces with equal fervour His disciples and His opponents—the highly respectable Nicodemus and the woman of dubious morals at the well—His own Mother under the Cross and those who crucified Him. The secret of the love of Jesus rests with the fact that He does not judge people in terms of their accidental group-membership. To Him each man, woman or child, irrespective of colour, is unique, endowed with ultimate worth and dignity, because to Him each of them is first and foremost the object of God’s infinite love. Thus Christ
cuts right through the artificial cloaks with which we surround ourselves and by which we endeavour to give meaning and status to our lives. He uncovers the ultimate truth behind it all and, though often costly and painfully, liberates man from his self-made prison and makes him available to God and thus free from others. In this sense, I take it, a true Christian is a servant of man. Servant not in any particular way, but rather as an instrument of the love of Christ which challenges men to become their true selves.

'The basic answer to the question of Christian practice and desirable action, not only with regard to social action and race relations but with regard to any situation in history is, therefore, simple in principle though difficult in actual demonstration. It would seem to be the Christian's duty in whatever circumstances, to press for ultimate truth and fearlessly seek and promote such decisions as are dictated by truth alone, not mitigated by selfish motives. In this sense Christian practice is not a particular brand of action appearing alongside other endeavours. Rather, it blends with the efforts of men and becomes effective in establishing the promises and opportunities contained in given situations and in warding off fateful developments. It is in this sense that I understand Jesus' description of His disciples' ministry in terms of being "the salt of the earth".

'With your permission, Mr Chairman, I shall now endeavour to describe some of the opportunities before us and how we have come to understand them at this stage of our struggle.

'I see in this distinguished audience people from many parts of the world, compared with which our country does not appear very exciting. Apart from the Victoria Falls, the great copper-mines and our game reserves we have not much to show. BUT the thing of which we can be proud is that the beliefs of those who proclaimed from the roof-tops that with the end of Federation the chance to build a truly non-racial society had come to an end, have, without any shadow of doubt, been proved wrong. Though great problems have still to be surmounted, we can boast that a solid foundation has been laid. Our dreams of a non-racial society are beginning to take shape and though the credit for this goes to the people of our future Zambia, it can only be fully realized if we accept it humbly as a trust from God.
This is not simply a statement of pious sentiment—it rather implies a self-searching and planning of adequate courses of action. In giving an indication of what I have in mind, I shall have to bring Northern Rhodesia to the fore. I hope I shall be forgiven, but I have to do this because the subject is of such a serious nature that we must bring it down to earth instead of discussing it in the abstract. I also use Northern Rhodesia as an example, among other possible experiments, in establishing the unity of mankind.

The first question I must try to answer is what motivates any group of people to organize themselves in such a way as to obtain power. There are to my mind, two basic alternatives. One is to further the selfish ends of a given group—the other is to serve mankind. Though these two never occur in pure form we can, nevertheless, observe a general trend towards one or the other alternative in one or the other given situations. It is natural that in a situation where a small minority is established in a power-dominating position this group will tend to promote its own interests at the expense of the large majority. The masses feel this is an imposition and so the seeds of conflict are present. In cases where the group-difference exists along racial lines, the seeds of race conflict will germinate and grow. I should like to stress the point that the leaders of emerging Zambia have not battled along racial lines and do not fight against colour. The aim of their efforts is rather to establish a distribution of power which is representative of the people in the country, thus aiding the laying of the foundation of the unity of mankind. Therefore, the methods by which the shift in power is effected, receive the closest attention consequent on their importance. This is not so that the end will justify the means—rather the means through which the end is sought makes it clear where the true goal lies.

If our ultimate aim is to serve man, and therefore to contribute to the unity of mankind, then great importance will be attached to the methods used in reaching the goal. This, of course, is dependent on many factors. Some of them are—how much resistance there is on the part of a racial minority in control to the bid by the majority to take over, and in this resistance what methods they use against the majority. Does this resistance take the form of legalized violence leading to many
lives being lost? Are there such things as mass arrests, mass imprisonment and torture and, on the part of those struggling, do they allow themselves to become so bitter because of these things as to ignore the objective that they have set themselves? These are only some of the many factors that influence race relations in society after changes have taken place. In Northern Rhodesia, as I have said, we have been fortunate in that apart from the call from our leaders to all of us not to lose sight of our objective there have been outstanding European leaders who have had the foresight to help us from time to time by declaring themselves in favour of majority rule. In this they have given a lead here at home to our minority groups and have also greatly influenced the British Government and British public opinion into the bargain. Another important factor is the readiness on the part of the majority of our people to accept the principle that wise people do not live in the past—they live in the present and prepare themselves for the future. They have been taught, and have rather honourably accepted the fact that he who hunts for honey in the forest must accept the stings of the bees. Indeed credit must also go to the majority of our European people who have accepted the changes with grace and in good time.

One can say, therefore, that as far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned, that although problems of a racial character will arise from time to time, we are on the way to turning them into what I might term normal human friction. Our people have adjusted themselves well enough up to the present to give us great hope for the future. No doubt to some of them it was a natural and correct thing to do after such sweeping changes in the country. To others it may appear—"I have no choice in the matter. If I display signs of racialism these chaps with their policy of non-racialism might deport me." In other words, common sense among individuals and fear of contradicting the Government's declared policy of non-racialism are at work, and as I have already said, this great experiment of learning how to live together has begun well. There is, therefore, no mistaking the changes that have occurred in our society in so far as race relations are concerned after the shift of power from our European minority to our African majority. But I should like to stress that the experiment is just beginning and that although we can be proud of the smooth take-off, we must not underestimate the
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magnitude of the problems still towering before us like a Himalayan peak. The dilemmas we have to contend with, derived from former political inequalities based on racial groupings, present us with the immense sociological problem of closing the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Although a racial tinge might show its ugly head from time to time, we can thank God that the problem is not now basically a racial one.

'Difficulties may arise from different cultures and languages and then there is the problem of the white citizen who rose, not by merit, to a position of influence and power. Indeed quite a few of our young men and women may find it difficult to comprehend the fact that from now on they must join in the national effort and not expect the easy and cheap life that their parents experienced in the past. I am not a historian, but the little that I have learned leads me to believe that no people can have lived at a more challenging time than we do. Indeed our responsibilities are very great if we are to respond to the challenge. Mankind especially on the continent of Africa in its smaller geographical groupings which we refer to as nations, has either melted—is melting—or is going to, at a later stage. What is required is for mankind itself to provide the mould, the substance of which fits in with the principle of human unity, for just as a war between two nations—or two individuals—can start, so can peace between men start with two individuals. It is in this context that I would like us, gathered here in these very humble surroundings, to consider what the World Council of Churches can do to help us in Northern Rhodesia to mould ourselves in such a way as to contribute seriously towards the achievement of this goal. The list of problems is an imposing challenge in its own way. One cannot fail to appreciate the fact that all of us who proclaim ourselves Christians have got an important role to play in providing answers to the list. It is obvious if we are going to succeed that we must know as precisely as possible the length, breadth and depth of the problem. What can we, as individuals gathered here, do to make less the problems confronting our country?

'At this point I must remind you that I am merely using Northern Rhodesia as an example; for our problems here must be common to many. In the formidable task before us we must
know our strength as well as our weaknesses. We must try to find out who our friends and foes are for the great question now is—how can we prepare the mould that I have referred to already? I would like to say this—we cannot succeed in any field, whether it be political, industrial or religious, if we fail to recognize that man is of primary importance. Parliaments are established because of the need to serve man. Industry is built for the same reason whether you look at it from the profit motive or any other. Churches are built to serve man in his worship of the Almighty. I would wish to emphasize that the principle of serving man in parliament, industry or religion should now be firmly established as the only true way in which man can serve his God. I have no time for a man who calls himself a politician, an industrialist, a worker or a religious leader and yet fails to recognize the fact that without love for one's neighbour—neighbour in terms of houses, villages, districts or provinces within a given country, or one's neighbour in terms of continents or mankind as a whole—he cannot realize his duty to serve mankind. Apart from moral and spiritual reasons our own personal and selfish angles demand that man must learn to live with his fellow-men. In other words, interdependence is being imposed on us by scientific, economic and political forces and the alternative is self-destruction.

'I referred earlier to the importance of recognizing friend and foe alike in this great battle and the need for the Christian to reassert his lost influence on the general affairs of mankind. I will bring out one important point and to do this I must look into the past. I will begin by explaining what I think should be useful in understanding our African society, for this is the background against which we have to work when we look at Africa. I do not agree with the economists and sociologists who argue that the African family is as wide as it is because of the fact that they remain underdeveloped economically. What they should be doing is to see how this wider family concept can be developed side by side with the economic development of the West or East. I refer to the parents of my close friends as mother and father as I do other relationships. My close friends' families do the same to mine. In my family I refer to my father's brother as father, and my mother's sister is my mother and not my aunt. This I know is difficult for those who have been
brought up in a different society to comprehend, let alone appreciate, but my argument is closer to the teaching that he who is my brother or father is he who does the will of Almighty God. This system of a wider family gives more scope for the unity of mankind than one based on selfish economic planning. This is not all. I refer now to what we call N'saka. That is what you might call a combination of capitalism and communism but even so is purely and strangely African. Some people might even call it African socialism. I am not, however, dealing with "isms", I am only interested in what was and still is and how we can mould it for the good of our society, and, if we should be proved right, how we can make it useful to other people.

'The N'saka system works in this way. A man, his wife and family will work in their gardens or farm and do everything together as a family, but even though this might appear as an individualistic and therefore capitalistic approach it is not so, for the families also come together in a co-operative manner to work at the crops, houses or stores for the good of the community as a whole although still maintaining their individuality. When it comes to the use of the results of their labour then the selfishness of the individual disappears and is replaced by community spirit, for the use is decided on a communal basis. Similarly, although the women prepare meals for their families individually, the food is brought together communally and is eaten by all. In the same way a visitor is always made welcome and is not left outside this circle of mutual aid.

'I look on this as a very humanitarian way of life, and do not consider that anyone has the right to describe it as a primitive way of doing things. It is, of course, the background to the family life of the majority of our people here in Northern Rhodesia unless they have been brought up in urban areas in which case they tend to follow the ways of the West. There is then this conflict between two of our national cultures and you will notice that I have made no mention of our Asian peoples. If I have laboured this point I beg to be excused, but the Christian Church will not be effective so long as it continues to dismiss everything that it has found in any given country as heathen or pagan. Here we have a cultural background which, if developed, can play a very important role—and you might
think this is an obsession with me—in the task of uniting mankind. There are tremendous opportunities presenting themselves to the Christian Church if only the Christian Church could become less and less orthodox in its character. The Christian Church must identify itself with the people and not sit in judgment on individuals and nations. The Church must become active and lead our people. I have spoken of the cultural background of the majority of our people—can the Church do research in this field? There are other problems—our young people for instance. Is the Church going to content itself with the role of criticizing political parties for "misleading" the people, or is the Church going to accept this as part and parcel of the problem of our society and place its services with the nation not only here in Northern Rhodesia, but elsewhere where such problems exist? The life of any Church becomes a danger to society if it starts and ends in the seat of judgment. By all means, as a member of society, let it criticize, even let it judge if it wishes to do so, but let it also swing into action in a positive manner. If there is a racial problem in the country what is the Church doing about it? Long sermons from the pulpit are all right only if they are matched by action. Mankind today perhaps more than ever before needs Christian action.

If I may be permitted, I should, however, end with a note of concern. I have frequently referred to our aim as an experiment in the realization of the unity of mankind. I have also endeavoured to point out some of the obstacles on the road towards this goal. Allow me one more excursion into the field of theology. It appears that at the basis of all human conflict is fear and insecurity—it is human to resent change and to fortify oneself behind the wall of security in one's particular group and to assume its identity by means of domination over others. Man seems to be extremely vulnerable to the temptation of creating his own ultimate basis for existence instead of accepting it as a constantly new gift from his Creator. Yet these man-made securities are but the man-made prisons of which I spoke earlier and of which I said Christ wished to free us. I have said that we in Zambia battle to overcome group-conflict and that we are determined to find ways and means of securing a wider and deeper identity for man than that which is contained in racialism or in other group ideologies. We are fully aware of the risks
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we take and we understand that it entails radical openness to change, sacrifice and unselfishness. We understand that the experiment will be costly and that there are easier roads to follow. BUT we are convinced that in the long run only a radical departure from racialism can bring a lasting solution. We must hope that the Church will give a lead.

‘There are many signs which seem to indicate that the Church is much too concerned with herself and is preoccupied with maintaining her identity instead of in the service of man. I voice this concern not as a disinterested observer but as one of many Christians who endeavour to realize their Christian faith in the daily exercise of their life.

‘If governments and other human institutions are in a position to read the signs of the times and are determined so to order their actions, surely the Church must be in a position to demonstrate at least a part of the solution.’

Dr Kaunda’s engagements in those ten months were formidable. But whether he was intervening in the Legislature or speaking on party-platforms he avoided the superficialities of political oratory. His style was that of the educator and thinker. He seldom repeated a speech, although he enjoyed reshaping his main ideas into speeches to make them more meaningful to widely different audiences. To the Federation of Women’s Institutes he talked about the difficulties of the woman who is a newcomer to the complexities of urban society; to the Lions of Lusaka he spoke of the needs of the blind; to the Lusaka Round Table he urged the importance of working for lepers, children’s holidays, the Scout movement and of combating malnutrition; to the Foreign Service Seminar of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation he extolled the virtues of honest diplomats ‘telling the truth for Africa’; and to the delegates of the Conservation and Natural Resources Committees he spoke of the dangers of a mono-culture economy. When he spoke to the Katanshi Secondary School at Mufulira it was to stress the problem of how to accelerate education in a developing country:

‘Four years ago there were 2,600 places in secondary schools; in 1963, 7,000 places, and the enrolment this year has risen to 8,177. The forecast for January next, under the Emergency Development Plan, will be in the region of 11,000 places.'
Thus, in five years, the increase will be over four hundred per cent.

‘But, if this country is to go ahead these figures will still not be nearly enough. It is estimated that if positions are going to be adequately filled, Zambia will need 15,000 School Certificate holders in 1965, and over 20,000 in 1970. In fact, we will not achieve our target for 1965.

‘One of the difficulties of a formal education system is that the products from it cannot be accelerated. A pupil must take a number of years to complete a course, and, at the same time, when the system is being expanded, the teachers of the required standard have to be trained or recruited. Even so, my Government intends to increase the amount of education as much as possible and by every available means, not only at the secondary level, but also at primary and post-secondary level. I will not enlarge upon the university which we are starting in Lusaka, but you will know of it. But even the university will depend upon an adequate supply of well-taught secondary school boys and girls.’

However his concern was not only with the rate of educational development but also with its quality:

‘A school is a community, a community which must be a model on which later adult life can be surely based.

‘I refer to the sense of being part of a society; to the desire to help one another and to think for oneself rather than be carried away by the crowd.

‘We are nearing the stage of complete independence here in Northern Rhodesia and soon Zambia will be born. But I would urge you to remember one of the lessons we have learnt. It is that freedom and independence carry obligations—and obligations always impose duties. Remember the poet who said “I slept and dreamt that my life was beauty—I woke and found that life was duty.”’

The Prime Minister had enough experience of Asian and African countries to know the pitfalls of democracy and the dangers caused by independence. If Zambians were to overcome these difficulties he felt it was important that they should
be well prepared. Thus even while painting bright pictures of the opportunities for creating a ‘Switzerland in Africa’, he was at pains to brush in the darker colours of what the future might hold. Democracy was not something UNIP had in its power to bestow on Zambians: it was something to be worked for. On June 12, he spoke on ‘The Future of Democracy in Africa’ to the Zambia Association for National Affairs:

‘The word “democracy” has been used in many different ways. Firstly we speak of direct democracy: where political decisions and the Government of the country is made by the whole body of citizens. This was the position in ancient Greece from whence the principle of democracy emanated and it has also been seen in such modern institutions as the New England town meetings in the United States of America and in the public meetings in the small Swiss cantons, but this type of direct democracy is not peculiar to America or to Europe, but has existed in Africa for many generations where in the small tribal communities public meetings have proved an important means of government and of expressions of the views of the people. Therefore democracy is no stranger to the African people and we have a considerable tradition of democratic government in this sense of the term.

‘The second sense in which democracy is used is representative democracy where the political decisions are made not by the citizens themselves, as in the case of direct democracy, but through their representatives.

‘Thirdly, we have the more common and accepted form of democracy which exists in many countries today, and that is constitutional and liberal democracy, itself a representative democracy, where the majority rules through the framework of a Constitution and subject to certain restrictions guaranteeing such aspects as minority rights. This is the democracy that we have achieved in Northern Rhodesia today, which has been evolved after years of struggle and many constitutional changes and will lead this country to independence later this year. This is the nation’s heritage and history and follows the traditional struggle experienced in Europe, America and Asia—a testing time in which we have proved ourselves ready and worthy for the challenges that lie ahead. It might be appropriate here for
me to quote Aristotle who, discussing democracy, said: "A democracy is a state where the freeman and the poor, being in the majority, are invested with the power of the state . . . the most pure democracy is that which is so called principally from that equality which prevails in it; for that is what the law in that state directs: that the poor shall be in no greater subjection than the rich."

'The fourth sense in which democracy is used is the social or economic democracy which is more of a political or social system which objectively seeks to minimize social and economic difficulties. Such a democracy emphasizes the social system rather than the will of the people and exists under the socialism of Karl Marx and the present doctrine of Communism.

'At the present day and age democracy has arrived at a cross-roads where it is attacked by other systems both to the right and to the left, who seek to impose dictatorial systems of government whether it is in the name of ultra-conservatism or in the name of national socialism where the end justifies the means, and the will of the people, which is the essence of democracy, must take second place. In this struggle the weaknesses which exist and which have been shown in the history of democracy, themselves play a part in its own destruction. The history of democracy in Europe and in America and indeed in the whole world, is a history of revolution where government by the few has been overthrown by the revolution of the people and often thereafter the democratic institution has again been overthrown because those democratic institutions, based as they are on the will of the people and freedom of the individual, have been an easy prey to more violent and robust systems such as national socialism and fascism which gained ground between the two World Wars. Therefore, the tradition of democracy which has been handed down to us has had an unfortunate record and clearly illustrates that the accepted system of democracy has been often all too fragile to meet the challenge of new independent states.

'One of the greatest exponents of democracy was Dr Benesh, the one time President of the State of Czechoslovakia, which was carved out of the old Europe after the First World War. Czechoslovakia has many similarities to Northern Rhodesia.
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It is a small country, it is landlocked and it was previously ruled from outside its borders. It also had problems of minority peoples of different communities or tribes. Dr Benesh looked upon democracy as having failed in Europe, primarily because of the subjugation of his own country and people. He saw the concept of democracy threatened and almost annihilated by the rise of fascism and national socialism, and yet he had, as we have, faith in the inherent good sense of the people and in the concept that all men were created equal, a concept extended by the modern cynic to the phrase, "All men are created equal but some are more equal than others."

"But democracy cannot be the cure for all our evils; democracy is merely an umbrella which can exist for good or for evil. Under a democratic system both good and bad governments can prosper and both just and unjust laws can be enacted. The system of slavery existed in a democratic system but this system of slavery was itself destroyed through democracy. The seeds of democracy have caused the evolution of small states to independence and the present evolution of African states has its exact parallel in history. In the nineteenth century the struggle by the small European nations and peoples for independence was motivated by the principles of democracy, thus were the small European states evolved and so did the African states aspire to and reach independence.

"I have said that democracy is at a cross-roads because it has allowed to exist, in many parts of the world, inequalities and injustices which bring the system into disrepute—wherever such inequalities and injustices exist so do the countries of democracy demonstrate its insufficiency. Wherever a dictatorship is allowed to prosper the finger is pointed at the inadequacies of democracy in assisting disintegration. Therefore it is necessary that we put and keep our own house in order so that we can show to the world how a constitutional democracy can succeed in bringing peace, happiness and prosperity to all our peoples, and the tremendous spiritual force released in a unified and dedicated people can overcome the problems that face us.

"I would now like to look into the future and make a few pointers showing the direction which we will follow.

"We have now a Republican Constitution very similar to that of the United States of America and yet similar in its legislative
framework to that of the United Kingdom. We are a Constitutional Democracy. That Constitution has been freely adopted by the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and will regulate the Government of the country. That Constitution is something to be guarded and fostered if this country is to have the stability and prosperity that we desire. Under this Constitution we recognize the benefit of an opposition in Parliament but unfortunately in many states today, the idea of opposition is misunderstood and is taken to allow the use of unlawful acts in an attempt to intimidate or coerce the government. No government—let alone a government which is on the threshold of independence—can allow this state of affairs to flourish.

'We are warned of dangers in newly independent states—the danger of an uprising where a group seeks to overthrow the government and inspire a dictatorship—this gives rise to what has been termed a South American Republican system of government as it is quite a common occurrence in that part of the world. I have not studied particularly carefully the causes of this malaise in South America but it would appear firstly that these revolutions are mostly inspired by right-wing groups—seldom having the support of the masses of the people—and secondly the cause appears to arise from the lack of a proper democratic system which ensures the continuance of popular government in the country.

'In Northern Rhodesia I believe that the Government, by which I mean the Cabinet Ministers and our colleagues, are sufficiently close to the people and of the people, sharing their problems and aspirations to avoid such catastrophies that have beset less fortunate lands.

'But democracy is of little benefit to the peoples if they are to remain uneducated and the numbers of illiterates remain high. Democracy cannot flourish properly unless the people are able to understand and take part in the institutions that democracy has forged for them. Our immediate aim therefore is to ensure that the peoples of Northern Rhodesia receive universal education up to the highest level that the resources of the country will allow.

'Only by a high level of national intelligence and education can the peoples attain their aspirations and thus consciously and effectively participate in the democratic institutions of the
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country. Hand in hand with education goes the principle of equality of opportunity which must be another pillar of democratic institutions, for without it the nation becomes immediately split between the “haves” and the “have-nots”, and no sense of immortality which one’s children kindle can compensate opportunity that these children are denied.

The idea of democracy can also be viewed from the stand of expediency in that rule of the majority is easier and more effective than rule of the minority. The advent of democracy in England occurred when the franchise was extremely limited and in effect those in power represented a minority. The majority can in theory enact laws contrary to justice, but inherent in the system of democracy is the principle that although Parliament can legally enact unjust laws, she has no moral right to do so and the inherent good sense of the people will prevent such a course being adopted. Our Constitution of course protects minority rights—that is to say, protects the rights of minority groups whether these groups exist on a tribal or racial basis, and in proposing these constitutional safeguards we have dedicated ourselves to the concept of a non-racial and non-tribal society.

The idea of democracy in our national institution has a wider and perhaps more important application, and that is in the realm of international affairs. Yet it is difficult for nations to accept that the wonderful prize of sovereignty which independence brings must, or shall, be shared with other states, or in a world organization. The United Nations Organization has probably been the greatest force for peace in the world. And yet this force built upon democratic principles of the equality of nations has itself grown from the desire of the world peoples for peace—a halt to the incessant wars that have recurred since the beginning of history. The United Nations Organization has been, and is, of special importance to African states.

The ideal of democracy is still the continuation of the fight for a better society and as long as we maintain this ideal we can have faith in ourselves and in our society.

It goes without saying that once you protect the rights of an individual successfully, you have succeeded in protecting your society as a whole. We shall hope that our Constitution will stand the acid tests that are bound to come our way as a new and young nation.'
Speaking to the Rotary Club of Ndola on June 26 he broached a subject which had begun to assume greater importance in his own mind as he and his colleagues came to grips with the problems of planning Zambia’s economic future.

‘There is one aspect which is of paramount importance. That is the gap which exists between the most highly paid section of our people (and this contains many Africans) and those who still live at subsistence level. It is not a matter of ensuring that the gap should not increase—it is a matter of ensuring that it shall close. The primitive level of human existence is that of want. There are imperative needs which have to be satisfied before anything else and only when man has time and energy left beyond the satisfaction of the primary needs can culture develop, and, with it, those strivings that attend with abundance. It is a duty of any government to provide social security and a good standard of living for all its people, and only by doing this can stability be established in all aspects of the life of the nation. Let me now repeat what my Minister of Finance said some time ago in Parliament. His words were: “The major problem will be to try to satisfy the expectations of the masses and to transform the rural areas from sheer subsistence communities into economic communities integrated within the cash economy.” This we intend to do, but we cannot do it alone. You all know the sentence which learner typists have to copy over and over again: “Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party.” Let us substitute country for party and we can then understand how important it is for the richer countries of the world, not only rich in wealth, but rich in experience, to realize their duty to assist the newly emerging nations, and also to realize that these nations cannot hope to come to full development without their aid. We will welcome them with open arms provided the assistance they offer us is not tied to any political or social ideology. We realize our responsibilities and have no illusions about what will happen here unless we can close the gap I mentioned earlier. We must move fast with our plans for development, and take all our people with us on the flood tide of enthusiasm and hard work.

‘Now let me turn my attention to you. You, who have so very kindly invited me to be your guest of honour here tonight. I am
not unaware of the service to Northern Rhodesia which has been freely given by Ndola Rotary. Much of this has been financed solely by you, and also in association with other organizations outside your ranks, but with the initiative and impetus coming from you. It is an impressive list, including, as it does, occupational therapy for hospital cases; bursaries for students of all races; expenses for young people to attend Outward Bound courses; supplementary feeding of African children; careers guidance; remembrance of those of us who are approaching or have passed the allotted span of three score years and ten; support for the Arts, notably in the Theatre here—and, of course, Rotary was in the forefront in the establishment of the Technical College at Ndola. May I, on behalf of all the people of this country, thank you for your help, work and generosity? We do not take it for granted, and we know it is not given as charity. Rather, we accept it as the realization of the high precepts of Rotary, and, may I say, that it is my fervent hope that it will continue.

If the Copperbelt is Zambia’s golden goose, it is also its biggest problem. The colonial pattern of relationships marks the Copperbelt out like a chip off the old South African block—its towns and housing planned in strict segregation lines; its employment policies shaped by a rigid industrial colour bar which, despite some important relaxations in more recent years, still leaves the white miners as the top-dogs and the black miners as the under-dogs, the recreation clubs kept exclusively for whites. Because many of the employees on the mines were immigrants or sojourners from south of the Zambesi, the political climate was unfriendly to Kenneth Kaunda’s ideas of creating a non-racial society.

Despite all these obvious difficulties, however, the worst fears about what might happen on the Copperbelt as power was transferred from white into black hands, did not come to pass. The Copperbelt remained relatively quiet; but both blacks and whites were suspicious.

Much of the credit for maintaining calm among the whites on the Copperbelt belongs to the two major mining companies. They accepted the need to give full support to the policies of the new African Government. By persuasion and example they tried
to create a new atmosphere that would make it possible for the Copperbelt to begin to reflect the change in the power-structure which had occurred in the country.

The Prime Minister lost few opportunities to express appreciation for the support his Government was getting from the mining leaders, or to stress the importance of the industry for the country. Speaking at a conference of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy he said:

'\textbf{The Government is concerned first and foremost to see that the mining industry in the Copperbelt continues to operate efficiently so that the country as a whole can reap the advantages to be gained by having a strong and stable basic industry to act as a foundation stone for all the other development which we regard as essential to our aim of creating a healthy, diverse economy.}

'\textbf{None of us wishes to see a spectacular boom in copper prices followed by a disastrous slump. What we want to see is sure and steady progress so that the standard of living of our people may be raised. In order to try to achieve this result the Government intends to play a much more active part in the formulation of mining policy than has been the case in the past.}

'\textbf{One of the major problems which besets us is of course finding employment for all those people who wish to enter into the cash economy of the country. We feel that it is preferable to take mining to the people rather than passively letting the people drift into the Copperbelt. For this reason we have been trying to promote the development of small-scale mining ventures in rural areas. We have been greatly assisted in this by the British South Africa Company which has had a Survey of Minor Deposits Unit working in the field for more than a year examining the possibility of working various deposits. Two such deposits, one of tin and one of mica, are now being worked by co-operative methods.}

'\textbf{It is the Government's firm intention to continue with this kind of development, since it allows mining to be combined with agriculture, and we attach great importance to building up a well-balanced economy. I hope, therefore, that in the course of the next few years you will see a considerable expansion of small-scale mining. If I may put it this way, we will continue to}
look to the large mining companies for our bread and butter but will hope to get a little jam from the smaller mineral deposits scattered round the country.

'You are all aware of the great problems which we have to tackle in the field of training our people to take responsibility at all levels in every field of activity. At the same time we do not wish to see any lowering of the standards which have been set in the past by professional bodies such as that to which you belong. We want our people to be able to take their place alongside people of other countries on a footing of complete equality. We will look to your Institution to help us to achieve that object in the professions with which you are concerned.'

If the short-term interests of the country lay in retaining the skills and co-operation of the existing labour force on the Copperbelt, the long-term interests demanded its rapid expansion—the maintenance of efficiency and safety and the training of Zambians to run the mines with as few expatriate workers as possible. One of the institutions opened by Kaunda on September 19 to assist in fulfilling this need was the Northern Technical College at Ndola:

'It is appropriate that I should here pay a very warm tribute to the two mining groups which had set up the Copperbelt Technical Foundation and who agreed the suggestion that the Foundation which they had established should be taken over by this new college.

'Under the Keir Commission proposals, it was recommended that this college should be responsible for the education of all apprentices in the electrical and mechanical trades. I need hardly say to you that without skilled craftsmen, modern industry cannot function, and already I see about me, and I saw this morning, good signs of technicians and artisans of all races being trained to take their place in their country's service. Mining and industry generally are going to rely heavily on them in the future. This college, together with its five satellite centres in Kitwe, Luanshya, Chingola, Mufulira and Broken Hill, is the centre of mechanical and electrical engineering training in the country and, as such, its progress will be watched with great interest by my Government.

'In addition to this training in mechanical and electrical
engineering, the college provides courses in commerce, academic and vocational classes. I am informed that the total number of students enrolled in the college or in the centres attached to the college is now over 1,400, a number of these being Africans in search of higher education and the acquisition of useful skills. However, it is in its main function of training technicians for industry that the future of the college lies.

'It is most encouraging to me to learn that, in the next block release, there will be some fifty African students attending for instruction, or thirty per cent of that particular group of students. It is my earnest hope that this number will grow as more and more Africans with the necessary educational qualifications come forward, and this development would augur well for future industrial progress in the country.

'Doubtless, as time progresses, it will be possible for the college to offer courses at a higher level and thus to continue the training of those who originally attended the college at a lower level. We will not only need technicians, we will need engineers, surveyors, architects and other technologists. We will need persons of these qualifications in a number of branches of technology and at all levels. You will know the world demand there is today for trained personnel—if we are to obtain them we must produce them locally.'

The Prime Minister was concerned not only with the efficiency of the mining industry, but with the efficiency of the new Government machinery which was being created to serve the new state. He defined the role of officials and Ministers to a seminar arranged for his new Under Ministers who were to take charge of the provincial administration in September:

'I would like to issue one word of warning to my Under Ministers and that is that you are the first in the field in an entirely new organization which my Government has decided should replace the Provincial Administration. It is most important for the future prosperity and development of this country that the Government should work smoothly and impartially in the interests of all our inhabitants. The responsibilities which you are assuming are very heavy ones and I would urge you to be patient in seeking solutions to our problems.
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‘For the efficient running of the country I urge you to seek advice wherever you can from our Chiefs and experienced officials both of the Central Government and of Local Authorities, because you will find that these persons are anxious not only to help you but also to give you sound advice at all times. ‘It is only by exercising this degree of caution, which stems from making use of all the many agencies working in the country, that we shall be able to make a success of our task.’
Chapter 5

HEROES—OLD AND NEW

July 6–7 marked another of the historic changes which occurred in Northern Rhodesia. For the first time the country celebrated its new public holidays—Heroes’ and Unity Days. In the past these had been celebrated as Rhodes and Founders’ Days; they had been occasions for extolling Cecil Rhodes and the white pioneers who had helped create the modern colonial state of Northern Rhodesia. Seldom if ever was a word spoken about the country’s original pioneers. The heroes among them were never recalled. In a broadcast to the nation the Prime Minister explained the reasons for the Government’s decision to change the old public holidays:

‘This is not done in anger and hatred. There is nothing to feel frustrated about. This is done so as to be in keeping with the times. We remember our heroes during the struggle for independence. . . . Those who have lost their lives, those who spent long periods in prisons or rustication camps, and indeed those who were physically assaulted . . . not with any amount of animosity but rather with feelings of respect and honour for the people. We do know that if they had lived, all they would have asked us to do was to see that the wrongs of the past were put right. We do realize that if we do not work hard in love, trust and understanding, whether we are racially, tribally or religiously different, we will be failing in our duty towards our heroes.

‘It goes without saying, however, that we cannot succeed in achieving this noble goal without unity. Our fight for independence was not so that we could replace a colonial regime with an elected one, sitting on top of the people and doing nothing for them, but that immediately we had established a
democratically elected Government, we should set ourselves on the hard and unbeaten but rewarding track of service to our fellow-men, thereby fighting and defeating in the end the deadly and real enemies of mankind—poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. In this struggle, black, white and brown joined hands. In this struggle, rich and poor came together, indeed literate and illiterate fought side by side. The fruits must be shared by all equally. This cannot be done unless all our people decide in a dedicated way to march forward in unity, trusting when there are clouds on the horizon, understanding in the hour of doubt and loving without fail at all times.

‘Let the two days be spent in serious meditation. Let this not be a time of thinking of revenge, but of service to mankind as a whole. Because of circumstances obtaining in the past, our energies were directed towards the achievement of self-government and independence. We have now got independence—at least we all know it is coming in October. It is now up to the youth, men and women of our nation so to steer the national boat as to avoid, as far as possible, the many noticeable rocks in life against which, if we hit, we would flounder and perish. The most dangerous of these rocks is the one of rumour-mongering, either against individuals, organizations or your Government. Kill this dangerous animal called rumour at first sight.

‘Differences of opinion on any subject need not necessarily lead to enmity. Let us learn to differ and yet remain friends and co-workers. On a day like this it is important that we turn our eyes beyond our own boundaries.

‘Maybe as individuals we are without jobs to provide us with food, shelter and clothing. I am confident that this, if you follow my advice, is only a temporary setback. Comparatively, as a nation, we can consider ourselves fortunate. There are others very much less fortunate.

‘In this age where science is fast defeating time and space we would be deceiving ourselves if we thought that plenty in Zambia is all right, with hungry millions around us. This, of course, is apart from our moral and spiritual obligations to our fellow human-beings. I believe with those who say—man is one and indivisible the world over.

‘Finally, I would like to charge each one of you as custodian
and guardian of the independence of Northern Rhodesia, to guard it jealously so that no one man within or without the borders of our motherland will be able to disrupt its peaceful existence, which alone will make it possible for us to establish stability in the country—stability that will lead to more and more capital and know-how from others who have it to flow into our country so that we can develop it into the happy state where there will be no hungry mouths, unsheltered and unclothed bodies—a country where the word disease will not be the terrifying thing it is today.'

If, as Kaunda had said in his broadcast, mankind is indivisible, he believed, too, that the world’s heroes should be universally shared. He had two occasions in 1963 to speak of such heroes—of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his death, and of Sir Winston Churchill on his retirement from Parliament.

Nehru had deeply influenced the course of Kaunda’s life. He had visited India and he had been much impressed by Gandhi’s ideas of non-violence. Nehru he had known and loved:

'We are here this evening to pay homage to Pandit Nehru. Some of us have had the honour of meeting him and knowing him, and I consider myself fortunate beyond measure that I should be numbered among such persons and that I am able to regard him as a personal and very dear friend.

'In the case of a man so beloved and revered as Pandit Nehru all his people were in effect members of his family and it is therefore to the people of India that we must turn our thoughts, for no country has experienced a greater or sadder loss.

'No country has produced a leader from among its sons more dedicated to his country’s welfare and well-being than Pandit Nehru, nor with a greater love of humanity which alone makes a man truly great. Pandit Nehru by any standards was GREAT. He will go down in history not only as a true patriot but as a man dedicated to the fundamental belief in the dignity of man and to peace on earth.

'Pandit Nehru did not regard the attainment of independence for India in 1947 as an end in itself but as a stepping-stone towards the final achievement of the universal brotherhood of man. His help and inspiration to countries in Asia and in Africa
who were struggling to achieve independence for their countries is well known and it would be fitting for me to pay the tribute of my country to the help, both material, moral and spiritual, which I and my colleagues acknowledge we obtained from this truly wonderful man.

‘Pandit Nehru’s life is an inspiration to us all. It was fitting that after so many years of struggle for his country, he should become its first Prime Minister and lead India to become one of the foremost countries in the world and the leader of those countries that eschewed power politics and aligned themselves with neither the ideology of the East nor of the West. Above all he stood for peace and devoted himself to that end, and he saw the great potential for peace and understanding among the peoples of the world in the Commonwealth of which he was an ardent protagonist.’

Sir Winston Churchill—the implacable foe of Indian independence—was a hero cast in a different mould. Kenneth Kaunda could overlook his imperialist passions and see beyond them a remarkable world leader whose writings and speeches had contributed to his own ideas. When Sir Winston decided to leave the Parliament of Westminster, the Prime Minister asked his own Legislature to send the old warrior their best wishes for his retirement:

‘Honourable Members are aware, I am sure, of the impending retirement from parliamentary life of the greatest parliamentarian of our age, and I make no apology for interrupting the normal business of this House to ask Honourable Members to join with me in recording our tribute to Sir Winston Churchill, or, as he is better known in parliamentary circles—The Right Honourable Gentleman the Member for Woodford. ‘Heartfelt tributes have already been paid to Sir Winston by several of our sister Parliaments within the Commonwealth, and his fellow-members of the mother of Parliaments at Westminster, some of whom have known him personally and intimately during the most glorious years of his career, have expressed their appreciation of the unparalleled contribution which this truly great man has made to the peace of mankind.

‘I for my part consider it a great privilege to recall and to pay
tribute not only to all he has done for the Commonwealth but indeed for the whole world. His stirring example and glorious victory in the Second World War secured for him the unbounded admiration of everyone, particularly here in our own country of Northern Rhodesia.

'The Right Honourable Gentleman the Member for Woodford has been described as a controversial and at the same time a magnanimous figure, and during his long parliamentary career, much of which was spent at the peak of British politics, there were innumerable examples to illustrate both of these contentions. For us, Sir Winston is already something of a legend and those who have studied his life and political career will share my humble admiration for the brilliant qualities and achievements which these portray. Now, on the eve of his retirement and on the eve of Zambia's birth, I consider that it is particularly appropriate that we as the representatives of the people of the still to be born state of the Republic of Zambia should set aside our party political differences for a moment and should join together to send to this grand father of parliamentarians our sincerest greetings and the best wishes of all our people, that Sir Winston may enjoy peace and contentment during his retirement and may look back with warm feelings upon a momentous life crowned with the tribute and gratitude of millions of people throughout the world.'
Hemmed in as he was by the immediate problems of launching his country into independence, Kenneth Kaunda nevertheless found both the time and the energy to continue his efforts towards promoting African unity and world co-operation. In July he went to Cairo to take his place for the first time as a full member of the Organization of African Unity. Three months later he was back in Cairo to attend the second Conference of Non-aligned States.

As a fully fledged member of the OAU, Kaunda might have been forgiven if he had chosen in his main address to dwell on the achievements of UNIP’s political struggle and on the future of Zambia. But he did not do so. Instead, he chose to discuss the problems of those who had still to win their independence. Magnanimous as always, he was concerned that in victory there should be reconciliation. After reflecting on the history of the African independence struggle, he said:

‘Mr Chairman, no doubt my distinguished audience is wondering why all this historical summary. My first reason is that I do want to turn to our brother who must be feeling rather lonely in here—Holden Roberto. Holden, take courage from the histories of all those, our gallant leaders. At one time it was impossible; at the next turn, it was just probable and finally it happened.

‘To you our elders in this African community, I hope you will excuse me if I say that I understand this man’s difficulties better because I am on the spot. What you do know about this problem is through your various organizations and friends. I am directly

1 The leader of the Angolan Provisional Government who was given a special seat in the conference
involved; so I know the meaninglessness of my independence without Holden’s, Nkomo’s and all others. If we do not have the means to help this man, let us not talk about helping him because we simply alarm his enemies and make his work doubly difficult. In fact even where help is given, I pray we do not talk about it. This is true of Holden Roberto, Joshua Nkomo, Paramount Chief Luthuli, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and scores more of our struggling leaders, in various parts of Africa.

‘My second reason for dwelling at length on this summary of history is the spirit of forgiveness that I admire so much in you, our leaders. And perhaps before I go on I might just remind you how our people in Guinea were left by their colonizers when Brother Sékou Touré chose to go into freedom. We all know of the disruptive forces of imperialism and colonialism that have swept over Ghana, Nigeria and more recently Tanganyika (as it was then). This is not the end. We can expect more trouble from both the West and the East. This continent is going to be their biggest battle ground.

‘In spite of all this all our leaders on this continent make a very humanitarian approach to all our problems. Only on Saturday, the Egyptian Mail carried an editorial and among other things it said: “This spirit (of understanding and tolerance between human beings) is the spirit which could pervade all Africa if those who are still keeping parts of it in servitude would permit it. The African is not after vengeance but after liberty. When he has that he will inevitably seek to strengthen it by uniting with his fellow Africans, but he will also seek co-operation with the rest of the world.”

‘I venture to agree with this view and would add that this is not a mere accident. It is our way of life in Africa. You find it in the humblest villages. Apologists and critics in other camps will say this is because we are underdeveloped. I don’t accept that argument. What I do accept is that there is challenge, and this is how to accept the good from both the East and the West and blend them with that which is good in our own, without losing that good in us. Amongst these is the preparedness to forgive which I have already mentioned.

‘My guess is that after a hundred years from now, when historians look back they will record this as one of the greatest periods of human development. They will say about us that here
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was a group of men and women who rose above colour: men who realized that firstly, the colour of a person was not an achievement on his part, and secondly, that colour, tribe, nation and race should not be a source of victimization for anyone, for God alone is responsible for a person’s tribe, nation, colour or race. No human being has any choice as to what he is to be born.

In other words we tell those who are responsible for our political sufferings that we are ready to forgive if and when they are ready to start afresh on equal terms. We realize that wise men do not live in the past. Given the opportunity we will develop ourselves to the highest.

The Organization of African Unity is bringing out very forcefully this very important lesson—that MAN (whatever his colour, race, tribe or creed) is the most important single unit in the whole of God’s creation. After all, you make a chair, a cup, a bicycle and a thousand and one other things to serve MAN. Even those who make dangerous nuclear weapons are now busy meeting day and night to see if there is anything they can do to save MAN being blasted out of existence.

It is fitting that such an organization has set itself very high noble principles—one among these is the policy of non-alignment. We are working towards unity of our continent. I am certain that because of our strong beliefs in the importance of MAN we shall work persistently for the unity of the entire MANKIND regardless of what the West or the East say. MAN is the same creature all over the world.

Noble principles apart, there is no room on this earth for little groupings. Interdependence is being imposed on all of us by scientific, economic and political forces and the alternative is isolation and self-destruction. In short, African unity is justified to the extent that it is a step towards the unity of MANKIND.

With your permission, Mr Chairman, I will now say something about my own problems which pale into insignificance when you put them against the gigantic network of human activity on the entire globe.

Geographically, Zambia-to-be shares a common border in the north with Congo (Leopoldville) of well over one thousand miles. West and east of us are Angola and Mozambique, both
still under Portuguese domination. There is then South-West Africa under the Verwoerd regime south-west of us. This is followed by a small strip of Bechuanaland and finally comes the Southern Rhodesia border on the southern side of the country. With the exception of Malawi and the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar (on the east and north-east) and one or two more it can be seen that we share common borders with very hostile countries to us. We can expect fireworks after Great Britain has withdrawn because of our interests in Pan-African activities which lead us to harbour even now genius freedom-fighters.

‘Economically, we are in very bad shape. Our economy has been planned in such a way as to depend on copper alone, while we were made a cheap dumping ground for South African and Southern Rhodesian adulterated goods. A very substantial part of the mines—£500,000,000 of capital—comes from South Africa. Up to about three years ago African workers were confined to low-grade jobs and of about 5,000 white workers who provide skills to run these mines, between thirty-five per cent to forty-five per cent come from South Africa. This is not to say that these are bad people. I am merely giving facts.

‘Our police force has seen its first African Assistant Superintendents only about three months ago. The army produced its first African officer only two months ago; all Africans in the past could only become non-commissioned officers. We have just now promoted our first group of African civil servants to supernumerary posts, i.e. to train on the top jobs.

‘I must say at times we feel disappointed but we realize that bitterness will make us lose sight of the main issues in life and we are trying to move fast with training-on-the-job schemes.

‘There was talk of building a dam on our Kafue River before the imposition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Soon after the federal imposition, the Kariba dam was built instead, on the Zambesi River which forms the boundary between Zambia and Southern Rhodesia—the result was power installations were built in Southern Rhodesia; although we own the dam jointly, we depend on them for power. It is said that we have coal deposits which are not good enough to exploit so that we depend on Southern Rhodesia for the supply of coal for our mines. To crown it all we are dependent on both
Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique on one hand and Congo (Leopoldville) and Angola on the other for outlets to world markets.

'Apart from our natural desire to see the continent free and indeed apart from hostile activities which we can expect after Britain has left, you can see that we have other reasons for wanting to see Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, South-West Africa and South Africa free quickly.

'If I may say a word or so on how we might eventually come together; we have got to continue in the direction we follow by you our leaders coming together from time to time. And this, I might say, is a good beginning. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that unity among leaders alone is not meaningful beyond what we are doing now. The common man must be brought into the picture. To do this language barriers must be tackled more vigorously than we have done so far. Languages such as English, French, Arabic, Swahili and Hausa which are already more or less international must be made more so. Languages on their own do not give us the whole answer without cheap methods of travel. I would like to see in my life-time the dream of one of the most effective colonialists fulfilled in the service of Africa. Cecil Rhodes dreamt of a railroad from Cape to Cairo. The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar and ourselves are considering one of the few missing links. Mzee Kenyatta mentioned what his Government was actively considering in this direction. I hope our other colleagues will do something in their own way to help.

'Finally, let me end on this note. It makes me very sad when I see some of our leaders rejoice over the mishaps of their brothers and friends. Surely it must be realized by all that when any one country fails to make the grade, or falls into some difficulties, the shame is for all of us to suffer. For Africa is one. African unity is meaningless unless we treat each other's joys and sorrows as our own.'

At the Conference of Non-aligned States he spoke of non-alignment as 'a policy which basically sets out to defend the interests of the common man wherever he may be—west, east, north or south'. He renewed his tribute to the memory of Nehru, and in doing so he reminded the conference that
somewhere, man as an individual has been forgotten, or his importance is being ignored'.

He talked, too—as he had done at the OAU conference—of the dangers that beset Zambia because of its hostile neighbours:

'It is partly in the light of our present economic situation that our thoughts turn to the proposed rail link north to our friends in the Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

'Whatever others may think, we are firmly of the opinion that the railway will stimulate our economic activities. I sincerely commend to this conference the problem of land-locked countries—a problem not confined to the new Zambia but of vital importance to the countries concerned. Might I suggest that this conference finds itself able to recommend to United Nations or one of its agencies, the need for an International Convention which will grant or give the land-locked countries the right of transit and free access to the sea. I have spoken of the difficulties we encounter regarding our imports, but please do not think we ourselves have been idle in this very serious problem, for that is not so. Fifteen months ago we set up a committee charged with the task of looking into alternative sources of supply and we are, even now, studying the recommendations submitted by that committee. I hasten to add that the implementation of these recommendations will take some time.'

Turning to world problems, he put himself firmly on the side of those who believe in peaceful co-existence, and in the vital importance of the United Nations—two issues on which there had been some division among leaders:

'All of us have heard the warning of the danger that man's new knowledge has unleashed forces that will undoubtedly destroy mankind unless a halt is called and control established. You are aware that our generation holds the keys not only to a nuclear hell, but also to a material and spiritual heaven inaccessible to past generations. If nuclear energies are released in the service of mankind it is perhaps fair to assume that in our lifetime we shall see success in the world campaigns against hunger, disease and poverty despite the steady increase in world
population. This will undoubtedly be the greatest achievement since the creation of man. I have said that we hold the keys, but will we be able to use the right one? We are all in God's hands—even so we must not fail in our task of peaceful diplomacy, the task of doing everything in our power to serve PEACE in the cause of humanity. Only by pursuing this diplomacy can the non-aligned states hope to influence the world and to save mankind from destruction by miscalculation or by madness. This then is the diplomacy of peaceful co-existence. The alternative is "murder". If we assume that there is no alternative to peace then we must also assume that there is no alternative to negotiation or to the diplomacy of peace.

'This working for peace must be in the forefront of our minds as non-aligned nations and we must redouble our efforts for peace both in and outside the United Nations. We, if we work together, can act as a tonic to the tired and overstrained nerves of the "Mother" Organization, if I may call it that. We all know that the United Nations Organization is the only key to international and national security, for it is through the strength of the General Assembly that the non-aligned nations will be secure until all the powerful nations are politically, economically and socially just.

'Of all the roles of the diplomacy of peace it is disarmament that strikes to the heart of the problem. Our goal here is obvious—complete disarmament. True, progress is being made and it is here that we can assist, for we should foster everything that will bring about even greater progress in disarmament. Someone has said, "A moment of pause is not a moment of peace."'

He ended his speech by emphasizing again the urgent problems presented by South Africa:

'You must forgive me if I seem preoccupied with this country, but it must be apparent to you all that its policies loom large in the more southerly regions of this vast continent. They loom like a dark cloud over all our doings and never a day passes without some point of contact being made. The African, and indeed other people still under domination, have associated themselves with a right to freedom and equality—it is because of this that we condemn the racial policies of South Africa. I
have given you the economic picture as it affects my country, but there are countries who still sell the weapons of war to South Africa and these weapons are being used against our brothers and sisters—our brothers and sisters, not in terms of colour, but in terms of the struggle for what is just and right. There is horror and death being sown by these misguided and stubborn men in South Africa—men who still believe that they can turn the clock back by methods of suppression and segregation. Their policies are fraught with the gravest dangers and unless a new understanding and tolerance can be developed they will reap the whirlwind of disaster that will herald one of the great tragedies of the world. My brothers and sisters, there is but one action for this—concerted action for the liberation not only of our kith and kin in South Africa, but for all people everywhere who are still under the tyrant’s yoke.’

As a nationalist leader and a politician Kenneth Kaunda had helped to formulate UNIP’s Pan-African policies. Towards the end of September, with independence fast approaching, he took the opportunity of orientating Zambia’s future ambassadors towards the Government’s ideas about Pan-Africanism, nationalism and non-alignment. After covering familiar ground² he went on to relate the struggles, needs and ambitions of Zambia to those of the international community:

‘One of those individuals who must always be for us a symbol of our tragic struggle, one of our martyrs, Patrice Lumumba, had this to say about nationalism. “A man without any nationalist tendencies is a man without a soul. The nationalism displayed by Africans is often the result of provocations and injustices which they have suffered. The racialism of the colonized people is always preceded by the racialism of the colonizing country.” And finally, a white man, who has been a true friend of our independence struggle, said, “Nationalism is people. African nationalism is the African people.”’

‘Nationalism then was the forerunner and the mainspring of Pan-Africanism; and as I myself told my people in the darkest days of our struggle here: “Nationalism is one of the great forces

² See his speech in the earlier chapter, ‘Relations with Neighbours—White and Black’.
of our century. We do not need to find grounds for unity—our unity is already there in the colour of our skin and our common suffering. This is a great political force and one which can be harnessed for political purposes." All that I said then is true also of Pan-Africanism, but the important point is in the last few words, "harnessed for political purposes".

'One of the things I have to say to you most earnestly is that we must not forget that these forces are means to an end, and not an end in themselves. In these years of suffering and struggle and humiliation we did not forget that our aim was, in our lifetime, to allow no-one any more to make Africans fourth-class citizens in the land of their birth. When people understand a cause, become prepared to suffer for that cause and see glory and honour in such suffering, it is indeed impossible to suppress them or the cause they stand for.

'I said that in 1955, speaking from prison, and it was true—but we have won that battle and we must look forward now to another kind of struggle—one that is no longer for ourselves alone but for the rest of the world. I said then also that we are not concerned solely with the rights of Africans, we are struggling for human rights, the inalienable rights of all men. We have been African nationalists, we have been Pan-Africanists, and now we must be international and think of man everywhere. If we do this then men elsewhere will understand that the world is not divided into compartments like a train, with first-class, second-class and so on. We are travelling together as equal passengers on the dangerous journey of life.

'You will say that this world view is too wide. But we are a great continent with an immense past and future. For the Pan-African spirit, as for God:

"A thousand ages in its sight are like an evening gone,
Short as the watch that ends the night, before the rising sun."

'See what has happened in that short watch since 1945.

'Yet I do not forget that the world is not yet one, that however much we long for international goodwill to give us time to educate our people and enjoy the rich reward of our freedom, we must live in a world full of tension, strife, injustice and hatred and a world where everyone wishes still to make our decisions for us. What can we do, in the Pan-African spirit, to come to
terms with the rest of the world without betraying the people who have made us their leaders? What can we take from the East and West to help our people? And what can we do to help the sick countries of Europe and of Asia?

‘Let me try to answer the first question. Can we take anything from East and West without involving our peoples in their war? I think the answer is yes, and to show you how this mysterious Pan-African spirit puts the same question and answer into the minds of a French-speaking African in the west of Africa and an English-speaking African in the east of Africa, I will quote to you President Senghor of Senegal, who says:

"In the struggle of the blocs, the conflict of ideologies, the profusion of scientific discoveries and technical inventions, we must keep a cool head and an attentive heart. It is not a question of rejecting all the ideologies, discoveries and inventions, but rather a question of not accepting them without examination.

"Once again, we must assimilate without being assimilated." Now hear Dr Nyerere, speaking to a Western expert:

"We need clean drinking water for our people, and that means we must have analysts and doctors. Doctors mean universities to train them and hospitals and scientific equipment, and administrators. Thus we are forced to create your institutions. And because they must be paid for, we must enter the world of economic competition. We must make our people want these things so that they will work for what they want. Yet we do not desire either the extreme individualism of your society, or the extreme collectivism of Russia."

‘This problem of what to take from the West and the East worried me very much even in my earliest days as a nationalist leader, and, as I wrote to Solomon Kalulu from prison, it seemed to me that the Western way of life has been so powerful that our own social, cultural and political set-up has been raped by the powerful and greedy Western civilization. It seemed to me that the economic disequilibrium is such that our people, having lost their social and cultural background, are now hovering around to catch up with the outwardly superior social and cultural levels of the West.

1 Former national chairman of UNIP and a Minister in the Kaunda Government
‘The answer to these doubts lies in three things:

(1) our African personality and the contribution this can make to world problems;

(2) non-alignment in the East/West quarrel, coupled with progress from a Pan-African to an international view of the world;

(3) a collective and positive African drive towards unity not only within the African family but also in the world, and a spiritual, not only a political solution.

‘The African personality—I think we have all thought very often about what this is. As I told our Nationalist Council in August 1963, “Some people who are ill-informed think that there was no political philosophy in Africa before the advent of other races to join us. There is obviously in each and every tribal group a very clear political outlook and here I am thinking of the parallel to the capitalism, socialism and communism of the East and West. Our economic strength was and still is a way of life which I should like to describe as African democratic socialism. Our economic way of life was always based on co-operative action whether on the village or national level.”

‘If we remember this traditional way of living we can preserve the good aspect of tribalism, while rejecting the evil divisions and jealousy which that word can also mean today. In remembering our African past and preserving what is good from it we can also begin to cure, as Lumumba said, not only the epidemics and diseases from which Africans have suffered, but also the distress of mind which is partly the result of colonization. To quote once more from what he said, because of its truth for all of us: “What we have to avoid is false nationalism, the cramped nationalism which conceals forms of racialism and hatred for those of another race. Only pride in our past and belief in our future can cure us of this distress and of this sickness.”

‘And this brings me to two ideas which for me are at the heart of Pan-Africanism, the secret of its force so long as we are true to them. The first is that politics, ideas, are not enough; we need spiritual satisfactions also.

‘The second is that Man is universal. I have long felt that both East and West are failing mankind. We see far too much
emphasis placed, as I have said elsewhere, on material development which in fact is very quickly leading to the eclipse of Man as a centre of all human activity. After all, why make the aeroplane, the car, if not to serve Man? East and West are making Man of secondary importance. Can they recover, or are we in Africa going to bring forth a new ideology to help our fellow-man in these two camps? Or, if we are not careful, shall we find ourselves also slaves to a machine?

Seven years ago Nkrumah's watchword, written round the base of his statue in Accra, was: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto you." But now, except for those tragic exceptions in Portuguese territories and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, we have this political kingdom and we find we are only at the beginning of a long, hard road. To go further we must look beyond that political kingdom and we must remember that we are recovering from a long illness.

Many of our young people also may feel regret and even resentment that the exciting battle is over, and the next phase of the struggle, which is not so much dangerous as difficult, holds less attraction.

But for the man in the street and in the village the fight for education and a decent life is as important as the fight against imperialism once was. Pan-Africanism was and is for all Africans, not just for the intellectuals, or the politicians.

Our African personality contains elements of simplicity and wisdom that are to be found more easily in the common man than in those of us who have tried to learn the complicated new language of the modern world—and this is why we do not and must not lose touch with the common man. Men say: "When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers." Now the fight is over, we must think of the grass, for without the grass our future will be a desert.

Our avowed policy of non-alignment does not and should not mean the exploitation of either of the two blocs for our own benefit, but aims at our being truly independent in such a way as to contribute to the unity of mankind. We cannot and need not take sides in the struggle—but this means that we must have our own policy to advance. Let us combine idealism and realism: there is nothing wrong with these "isms", 148
so long as we use them as stepping-stones to the unity of mankind.

'We are not going to be non-aligned out of fear of being committed, but out of our resolve to be committed only to our own course, to our African policies, and our determination not to become either the political satellites or the economic colonies of either East or West. It will take us time to see where our interest lies (for though we must not exploit the two blocs cynically, we owe it to our people to act in the interest of our country).

'We shall not hesitate to vote with the imperialists if our interest on that occasion coincides with theirs, nor, on another day, to find ourselves in the same voting group at the UN with the Russians if our interest there coincides with theirs. Non-alignment does not mean rejecting the right course of action simply because we do not want to find ourselves on the same side as Country X or Country Y. The Scandinavian countries vote very carefully on the merits of the case, and we can do the same. We must make our non-alignment a truly positive contribution to peace. Like Pan-Africanism, it can be a great force for good, if we African leaders use it in that way.

'The first thing we Africans must now do is to move from Pan-Africanism to something wider. That first conference in 1945 was like a stone flung into the pool. The first ripple came with the independence of Ghana, then followed more and more, and the widest ring now is the Organization of African Unity. What will be the next? A Western philosopher has said: "Men today are becoming gradually conscious of their reason for being, which is to seek out one another, to meet one another, to unite."

'I share the view of Tom Mboya that this unity will mean even harder work than during our nationalist struggle. We have got to learn to live with our neighbour, and this is hard enough even here in Africa; and to respect each other, to sink our tribal and even national differences. Any destructive action is now dangerously outdated. The quarrels now going on both inside our family and in the world community only show that we are just at the beginning of the real business of living.

'Europeans often accuse us of not thinking enough about economic matters. They shake their heads and say: "Ah, these
Africans, they will always prefer to do something for a political reason even if it means economic suicide. What a pity we cannot teach them to think about what is most profitable for their country.” But we, too, do think about these things; we have a vested interest in peace, and we want to be big shareholders in the United Nations. We may not be advanced economic thinkers, but we know the cost of war, and we know it is cheaper to live at peace putting our money, and other people’s, too, if they will give it to us, into saving and enriching life, not taking it. Of course we know that the West and East on the whole understand this, too, but are the prisoners of their policies. But we are not prisoners, at last we are free and we can choose.

‘Six years ago President Nkrumah told the Council of Foreign Relations: “When we in Africa survey the industrial and military power concentrated behind the two great powers in the cold war, we know that no military or strategic act of ours could make one jot of difference to this balance of power, while our involvement might draw us into areas of conflict which have not so far spread below the Sahara—we do not wish to be involved. In addition, we know we cannot affect the outcome.” This, of course, is now changed, for by collective action in the UN we can affect the outcome. Let us exercise that power responsibly and without arrogance. We have long suffered from other people ruling our lives and taking decisions in ignorance. Let us not make the mistake about the problems of the rest of the world. Let us do what we can to help them.

‘President Sékou Touré of Guinea has said that the civilizations which conquered Africa assumed a very heavy responsibility when they destroyed human societies here whose values they neither understood nor could appreciate objectively. We must not make this mistake now that power has come to us again. We must revive the values of our African past and diffuse them everywhere. The forces of Pan-Africanism have nearly completed their task. Let us think now as world citizens.’
The annual conference of UNIP at Mulungushi on September 12-13 was a spectacular affair. With independence only a stone's throw away, the hardened old nationalists, the enthusiastic agitators, the young rebels and the ordinary rank-and-file came together for the last time in an unfree country to take counsel with their leaders about their future. No-one who had listened to, or read, what his leaders had said in the previous year could have had any illusions about the perils of the future; Zambians had been warned that independence did not mean sudden riches or opportunities for relaxation. It was all right to sing hosannas for freedom; but it was not all right to suppose that these hosannas would bring forth manna from heaven.

Kenneth Kaunda prepared probably the longest speech he had ever made for the Mulungushi meeting. He tried to weave into it the experiences of past struggles with the lessons they had to offer for the future. He stood before his people not only as their liberator but as their mwalimu, their teacher. He had given up using political slogans; now he was anxious to talk about the philosophy of nationhood and of mankind:

'We live in an age where thought, planning and action are vital to the survival of an individual in his society, and in the same way they are as vital to the survival of a nation in the community of nations. It is therefore important that at this conference we should clearly define and declare our thoughts and plans, and decide what action is going to follow. This being so I hope you will bear with me if I am longer than is usual. I would now like to speak about that which we believe to be the goal that mankind would like to attain, and towards which, consciously or unconsciously, man is constantly working.'
‘That man has very substantially moved towards a world Government in the last few centuries is evidenced by the fact that at this point of time in the long history of the world, he is rapidly organizing himself from family into tribal and national entities. At the same time he is taking considerable strides towards the achievement of international unity. Man—either through love or fear—wants and, indeed, needs his fellow’s presence. This might be on an individual, family, tribal or national level. Whatever the level, unity is the operative word. This is the background to our thought and action and, indeed, whatever we say must be in keeping with this policy of unity for the entire mankind. We can shout about national unity, African unity, or, indeed, world unity—but if our actions do not match our shouts, we falsify and darken the best in man, and we stand guilty and condemned by our own actions at the altar of judgment.

‘Having reached this very important and creative stage in the development of our own country—a country with a wonderful future—let me repeat what I have said before to support the fact that we have not been deviationists or revisionists. As far back as 1960, I declared in your name—and I quote:

‘“We are not concerned solely with the rights of Africans, we are struggling for human rights—the inalienable rights of all men. We are engaged in a struggle against any form of imperialism and colonialism not because it has as its agents white men, but because it has many more wrong sides than good ones. Temptations in its trends include the worst form of constitutional arrangement that will corrupt the best of men regardless of their colour, creed or religion. It is a system that tempts the privileged few to discriminate against the majority who are the have-nots. The more I ponder over this issue, the more I feel convinced that I am right in refusing to believe that white men do what they do against me and my people because they are wicked. They are in power and power corrupts. We have no justification for fighting against our present form of oppression if, when we come to power, we turn on our oppressors and subject them to the same indignities we suffer at their hands. Our moral and Christian right to fight against the Government of our country rests on a determination to replace it with a
'NEW THOUGHT AND NEW ACTION'

system that is grounded in the Christian belief that all men are born equal in the sight of God.'

'Exactly three years ago we met at this same place to think and plan out our last onslaught on the forces of imperialism and colonialism—the forces of shame that everywhere lead to human suffering and degradation. It was here the spirit of the last stage of our revolution was reborn. We arrested the tide at its height and gave it a direction, as a result of which today we meet in readiness to launch our new state which is to be declared the REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA on October 24, 1964.

'If, in our plans to achieve independence, we destroyed, it was so that we could build—better schools, hospitals, roads, and bridges—where poor ones that we destroyed existed, and, indeed, so that we could build many more where none existed. You cannot contain the powerful forces of nationalism without the danger of that force exploding and spilling over in all sorts of directions, which might mean loss of lives, if not controlled. We can be proud that our plans worked well in that we took no life and, indeed, our people fell at the hands of the forces of oppression without those of us remaining hitting back. We can declare without shame that future historians will say we piloted our national boat well and saved life. If our freedom fighters were condemned to prisons as criminals and loafers it was so that they should be classified as heroes when the history of our revolution is written.

'We stand here today with our heads up, ready to take on NEW THOUGHT AND NEW ACTION. We stand here on the eve of launching the second stage of our revolution—and this is an economic revolution—for any political revolution that is not followed up by an economic one is, to me, not worth the sacrifice its people made. In fairness to you all and the country let me state that the spirit of NEW THOUGHT AND NEW ACTION is something that has already caught up with all our people. It is expressed in the hundreds of self-help schemes that one reads about and sees as one goes round the country.

'Yet another great moment has come, another one that calls for action and greatness. I know you are great and I know that once again you will rise up to the occasion and act. We did not need to find heroes outside our borders to fight our political battles. We shall not have to go outside our borders to find
heroes to fight the real enemies of mankind which are hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease.

'Let me emphasize that our victory over imperialist and colonialist forces, and our subsequent victory at the polls early this year, does not mean we have got a panacea to all our ills. The wheels of life are turning all the time. The removal of one obstacle gives birth to a new one. Take your own garden as an example of what I mean. You start with cultivation of your fields, and then you go on to plant your seeds when the rains come. You do not stop at that because the rains bring a new problem, for as your seeds germinate so do the weeds, and then as soon as you have beaten the weeds and your crops are coming up nicely, pests come in. Soon after you have beaten the pests you have got to start harvesting and harvesting brings you the problem of storage. This is not the end—because the purpose of all these activities is to feed yourself, and so someone in the home has got to process your grain in such a way as to make it edible. You do not stop at eating, because very soon your belly will be empty and you will be starting all over again. In the same way the life of a nation and, indeed, of the entire world is such that it cannot stop or be stopped.

THE PARTY

'Let me now turn to our Party.

'Well, Comrades, in the struggle for national reconstruction, I do want to thank you most sincerely for proposing to bestow on me what I consider to be a very rare honour. You have sent resolution after resolution to our National Headquarters pressing that I should be made Life President of our mighty national organization—THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY. This is something I will always cherish, but I am sorry to disappoint you for, as I made public several weeks ago, I do not feel able to accept this honour. Some of the reasons you have advanced for making me Life President of the Party are—

(a) appreciation for what I have tried to do during the course of our long struggle;
(b) that you want to avoid a second Congo here; and therefore . . .
(c) ... you want someone with real authority to control the situation.

'As we stand today all these are sound arguments, but there are other ways of meeting these valid arguments without necessarily crowning me King of UNIP.

'Perhaps to understand my reasons for not accepting this honour, allow me to say a few words of my understanding of Party, State and Government.

'I believe in what I term liberal democracy, that is a democracy based on universal adult suffrage, the practical meaning of which is respect for the individual in society, no matter how high or how humble. Further I believe that it is the duty of those so elected in a liberal democracy to have as their guide lines—love, a sense of service, and sacrifice for the good of the common man. To achieve this you must have a strong Party and this is why, for us as leaders of our people, the Party must be supreme. If we agree that the Party is supreme, no one man must be put in a position where he is going to be supreme of the supreme.

'Comrades, this is precisely what you will be doing if you made me Life President of UNIP. You will be declaring me infallible, and I will be accepting the fact if I do not decline this honour.

'The Party has to organize itself in such a way as to give the state a stable Government. Now, what is the meaning of Government? I understand Government to be a supreme authority, giving instructions to all and getting instructions from no-one on earth. If you asked me what a good Government was, or what gives any state a stable Government, I would agree with those who say that a good and stable Government must be based on three major principles.

'Firstly, it must be in a position to secure and maintain law and order within its boundaries. It must provide for techniques for peaceful change, and thirdly—it must satisfy the needs and demands of the majority of the people. I am sure you will agree with me in this. It is this type of Government that you and I set out to achieve. The Party is one of those very few important pillars on which we must lean to ensure that what we have achieved through UNIP is transferred to Government.

'In my introductory remarks I said that we could shout our heads off from the top of Africa or, indeed, from the top of the
world, but we would be falsifying and darkening the best in mankind if, even for a moment, we failed to match our words with deeds.

'Therefore, the Party, which is such an important instrument, must bear semblance of the type of democracy we intend to build here. The Party itself must be democratic and if I allow even a moment's personal glory to overcloud my thinking by allowing myself to be an elected King, then I am afraid I would have helped to rob the country of a good, sound, solid foundation for a liberal democracy which, according to my understanding, I have just defined to you.

'So far I have spoken on the material plane. Let me now speak on the spiritual level. I am afraid, countrymen, I have never really found any spiritual comfort in ranks and positions. I am not telling you a lie when I declare here that if you tell me today to go and work as a Branch Secretary, I will willingly do that because this will be the decision of the people I love, serve and sacrifice for when the need arises. What else is there on earth more important than love and service?

My spiritual comfort, from which I derive much of my physical energy, lies in the love I hold for my people and country and, indeed, for mankind as a whole. I hold the view that you do not love man sincerely if you declare you love your people but hate Russians or Americans, Chinese or French—for man is the same and indivisible the world over. If we believe in God we must know He created all of us and must, therefore, believe in the indivisibility of man the world over as I have said several times and from many platforms.

'If I may come back to the subject of Life Presidency, my acceptance of the offer would cut across the source of my spiritual strength and I believe I would find myself very ineffective indeed. I am certain this is not what you want.

'There is a further danger. I might find myself spending more time defending and safeguarding my position as Life President of the Party than on making efforts to serve my country and people. I would feel happier getting your vote of confidence periodically than if I accepted the proposed permanent stamp of authority. The Party would be robbing itself of one of the best freedoms men have ever discovered—the freedom to choose their leader from time to time.
'NEW THOUGHT AND NEW ACTION'

'Let me end this part of my address on this note—that I am very conscious of the fact that as a man privileged to lead our country at this creative stage, I would be committing treason to posterity if today I put self beyond service to my country. If, because of my accepting this position in the Party I set the pace for certain events, I am sure posterity would never forgive me.

'I am further conscious of the fact that in this creative stage what we do might be repeated several times in our history, and I would not, therefore, like the future of this wonderful country to be spoilt merely because I was tempted by a moment’s glitter or glory.

'PARTY ORGANIZATION

'From here, countrymen, I want you to go back to your branches and homes and recharge the Party batteries. There must be a new spirit with the new thought and new action within the ranks of the Party, if the country is going to survive. The Party must be the eyes, ears and mouth of the Government. Through the Party, Government must reach the common man, and through the Party common man must reach his Government. To do this, I would like, in the same way as I have done before, to talk about how we can organize the Party effectively.

'FAMILY

'The first and most important unit within the Party, as indeed with Government, is the individual. We, as branch leaders, must learn how to serve each and every individual in our areas, in our branches, in our constituencies, in our regions. We must serve him sincerely and lovingly. He is not only the most important single unit in God’s complicated creation, but he is also your boss and my boss. We are where we are because of him. He is the source of our power. He has put us where we are. I repeat he is the boss.

'With this we move on to the family which must be organized in such a way that no enemy of the state and Government could get through, for just as the Party would like to organize the individual so the enemy of the state and Government would also like to organize the individual. Branches must meet and
discuss the proposals for their respective areas. If the constituency conferences approve, then the subject goes to the region, and if the regional conference deals with this matter and approves of it, it then is placed on to the national conference agenda, whose decision is final. In this way, through the Party, we can be informed of what the people want Government to do for them, and through the Party the people would be informed of what Government wish the people to do, and indeed, why certain things should be done in this or that way, and why certain things could not be done at the time people wanted them.'

He went on to speak of Party organizational matters:

'The Party must now encourage and help with the formation of co-operative enterprises in the field of farming, building, fishing and, indeed, in community self-help schemes of all kinds. As far as possible Government will help to finance such organizations. To avoid frustration, no self-help schemes should be started without prior consultation with the Under Minister, through the Government District Secretary and Resident Secretary. District Councillors have a very important role to play in the planning and implementation of these self-help and other schemes.

'The special task of any good and reliable Party member is to keep his Party in power. To do this in honour and dignity the rights of the individual citizen must be preserved and protected by your Government. This means that law and order must come first. Some of the ways in which Party members can help are by reporting immediately any of the following to their leaders:

(a) Anyone doing something that might hurt any person, whether the target is our political opponent or not. It could be a non-Party member or a member of a religious organization or any citizen.

(b) Any new faces in your areas must be reported to your leaders who, if they think the presence of such persons prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order, would report to the nearest police station, or any other Government authority in the same manner as Chiefs or councillors do now.
Party members must be exemplary in thought, word and deed, for just as we led in the struggle for political independence, so must we be the vanguard through which the benefits of economic and social reconstruction come to our people.

I have called for every man, woman and youth to be on the alert twenty-four hours a day, for a national call-up at any time. I expect Party members to set an example. No position should be too high or too low for a good Party member.

The nation as a whole needs to discipline itself more and more. Party members are under special obligation to live by example.

I am sure that at this conference you will make many more proposals to help make the Party an effective democratic organ—an organization of service to our country and mankind.

I always find it painful when reports reach me that certain of my colleagues, that is my fellow-men, look down upon our colleagues in the Party who are women Party leaders. Who can deny the fact that they have fought side by side with us and that whatever fruits we reap must be shared by the women who stood shoulder to shoulder with us. I cannot stand by and see the rights of any individual—man or woman—particularly if they are not in a position to defend themselves, negatived by the selfishness of a few. Today I appeal to all of you—and tomorrow I shall instruct—that our women colleagues will be treated as our equals, for that is what they are—our equals.

POSITION OF CHIEFS

Having spoken of the creative stage which we have now reached in the country, I must make a short statement setting out clearly Government’s position regarding our Chiefs. My colleagues and I have often stated, and now let it be declared that the Government of the Republic of Zambia has no intention whatsoever of tampering with the position of our Chiefs. It is our pledge that we shall look after them because we value the
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institutions they have inherited. Handled properly they could be, and are, a source of cohesion in the nation, and so all Party leaders and followers must go out and tell our people that chieftainship will continue.

'All I ask of our Chiefs is the spirit of co-operation, loyalty and love for their people and Government and, if this is forthcoming, then nothing can go wrong.

CIVIL SERVICE AND POLICE

'In these important departments of the Government, as with other citizens in trade, commerce and industry—as indeed within the governing Party—it is important that we realize that we cannot all be captains and colonels, managers or commissioners—otherwise we become a comic-opera country where everyone is someone and no-one is anyone. This rank mania is steadily eating into the flesh of the nation like a cancer and must be resisted strongly because it is dangerous. Service must come first and self after that. If self is placed before the nation, we will not progress and succeed in our many ventures. I earnestly hope and pray that we as individuals will understand that this country—at this hour, more than ever before—needs patriots and nationalists who are ready to serve in any capacity, anywhere and at any time for the love of their country. Personal gain or reward must come second.

'It is painfully disgusting to see so many of our young people drowning in the marshy waters of selfishness. Leadership in parties, trade unions, farmers' unions, etc. seems to be aiming at exploiting the Government. Who is Government? Government is your own delicate property which must be looked after. It is not something unrelated to humans. It is yours and yours alone. It is your duty to GUIDE AND GUARD IT. Do so now without grousing and grumbling for if you do so you gamble not only your country’s and Government’s security, but your own.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

'Independence will bring us directly in touch with other peoples of the world. We must declare what principles are going to guide our behaviour in this sphere.
(a) Like all African states we declare ourselves non-aligned.

(b) We shall apply for membership of the Organization for African Unity, and we have already applied for membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations and membership of the United Nations Organization.

The world today is divided into two warring camps—the West and the East. Even within these two camps one still finds differences of opinion in the same way as you would find differences in the Organization for African Unity. There is nothing wrong with holding a different point of view so long as no hatred is engendered. Our understanding of this non-aligned policy does not mean, as some people would have us believe, the exploitation of the West and the East to our own economic advantage. This simply means we do not tie ourselves to any nation’s chariot or to any bloc’s chariot.

When rejecting your offer of Life Presidency I said I was not infallible. Since nations are made of individuals no nation can claim to be right all the time. In other words, we want to be friendly to all who offer us genuine friendship. I believe that those who want to be friends with us will give us the opportunity to tell them where we consider they are right or wrong, and vice versa. If we chose any one side we would be handicapping the march towards the unity of mankind.

We cannot allow ourselves to be swayed by either the East or the West in our alliances and we can only hope and pray that both blocs will respect our own independent approach to this problem. I repeat we are anxious, when the time comes, to play our part in bridging the gap wherever it exists in international affairs.

We realize that the nuclear powers are now worried and are making attempts—some of them no doubt serious—to try and find a solution to the problem that faces mankind as a result of the birth of nuclear weapons. Africa can play a very important role in this battle to ensure the peaceful use of atomic energy.

The first thing we must do is to support our older nations on this continent who have declared in favour of making Africa a nuclear-free zone. Again I insist we must match words with action—either we want peace or we do not want peace. There are no two ways to this and we here at this conference must be clear in our view and make them known.
'We are interested, partly because we know very well that if catastrophe should befall this generation through man's use of nuclear weapons, the massive onslaught that would follow would not be confined to capitalist or communist camps—in spite of our non-alignment we would be directly involved.

'This is our line of approach. We shall no doubt learn from all those who are willing to help us. We shall receive aid from all those who are willing to give it to us not because they want to combat capitalism or communism, but because they have genuine feelings that their fellow-men need help. Our critics will say this is idealism. This I cannot accept. This is straight and clear thinking. I accept that it is an uphill task because for generations the question of East and West has been built up with the power of mass communication—press, television, etc. Man, in his relaxed moments, is vulnerable to the cheap propaganda generated in both camps.

'We are being born as a new state unfettered by all this. Let us seize the opportunity to use our, as yet undefiled, position to bring something fresh and comforting to the troubled scene. This is not idealism—this is realism. Either it succeeds or mankind will founder on dangerous rocks of conflict.

'Let me repeat my friendly and brotherly warning. In extending the hand of friendship to all and welcoming those foreign missions that want to establish themselves here in Zambia, I ask them not to attempt to split the country by interfering with the Central Committee of the Party, my Cabinet, my Party, Trade Union Movements, Co-operative Movement, Armed Forces, Civil Service and so on. We wish to respect their integrity and we hope and pray they will reciprocate. If it comes to our notice that any member of a foreign mission, Commonwealth or otherwise, has misbehaved here, we shall give him twenty-four hours' notice to leave our country. In our turn we shall not take kindly to a Zambian citizen who takes part in any subversive activities.

'Fellow-citizens, this has been a hard-won struggle, and I ask you all not to get confused by believing in the American Revolution, Russian Revolution, Chinese Revolution, French Revolution or British Revolution. Believe only in your own Zambian Revolution of 1961.

'I do not personally believe in any other "ism" apart from the
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Zambianism which I have already described when rejecting your offer of Life Presidency. I believe in the dignity of man no matter how humble—in the service of man by man—in the protection of that which is good in the Zambian way of life. I believe in Zambia and its people and Zambia's ability through its elected Government to bring to the worker the benefits of economic and social development through his belief in the dignity of labour.

These revolutions, peaceful or otherwise, that I have already referred to produced great thinkers and we thank them in the name of humanity, but declare by the same token, that our revolution is producing our own thinkers in Zambia and elsewhere on this vast continent where resources, both human and material, are as yet relatively untapped.

OAU CONFERENCE

'In the field of Foreign Affairs I must make mention of the Organization of African Unity. The recent Cairo Conference which was attended by thirty-four Heads of State of our great continent has been acclaimed throughout the world as a resounding success and, indeed, those of us who were privileged to attend this conference cannot fail to be impressed with the dignified way in which all our leaders met and discussed mutual problems very, very frankly. It was not soft speaking and many hard things were said, but they were said in a constructive spirit for that frankness was designed to get us somewhere. I am sure all of us left Cairo better informed and better prepared to start afresh in our efforts to serve mankind and Africa.

'Let me warn you seriously, however, that the success of this conference did, and has continued to, alarm all enemies of African freedom and unity. They are better fortified than we are and are now redoubling their evil efforts to destroy where we attempt to build. While, therefore, we are justified in being jubilant at the summit conference success we cannot afford to be complacent, and there is real need on our part to see that the level reached at the historic Cairo Conference is not only maintained, but bettered, as we prepare for the next summit conference which Zambia will attend as a full member.

"AN ARMED PEOPLE IS SUBJECT TO SLAVERY AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT"

HUEZ P. NEWTON
'I have already quoted a statement on human rights that I made in 1960, when I made it plain that we were struggling for human rights—the inalienable rights of all men. I went on to say we were engaged in a struggle against any form of imperialism and colonialism not because it had as its agents white men, but because it had many more wrong sides than good ones. This is true of what was British imperialism and colonialism in this country as it is of the settler colonialism in Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, and indeed true of Salazar’s colonialism and imperialism in Angola and Mozambique. We have no moral and spiritual right whatsoever to succeed here in gaining our independence and sit back in idleness of thought and action, watching, as it were, minority groups continue to oppress millions of our fellow-men in these minority-controlled countries.

'Let me state quite categorically that we oppose the SVS\(^1\) trio of dictators not because they are white men, but because they speak falsely when they declare one human being better than the other, and take that as a reason for holding on to power through the use of lead and gunpowder. To those who are genuinely struggling to free themselves from this unholy trio we pledge our support. Our support, I must insist, is not based on colour but on right. If any majority group tries to oppress minority groups, regardless of colour, we will rise and make the voice of Zambia heard.

'We are confident that our own experiment here, difficult as it is, of building a society in which men are really men—nothing more or nothing less—will succeed, so that we cannot only shame those pundits of doom and doubt, but also show the part of Africa where racism is the basis of society how wrong they are.

'With this, if it is any consolation at all—let it console the troubled minds of those still struggling for independence—let them know that in us they have reliable friends. All we ask is that those who have established themselves in Zambia should (a) stop fighting between themselves if they have more than one party, and (b) not allow their organizations to be used by the

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\(^1\) Salazar, Verwoerd, Smith
enemies of African freedom and unity to disrupt Zambia in any way. If they do become tools of outside powers we shall take it they are no longer interested in Africa’s freedom and unity and we shall not hesitate to deny them the freedom of our country.

**POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS**

‘Now let me speak of our positive achievements. Very often our innocent citizens are misled by those who would wish to cause trouble in the country. Our political achievements here have been spectacular by any standard. Can anyone tell me that there is any other country within the British Commonwealth of Nations where a country has gone from self-government to independence and a republican status within the short space of time of nine months?

‘This is what our critics will ignore, but I challenge any of these stupid people to tell me that “stooges” could achieve this. You must not, my countrymen, be deceived by those who will come to you and say because there was not much bloodshed here your freedom is not yet won; and I must warn each one of you from my Cabinet colleagues to the ordinary member of the Party that the axe of discipline will fall and fall very heavily, on anyone agreeing to being used by any agencies of evil influence here whether they come from East or West. I say this as the Prime Minister of Zambia to whom I owe my first duty, and as long as I remain Prime Minister, and future President, you can expect firmness as well as fairness. As a former headmaster of a big school I knew precisely how the mischievous behaviour of a single student can shake the foundation of the school to the core. As Prime Minister, I know only too well how stupidity and political idiocy of one man can lead to chaos and suffering for the nation.

‘I am sure it is your intention as good citizens to allow me a margin of firmness that might not be very palatable at times, but my Government has shown, through its handling of the double national tragedy of the Leshina and Rhodesian Railway Workers Union affairs, that it can be firm when firmness is required. I can tell you here now that if the need arises I will be ruthless to my own wife and indeed myself, if that is humanly possible, in order to defend peace, justice and fair play
for each and every Zambian no matter how high or how low their status.

‘Countrymen, I have warned you of these political pundits—beware of them for they come to you dressed in brilliant, well-treated sheepskins and yet you do not have to go very far to discover they are deadly wolves.’

(He next spoke of the Lenshina tragedy: this part of his speech is reproduced in Part Two Chapter 3.)

‘Since my Government took over in January of this year, we have made a number of changes in the policy regarding the civil service which will have far-reaching effects. The most important decision we have taken has been that the future policy regarding filling of posts in the civil service will be one of Africanization. As soon as possible after independence this policy will be changed to one of Zambianization. The policy of Zambianization means that as soon as it is possible to do so all posts in the civil service will be filled by Zambians. However, I must warn that the period which must elapse before complete Zambianization of the service can be achieved is likely to be a long one in some cases. This is because it will take some time for Zambians to be trained to take over posts in many professional fields where the period of training takes a long time.

‘However, there are other civil service posts for which no particular professional or technical training is required, and the qualifications for which are gained more by experience doing the work than by courses at universities or other training institutes. To ensure that these posts are Zambianized as soon as possible, my Government have selected over forty African officers to understudy the present European officers who are doing these jobs. Further selections will be made from time to time. The African officers selected are at the present moment learning the work in posts at the very highest level in the civil service. I do not know how long it will take for these officers to gain the necessary experience to take over the work which they are at present learning, but we are all hoping that it will be a matter of months in these cases and not years as in the case of professional and technical staff.

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Another important decision taken by my Government has been to accept the recommendations of the Hadow Report. The basic effect of this acceptance is that salaries and pay at the lower levels will be raised and that salaries at the highest levels will be lowered to what we consider are reasonable wages for the work performed by citizens of Zambia. The greatest effect will be at the lower levels where in our opinion employees of Government were being paid salaries which did not allow them to have a reasonable standard of living. At the present time my Government has under consideration the steps which are necessary to ensure that the old differences which existed for the lowest paid employees, that is, the labourers, should be the same throughout the country of Zambia. This may take a little time to achieve and will undoubtedly cost a lot of money, but we are determined that wherever a person is employed he should be paid the same wage whether he works in Abercorn or on the Copperbelt.

As I have said, all these changes are going to take time and cannot be achieved as quickly as everyone would like. We have taken steps to ensure that the changes we want are made in the shortest time possible and to ensure this we have created a sub-committee of the Cabinet which deals with the steps necessary to make certain that the Zambianization of the civil service is completed as quickly as possible. The method by which we hope to achieve this in a reasonable period is by a crash programme of training at all levels. Zambian officers are being trained at the present time for almost every post in the civil service; some are being trained within the country and others outside the country. A large number of bursaries have been granted for students to pursue their courses in various countries throughout the world, so that in the shortest time possible we will have qualified and trained Zambian doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc.

One of my Government's greatest ambitions is to make the new University of Zambia an important centre of learning and research. We want to make it known as a world centre, staffed with the best men and equipped to conduct research in all fields, including one which, so far as I know, is unique—research in how man can learn to be at peace within himself and therefore with his neighbours. From this centre of learning
we hope will come more and more thinkers who will strengthen those who are at present carrying a great burden.

'I would like to expand a little on what I have said earlier about the forces of law and order. By this I mean the Police, the Army and the Zambian Air Force. We move into independence with a Police Force of which we can be justly proud and with an Army that has already proved itself in difficult operations. Our Air Force is small but it has done a magnificent job during the last two months. The success of any disciplined force must depend on its leadership. Although many of the senior officers in the Police and in the Army are Europeans, I am fully satisfied as regards their loyalty to Zambia and I hope that they will stay on and continue to serve. I do ask that all the people look on the policemen as their friends and respect them and not make their difficult task more difficult.

'I consider that it is essential that proper standards should be maintained in disciplined forces if we are to have the right leadership. Nevertheless considerable progress has been made in Zambianizing the higher grades of the security forces. In the Police there are now, or very shortly will be, six Superintendents, twelve Assistant Superintendents, three Chief Inspectors and one hundred and ninety-five Inspectors. Thus there are already two hundred and sixteen Zambians in the higher grades of the force. The Police Training School at Lilayi is also heavily engaged on running courses for serving members of the force to enable them to qualify for further advancement.

'In the Army by next month we will have eighteen commissioned Zambian officers and we already have fifty-seven Warrant Officers; bearing in mind the standards to which I have referred, we are sending as many young men who offer themselves and who are suitably qualified to Britain for training as Army officers. By 1966 nearly half the officers of the Army will be Zambians who have received the full officer training.

'You are all aware that there is now a reorganized form of Government in the provinces and districts. I want to emphasize that the new Provincial and District Government is still the agent of the Central Government, and it is the Under Ministers, the Resident Secretaries, the District Secretaries and other departmental officers who implement the policies of the Government.
As I have mentioned earlier the Party has a big contribution to make towards the welfare of the nation, and this it can do by close co-operation with the agencies of the Government; but I must emphasize that it is the Government's officers who implement Government policy, and I call on all Party officials and Party members to assist these officers in their difficult tasks and not to hinder them by interfering in matters which are not their direct concern.

'Recently the country has been inundated with very, very selfish cries from certain individuals for more and more to be granted to them personally for self and not for Zambia as a whole. It is regrettable that some of our intellectuals are among those who stand guilty in this matter.

'Ostentation in any form is disgraceful, and some of these people who are now loudly clamouring for their own selfish gain were not so prominent when the masses of our people were struggling against the Welensky regime.

'Do they do this because they are ignorant or think that we are; or are they eager to destroy what we have built up since we were returned as Government? Whichever it is, it must stop. This is not what I, or you, expect from our people. We put our country before ourselves and they should—and must—do the same.

'If these men deliberately continue to misinterpret and misunderstand the people's Government, then I shall have no choice in the matter but to denounce them as traitors to our cause, and they will then know that all people are against them. I appeal to them to cease insisting how important they are and begin thinking of service. No one man is important—only Zambia and her people as a whole are important.

'In the joy that now penetrates all our ranks as we prepare for the greatest occasion in the life and history of our nation—independerce—we are apt to forget that we have had here ten years' interruption of the colonial rule, the period which will go down in history as a time when a handful of men tried to rob us permanently of that independence which we knew under British colonial rule would have come anyway. During this period, our motherland has had terrible economic setbacks because, as you all know, it was the milked cow that remained unfed. However, we can now rejoice that because of our
determination to break it, because of your co-operation in breaking it, we are now assembled here to commemorate not only our independence, but also the death of Federation. The credit must go to the common man who struggled so hard.'
PART THREE

THE BIRTH OF ZAMBIA
Chapter 1

MIDNIGHT, OCTOBER 24, 1964

The birth of the Republic of Zambia at midnight on October 24, 1964, was an event of crucial importance, but not only for the peoples of the new African state. It marked the advance of the African revolution to the banks of the Zambesi River, the continent’s Mason-Dixon line. To the north of it (except for the Portuguese territories) all of Africa was now liberated from alien and minority rule; to the south of it lay all the unliberated countries of the continent. Zambia’s birth inexorably brought closer the struggle between ‘free Africa’ and ‘the white supremacists’.

A few hours before midnight Kenneth Kaunda’s voice was heard over the BBC:

‘I speak to you on the very threshold of the most important day in the history of my country, for in a few hours’ time—in the first seconds of the twenty-fourth of October, 1964—our new national flag will be hoisted for the first time to fly proudly from the masthead here in Lusaka, and the Republic of Zambia will be born. I do not need to tell you of the mounting excitement here in our capital city—pride in the thought that tomorrow we take our rightful place among the nations of the world—pride that we also emerge as a full member of the Commonwealth in our own right—pride that we have achieved this without losing the friendship of anyone; but with our pride goes humility, for we do not shout from the mountain-top that we are great—rather do we realize that now we must work to prove our right to greatness.

‘We realize the difficulties that lie ahead, but we shall meet them with courage and determination and give national interests precedence over all individual interests and prejudices.
In this I am fortified by the knowledge that all the people of Zambia, regardless of race, colour or creed, are with me, and with the help of God good fortune awaits us all provided we are dedicated to hard work and above all—UNITY. At this time I like to think that you of the Commonwealth now listening to me will wish us well in our task and extend to us the hand of friendship, and that you, with us, will pray that we can fulfil our destiny with dignity and in peace.'

In the Independence Stadium, filled with thousands of jubilant Zambians and with hundreds of guests from all over the world, Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal handed over to the new President of Zambia the Instruments of Independence on behalf of the Queen. President Kaunda received the return of his people’s birthright with a speech, dignified and simple:

'This is an occasion to bring joy and happiness to people of all races and creeds, both within the territorial boundaries of Zambia and far beyond to those other countries which will be watching the birth of this new nation with sympathy and friendship.

'When you, Madam, handed to me the Constitutional Instruments which formally created this new country of Zambia, I became, once again, deeply conscious of the great honour bestowed upon me when the elected representatives in the National Assembly of the people of Zambia indicated that I was their choice as the first President of the Republic of Zambia. At the same time, my own emotions of pride were tempered by those feelings of humility which I know are an essential ingredient for all forms of leadership. Let us all be proud of Zambia; let us be proud of our achievements and of our ambitions for the future for our country of Zambia; but let us also show the humility towards God and friendship towards others, which will assure us of our self-respect, and at the same time will assure us of the respect of other peoples and other nations.

'At this historic moment, the birth of our country of Zambia, our thoughts must naturally turn back to the national struggle towards our independence. In our days of difficulty, of despair and sometimes of physical or mental hardship, I and my closest colleagues were always strengthened in our resolution and determination by the knowledge that our cause was just and
right, and therefore that it would prevail. To you all who took part in the political struggle, whether in a major or a minor role, whether in the limelight or in the shadows, all of us in Zambia must acknowledge our debt today as we achieve our independence.

'This, indeed, is a fitting moment for all of us to pay tribute to those who fell in the struggle for freedom and who would have loved to be with us at this historic moment. The nation will never forget them! Today, however, is an occasion, not for dwelling on the past, but for rejoicing at our present happiness, and for anticipating the future of our country with optimism and loyalty.

'Speaking of the future, I am glad to tell you that the five-year Development Plan which Government intends to initiate in early 1966 is still being worked out but Government is also very much interested in the Transitional Development Plan which we hope to publish in two months' time. I am, however, already able to give you some indication of the determined way in which we are resolved to develop our resources, and to take full advantage of the potentialities of our people.

'Government spending on schools and teachers' houses was only a little over one and a half million pounds last year. In 1965 we intend to spend six million pounds. It is also intended that there should be very substantial increases in Government investment in defence, housing, agriculture, health, roads and the provision of electric power. Altogether we expect Government spending on construction alone to pass a figure of twenty-seven and a half million pounds compared with eleven and a quarter million pounds in 1964. I have mentioned these figures specifically since they represent a challenge to Zambia's building industry. But it is a challenge which—given this advance notice—I am confident the industry will be able to meet. To help the industry, a fuller statement of these target figures will be published in a few days.

'To you, Madam, as the personal representative of Her Majesty, we are greatly honoured by your presence and by the continuing interest in our country which has been a feature of the Royal Family over a period of years. To Her Majesty's Government, as we attain independence, I have a special message of friendship. We appreciate the contribution to the
welfare of this country by the British Government over the past sixty years. It has given us a foundation for human, economic and political development. This will enable us to direct our new national pride into methods of increasing the economic and social wealth of all the people of Zambia.

'At the present time we look forward to the growth of a new political relationship with the British Government as we emerge as a full and equal member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

'It is fitting that I should, at this point, pay tribute to Sir Evelyn Hone who has been Her Majesty's representative in the territory. His contribution to the peaceful solution of our political problems has been unique; his firmness has been tempered with a patience and tact which should be a model which those of us who are now responsible for the affairs of our country of Zambia would do well to follow. When Sir Evelyn leaves our country shortly we shall say goodbye not only to the last colonial representative of Her Majesty, but we say farewell to a wise and kind friend of Zambia.

'As this new and special association begins today with the British Government, let me also extend the hand of friendship of Zambia to all those other countries of the world who believe in the international brotherhood of man. To all who offer friendship and respect for our state, we shall both welcome and also reciprocate their kindness and sincerity.

'I have said before, and I repeat now, that the solid foundation of our foreign policy is non-alignment. We defend this as a constructive approach based on the strong belief that man is one and indivisible wherever he happens to be. A policy that clearly indicates Zambia's intentions to play her role in international affairs without artificial prejudice against anyone. To help a human family realize its cherished idea of unity of mankind Zambia is going to be not only a member of the Commonwealth but also of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. At this juncture, since so many nations have blessed the birth of this young nation with the presence of their representatives, I should take this opportunity to thank all these representatives most sincerely and to ask them to convey our very warm greetings and appreciation to their people.

'Today on this occasion of great pride to us all in Zambia, I dedicate myself humbly and sincerely to the service of the people
of Zambia. The task before us in building our new nation is formidable and I shall need the support of you, the people of Zambia, if I am to succeed. I need the help of everyone, from Cabinet Ministers to their fellow-citizens working on the road, from civil servant to political leader, from businessman to the village cultivator. If we believe in our country’s future then we must look to the people, to all who live in Zambia, to make it strong and keep it free. I dedicate myself and my leadership of the state to the people of Zambia, confident in the knowledge that together we shall succeed in realizing our ambitions.

'I will state here categorically that it is my firm intention to defend the constitution of the Republic of Zambia. Let me state once again that under divine guidance I shall serve all my fellow-citizens loyally and faithfully without regard to any artificial considerations.

'I pledge myself to be guided by the noble principle that man is one and indivisible wherever you find him, as I have pointed out already. I promise to suffer with every Zambian and likewise to rejoice with every Zambian wherever I happen to be. In promising to uphold the cherished freedom that is embodied in our constitution I am aware of the many forces at work, some of them will be tribal, religious and indeed political, to say nothing of those other forces that limit progress when we try to fight the hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease that is so prevalent in our midst. I might mention the most dangerous one and this is unwillingness to work hard. Perhaps it is fitting that at this point I should thank all the people of Zambia for their wonderful response to my call to the nation for hard work. I am most encouraged but I should emphasize that this is only the beginning.

'I promise further to see that no law-abiding citizen will be victimized in any field at all. I promise progress and advancement to every law-abiding and hard-working Zambian.

'Let it not be said in Zambia that a citizen rose to the highest on any grounds other than merit.

'In the name of the people of the Republic of Zambia I call upon each and every citizen in this promising young country to rise and march forward to peace, progress and human development and dignity so that we can work for the day of plenty for every citizen in the country.
ZAMBIA: INDEPENDENCE AND BEYOND

‘People of Zambia of all races and religions, and those who believe in and have a true friendship for our new state, let us remember today our national motto—“One Zambia—One Nation”.

At a civic luncheon in Lusaka on Independence Day the President dwelt on the role of Zambia in the Commonwealth and in world affairs:

‘A great deal of history has been written in the past twenty-four hours, and I address you not only as President of the Republic of Zambia—but also as the President of a state which is now a full member of the Commonwealth. I should like, therefore, to dwell briefly on the importance which I attach to this new status—enjoyed not only by me personally, but by the nation as a whole.

‘At the last meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers it was said—“The Commonwealth is not just an association of Governments. It is an association of peoples.” This is a most significant statement in the context of our new country, inspired with great hope for the future and backed by a buoyant economy in which all races play a part in welding together a united nation. It is the successful association of peoples which forms the foundation for a united and prosperous Zambia and which ensures its future.

‘But it is not only national unity which creates strength but also international unity. I am sure that the confidence bred by the association of the nations of the Commonwealth will go a long way in spreading the cause for free independent government throughout Africa and the world. Open discussion with representatives of states already independent can do nothing but good, since it will stimulate a free exchange of ideas in the political, educational and economic fields. It will temper enthusiasm with experience and allow the best counsels to prevail in the many problems which beset us in the world context.

‘The drive towards world peace will be as powerful as the forces which unite in their determination to achieve this aim. Since the Commonwealth is so determined I am happy that Zambia should lend her weight in the struggle for peace.

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The capital-aid and technical-assistance programmes provided through the Commonwealth association have opened up new horizons for many developing countries. The economic advantages of commercial and industrial ventures expanding in the associated countries of the Commonwealth are of evident benefit to all concerned.

Amongst those here today there are many who originate from a variety of old and new member nations of the Commonwealth. I hope they will take additional confidence from Zambia's new membership and know that, although no question arises of allowing interference in the everyday government of an independent Republic, I shall take every appropriate opportunity to consult member states on issues which affect us all.

I do not in fact see Zambia as a silent member in so far as the Commonwealth is concerned. We shall undoubtedly draw from the experience of other countries but we shall also have an outstanding contribution to make in regard to our own achievements, from which others will in their turn be able to benefit. As the years go by that contribution will become increasingly great.

At this point I will anticipate possible criticism that I am proposing a policy of alignment with the Commonwealth as a world political force. I would emphasize that this is not so. Indeed it cannot be so since I have already referred to the Commonwealth as an association of nations and peoples. Association in its turn means co-operation for the common good of these peoples. There is no compulsion or dictatorship from any central federation of Governments. On the contrary, it is the flexibility of this association of nations which is its most attractive feature, providing as it does a "support for world peace and national rights" without hindering the separate development of each member in terms of its domestic affairs.

I will also take this opportunity to express my gratitude to those Commonwealth nations who have in the past, individually and collectively, come to our aid in striving towards nationhood. Their aid has not been limited to mere words—it has taken concrete form in terms of funds, training facilities and the provision of experts in many fields of development and scientific advancement. Their assistance is evident today and many undertakings have been given for the future. Rest assured that Zambia
will not forget those who have given assistance and will, in turn, stretch out its hand to help those who have yet to attain the ultimate goal of independent government.

‘There must be no half-heartedness in regard to this last objective. The very ideal of “Commonwealth” can only be sustained where membership is based upon freedom of speech, and freedom of choice in government by all the peoples of any nation which is a member. Today I am happy to say we can by these very criteria be proud of our new membership. It is for Zambia to enable others less fortunate to share that pride in their own right.’

The days following independence were taken up with celebrations devoted mainly to the founding of institutions appropriate to the needs of the new Republic. On October 26 the President laid the foundation stone for the new Parliament Building in Lusaka:

‘Our legislators will come as individuals to Parliament, representing their respective constituencies, but I hope and pray that all of them will be united in the spirit that they are all here not only to speak of service, progress and development in various fields, but also to live what they do preach. I pray that even as they are able to disagree in the House and yet meet in their tea-rooms to chat and joke together, they will see that this spirit permeates the rank and file of the people they represent. Here we lay down the foundation not only of Parliament, but also of the nation in that, as I have said already, the nation will be moulded mainly from here.

‘Might I say, Mr Speaker, that it is my earnest hope and prayer to see that the laws that are going to be made in our Parliament are just and fair to each and every individual. We want to see that the freedom for which we have all struggled is maintained and upheld. This would be an empty declaration if we did not, in every legislation that was enacted, remember that what we enact must benefit the common man without regard to his colour, race or creed. In all these declarations no doubt the nation will join me in praying to God so that we can truly and honestly keep our pledges.

‘I am confident that the image of the House in the minds of
the people of Zambia will continue to be of a zealous, dignified and responsible body of men and women in whose hands can be left, with confidence, the destiny and well-being of all Zambians. In laying down the foundation of these Parliament buildings, I am very conscious of the fact that these are important buildings in that they are going to be the heart of the nation.'

On the same day Kenneth Kaunda gave a banquet for the distinguished company of foreign envoys who had come to greet the new Republic. There were envoys from virtually all the African states, from the West and the East, and from the non-aligned nations. It was an occasion to redefine what non-alignment meant for Zambia. It was also an occasion to raise a voice of anxiety over the dangers of nuclear proliferation heightened by China's recent decision to test her own bomb. Finally, it was an occasion to warn against the dangers of new kinds of imperialism:

'What is non-alignment? It is a determination to preserve independent sovereignty, to respect such independent sovereignty in other states and to decline to take sides in the major ideological struggles which rend the world. These struggles are, we all know, those of the West and East, between whom the differences since the end of the Second World War have become so clear-cut as to divide the world in two.

'Both sides have recruited new members to their teams, and both sides have drawn supporters to their touch-lines. And, let us be frank, both sides are continuing unceasing in their activities directed towards enrolling further members. Both sides in their unrelenting struggle have come near to explosion in the past fifteen years.

'What could be clearer than the need for non-alignment in a world so desperately divided? We, and our non-aligned friends, do not presume to inflate ourselves to imagined importance, nor do we presume to be smug demagogues telling the world the errors of its ways; but what we will be is a force, uncommitted and unaligned, ready to hold a balance and to offer an outlook unclouded by the blind commitment to a doctrine of this bloc or that.

'It is not our intention to play off one side against the other in
any circumstances, whether in pursuit of power politics or in search of aid. We will accept aid of any useful kind from anyone, provided such donors come as true friends and make no demands conditional upon the help they offer.

'It is simply that we will not hitch our carriage to any nation's engine and be drawn along their railway line. If Zambia took this course—and I am ready to recognize that in many cases it is the line of least resistance—we would be hindering the advance towards the unity of nations for which we in this country aim with a singleness of purpose. We want to be bridge-builders, not ditch-diggers.

'We recognize that the main power blocs of the world today are trying to find a solution to end the mutual fear which has grown up as a result of the complete division of their doctrines and policies. I recognize with satisfaction the very great step forward which was represented by the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Let us give credit where it is due, and acknowledge that this Treaty was initiated by the leaders of the divided blocs themselves. But let us be grateful also for the part which other members of the United Nations, and not least the non-aligned countries, played in achieving the final outcome. This Treaty represents a great advance towards peace, and as long as the United Nations Committee on Disarmament continues to meet (even if it has long since broken all records for marathon staying power) we can dare to hope for yet further moves towards peace.

'Zambia, as a non-aligned state in company with others of like persuasion, can do much towards the settlement of differences; operating, as we can, from the unhindered advantage of being shackled to neither side.

'This will be our constant endeavour, and while I welcome the sign of progress towards world peace, to which I have just referred, and the consequent marked easing of East/West tension, I am at the same time deeply saddened by the recent step which has been taken in East Asia. This cannot but renew apprehensions, renew fears and renew distrust, which—thanks to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—were beginning to be assuaged.

'This action, as does any action which causes unease in the world, affects us in Zambia very deeply. For make no mistake. I am not an ostrich! I do not believe that non-alignment is a
dark neutralist hole, where you can hide your head, and free
yourself from any cares about the activities of anyone else in the
outside world. I know perfectly well, and so do we all in Zambia,
that if catastrophe should befall any of the great powers, the
resultant explosion, the appalling consequences, will engulf us
all: the greatest and the smallest. There could be no escape.

‘Thus it is that today the words of John Donne are a more
striking reminder of the truth than they can ever have been
since he wrote them: “No man is an island. . . .”

‘Speaking of China’s break into the nuclear camp I must
once again raise the matter of their admission to the United
Nations. The exclusion of China is a matter of concern to us
all and I would plead strongly to all member states to think very
carefully about it. The United Nations members are all bound
by one set of common rules and if only for this reason no nation
should be barred from membership. If and when the time comes,
I would support the inclusion of the Peoples’ Republic of China
in the family of United Nations.

‘There is, I know, in certain quarters some cynicism about
non-alignment. We hear charges that some non-aligned states
manifest all the indications of alignment with one of the blocs.
I have no illusions and nor have the leaders of the truly non-
aligned nations. We in Zambia, together with those countries
who truly profess their independence from East and West, will
earn our actions respect and acknowledgment for our
neutrality. We shall without exception practise what we preach.

‘You will find Zambia unwavering in its determination. We
are newly born. We are unfettered by past world commitments,
and we propose to advance unswervingly, profiting from our
freshness. You may say this is idealism. We do indeed seek the
ideal: the ideal world peace and unity of mankind. And we are
employing realism in our pursuit of it.

‘Zambia will take its place and will play the fullest part in
world organizations dedicated to peace and to the betterment of
man’s lot.

‘We attach paramount importance to the United Nations
and to the Commonwealth. These two bodies are the two great
implements of peace today and Zambia has applied for member-
ship of both, and looks forward to the great honour of being
admitted to these two families.
Zambia has, of course, applied for membership of the Organization of African Unity. I have been privileged to attend some of the recent meetings of the organization in an observer capacity. I have been deeply impressed by the approach adopted in its counsels and by the unifying force which it exercises in the cause of peace throughout Africa. I look forward to Zambia's admission to this organization.

There are numerous other organizations, both international and intra-African, to which Zambia either belongs already or will seek admission. Many of these, and particularly those embracing African nations, concern co-operation in technical and scientific matters. In the vastness of Africa disease, whether human, animal, plant or soil, knows no boundaries. The ravagers of our crops, be they locusts or small birds, similarly do not recognize the political borders which divide us. For our own benefit, and for those of other countries situated in the southern half of Africa, we shall continue to co-operate with countries on our borders in the control of such threats to our health and our agriculture.

We shall offer help wherever we can in the world, and we shall receive help and advice with gratitude provided, as I said earlier, that no conditions are attached to such help. Friends can and do differ, but friends respect each other's point of view and refrain from imposing their own.

Zambia will not interfere in the affairs of other states, nor shall we be a party in any way to the interference by others in the affairs of a third country.

We in our turn ask our friends in the world—and we look on every country as our friend—to respect our sovereignty and to respect the path upon which we are setting out. We cannot tolerate interference in the affairs of Zambia.

One imperialism is gone from the world, but imperialism itself is not dead. It has been customary to associate the words imperialism and colonialism with those colonial powers who divided Africa and other parts of the world in the nineteenth century. But let us be honest: imperialism is not theirs alone and the greater ones have gracefully laid it aside and brought on their subjects to independence. Imperialism is not theirs alone: some of those who cry loudest today against such things are themselves not above entertaining neo-colonialist and imperialist
aspirations. Imperialism comes in different guises and under different names and we in Zambia do not fail to recognize it for what it is. Africa is a tempting field for these new acquisitive adventurers, but we shall not fall to their entreaties or their devices.

'Many of the nations whom you represent here today will propose establishing missions in Zambia. We are honoured; and we offer you the warmest of welcomes. I know that you will not take amiss from me a friendly request; a request which recent events in other parts of the world and of Africa indicate that I should put to you. Please respect the sovereignty of Zambia. Please respect our integrity. If temptations to interfere in the affairs of Zambia should come before any foreign mission, I beg them to put such temptations away from them. My Government will not hesitate, in the case of interference in our affairs, to request the offending mission to depart at once.

'I cannot envisage that such events as I describe could take place in Zambia and we shall offer to all foreign missions and indeed to all visitors within our borders a hospitable welcome. You have, I hope, already tasted something of this welcome. It is part of our nation. Zambia goes out into the world offering friendship to all and hoping she may receive it from all. Zambia goes out into the world ready to play her part and bear her responsibilities in international affairs. Ready to make any contribution she can to the furtherance of peace. Zambia in her independence is aligned to no doctrine, to no power, to neither Eastern or Western bloc. And free from such encumbrances we shall pursue unswervingly the aims of world peace and the unity of mankind.'

On October 27 the President laid the foundation stone of the Natural Resources Development College and of the Staff Training College at Lusaka. At the first ceremony he spoke of the need for spreading development fairly around the country, and of the opportunity for trained young experts to guide this development:

'Standing here, I see in front of me an example of this pioneering. Here is land which only a few months ago was all virgin bush, never having been farmed, and now we see it
as cultivated farmland with obviously a very considerable potential.

‘In this connection, I am particularly pleased to learn that every bit of this clearing has been done by hand, providing employment for a considerable number of our people. I feel it is so very important that our development schemes are designed to provide not only the necessary amenities and facilities, but also, in the process, as much employment as possible.

‘I am pleased also to see the Zambia Youth Service with a camp here and closely associated with this project. I understand they help with the clearing and receive a certain amount of agricultural instruction in return. This is the type of arrangement I would like to see extended, because in developing our technical training, we must realize that it is at all levels that skilled people are required, and each level has its own part to play.

‘The new University of Zambia has quite naturally attracted a great deal of interest and attention and will have a vital role to play in the future, but at the same time we must not overlook the contribution which has to be made at various other levels, including that of this new Natural Resources Development College. The contribution of this college is complementary to that of the university. Here students will be trained to Diploma level in a variety of different subjects, all of them in some way concerned with developing our natural resources.’

Opening the Staff Training College, he spoke of the importance of providing Zambia with the type of trained people of whom, at independence, it was so sadly in need:

‘The immediate aim of the college is to provide “job-centred” training to prepare local officers to take their rightful place in the civil service of the new state. This type of intensive practical training will ensure that the best possible use is made of our manpower resources in building up a service of which this country may justly be proud. Flexibility will be the keynote of the college for the next year or so and the various training syllabuses will be kept constantly under review to ensure that they meet the changing requirements of the times.'
‘No longer can any civil servant say that there are insufficient opportunities for training and advancement in government service. Today, any man in the service who demonstrates that he has the right qualities of ability and integrity will be eligible for selection to attend the courses at this college. Tremendous opportunities await the men who pass out of this college with a good record. Indeed, recent appointments confirm this.’

Zambia's crucial task was to find enough educated people from the school-going population to work on the ambitious national plan which the Government had prepared for the young Republic. It was essential to try and persuade enough youngsters on leaving school to come forward to work on the programmes that enjoyed a high national priority. Accordingly, one of the President's first appeals on taking office was directed towards the nation's youth:

‘As President of Zambia I carry responsibilities for the well-being of the country and all its peoples. It is right, therefore, indeed, it is my duty, that I should address school leavers at this important stage in their lives and advise them on their future careers. Zambia is a young nation and has the vigour and the aspirations which are associated with youth. But its resources and potential are relatively undeveloped as is to be expected in a young nation. Our aspirations will not be fully achieved and our resources will not be properly harnessed and used to promote the prosperity of Zambia unless the young men and women who leave school this year and in future years play their full part in the work of nation-building.

‘It is the duty of the young people of our country to give service to the state and those young people who have had the advantage of a secondary-school education must consider themselves as having a better start for service to the country than those who have not had this advantage. Service to the state may be given in a variety of fields—in the public service—in commerce—in industry. But it is in the first of these, the public service, that the needs of the nation are greatest.

‘The public service, and I include in this the teaching service, the police and defence forces and the local government service, has relied in the past largely upon expatriates for its manpower.
The output from our secondary schools was not sufficiently large for this to be otherwise. But the number of students in the secondary schools is increasing rapidly and, although we shall have to continue, for some years to come, to rely upon expatriate officers, especially in the professional and technical fields, it is the duty of Zambians to offer themselves for public service so that a truly Zambian Service will be created.

'It is my very definite hope that the majority of young men and young women who are Zambians or who intend to become Zambian citizens, and who will be leaving the secondary schools in Zambia this year, should offer themselves for appointment to the public service or continue their studies to obtain a higher educational or professional qualification which will enable them to render more valuable service to Zambia. I wish all those students who have the ability to obtain higher qualifications, to do so, provided that the qualifications will be of value to the nation.'
Chapter 2

A NEW VOICE AT THE UNITED NATIONS

President Kaunda's momentous year culminated in an assignment he had dearly set his heart on achieving. On December 4 he spoke for Zambia at the General Assembly of the United Nations:

'I stand today a free man—the representative of yet another African country which has won the long struggle for liberty and now takes her place among the free nations of the world in her own right. I thank you for the welcome you have accorded me in the name of Zambia and I wish to take this opportunity for myself and for my country to make a public declaration and a public pledge. That pledge—made to you—made to the world—is that Zambia will do all in her power to be a worthy member of this great international organization. We pledge ourselves to fight for what is right and to be true to the aim expressed in the preamble to the Charter: "To practise tolerance and to live together in peace and security".

'I speak with the voice of over four million people—the voice of the people of Zambia—but I speak also for those millions who are still not free to speak themselves. It was in 1962 that I last stood here and then I wept for the suffering and humiliation of my people at home. Today, even in our jubilation, I weep still. I say to our brothers of South Africa; of Southern Rhodesia and of the Portuguese Territories: "Today we weep for you. We do not forget you in the day of our triumph. We say for you in the words of the Psalm, 'turn our captivity, our Lord: they that sow in tears shall reap in joy'."

'My people and I believe that we have a special association with this great assembly. In our joy, we are close, for you will know that we chose for the day of our independence—October
24—United Nations Day. Each year on our independence day, we will be rejoicing with all people, the birthday of the United Nations.

'It is in sadness too we are close, for you all know that it was in our country that Dag Hammarskjöld, then the Secretary-General, died on his way to a mission of peace and reconciliation. We honour his memory and mourn his loss, but his spirit endures in this place and I and my people salute it. Our young diplomats received some of their training this year under the auspices of the Dag Hammarskjöld foundation and we cherish this association with him and with the great organization he helped to build.

'You will understand from this that my country regards the United Nations as the greatest single hope we have for the future, and our membership as the greatest of the responsibilities which our freedom has brought.

'Our aim is the aim of that champion of freedom now no longer with us but ever living in our memory and in the memory of all those who still wait for their liberty—John Kennedy. Kennedy said in 1962: "Our basic goal remains the same: a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system, so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others." This is also our goal, and it is my purpose to bring my country into every international group which aims sincerely to serve that noble purpose.

'To this end we belong to the British Commonwealth where, with millions of our fellow-members of every creed and colour, and drawing on a common reservoir of wisdom and understanding, we can work towards our common goal of peace and prosperity for our people and all their neighbours. To this end we also belong to the Organization of African Unity where, in these last years, great progress has been made not only in the fight for freedom of our African brothers, but also to learn, once free, to settle our differences and problems by peaceful discussion, and to strive vigilantly and unceasingly to rid our continent forever of crimes against humanity wherever they occur, against evils such as imperialism, neo-colonialism and aggression.

'Zambia's policy in external affairs is a simple one. We
believe in non-alignment and maintain our right, having won our independence, to make a free choice in the interest of our people on all the great issues which today divide the world. We feel that it is also our duty to make such sacrifices as are necessary to win freedom for those men everywhere who are not free men today. In these matters we look to the United Nations for guidance and for action and support.

'But our non-alignment is not a withdrawal from world problems—indeed it cannot be; for our geographical position as a land-locked country brings us into direct contact with eight neighbouring states whose policies and actions are of immense concern to us. It would not be fitting that I refer to them in this address, but nevertheless our problems in this respect must be heeded by this assembly as and when they are brought forward.

'Zambia stands, then, like the other non-aligned nations, for the abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all forms; and for the right to accept help from East or West without committing our people to accepting their political beliefs. We know that independence is only the first step on the road to freedom and that in taking our country into the complex modern world we need modern institutions and modern skills.

'But we will not purchase economic development at the cost of a new type of colonialism. We are aware of neo-colonialism in many lands. Too often, sometimes unknowingly, technical assistance and aid have contained tendencies towards a new type of dependence just as difficult to throw off as the old. It is our view that bargains have no part to play in technical assistance.

'Therefore, we ask that countries which offer us their aid should not exploit our need in order to infringe our sovereignty, for this is something which we shall guard jealously.

'The United Nations can best assist us in this for it represents almost the whole world and contains no dangers of a new colonialism.

'We in Zambia are determined not to become the political satellites or the economic colonies of anyone in either the East or West. We shall vote in this place on the merits of a case and not reject what we believe to be the right course of action simply because we do not want to find ourselves on the same side as country X or country Y. We intend to make our
non-alignment a positive contribution to peace, and to do all we can to reduce the areas of tension which unhappily exist today.

In 1945, the Pan-Africanist Congress meeting in Britain expressed the hope that once we had broken our colonialist chains—"we, as free nations would stand united to consolidate and safeguard our liberties and independence from the restoration of Western imperialism as well as from the dangers of communism". In the six years since Ghana won her freedom and joined this assembly, the African countries have, year by year, grown stronger; attracted more support in our struggle to end colonial domination, and turned from being passive on-lookers to being a positive force. All this was accomplished without nuclear weapons and without great military strength.

That we are non-aligned does not mean that we are not committed; that we long for peace does not mean that we are not ready to fight. For we must be neutral in nothing that affects Africa's interests. We in Zambia have forgiven the past and will strive to forget our years of suffering and humiliation, but we cannot forget our brothers who are still not free. Yet I do not call for violence.

In 1960, speaking from prison, I told my people that once we had won our struggle we must still look forward to another—not solely for Zambians or Africans but for all humanity. But if we use violence before exhausting all other means we should be responsible for the deaths of many of these very people for whom we sought freedom. We must, therefore, choose the harder path of non-violence and of positive action which great Gandhi first taught us, for we must never forget that our battle is to ensure that our oppressed brothers shall not die but live. This is what the African states can do in the United Nations Assemblies and this place is where we may hope to persuade those powerful countries—who alone can exert effective pressures—to do so. Yet I warn you that we in Africa cannot hold our people back for ever, and prevent their burning indignation and shame from breaking out into action which might set the world alight. Patience is an egg from which comes forth great birds—but it can become addled.

But we cannot wait for ever; men are dying today who will never see their country free. We cannot stand by and be silent. Men had to die in North Africa because there was no way to
exert pressure to free them—the world must not let this happen again in South Africa.

‘I have said that the United Nations represents almost—but not quite—the whole world. Some Africans are not represented here—nor is the great and powerful Peoples’ Republic of China. While 760 million people have no voice here this cannot be called a true world assembly. I hope that this great organization to which we now have the honour to belong will think about this and consider the implications carefully. We in Africa are striving to become world citizens. In Zambia, our African society is essentially communal and we have striven not to become divided by tribalism or class consciousness. To this end our motto, emblazoned on our new coat of arms, is ONE ZAMBIA—ONE NATION.

‘When I was privileged to become chairman of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for Central and Southern Africa I had to learn to think about more peoples—more nations—and now in the Organization for African Unity we are learning to sink our national differences and understand clearly that any destructive action is dangerously outdated. We have a vested interest in peace and wish to see everything done to free the whole world from the fate that hangs over it. We wish to keep Africa free of nuclear action and feel that the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was a most important step forward in showing that East and West are trying not to be the prisoners of rigid ideologies. Now with the explosion of a Chinese nuclear device still echoing in our ears it becomes more vital than ever to have a forum where the whole world, including the Chinese, can meet and talk.

‘The United Nations is such a forum.

‘Nevertheless, the United Nations is under continual criticism—criticism that it is weak. If we ignore criticism we become complacent, and that will be worse than being weak. But we must accept that the United Nations organization is as good as what we put into it in the way of service to humanity, for I am not alone in thinking that man is one, indivisible and of importance the world over.

‘So firmly do we in Zambia believe in the central importance of man as such that many observers have suggested that it is almost an obsession. Honourable delegates, if a nation must have
an obsession we consider that the most desirable one is a belief in the sanctity of man.

In this context I feel compelled to offer sincere thanks to both Russia and the United States of America and their avowed policy of co-existence. That two great world powers, both armed with weapons capable of world destruction, can get together and achieve so much augurs well both for the future of mankind and for this world body.

So far I have spoken of what we hope to receive from the world and this is much, for though our country has mineral wealth we are a poor country. Our people need teachers, doctors, nurses and every kind of expert in order to reap the reward of our struggle and to use our manpower and our resources to the full.

We shall have attained nothing as a Government unless we secure for the common man a higher standard of living. And we must demonstrate our stability to the world. Our internal policies must be above reproach and the basis of power within the country of Zambia must be the people—the people, irrespective of religion, colour or political leanings. The Government must be in a position to secure and maintain law and order for the safety and protection of all law-abiding citizens and, as important, there must be no amendment to the constitution regarding a change in Government unless it has been signified by the people and acted on by peaceful and constitutional means.

We also have much to offer to the world and I might compare our African spirit to the rushing waters of the mighty Zambesi River from whence we derive our name of Zambia. That spirit, harnessed to our political purpose—our will to be free—produces tremendous power, just as the waters of the Zambesi harnessed to the Kariba Dam have produced power for the whole country. This vast store of Pan-African power can be used for good and for the whole world. A distinguished African writer has said: “If the world cannot find a moral basis for its existence, power and forces and conflict must be regarded as the only realistic foundation for national policies and international relations. This is where the new nations of Africa may come in to remind the powerful nations that the true path to harmonious relations and world peace lies in focusing attention
on human beings and in going out in a spirit of brotherhood to meet human needs.

"If East and West joined together to meet the moral challenge to serve the needs of Africa, the most needy continent, they might through their co-operation to serve a needy brother, rediscover their own brotherhood and so save humanity." I believe there is a profound truth in this statement.

It is also my belief that Africa has something of importance to contribute to the world. Our African personality contains elements of simplicity of service—of community which all the world needs. Our economic life has always been based on what I should like to describe as a traditional co-operative way of living. This is the African substitute for the capitalism, socialism and communism of the East and West. We offer it as our contribution to the world sum of experience.

Our aim as Africans in the world assembly will always be to find a common moral language with all mankind—to seek out one another and unite. We see no alternative to negotiation and consultation in the real and abiding settlement of disputes.

In the name of Zambia I thank you for receiving us into your community. We ask now to exercise our right, as a member of the United Nations, thoughtfully and without arrogance. And I hope and pray the day will soon come when this great body, the United Nations, knows each and every one of us only as citizens of the world—nothing more and nothing less."
PART FOUR

ON THE MORROW OF INDEPENDENCE
Chapter 1

Mobilizing a Nation

The President’s broadcast on New Year’s Day, 1965, was confident of ‘a year bright with promise’. He reviewed the encouraging work of his Ministries over the previous twelve months. These included the completion of an Emergency Development Plan of £35 million to be spent over the next eighteen months; the creation of Zambia’s own currency; a £1 million school-building programme; a £500,000 loan plan for small farmers; guaranteed prices for maize farmers; the establishment of over twenty new industrial enterprises and the prospect of an iron-and-steel industry; a minimum wage award for commercial farm employees, and the raising of wages for rural workers to bring them more into line with urban wages; industrial wage increases; new trade union laws; establishment of the Zambia Youth Service with a strength of 20,000 to help combat unemployment, to instil discipline and to provide training; expansion of the health services especially in rural areas; improvement of water supplies and of water-borne sewerage; prison reform; legal reform; improvements in roads and other communications.

On January 12 he made his début in the First National Assembly as the President of the Republic:

‘In August of this year I was elected as the first President of our nation. My pride in accepting this appointment was tempered with humility as I realized the extent of the trust which the people of Zambia had placed in me; but I daily gain renewed strength and renewed hope from the knowledge that I have the support of the people of Zambia in the tasks that lie ahead.’

Having paid tribute to the ‘unflagging energy’ of his Deputy
President, Mr Reuben Chitandika Kamanga, the President reviewed the work of the fourteen Ministries, amplifying the details given in his New Year's Day broadcast. He outlined the Government's plans for building an integrated army:

'At the beginning of 1964 my Government took over a Defence Force comprising an Army of two regular battalions, two territorial force battalions, elements of a number of small units, and an Air Wing equipped with six transport aircraft—four Dakotas and two Pembrokes.

'During the year, this nucleus was formed into an efficient force, and an armoured car squadron, an engineer squadron, a signals squadron, and a troop of the most modern field artillery were added. The Air Wing was designated the Zambia Air Force and comprises one squadron, based at Livingstone. You will know that the Defence Force performed a most difficult task with credit during the Lumpa disturbances, and distinguished itself by its discipline and bearing during our Independence Celebrations.

'During this year it is the intention to form yet another regular infantry battalion based at Broken Hill, and consideration will be given to other requirements to provide the Army with much-needed balance and support. The Air Force continues to expand. Delivery of new aircraft will commence in February. Planning is virtually complete for the building of the new air base in conjunction with the new civil airport at Lusaka, and by mid-1966 the Air Force should be established in its new accommodation.

'On the personnel side, we have commissioned twelve Army officers locally, and six after training in the United Kingdom. At present there are twenty-two future Army officers undergoing training in the United Kingdom, and two in Canada; and we will send many more overseas to train this year. Four local recruits are undergoing preliminary flying training in Zambia prior to training in the United Kingdom. A further twelve local men are receiving technical training at Livingstone. We shall also recruit a further nine flying and twelve technical recruits for initial training in Zambia and advanced training in the United Kingdom.'

In the field of education what he and his colleagues were
trying to do was to make the schooling system non-racial while at the same time expanding it.

'The dissolution of the Federation left this country with two educational systems which up to that time had been organized on a racial basis. During 1964 a start was made to bring the two systems together and to provide for integration of the races in the various kinds of schools. The number of Africans who attended the former non-African schools was initially small, but the new system of education has worked well and the success achieved in 1964 augurs well for the future. Plans were laid during 1964 and will come into effect in 1965 for a very much larger attendance of Africans in the schools now known as the fee-paying schools. This applies, in particular, to the secondary schools and all empty places at the Form One level will be filled later this month by pupils who will have competed for these places by merit irrespective of race. Those children who enter Form One in fee-paying schools in 1965 and subsequent years will not be required to pay tuition fees. In this way it will be possible gradually to remove tuition fees from all secondary education. . . .

'From the start of this school year the structure of primary education will alter. In the past the non-fee-paying schools, as they are now called, provided eight years of primary education. It has been decided that all primary education in Zambia shall consist of seven years of education: four years of lower primary education and three years of upper primary education. Because the primary course will be divided into only two groups in future one of the selection points will disappear and a greater number of children will complete the full course.

'In the technical field a new secondary technical school will open in January this year. It will be known as the David Kaunda Secondary Technical School, situated in the buildings formerly occupied by the Hodgson Training College. This school will provide the future engineers and technologists of the country of Zambia. In addition, training at the technician level will be continued and expanded at the Northern Technical College at Ndola and at the Evelyn Hone College of Further Education, Lusaka.

'My Government is anxious not to confine itself to the
provision of education in the classroom and it is our aim to give those who have already left school the opportunity to gain further qualifications. A large programme of evening classes has already been instituted and will be enlarged during 1965. Arrangements have also been made for the setting up of a correspondence course unit.

‘During 1965 the University Provisional Council will speed up its work aimed at opening the new University of Zambia in March 1966.’

But he was still deeply concerned about industrial relations:

‘During the last twelve months my Government has been gravely disturbed by the number of industrial disputes which have taken place throughout Zambia. Our country is embarking on a period of intensive development and economic expansion and for this industrial peace is essential. Recently enacted legislation will undoubtedly act as a deterrent to the type of strike which we have witnessed in the past, but there must also be a genuine desire by both employers and workers to work for industrial harmony. The Government expects the labour force in every industry to give a fair day’s work for a fair day’s pay but it also expects every worker to be treated with respect. The education of officers and members of unions at our proposed trade union training college according to our principles of industrial negotiation and consultation will be of great benefit.

‘A man’s wage must allow him to enjoy a reasonable standard of living for himself and his family, but at the same time, we must ensure that rising wages do not lead to decreased employment opportunities. Government has already taken steps to improve wage rates and in March 1964 a statutory minimum wage was introduced for agricultural workers. On July 1 the wages of Government labourers in all rural areas were raised to a minimum of five shillings a day, and more recently the scope of the Wages and Conditions of Employment Board was extended to include all rural areas. A Comprehensive Determination applicable to the rural districts will be published in the near future.’

True to his promise that Zambia would create an independent Judiciary, he was able to announce:
MOBILIZING A NATION

'My Government recognizes the importance of the complete separation of the Judiciary and the Executive. This separation was never clear so long as officers of the former Provincial Administration held court regularly in their capacity as magistrates. During the past year there has been a large increase in the establishment of magistrates, and court officials. . . . There is now a country-wide cover of judicial matters by magistrates of the Ministry of Justice.

'1964 saw the creation of our Court of Appeal, which means that, since cases no longer go to the Privy Council, the ultimate court of appeal for this country lies for the first time within its own boundaries and our own judges sit on its bench.'

He was concerned also about the accessibility of the courts to the ordinary citizen:

'My Government is at present considering how it may extend legal aid, at present confined to criminal cases, to civil cases and to providing legal advice for the citizen who is uncertain whether he has grounds for action. It is only just that no man should be permitted to suffer because he is too poor to be able to discover his legal rights, and we are eager to move as quickly as practicable in this field.'

The President paid tribute to the co-operation of the expatriate officials helping the Government and reiterated the policy of employing more Negro Zambians in the civil service. But at the same time he warned:

'I must say, at this stage, that while my Government intends to advance Zambian officers to high positions in the civil service—and recent promotions to senior administrative and professional posts are positive proof of our intention—we shall require of these officers and those who follow them the same high standards in the performance of their duties as were required of their predecessors. Advancement will continue to be dependent on qualification, ability and efficiency, and those who aspire to higher positions must acquire the knowledge and experience to enable them to discharge their responsibilities.'
ZAMBIA: INDEPENDENCE AND BEYOND

It is revealing to compare the style and presentation of President Kaunda's speeches made when talking to sophisticated audiences with those in which he tries to explain government policies to the ordinary rank and file. Here he is speaking at a mass rally at Chifubu on January 17:

'Political independence only serves as a key to the door of economic and social progress. Because we held ourselves together, because we struggled together, we have now got the key of political independence. We must now together hold this key. It is in your hands. It is in mine. And we must push it in the hole to open the door to economic and social progress for all the people of Zambia.

'The question now is—how do we do this? This is the kind of question for you and me, to sit together to plan, to think again and find out which way we go.

'Countrymen, let me declare here in the name of God our Creator, in the name of each and every individual in Zambia, black, white, brown, Lozi, Luvale, Tonga, Bemba, Ngoni, Lunda, each and every individual in Zambia, from the smallest village to the biggest town, all individuals in Zambia, in their name I wish to declare some of the most important principles which all of us must follow.

'Countrymen, we said during the struggle that we intend to remain true to what we propounded during the struggle—that our society in Zambia shall be non-tribal, non-racial, and that our society in Zambia shall only judge each and every individual according to his behaviour. There shall be no taking sides—and I repeat there are no sides today—and so long as the present team remains in Government, there will be no saying that you are Ngoni, you are Mulozi, you are Bemba, you are Chokwe, you are Luvale, you are English, you are German, you are Irish, Italian. Those people who say that—those who point fingers at other people because of their colour, because of their tribe—those who point the finger at other people directly or indirectly, consciously or subconsciously, blame God for making their fellow-man what he is, and anyone who blames God is a fool and an idiot.

'Friends, I repeat this, consciously or unconsciously, knowingly or unknowingly, if you should stand up today—if I should
stand up today—and attack somebody else you and I defy God. I will not help you simply because you are Ngoni, or Tonga, or Lozi, or English, or Irish, or something else. Those who defy God pay the penalty and perish. Who are you, who am I, to say to my fellow-men I will not have you because God made you black, I will not have you because God made you white, I will not have you because God made you brown, I will not have you because God made you a Luvale? Who are you, who am I, to defy God?

'Brethren, we need not go very far from here to find out what happens to people who defy God, when people start pointing fingers at each other because of their tribe and because of their colour. The Congo is a very bad example, because people refused to respect God's creation, and said God was wrong to make them of different tribes and of different colour. Look what is happening there—innocent men and women and children of all tribes, of all races, are dying every minute. Even now as I speak to you fellow-men are losing their lives. For what? For what? Is that what you want? Of course not!

'We don't rejoice that such things happen in the Congo, we don't rejoice because our fellow-men are suffering like that, regardless of their tribe, nation or colour. When one individual dies in Zambia, I suffer, I feel pain, one more has left me. I ask you to take care of each other, to love each other, to understand each other, be patient with each other. The task of building a nation cannot be and is not an easy one. It has never been an easy one anywhere on earth. Friends, that is the best foundation for the future society in Zambia. This is how we intend to go forward as one nation in Zambia. There are no two ways about it. It is as simple as that. There must be one nation only in this one big country of Zambia.

'And now I come to report very briefly. I will spend more time on what we intend to do, rather than what we have achieved in the past twelve months. All the same it is important that you know how much we have done already for this country, because some people do not read, do not have an opportunity to read, do not have an opportunity to listen to the radio. This is the first opportunity I have had to report very briefly to the country on some of the major items of progress and development.

'First of all, you should know that in a very short space of
time we have already spent over a million pounds improving school facilities in Zambia. The next few months will see us spending over seven million pounds on education alone. This education is not only for children; it is also for fathers, the mothers, the uncles and aunts of all these children. We are building adult and various other education centres in Zambia. We are building and expanding night schools for the old men and women, people in the afternoon of their lives. We do not want them to die without at least knowing how to write their names. We promise this. We are achieving this. We shall not sit in idleness over this question of education and you know very well that our aim is not just show: that after five years at the most each and every child in Zambia must be at school. It is not enough to pass a few people in academic subjects; we must train people to use their hands, so that not a single Zambian in any corner of this country shall sit down in idleness without knowing at least how to use his hands if he can't use his brains properly.

'You know only too well that we are forging ahead in the field of health. We are building rural hospitals, health centres: all these are being done by your Government. Every day, every night, things are happening. It is our intention to train more and more Zambians to become nurses, to look after our people in the hospitals, health centres, clinics and dispensaries. In this, I repeat, Government is making much headway. You know that in non-fee-paying hospitals, you no longer have to pay for your ambulances: you get into them and they take you to the hospital free of charge at Government expense. You know very well that mothers in these non-fee-paying hospitals, when they are in labour, do not have to pay the thirty shillings you paid to the Federal Government. All these things are abolished in the interests of the common man.

'Brethren, I move on to roads.'

(And so on. Later he spoke of corruption.)

'I understand that there are some people—employed by Government, employed by the mines, employed by other agencies—who, when they are in key posts and when people come to them wanting employment, ask these poor people to give them something—"Give me 5 and then I will employ you."
'Now listen, brothers, the day I discover you are doing that, you will go to prison on my orders without going to a court of law. My Government hates corruption, and anyone we discover doing that will go to prison. We are going to tighten up the law, because corruption exists today in Zambia. If a poor man comes to you wanting a job, and if you say to him, "Give me £5"—where is he going to get it from, apart from the wrong principle? I have discovered that some people in key positions in locations are obtaining money in this way. A person goes to them wanting a house and is told, "If you want a house give me £10 and you can get a house quickly." That must stop from today; it must finish. Anyone I discover doing that will be in trouble with the Zambia Government.

'My next subject is trade unionism. Friends, I have spoken in my address to Parliament of the importance of good relationships between employer and employee, and between them and Government. We must all come together. We in this country value a free trade union movement very much indeed, and we are doing all in our power to help it develop into a healthy organization. I see that the UTUC\(^1\) is in some financial difficulty. I am considering methods of helping them out of their financial troubles. I will not say what method I am going to use. Leave that to me.

'But I must ask that when an employee has quarrelled with his employer, he does not immediately say "Strike". You will go against each other when you say "Strike". Now you can’t build a country like this, countrymen. I know of the difficulties which face you and we are looking into those difficulties and will help you through. But we expect a responsible attitude towards your employers and towards the country as a whole. You must remember that we have got many thousands of people without jobs. We must find these people jobs and a house to live in, so that they, too, like those of us who are employed, will have a decent life in Zambia.

'This is the aim of Government, but if we are going to have a chain of strikes from Livingstone up to Chingola, those people who want to invest here are going to say, "These chaps are hopeless and irresponsible: we can’t take money to their

\(^1\) Unified Trades Union Congress
country.” We want foreign money, foreign capital for investment in Zambia. To give more and more jobs to our people; to bring more and more know-how to our people, so that members of trade unions can learn how to function, how to perform. Study the job, so that you see that trade union responsibilities do not begin and end with demanding more pay. The responsibilities of a trade union are to see that there is a decent wage, a decent life for each member, and also to see that more people are employed in the country.

‘I appeal to those of us who are employers—I am head of one of the biggest employing agencies, Government—and I, as an employer, a good employer I hope, would like to call on my fellow-employers to look after their servants properly. This is an appeal on both sides, to employer and employee. Let us build a new Zambia where all people are going to be proud to come and help us build a new country. This is very important.

‘Countrymen, my next subject is the Party, and what has been referred to several times by my colleagues as the one-party system in Zambia. This subject is very important. It is obviously going to be a controversial one for some time to come, because we feel right through the continent of Africa that the trend of events leads towards a one-party system. So we cannot remain in isolation here. There is going to be talk and more talk about it. There will be many people who will discuss it in public and private places.

‘Now, we cannot as a party compel or force anyone to come and join us. We cannot do that. We shall do all we can to organize our Party effectively, to attract more and more members, because the way we behave speaks even louder than my words here. Our critics no doubt will say, “If you have a one-party system you will have a dictatorship.” I don’t accept that. Only a few months ago we met at Mulungushi. You, my friends, asked me to become Life President of the Party. I refused, I refuse now and I still refuse. So long as you choose me I promise to give of my best. So long as you elect me as your leader, I promise to give of my best. No man can do more than that.

‘Politically, I shall choose a moment, a suitable moment, when I know my Party is popular and we shall go to the polls. Perhaps in less than five years’ time, in keeping with the Con-
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stitution. And if at that time we should have all the seats, eighty or ninety or whatever the number may be at that time, all of them UNIP, we shall definitely accept the ruling of the people.

'It will be their decision and we shall respect it. We shall not foment or create an artificial opposition, just for the sake of opposition. At the same time we have no intention whatsoever, having been given authority to go on for five years to rule as one party, of legislating against the formation of any other party, so long as their behaviour inside Parliament and outside is responsible. If they misbehave, in accordance with the law of the country we shall ban them. If they misbehave, I repeat misbehave, we shall ban them as we banned the Lumpa Church.

'When I make a political statement of this nature it should not be misconstrued as weakness. We mix fairness with firmness, as I have said so many times before. This is the stand we take, and I warn you to be ready at any time. When I judge that we can win all the seats in Zambia, I am going to call a snap general election, and we shall win all the seats. Who can complain of this? There is nothing wrong in aspiring to a one-party system. Even in Britain, which is the mother of the Westminster type of democracy, if Mr Harold Wilson could win all the available seats in Parliament, he would not give some to the Conservatives. What stops them from using the one-party system there is not the principle; it is the sociological, economic and other conditions. In a population of over fifty million, you can't have one party popular enough to win all the seats. But here in Zambia with four million only, it would be possible, and we are going to do it, but through organization.

'Now I move on to the question of employment. How do we bring more jobs to Zambia? I am sure you will agree with me this is the most important thing at this moment. Friends, remember that to win independence we had to work hard. To get food we must work hard, too. Now, there is a slackness in the nation—I can feel it—I can smell it—I can sense it—wherever I go people are beginning to lag behind. This is the wrong spirit. We must move forward again to economic independence. We have already £35 million—almost £36 million—to be spent during the next eighteen months. Plenty of money—we have never had it so good—to use a Tory phrase. Never before has this happened in Zambia.
‘Before I tell you what we intend to do, before I ask you to come forward and join in this forward march, let me warn you, there are some people who do not like the Zambian way of life. They will say, “Kaunda and his colleagues, his comrades, are Communists.” These people don’t like African nationalism. They will denounce us as Communists. In the same way, other people from the East are going to denounce us because of our claim to African Democratic Socialism, our traditional way of life. People from the East are going to say we are tools of capitalism and the West will say we are tools of communism. Both sides are perplexed by our stand in Zambia. I don’t blame them. They are engaged in their war of ideologies. Communism against capitalism. We are not engaged in that war. We want to feed our hungry mouths, we want to give employment to our people, not ideologies.

‘As I said in Kitwe a few months ago, all these forces are going to parade here smiling as friends. In fact, they are enemies. I am not afraid of what comes from outside, but I am afraid of what comes from within Zambia. The rest of the country, the rest of the world, can go on pressurizing—that is why they are there. They are going to pressurize the cold war. If we give in, we are to blame, it is our mistake, and chaos and disorder will follow. I am not frightened of anything, no matter how hard-hitting it is, from outside Zambia. It does not matter. But once you agree with them, it is only one short step before these people come to you and say, “Kaunda promises jobs—where are they now?”’ They want me to do what they failed to do in seventy years here. There are people coming round here who will say, “If you agree to communism it is going to be very well indeed. This African socialism is no good.” They want you to say that my comrades and I are no good. All right—no good I agree—but let it be proved at the polls.

‘If you vote for us, it is all right; if you don’t vote for me—I don’t mind. If you wait until election time—that’s all right, but these people are coming here to teach you to disrupt our economy. If you accept that, you are the ones to blame. Remember, thousands of people are going to die because you accept stupid ideologies, completely inconsistent with the Zambian way of life. Capitalism and communism are out. Let them go. And so long as I am leader of the Party I am not going
to allow any stupid people to come here to disrupt the country because of their ideologies. If I discover them here in Zambia, they will go away by the fastest plane. Please, please, please Mr Capitalism and Mr Communism remain here but co-operating with us.

'We are powerful enough here, we are simple nationalists behaving in a traditional way of life. We believe in the importance of man the individual, the centre of all human activity. The centre of God's creation is man, man the young, man the old. He is the one my Government is going to serve. Ideological battles must go, I don't want them in Zambia. So long as I am the President of the Party, and so long as you still have confidence in me as President of the country, I am not going to allow ideological battles on the soil of Zambia.

'Now countrymen, I have said we have got £36 million to spend during the next eighteen months. This means we must spend at the rate of £2 million per month. Now this is a wonderful opportunity, but we must organize ourselves. We have called upon big contractors, to carry out in the country some very big contracts. But, most important of all, the people themselves must find a way of participating in using this money to develop their country. The only way I can think of now is this. The first thing I do, countrymen, is to call upon all those people who are without jobs who were trained at the then Hodgson Technical College, and those who are without jobs who were trained in any other trade school in the country, to come out now.

'We want them to form co-operatives, building co-operatives, co-operative societies. We are ready to give these building co-operative societies grants to start construction businesses so that they can go and build schools, hospitals, roads and so on, because the big jobs must go to the contractors. We want these small people to grow up so that they will be able to employ a number of people. So long as they come together they will have carpenters, plumbers, and they will form teams—co-operatives—not only on the Copperbelt but right throughout the country. We shall help them to start.

'Now secondly, I want another kind of co-operative society, this time to produce vegetables only, on the Copperbelt. I am ready to go forward and those who are interested must come forward. Vegetable growers on the Copperbelt must join with
those interested in growing fruit around the Copperbelt. These people must come together. The money is there and the know-how is there. We have lined up these things. We are waiting for the response from the country. The money is there for those who are prepared to work hard. To work hard with their hands, their brains, their minds, their hearts. It is a challenge to you, not to me. I am giving you the money. Come forward. I want to see you.

'Thirdly, I have promised the country that by 1970 there will be eggs and milk for every child and for every family in Zambia. This must be done. It is not a false promise. I am working towards this goal. We can't get eggs for nothing. We must find them here in Zambia. We can't get milk from heaven. God has stopped dropping manna from heaven. Manna is on earth now. So I want another unit—egg production. You know I have got an expert, a Negro from the States to look at this. I want people to offer themselves, volunteers, people who will be prepared to work hard, to learn from those who know how to produce eggs. This too, will start around the Copperbelt. We shall spread this later to other provinces. We must start here and feed the children of all races, of all tribes in Zambia.

'I want yet another co-operative society to be formed for ranches which will produce beef and milk. Here I can give you the figures. For the vegetables and fruit co-operatives, I want the first twenty-four volunteers next week. For egg-producing societies, I want the first volunteers—twenty-four—next week. We shall enlarge on numbers as time goes on. There is no time to be lost. For ranches on the Copperbelt—first unit, fifty members. One unit in Mkushi—fifty. Another unit in Chisamba—fifty. We shall enlarge the numbers as time goes on. So here we have one hundred and fifty families settling next week, if you are prepared to work hard. If you are not, don't blame me.

'I want one hundred and sixty families to settle in the Chipembere and Mkushi areas. I am ready to receive you there. What are you doing in town—loafing? There is a farm waiting for you there! Right here in Ndola we have a £1 million factory which is going to need thousands and thousands of bags of groundnuts for processing into cooking oil, soap, candles and so on. These nuts must be grown by Zambians. Let us get on with it! We must move now—nuts are required right here for a local market, let alone for overseas markets. We have four areas of
five hundred acres each waiting for you and a further six in Luapula Province in Fort Rosebery District. What are you waiting for? I am waiting to hear from you.

'I talked at length on what we can do tomorrow. Let me now tell you that we have plans afoot to expand all these services which I have outlined to you. I have spoken of contractors, co-operatives, small people coming together in each and every town and presenting themselves before the Resident Minister. I must emphasize one thing however—in all these dealings we must have honest people. You must be honest. It doesn’t help you or me, or the country for that matter, to have you come forward to deceive the country, because there is going to be discipline in all these activities. The nation intends to impose discipline on those who are false to it. So you must come forward and form these co-operative societies with honest intentions. Builders, plumbers, carpenters and painters form one group. Many of you are needed because there is going to be building right through the country. Another group I haven’t mentioned is road makers—road builders. Those who have some experience of road making, must come forward and form a co-operative of their own and join in the national programme of development. You form it—we shall see whether we can help you.

'For these projects—vegetable, eggs, ranches, building contractors—whether you are going to settle in Fort Jameson, in Luapula, or anywhere in the country, my Government has set aside £1,500,000. You can form these co-operative societies anywhere in Zambia and we shall assist you in getting on.

'Thank you all, thank you very much for coming to listen to me.'

In those early months of 1965 the President addressed rallies all over the country, hammering home the need for hard work, for efficiency, for honesty and for co-operation. But there were those in Zambia who seemed to have mistaken Kaunda’s patience and gentleness for weakness. In the opposition party, the African National Congress, and among the organized workers there were people planning to undermine the Government by illegal strikes, and to challenge its authority.

In the first week of April there had been municipal elections, and while UNIP wrested the crucial Mufulira seat from the
ANC it had two shock losses in the capital. It was not the loss of these seats that upset Kaunda but the mischievous and often irresponsible accusations that had been made against the Government by its opponents. The effect of these tactics on the country was discussed at a meeting of the UNIP National Council in the second week of April. Their concern was by no means restricted to the ANC; they were concerned about the activities of certain elements in the trade union movement as well.

On April 12 an angry Kaunda spoke at a mass rally in Lusaka:

‘From midnight,’ he said, ‘I change my colours. If anyone misbehaves I will either restrict him to a certain area or arrest him and get him convicted.’ The latitude given to political opponents to misrepresent the Government at will had been abused. ‘During the last six months I have been smiling like a fool and some people misunderstood my smile. Sweet reason has failed and, if you agree, I have got to control this freedom somehow.’

This stern warning seemed to have some effect. No action was needed. Nobody was locked up.

The President did not, however, use these mass rallies to speak only of internal affairs. He was concerned that the ordinary Zambian citizen should understand the country’s foreign policies as well. On February 7 he was speaking at a national rally at Maramba, Livingstone:

‘We publicly support the entry into the United Nations of Peking China. This is not because we hate those people who oppose China’s entry into the United Nations but we think it is unthinkable to exclude from that world organization 760 million people. It is not right at all—and we insist that Peking China must come together with Formosa because those people are one and the same people. Let them be one China and enter into the United Nations as one country.

‘There is nothing contradictory in this because in the same way we support West Germany’s entry into the United Nations and would like to urge the coming together of East and West Germany. Again, those people have been split and yet they are one and the same people. We will pray that the day may not be
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too far when they will come together to continue as they had been before the War as one nation.

'In the same way we support the participation by Russia in the Afro-Asian Conferences because part of Russia happens to be in Asia and the conference is Afro-Asian, and we don't care whether there are differences between China and Russia; we think morally that Russia should participate in these conferences so long as they are named Afro-Asian. Part of Asia is in Russia and it must be allowed to participate.

'We can never support anything that brings out hatred between any groups of people on earth; whether that quarrel is between Russia and China, East and West, we believe that God's people were made to work together. One might say, "This is idealism." I don't accept that. This is idealism combined with realism. So long as different factions of people are fighting they displease God. So long as there are differences between men this does not make God happy. And I believe, those of us who believe in the holy creation must come out at all times clearly without fear of others to speak in terms of human relations. Let us not fail to do this. Otherwise there is total destruction for mankind as a whole.

'Finally, on foreign affairs we would once again urge President Sukarno of Indonesia to think once again and rejoin the United Nations. If that world organization is weak today it is not the fault of the organization. It is the fault of us, individual nations, that make it. That organization cannot be worse or better than we are, we individual nations. We make it, it cannot be worse or better than something that is not there. We are the people who can make it good. We are the people who can make it bad. Leaving it is not the answer to world problems.

'Brethren, in our efforts to build one nation let me tell you that I have been very much impressed by what I have noticed here in Livingstone. I have seen a crowd truly representative of all people—black, white and brown, all of them mixing freely and listening together to what I have to say on behalf of the nation. To build a nation each one individual in that nation must make efforts, serious efforts, to help build that nation. Now I was just going to end my message on foreign affairs and I would like to say this in conclusion of my observations.
'In your name I have given very firm instructions to all our diplomats that they are not, I repeat they are not, to interfere with domestic affairs of other nations where we have sent them to represent us. No Zambian diplomat is allowed in any way at any time in the country where he has gone to serve Zambia to interfere with affairs of that country. This is not allowed by the Government. Any diplomat who does that will be dealt with very severely. In the same way we expect those people who come here as diplomats from other countries never to interfere in our own affairs. If they do that, in the same way that we shall deal firmly with our diplomats who interfere with other people's affairs, we are going to deal very severely with diplomats who come here and try to do damage to this country and to the Government.

Friends, we in Zambia realize that we are only human beings and, therefore, capable of making mistakes, and as such I wish to declare here and now that both on international level as well as the home level, if my Government should make a mistake either through words or deeds and thereby wrong another I am quite prepared to apologize to that nation publicly.'
Chapter 2

THE DANGEROUS FRONTIER

The threat by the Southern Rhodesian Government to make a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) was renewed early in 1965. Mr Ian Smith published a White Paper examining the consequences of economic sanctions if, as Mr Harold Wilson had warned, the Commonwealth acted collectively against any illegal action by the white minority government. The White Paper envisaged what action was open to the Rhodesians if the Zambia Government joined in economic sanctions. The object of this exercise, so far as Zambia was concerned, was clearly to frighten off UNIP's leaders from joining in collective action against its southern neighbour. If this indeed was Mr Smith's objective, his plans quickly misfired. On May 5 the President broadcast his reply to the Smith Government:

'Recent happenings have left us no choice but to speak out. We have not been silent because we were afraid, we kept our peace because we hold as a basic principle non-interference in the affairs of other states.

'Ve do not look with favour on other countries meddling in our affairs and we try to live up to our beliefs, but when the Government of a neighbouring country threatens economic strangulation, when it threatens to hold us to ransom for its own illegal acts, when it attacks the democratic foundations of the nation we are attempting to build, and makes insinuations about the integrity of our cherished democratic institutions, when I say we are subjected to threats and abuse, then I must speak for my nation and my Government. Rhodesia has demanded independence but independence under a constitution which no right-thinking person could accept.
'The present Government is elected by a minority, the vast bulk of the people of Rhodesia have no say in the election of those who govern them; the people who govern Rhodesia govern not with the will of the people but with the will of a small part of the population, which judges a man’s worth not by his character or ability but by the colour of his skin. Independence will come only when its terms are acceptable for the people of Rhodesia as a whole; the British Government has made that clear and have, at the same time, made it clear that an illegal grab of independence will be dealt with firmly. This has been known since last October, but Smith and his crowd have not heeded the warning, a warning which must carry weight, because it was applauded all over the world, in Africa, in Europe, in America, in Asia. UDI will be universally condemned. Many of you will have heard or read reports on the White Paper published by the Rhodesian Government setting out counter measures to be taken by Rhodesia if UDI leads to punitive action by Britain and the Commonwealth.

'Some of you may have studied the White Paper itself, you will have noted that Rhodesia will deport all Zambians presently employed in Rhodesia if Britain applies economic sanctions. Many of you will have noted that other steps are contemplated which the White Paper states it would not be in the interests of Rhodesia to specify; a clue to these other steps is given in recent speeches in the election campaign. One thing which stands out is that Smith intends to make Zambia pay for any actions by the British Government and the rest of the world.

'I want all Zambians to take note here and now that what is threatened is wanton aggression against Zambia, and I want all Zambians to note as well that we will not sit idle in the face of such provocation. My duty and my aim is to defend and uphold the constitution of the Republic of Zambia against all aggression, economic or otherwise. It is my duty and the duty of every man and woman who calls himself a Zambian to stand up against such forces and fight, and we will not be going into this fight unprepared.

'The Government of Zambia has been making a detailed study of the consequences for Zambia of economic aggression and we have not been alone in making our plans and our
preparations. Many other countries in Africa and elsewhere have been involved in planning and making preparations tonight.

'I can make it public that much of the travelling to all parts of the world by Ministers and officials, trips which drew much public comment but resulted in no official statements, was in connection with setting up defences against the possibility of economic aggression in the event of UDI. These preparations commenced with my visits in the month following independence and are still going on. I can now assure you that in the event of Rhodesia committing economic aggression, the support Zambia will receive from all over the world will be tremendous to us and to the world. Right is on our side; this is important in any struggle which may come. It is an added strength to know that we are in the right. This is most important in the areas where Rhodesia could cause us difficulties in the cases of Kariba Power, the Railway and Central African Airways. These are international undertakings and all nations of the world accept that no one country has the right to interfere with them to the detriment of the joint owners. Interference with these would mean that Rhodesia would become an international outlaw and would certainly spell ruination for Smith’s Government and its supporters.

'No country would dare to deal with Rhodesia if they interfered with these international undertakings, but I should add that our contingency planning has not completely discounted the possibility of such a suicidal programme developing in Rhodesia. Let me repeat what I have said so often in the past, that Zambia will stand by its international obligations. If recent statements out of Salisbury, by posing the hypothetical case of our abrogating our obligations, are an attempt to provoke us into unreasonableness, then they are sadly mistaken about the nature of the Government of Zambia; such tactics will not make us lose our heads, but I must add here that if Rhodesia attempts to strangle us to cut off our livelihood by illegal acts, then we are prepared to struggle and sacrifice. We have got the will, and with the support of most of the world, the means to survive; it has never been my intention to be drawn into debates of recrimination between myself and Mr Smith, but provocations such as the White Paper and recent speeches in the election
campaign force me to reply by virtue of the trust which the people of Zambia have reposed in me.

'I sincerely hope that this will be the last of such exchanges. I ask the people of Rhodesia to consider carefully the public utterances during the election campaign, to ask themselves where is the evidence of communistic infiltration, to ponder the charge that a rapid and tragic march of events in newly independent countries has led to scanty trappings of democracy and to a rethinking in the minds of the countries which have granted independence. Do the people of Rhodesia believe that their institutions can long survive in the vast torrent of democratization which is sweeping Africa and the rest of the world today?'

'Let me remind Rhodesia that our shopping list for anywhere in the world does not contain ideologies, citizens of Zambia. The time to try the determination, courage and patriotism of all Zambians may be at hand; should we be subjected to economic aggression we will face a critical time, a time of sacrifice, a time of struggle, but our sufferings and sacrifices in the interests of independence are still fresh in our minds and whatever the future may hold I have no doubt that with God's help we will triumph, right will triumph, aggression will be punished, and Zambia will soon be back on the road to prosperity.

'I wish at this critical hour to warn you once again to be very careful in everything you do in the critical period ahead. I do not want any Zambian to take a racial approach to the troubles ahead. We in Zambia have noble principles, principles which guided our struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racialism. We have shown the outside world that we are determined to form "One Zambia—One Nation". We must not allow outside actions by racialists to divert us from our noble goals.

'In conclusion I would like to emphasize that we are attacking no-one, but we will not be attacked without retaliating; we hesitate to talk or think in terms of retaliation, but there is always the danger that the people who rule Rhodesia today may begin to believe their own propaganda.

'Let it be crystal clear to them that they are deceiving themselves, for we in Zambia are prepared to hold out to the bitter end against unwarranted aggression. This we will do even
though it means doing without some of the necessities of life and having our rate of development jeopardized. If retaliation is justified, we will not hesitate because it would mean difficulties, and we will ensure that there will be not two graves but one and that in Rhodesia.'

In June President Kaunda led the Zambia delegation to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, where Southern Rhodesia was again a major issue. The President had been asked to speak to the Royal Commonwealth Society on Zambia's economic development. At the last moment he switched his subject. First he talked about the mediating role of the Commonwealth and of UNIP's belief in non-violence:

'I have, as you all know, favoured peaceful means of protest and the use of public opinion to bring about desired change. In our own case, in Zambia, this method succeeded and we achieved freedom and independence with a minimum of violence. But we did not, at any time, compromise with evil and stood ready to fight, and did fight, when the occasion demanded it, and the alternative was compromising our principles.

'The Commonwealth as a group have used similar means, always appealing to humane instincts to bring about changes in the world. It is illuminating to look back at the notable success which members of the Commonwealth have had in moderating tensions. I think of cases like Canada's role, through the United Nations, in the Suez crisis; Nigeria's efforts to moderate disputes in Africa; the attempt by Commonwealth members to bring about reconciliation of warring factions in the Congo; and the role which the Commonwealth has played in easing East-West tensions at crucial times and in bringing Russia and the United States together when the peace of the world seemed to be in jeopardy. The initiative in Vietnam may prove to be a case in point.

'Thus the moderating influence of the Commonwealth is something to which we in Zambia are prepared to give full-hearted support. It fits in with our own philosophy. I would like to state one of the reasons why I think peaceful protest is the most valuable way of fighting unjust systems. It is because peaceful protest makes a direct appeal to the humane instincts
of those who are in power and it is their conscience which is the real weapon against injustice.

"Inability of those in power to still the voices of their own consciences is the great force leading to desired changes. And this great force leaves the protesting people unmarked and unscarred by brutality. Peaceful protest concentrates hatred on the unjust system which is being reformed, and it does not lead to a hatred of Man. You will agree with me that this type of approach to reform will only succeed if the people in power have a conscience and are responsive to humanitarian appeals. And herein lies the only weakness of peaceful protest. When oppressed people cannot touch the hearts of those in power, force appears the only solution.

"An oppressive system, whether it is economic exploitation, denying political freedom, or refusing to accept the rule of law, has a tendency to brutalize the people in power. And the longer the system continues, and the more oppressive it is, the more brutalizing it is for those who control it. This is the lesson of Hitler's movement, of penitentiaries and work houses in the eighteenth century, of insane asylums in the nineteenth century, and of all organizations which have not accepted the principles of human rights.

"In all of these cases brutal systems were operated by men and through the operation of hateful systems the operators themselves became less than men. I profoundly believe that the softening influence of the conscience becomes weaker and is erased by prolonged periods of approving inhuman practices.

"There have been cases where protests have failed because the inhumanity of the system had put the people in power outside the reach of normal humanitarian appeals. When this happened, as in the Second World War, all civilized nations turned to force to fight injustice. Whenever the brutalizing influence of a system, on oppressed and oppressor together, becomes greater than the brutalizing consequences of utilizing force, mankind is justified in turning to force in the interests of Man.

"We in Zambia are concerned with human relations, with the way in which human beings are moulded and changed by administrative systems. This is not just a question of race relations, although racial discrimination tends to blur the fundamental questions. This area of research has been given too
little emphasis in established institutions of learning; the concentration has been otherwise—nuclear physics, space science and so on. In this age of specialization it is perhaps too much to expect every institution to deal with every subject. And we in Zambia, partly because of our history, partly because of our strategic location, are emphasizing the human-relations aspect. That is why we have established a Chair in our new university to carry out studies of these important but relatively neglected areas of human relations.'

At this point the President visibly surprised the staid audience which usually attends Commonwealth Society meetings. He turned his guns on Mr Smith.

'This emphasis on human relations brings me to the question of Southern Rhodesia. Because if there is one place in the world where human relationships hold the key to a successful solution of a dangerous situation, it is Southern Rhodesia. I do not think that I am exaggerating when I say that Southern Rhodesia poses the greatest potential threat to world peace today. If things go on, an "unholy alliance" of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia will, in the future, destroy the peace of Africa.

'For this reason I must make clear my stand on Rhodesia. I am an implacable foe of imperialism, colonialism, fascism and inhuman treatment of God's creatures. All these things which I hate, are to be found in Southern Rhodesia; exploitation of one group by another is no more acceptable within a country than between countries; arguing that some who are created in the image of God are sub-human is blasphemy; minority control and the belief in a superior race is fascism.

'The Commonwealth is largely the result of the evolution to independent status of previous members of the British Empire. Southern Rhodesia is a British colony which has not evolved to independence. Rhodesia must be considered a minor in the world of men, with an adult, Britain, responsible for its control, its developments and its actions.

'We all know the tragedy of another ex-British colony, now out of the Commonwealth, South Africa. South Africa was given, and I emphasize this, given independence and control
over her affairs without majority rule; fascism, fully known at
the time that control was passed to South Africa but then called
"the native question", has not been softened by time.

'Make no mistake. Former British colonies and the rest of the
world will turn their backs on Britain if, through her weakness
or refusal to face her responsibilities, she allows another South
Africa to emerge in Southern Rhodesia. You who have not seen
the situation in Rhodesia—pass laws, special hatches at which
non-whites are served, occupational restrictions on Africans, the
brutality of the so-called "forces of law and order"—you
cannot be expected to know how close to South Africa, Southern
Rhodesia now is. You have not seen how fear—the main tool of
fascism—permeates the whole atmosphere and makes violence
an ever-present danger.

'I sympathize with the British people and the British Govern­
ment in the difficulties which lie ahead. But Britain made the
decision to become a colonial power and burdened herself with
these problems. If a nation chooses to become a colonial power, she
must accept responsibility for ensuring the rights, the
interests and the future of the people of her colonies.

'South Africa is a blot on the world landscape, and it has not
been erased by putting South Africa out of the Commonwealth. South Africa remains a testament to the failure of a colonial
power to follow enlightened and humanitarian policies.

'The day of decision for Southern Rhodesia is at hand and the
future of Britain and the Commonwealth in the balance. We
know that the European minority, some quarter of a million, are
fighting a battle to retain control over four million
Africans. All the coercive powers of the state are being used to destroy
the nationalist parties—illegal arrests, imprisonment without
trial, suppression of newspapers, harsh and unjust sentences,
refusing legal aid, and so on. Every week of doing nothing
consolidates the position of the minority Government.

'We know that a quarter of a million whites are practising
racial discrimination against four million blacks. We know that
a quarter of a million whites are preaching and holding to a
doctrine of racial superiority. We know, too, the consequences
of not ensuring that such things are brought to an end at once.
Time is against democracy in Rhodesia because the democratic
forces are under constant attack by the Government. Violence is
imminent. And do not expect sympathy from newly-independent countries for any view that deals cannot be made with those who practise violence. We have all heard this and face it.

‘You should also know that the Southern Rhodesian situation poses a threat to Zambia. Without our consent, without even consulting us, against our wishes, the economy of Zambia was tied to an economy, Southern Rhodesia, controlled by a group of people whose every attitude is utterly opposed by my Government and my people. Zambia is now, as a result of decisions taken by others, liable to damage and disruption by actions of the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

‘But whose Government would do this to Zambia? Is it a democratically-elected Government representing the people? No. Is it another sovereign state? No. Who is it that poses this threat? What is it that poses this threat to Zambia? It is a minority Government for whom the British Government is ultimately responsible.

‘Let one thing be crystal clear. Should a rebellious colony of Britain or an illegal Government in a British colony interfere in any way with Zambia’s international rights and obligations, or in the pursuit of peace and prosperity in Zambia, all the world, and certainly we in Zambia, will hold the British Government and people responsible.

‘The Royal Commonwealth Society is an ancient and honourable organization, and has, over the years, concerned itself with many problems, the solution of which was desired by all the peoples of that great organization known as the Commonwealth. It would in my view be one of the tragedies of the twentieth century if the Commonwealth, which we all hold important, was weakened or destroyed at this time. The future of the Commonwealth rests squarely on the shoulders of the British Government and the British people.’
By September 1965 it was clear that the Rhodesian Front Government of Mr Ian Smith was set on a collision course with the British Government. For the whole of Southern Africa the impending Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) held unknown dangers; but none of Southern Rhodesia’s neighbours was as vulnerable, or likely to become as deeply involved, as Zambia. Speaking at Livingstone on the Rhodesian border on October 6, 1965—at a time when crucial talks were taking place between Mr Wilson and Mr Smith in London—Dr Kaunda asked all who were ‘genuinely interested in the progress of Man to pray to God for common sense to prevail in the current discussions’. He went on to say:

‘A Government based on the wishes of a section of a minority group in Rhodesia is falsely founded, foolishly based and, like a house founded on sand, will not stand.

‘I hope Britain will have the necessary common sense to prevail over the so-called Government of Rhodesia to see sense on the independence issue; not through the blurred spectacles of race, but through reason because these are crucial times, and crucial times are always times for deep thought.

‘Less than a year has gone by since we achieved our independence, and although I would be false to you if I said there have been no racial incidents during this period, I can rightly claim that we have started on a new way of life for our young republic, where man and not colour is the criterion.

‘We are now all fully aware that the future depends upon what each one of us will contribute to racial harmony and we are also aware of the fact that being a border town to the south, we shall be shaken and moved by things happening to the south of
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our border, but I am also confident that this country and its
great people are more than ready to stand the strain of the
months to come.

'I pray that at no time shall we here consider ourselves an
island, but that during the difficult days that lie ahead, we shall
continue to map out the future of our country not on the basis of
colour, nor on what an individual gets out of this Government,
but on what all of us individually will contribute towards
making this young country a great society, by the effort we put
in.'

A fortnight later the President was in Accra at the OAU
summit meeting. Addressing his fellow Heads of State on
October 21 he spoke of the gravity of the situation in Vietnam;
of the crucial importance of the UN and of the need to make it
more representative; and of the harm done by introducing
ideological questions into the work of the UN Specialized
Agencies. Then he turned to the question uppermost in his
mind:

'The situation in Rhodesia is a very grave one indeed. We all
know what a Unilateral Declaration of Independence means;
white domination in Rhodesia is what it means in racial terms.
The lights of justice and democracy will be extinguished and
there will be no hope for progress and for liberty of conscience
while such a state of affairs continues. Millions of people will be
denied their fundamental right of sharing in the processes of
government and of playing their full part in the day to day
life of a country which is on the fringe of development.

'Zambia's position with a UDI is fraught with dangers of
which we are very much aware. Our railway system and our
hydro-electric power supply are being threatened but we shall
not be deterred from supporting the cause of right which is the
cause of Providence. Our approach is not a racial one but is a
human one based on the hard facts of life. We are interested in
the future of the Rhodesian people as a whole. The present
pronouncements of Mr Smith are only sowing the seeds of
disunity within this young nation which is growing up between
the Zambesi and the Limpopo.

'The present state of affairs in Rhodesia has not been brought
about by the actions of all Europeans but rather by a lunatic fringe who do not represent the majority of opinions—not even the majority of white people who have been cowed into silence. I believe that this lunatic group do not have the country’s interests at heart at all: they are people working for themselves, without taking into account the interests of the next generation and the legacy created by their selfish actions. These people talk of civilized standards and of having a moral right to the pursuance of their policies but these arguments cannot be put forward in defence of the repressive measures they adopt for their own ends.

‘It is difficult to comprehend that such policies can continue to hold sway in this modern and enlightened world. But we are faced with this situation and we cannot ignore it. It is something which must be of concern not only to the nations of Africa but to all the world. It is another human problem which might easily provoke a conflict and that is why it is the concern of all right-thinking people whose desire is to see harmony in human relations and peace among the nations of the world.

‘Zambia remains undaunted in the face of the threats made against us. We continue to hold true to the principles in which we believe—principles based on non-racialism. We have done everything possible to give moral support and encouragement to all those engaged in the struggle to bring about freedom and reason in the interests of the future generations in Rhodesia. We have persisted in our view that a constitutional conference should be held with all parties represented. Only when the nationalist leaders are released and the parties can talk is there any hope of a just settlement being brought about in that unhappy country. We believe, in short, that the Smith regime cannot last very long because we still believe that right will prevail over might.’

Kaunda went on to speak about the threats to African unity:

‘From the forces of disunity one sees in this continent, it is obvious a new form of scramble for Africa is afoot, and this is more dangerous for it may destroy for all time our noble objective. Let us not allow these enemies of unity to block our path and hence prejudice the very foundations upon which we are at present building.'
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‘From time to time we find ourselves in the middle of the ideological struggle which is going on all around us. The nerves of African unity do not remain untouched by the cold war but we must do our best to isolate ourselves from all ideological machinations. And we must also try to avoid becoming the slaves of conventional terms such as socialism, democracy, capitalism, communism and so on, for the world is changing every day and conventional terms do not describe precisely the objectives nor fit the situations they did when they were first applied by the makers of political thought.

‘Let us have confidence in our African way of life and remember that our duty is to our electorate, to the masses of people who entrusted us with the task of shaping the destiny of our country and of African unity so that the benefits of a developed and harmonious society may be enjoyed by all and not by just a privileged few. I would, therefore, like to emphasize that Africa’s future does not depend on borrowed terms any more than it does on borrowed ideas or borrowed money. Basically and ultimately Africa’s future must be founded on African data which must be processed through our own social, political and economic filter, no matter what Eastern or Western political scientists may think of the result.

‘But also let us not be blind to our own internal problems in Africa. This should now be a moment for recollection and reflection, a moment for self-examination and a time to reorientate our ideas. For today as never before in this new era of social and economic development, in this era of great progress on all fronts, there is still a greater need than ever before for African unity, if this continent is ever to catch up with and enjoy fully the pace of development which has been set by other countries in the world. From one point of view the real danger to African unity lies in Africa itself and is in our attitude towards such unity.

‘We may find it convenient to blame external forces for being instrumental in the frustration of our efforts towards unity, but let us stop for a moment and examine our own attitude to this question of unity. Do we all believe in the objectives, targets, goals and indeed the programmes that are intended to step up the pace of African unity? If we believe in African unity as the ultimate objective of every State here represented, do we believe
in the elements of African unity that should be examined and implemented to bring about the birth of the United States of Africa or whatever we choose to call it? These are some of the key questions which we must ask ourselves.'

In his concluding remarks the Zambian leader came out squarely behind those who favoured the functional approach to African unity.

'To me the greatest revolution that will occur is a revolution in our attitudes which would bring about a definite orientation in the positive cause of African unity, a definite desire and will to struggle and work for the unity of Africa and indeed help to devise strategies for bringing it into being. These strategies would have to take into account such aspects as economic co-operation, improvement in communications between States, a common approach to the solution of international issues and general agreement on policy to be followed on matters affecting the cause of Africa's common understanding of the security problems that face the nations of Africa, problems of bringing about more understanding of each other's problems and ways of life, for example by cultural exchanges and educational student exchanges.

'These are some of the strands that require to be developed which form the web of the relations which would form the foundation-stone upon which the unity of Africa would have to be built. Let us examine these matters seriously and try to find ways and means of implementing them. The superior wisdom, our desire and will must all be employed in this great task which needs to be carried out with great resolve to bring about the ultimate end which is African unity. If there is no agreement on the final objective, then there is no need to talk about it.

'If there is agreement on the common objective, then let us devise the means now, for procrastination is the thief of time, and time is a most expensive commodity in this era of competition and ideological wrangling. Let us not allow enemies to eat into the programmes that we are drawing up to achieve the final objective. Let us talk more of areas of agreement and less of our differences, so that our task may be rendered easier, and that the next generation may proclaim the success of their forefathers.
Let the differences remain buried in the sands of the past and let the words unity of Africa resound in every home throughout Africa; for unity is strength. My plea to all brethren is, if we cannot achieve organic unity in Africa, at least let us have functional unity.'

After his return from Accra the President turned his attention again to the problem of Rhodesia and to the celebrations of Zambia’s first year of independence on October 24.

The year that had passed had seen the fastest and broadest expansion of the country’s economy that had ever taken place. In the Transitional Development Plan, the Government set itself to spend £35 million over the 18-month period to the middle of 1966. It embraced many new projects: fourteen rural area secondary schools on virgin sites; 200 tractors for distribution throughout the country in a pilot scheme; the new Lusaka international airport; the Emergency Extension Plan for seven secondary schools, as well as two new teacher training colleges. Through this plan the Government was aiming at a three-fold increase in the pace of its investment.

Two days before the independence anniversary the President made the first of his series of independence broadcasts: this was to be a ‘fatherly’ talk on morals, ethics, civics and humanism.

‘The next few days will be days to mark the first anniversary of independence. I thought on this day, the 22nd of October, I should have a chat with you on matters of importance, which I may not have the opportunity to cover in my two major speeches—one on foreign affairs and one on our own country’s progress. On both fronts, that is local as well as foreign, I commend to you a human approach to all our problems.

‘Thus do I say to the young ones of Zambia—at home please obey your parents, at school please obey your masters. In you we have confidence. Do not let us down.

‘To my fellow adults, let us make renewed efforts to serve Zambia better than we did in the last year. This can only be done effectively if we continue to believe in the importance of Man, no matter what his station in life. To this end I say to public servants, especially in Government—or commerce, or industry—you hold the key to a harmonious Zambia. You who
come in contact with many people from all walks of life in the course of your duties hold this key I have referred to. Civil Servants, do you serve your fellow men with dignity befitting Zambians?

'Bus conductors, is courtesy your handmaid in your daily duties? Waiters, do you do your best to make your guests comfortable? Policemen, do you treat every member of the public as your friend? Politicians of whatever party, do you carry on your business with sincerity, loyalty and love for the people you claim to serve? Businessmen, do you transact your business with charitable efficiency?

'Although thousands of our people are without jobs, and indeed, thousands more get barely enough to keep themselves and their families alive, it is true to say that for the first time quite a great number of our people are getting more than they have ever received before. This, for those concerned, solves one problem but raises many more. Because there is more money in circulation, more and more of our people have taken to the habit of drunkenness. Because there is this money in circulation, more and more of our people begin spending extra money on useless things. I have condemned drunkenness before. I condemn it now as a cancer seriously eating into the bone and flesh of the nation—something deplorable—something to be abhorred.

'For a young nation like ours, spiritual, moral and physical cleanliness is of vital importance. On this point I would like to pay tribute to all those housewives in the country and in towns who do so much to keep their houses fly-free and clean. For, indeed, the pride of a nation is in its home life. Let our approach be, wherever there is a Zambian, there, too, cleanliness must be.

'In the old days the villagers assisted each other in all aspects of life and in troubles. They mourned and buried the dead together, rejoiced at festivities and assisted each other in periods of disaster. In a more complex society such as we are now building, the many diverse problems call for a similar approach of public-spiritedness and specialist associations are necessary. I would like to call on every citizen to choose in which association he will contribute his part towards serving the society in which he lives, and this without thought of personal gain or remuneration.
'So, as I greet you just before our first birthday, may I once again express my gratitude to all who have done so much over the past year—may it be the spur to greater things and may we let service and kindness to others be our watchwords as we now make renewed efforts to build ONE ZAMBIA, ONE NATION.'

On October 24, Dr Kaunda spoke to the nation in a radio address:

'Today marks the anniversary of the gaining of our independence and the child Zambia is now one year old. How has this young child fared and how is it shaping for the future?

'I think we can say with a certain degree of pride that our achievements have been many, if not spectacular. We have waged war—not a war of senseless destruction, but a war against our great enemies—poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease. We have not won and we know that it will be a long and bitter struggle; but it is a struggle that we can and must win, no matter what the cost. But all this is but a beginning and I do not wish to delude you into thinking that all has gone smoothly or that mistakes have not been made. If we had not made errors then it would indeed have been Utopia. We learn from our mistakes and adjust our planning to cope with them.

'Great problems lie ahead of us, chief among them being that of closing the gap between those of our people who have—and those who have not. The gap will not be closed or the problems solved by the wave of a magic wand, for opportunities for those who need them will only come as a reward for hard work on the part of us all. We do not try to belittle our problems—on the contrary we face up to them, strengthened by the knowledge that all of us are together in this struggle for our heritage.

'Too many leaders have failed because they did not realize that they wanted more for their people than the people wanted for themselves. This is not so here in Zambia, for we understand each other and have faced together, and won, a great struggle for our freedom. This being so, there is no doubt in my mind that we will—together—win through in our herculean task of nation-building.'
Late on the same day he addressed a mass rally in Lusaka:

'As we now enter the second year of independence, it is my task to declare once again the principles that shall guide the nation so long as my colleagues and I are still privileged to lead it. The thing I would like to declare is that the Zambian personality should not be a conscious product of our frustrations against colonialism, and the good Lord knows we have experienced great frustrations, but it must be the product of a mature and natural reaction in an atmosphere of freedom to determine our own national destiny. To base our personality on the frustrations of colonialism would be creating a Zambian personality with its heart and head in the past and only its mouth in the future. Zambia must be positive and forward-looking. In other words, wise men do not live in the past—they live in the present and prepare themselves for the future.

'Very soon we hope and pray it will not be necessary for us to speak of racial co-operation because we shall have reached a stage in the creation of “one Zambia—one Nation”, at which people will look at each other not in terms of tribe or colour, race or anything else. We hope this stage will be reached soon and we are seriously and vigorously working to this end when only the ability to contribute to the good of Zambia will be the yardstick of success or failure. So it is that I call upon every Zambian to rally behind your own elected Government, to build this “one Zambia, one Nation”, based on the solid foundation of the importance of Man as a person.

'Perhaps a word on our political system. I am one of those people who believe that no political system can be said today, anywhere in any part of the world, to be a perfect political system. If this be true, and I believe it is, the only way in which we judge whether or not a constitution is sound is by finding out whether that constitution takes care of the smallest unit. Is any man as a person, indeed as an individual, free to choose his own representative to the lowest and highest councils of the land? And are the chosen representatives of the people so organized that they can reach and get effectively the views of the people they claim to represent? This, I believe, is what the first democratic thinkers in Greece had in mind.

'We cannot afford to be complacent about any political
system in our world today, for we can declare none of them truly representative. We in Zambia, as a young country, must give more and more thought to what we are going to do to try and make our institutions, both local and central, truly democratic institutions—truly institutions of the people. In our midst, there are some who might say a one-party State is the answer. Others might think differently. To them all I say is: apply the acid test and bring me your findings; then I will look at what you have proposed. Until then, keep quiet and continue to think."

He had good cause for grave anxiety about the incipient dangers of racialism on the Copperbelt in the event of UDI; now he spoke with urgency and firmness to both races about Zambia's policy of race relations:

'I have spoken before about the value and importance of individual contributions to our national development. I have also spoken many times of the value and dignity of the individual, and I have stressed this afternoon that Government's aims and ambitions in planning revolve around the importance of Man as a person and as an individual human being.

'But now I want to turn to the forces working against these aims and these humanitarian principles. Yes, the forces here in our country, which are operating insidiously against the Government's aims, and whose effect is, I regret to say, particularly evident on the Copperbelt.

'I mean those attitudes which cut down the individual dignity of each person, each citizen or resident of Zambia: the attitudes which lead people to discriminate against others just because of the colour of their skins. The kind of attitude, rooted in racial prejudice, which causes some white people almost instinctively to speak roughly or rudely to any black person they meet. The kind of attitude, rooted in racial prejudice, that causes some black people almost instinctively to suspect of wrong motives any white person they meet. The basis of these attitudes of both sides, is fear: fear of one race by another.

'But what place is there for racial fear in the new Zambia? I have declared forcefully and frankly on many occasions, and I repeat now, that my Government and myself are fully committed to building a nation in which colour prejudice will play
no part and in which only merit and the ability and loyalty to serve Zambia well will count. It is true that the Copperbelt towns and mines have been handicapped by their own history in the struggle to shuffle off racial prejudice and obliterate it from Zambia. They have been handicapped because of the close family, social and traditional connections of many of the Copperbelt residents with people in the countries to the south of us, who have been brought up in places where racial prejudice is built into the law of the land. To these people, I say, and repeat, that we have no time and no room for colour-prejudiced people in Zambia.

'If they want to help us develop our country, if they want to become true Zambians themselves, they must be prepared to drive out of their hearts every trace of prejudice and to be seen outwardly to do so by their actions and their attitudes to the individuals of other races. If they cannot see their way to this then we do not want them in Zambia's colour-blind society of the future, and they will be well-advised to leave us now. I speak strongly against racial prejudice because I loathe it. I have experienced it and I know it is degrading and unfair to the human being, as an individual. Racial prejudice is exclusive of all individual merit and is contrary to all principles of Christian charity. We cannot have this in Zambia.

'It is not easy to make laws against colour-prejudice but we must all work to create an unwritten customary law against it, by all the means at our disposal, and I want to start the Copperbelt crusade on this here and now—in the heart of the most difficult area to be conquered. I appeal to all of you—people of all colours—countrymen all—help me, help us, to build a truly united nation here in Zambia. Put aside your prejudices and pull together with us towards a new society based on equal respect for all men.

'Countrymen, to sum up what I have said. Let this nation learn to love humanity; learn to work hard and indeed, learn to smile under all conditions. If we do this we cannot go wrong.

'Let it be recorded that when we speak of developing Zambia, we speak of all forms of development, political, economical, social and cultural for every person in Zambia. We intend to make our racial, tribal and cultural differences a
blessing and not a curse to the nation. This is how God wants it to be.

'I ask now all of you in the country who believe in the future of Zambia to rise and fly like our noble eagle, so that we can attain "ONE ZAMBIA, ONE NATION", through the dignity of labour and love for each other.

'May God bless you.'

For the first time, too, at the Lusaka rally he outlined the Zambian Government's policy towards British responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia—a policy statement which was to remain a firm guideline in the difficult months that were to follow.

'If you want to take military action without bloodshed, then you must agree that the only country that can do so is the United Kingdom. I believe up to now that the British Government can take military action without the Rhodesians fighting back. It will also be a police action, only taken by the military, and that is why we have in the past—as we do now—offer Zambia as a base for British troops.

'I am equally convinced that if this were left to any other power or organization, like the United Nations or Organization for African Unity, then you would have a major conflict which would affect not only the rest of the African continent but the world as a whole. This action might answer the present problem, but will certainly create many more complex problems not only for Rhodesia, but for the entire continent. The problems of a cold war are too vivid in our minds to contemplate military action by the United States of America or Russia. This does not mean, however, that we will not support any action that might need to be taken by either the United Nations or the OAU in certain circumstances.

'Mr Smith must be made to understand that no minority Government anywhere on earth can continue indefinitely. It can have all the might it requires, but in the end history and common sense demand that majority rule is the answer to problems of this nature. It is strange that Mr Smith and others of his group cannot understand this paradox, that if they grabbed independence unilaterally, they would be bringing about their own downfall. As I have said before, the only thing
I foresee is the trail of chaos their action will leave behind in their country. So it is that we in Zambia say to all political leaders in Rhodesia: you have no other satisfactory way out of your problems than sitting down around a constitutional conference table now: it is the only sensible thing to do—meet, talk together, and map out your road to majority rule as quickly as is humanly possible.

UDI came finally on November 11, 1965. Now, Zambia was in the front line of the conflict between the new Africa and the old—the Africa of majority rule and the Africa over which the white supremacists still hold sway. On the night of UDI, Dr Kaunda broadcast to the nation:

'As you will have already heard, Mr Smith, the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, has carried out his threat to declare unilaterally the independence of that country.

'I do not wish to comment on his action at this stage other than to say that Zambia, in common with a great number of other nations, is determined to see that his act of treason does not prosper and that the act of rebellion is brought to an end.

'The purpose of my speaking to you this evening is to inform you of the measures which I have taken in the interests of internal security in Zambia.'

After outlining the emergency measures, the President warned of the dangers of an attack on Zambia:

'Finally, I wish to inform the nation that the rebellious Rhodesian Government has moved strong contingents of European troops up to the Zambian border.

'During the past forty-eight hours there has been an increase in troop movements on the Rhodesia/Zambia border. It is now clear that there is the equivalent of two battalions of European troops along the border in the area covered by the Lusaka Division. These troops consist of the Rhodesian Light Infantry which number approximately seven hundred officers and men, a detachment of the Special Air Service, Corps of Signals and other personnel required to maintain a large body of troops in operational condition.
'Troops are presently disposed at the following locations—Kariba, on the south bank of the Zambesi opposite to Lusitu, Chirundu, in the vicinity of the Nyakasanga River, on the peninsula formed by the Zambesi and Gombe Rivers, and at Feira.

'We know that the troops at these places are equipped with refrigerator trucks and equipment for spanning rivers. We know also that if necessary these units can be provisioned by air by parachute drops.

'During the past dry season roads have been improved in the Rhodesia border area, and many of these roads will now be operational during the rainy season.

'The Rhodesian Army is presently operating at least four launches on the Zambesi. These launches are capable of carrying eight to ten armed men. They carry out patrols from the army camps situated between the Kariba Dam and the Mozambique border at Zumbo.

'In the past week reconnaissance flights by Rhodesian Air Force aircraft along the Zambian border have greatly increased. On the 10th of November flights were carried out over the border by jet, piston-engined and helicopter aircraft.

'BSA Police formations have been greatly increased over the past few days. This applies to the stations at Kariba, Chirundu and at Feira on the south bank. At these border stations European members of the BSA Police have been issued with automatic weapons.

'Let me now warn Smith and his fellow traitors that if Zambia is invaded or if our territory is violated in any way, we will not hesitate to meet force with force.'

The tensions mounted daily. There were growing suspicions. Would the rebels harm Zambia by cutting the power supplies from Kariba, or coal from Wankie? Would Britain act firmly enough? The strain began to test the strength of Anglo-Zambia relations. On November 17, Dr Kaunda spoke at a press conference:

'Today we find ourselves in the unhappy position of having to think whether or not our supplies are going to come in through Rhodesia—supplies for development schemes, supplies for our
army and many other important supplies. We do not know when our aeroplanes are going to be stopped from coming here. We do not know when Kariba power will be cut off from us.

'As you know all these services we own jointly. It means the responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the British Government. They have no choice in this matter and the British taxpayer must be made to understand that for any misbehaviour down south that hurts Zambia we have a legitimate claim to make against the British Government.

'To us Rhodesia is a colony and it is a British colony that is misbehaving. The power finally responsible is Britain. On this score I should like to end on this note: should Kariba power be cut off by rebel Smith and the British Government not see its way to sending troops to guard Kariba which we own jointly, then I, as President of the Republic of Zambia, reserve the right to invite any power to come and help us to protect Kariba.

'The second point I would like to make is that I think it is a real disgrace that the British Government should allow a rebel Government, a rebel leader, to treat the representative of the Queen in the way Smith is treating Sir Humphrey. I was waiting to see the British Government take action after they had been given powers by the British Parliament. That has happened. Up to now we do not know what is going to happen. If this state of affairs should be allowed to continue then obviously the British Government will have surrendered all its powers to the rebel Government and we might as well tell the Governor, who I must say has behaved very well as a representative of the Queen up to now, to go his own way. They must allow him to go his own way instead of holding him captive in Government House in Salisbury.'

By early December Zambia's leaders were acutely conscious of living on their nerves. They were deeply concerned about their nakedness in the air in the presence of the relatively strong Royal Rhodesian Air Force; they were concerned about the vulnerability of Kariba; and they were under pressure from some African quarters to allow Zambia to be used as a base from which to mount a military attack on the Rhodesian rebels. The Zambian Government refused to agree to an attack by African troops on Rhodesia. In the President's words: 'This
would produce a racial war; we do not want history to record this against us." Instead, he insisted that Britain had the duty to commit its forces against the rebels, and that it should be Britain's exclusive concern. Zambia was willing to offer all the necessary bases to Britain for such a purpose: but Mr Wilson refused to use force against the rebels. He was willing, however, to supply troops to assist Zambia to maintain internal security and to offer RAF contingents to supply an air defence. Kaunda accepted the latter offer, but rejected the former. British troops, he insisted, were unnecessary in Zambia: 'We want them only to safeguard Kariba.' But Mr Wilson refused this request; so only the RAF was sent to Zambia. Despite growing pressures, Kaunda still refused to consider any alternative to British force being used in Zambia. On December 2 he told a press conference:

'If we send our troops there, as I say, it means a racial war. The alternative might be to send American troops there. But as I said, America might say: "No, we are allies in NATO with Britain; what Britain does not accept, we will not do". What then is left to us except to go to another big power—the Soviet Union? If we did that, we all know very clearly this would mean not only an ideological war introduced into Central Africa but a shooting-war based on ideologies. In both cases, whether it be a racial or an ideological war, it would mean laying bare the entire southern part of the continent. This we are trying to avoid if we can; but much will depend on what Britain does.'

In December the rebel regime tried to use Zambia's weak economic and defence position to apply pressure on the Zambians and the British. They imposed a penal £5 per ton royalty on coal bought by Zambia; but they quickly changed their approach. On January 2, 1966, Dr Kaunda said at the press conference in Kitwe:

'It is obvious that the rebels are now impressed by the aid Zambia is getting from Britain, the United States of America and Canada with the help of our neighbouring territories here like the Congo, Tanzania and Malawi. Secondly, the rebels, now more than ever before, realize that Zambia can look
forward to a permanent break with Rhodesia in terms of the economic ties which have existed before. They realize fully now, more than before, that Zambia means business when she speaks of using these to make herself free of any country economically as has been the case before. Thirdly, I think the rebels are beginning very seriously to feel the pinch of economic sanctions.

‘Now rebel Smith talks about allowing oil to come through Rhodesia. He also speaks of dropping the £5 royalty he imposed on this country as a gesture of goodwill towards Zambia. My reply to this is the fact that Zambia means to go ahead independently. May the Rhodesian people pause to reflect on the circumstances which the rebellious Government has created for them; Smith must now realize that it is futile to try and squeeze Zambia economically because it is not possible to squeeze Zambia and cause economic chaos, which is what he has been aiming at.

‘I welcome this change of attitude—change of mind—because Zambia was the only bait. They thought that after squeezing Zambia economically Britain and the other countries might drop the squeeze on them. Now Smith realizes what this means, he is making this empty gesture. I say empty because only ten days ago I issued a very strong warning to him that Zambia would take retaliatory measures should Smith and his fellow rebels insist on trying to wage an economic war against Zambia in the form of the £5 royalty. After realizing this he is using the New Year spirit for a return to the situation that obtained before the £5 royalty was declared.

‘I think both the transit routes for Zambia over the Rhodesian Railways and the royalties on coal to Zambia are a matter of right for Zambia. It is only now that Smith realizes that when I threatened we meant business.

‘Let me state that Zambia has gone into this fight against the rebels of its own free will. We have not been forced by Britain, the USA or Canada—the countries rebel Smith mentions. We went into this of our own free will with a very free conscience, knowing that racialism was going to entrench itself in Rhodesia and it was the right of every nation to make a stand against this; so we joined the British Government, American and Canadian and other Governments who are waging this economic war against the rebels.
THE FRONTIER EXPLODES

'I can only hope that the rest of the civilized people in Rhodesia, all of them, black, brown and white, who do not follow the rebels, will join all of us here in our prayers to God that He will give them courage and determination to return to legality, by refusing to have anything to do with rebels, and remain loyal to the Queen whose Government still rules Rhodesia; and we welcome the signs that are obviously growing in the form of support for Sir Humphrey Gibbs who is the appointed representative of the Queen of England.'

Throughout all those long tense, anxious months while the Rhodesian rebellion continued, threatening at any moment to drag Zambia into war, President Kaunda stood firmly by his own principles. There are two statements, both made at a rally in Broken Hill on November 16, 1965, which more than any others characterize the policies, the qualities and the personality of the man chosen to become Zambia's first President.

'My National Chairman, countrymen, in thanking you for the calmness that you have maintained up to now, ever since this serious situation developed, I want to make one or two observations, so that you know precisely which way my colleagues and I would like you to go. This is important. But you must continue as you have done.

'Remain the calm and disciplined people you have been all along. This has been a source of tremendous inspiration to your Ministers and myself. So long as this continues, we have nothing to fear whatsoever. We are capable of steering through the difficult waters without any harm coming to Zambia. If it should come—if any harm should come, you can depend on me to come out and tell you and then suggest or command which way we shall go. Brethren, a few points I want to make this afternoon are based on the human approach we make to all our problems. I do not want to see those fellow-Zambians who are as black as I am to see a Smith in every white face. I will repeat that. I do not want to see those black Zambians, who are as black as I am, to see in their fellowmen, who happen to be white, a Smith in each and every white person they meet on the road, because this is not true. We are not believers in the kith-and-kin principles of the Salisbury clique in London. Two
wrongs have never in my life, in the lives of your Ministers, in the lives of Zambia, made a right. That can never be. If Smith is wrong, he is wrong; he is condemned; by us taking a single action, as he has taken against his fellowmen, we are not any more right, we are just as wrong as Smith.

'So it is that I say now, let us remain true to that which is the Zambian spirit. If a white man is wrong, let us realize that there may be ten more black men who are as wrong as Smith is. That is true, that is true. So, brethren, carry on as you have done during the past few days. Provoke nothing because you are sensible, dignified, civilized people.

'I can't understand a man who says he is civilized, who says he is a Christian, who does not only rebel against the Queen's Government but who condemns the black race—the entire black race in Rhodesia to a place of servitude—and who calls himself a Christian, and calls himself a civilized person. What utter nonsense! He is a rebel, he is a traitor not only to Britain, not only to the Queen of England, but to the entire human race.'

In conclusion, he addressed himself to his people, finding in them comfort, hope, strength and pleasure:

'Continue to smile broadly, the Zambian smile, that Zambian smile which distinguishes us from other people, that wonderful smile even in difficulties, that smile must continue. It is terrific; wherever I go I see young Zambians, old Zambians, smiling; that is great.

'It would be an understatement from me, as your leader, to say Zambia is going to survive. There is no question of surviving. It is a question of going right ahead in a determined way. Smaller people survive; we are going to go ahead in spite of any difficulties that might be put in our way by Smith.

'The good Lord, Almighty God, help us all. May He continue to be our guide, and we will have nothing to fear in our determined way to go ahead, forge ahead with economic and social development of each and every Zambian. Shall we all stand now and play the National Anthem?'
PART FIVE

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION
Chapter 1

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

Kenneth Kaunda’s services to his country and to mankind have been recognized by overseas universities. The first honour came from Fordham University in the United States on May 21, 1963, and the second from the University of Sussex in England on June 16, 1965.

Fordham’s citation conferring the LL.D. degree on Kenneth Kaunda read:

‘Exultingly today, Fordham University bestows its highest meed of academic honour on the illustrious President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia and the Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. This distinguished public servant, not yet forty years old, after teaching both in his native place and in Tanganyika, entered the welfare office in Salisbury. Thereafter, on returning to his native land as interpreter for Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, he actively took up politics. Presently, he became the leading African political figure there, and being made Secretary-General of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, he edited the Congress News Circular.

‘When the Federation was created in 1953, he so fought against the colour bar as to be sent to prison for two months. Again, our ardent patriot, daring all for freedom, was banished to the countryside. Next, upon his release, he represented his followers in London, as the President of the United National Independence Party, and also before the United Nations.

‘Through varying chances and so many hazards” he now stands forth a leader of his nation, whose reputation has reached all parts of Africa and the whole world. Filled with deep admiration for these among his other merits, Fordham
University has resolved to confer upon such a distinguished lover of liberty and justice our highest mark of academic distinction.

In his address to Fordham University Dr Kaunda spoke about his people’s struggle for the right of self-determination:

‘Whilst acknowledging that imperialism and colonialism are the same the whole world over, I am nevertheless inclined to agree with the Mahatma Gandhi when he expressed the view that there was a difference between British colonialism and that of other colonial and imperial powers represented at the Berlin Conference. Although the British will harass and embarrass you, beat you up, send you to prison, shoot and kill some of you, if you still have the guts, when you come out of these detention camps and prisons to continue to do what you believe in—and this process may be repeated several times—in the end they say, “This fellow or these fellows are determined, give them some little power and let’s see how they behave”, they will eventually give you what you want.

‘This is the direct opposite to those who claim that parts of Africa were extensions of their own countries in Europe and are not prepared to yield even to well-renowned international opinion. This is not to say I condone in any way any form of colonialism or imperialism because to me this is wrong. It tempts and corrupts the best of men in any society, regardless of their colour. The system is wrong and is to be condemned without reservations.

‘Few people ever pause to remind themselves, when they are drunk with power, that when that great man Abraham Lincoln spoke of “Government of the people for the people and by the people”, he said something so vitally important that any individual or individuals who would like to serve their fellow-men as leaders must take note of it. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has failed because those in power ignored this.

‘Well, in spite of these mistakes, and difficulties, we have now reached a stage where we can influence or even make decisions. The question is—what next?

‘We have been accused of being “power hungry” men, people who are interested only in themselves. It has also been
suggested that once Federation is dissolved, the chances of building a truly non-racial society will be almost nil.

'In an endeavour to answer these charges and to show that we are capable of meeting this challenge, I would like to say a few words on what type of society we intend to establish or to build in Northern Rhodesia.

'First of all, it is noteworthy that most of our people are not bitter about what has happened in the past. The youth of the country is more annoyed by what they consider, and rightly so, obstructionist policies and tendencies of a smaller African-led party, rather than by the presence of men and women of other races. To me this is a happy sign. It augurs well for the future.

'Now what principles guide our thinking as we embark on the noble task of nation-building after the shackles of colonialism have been finally shattered? We believe that the tribe of a man doesn't matter. The fact that one was born a Mulozi, Mungoni, English, Italian or any of the other seventy-odd tribes in Northern Rhodesia is nothing either to commend or condemn a person. We take the view that whether a person was born black, white, green or blue—if you have some such people, Mr President—is, for those of us who believe in the holy creation of man, the Good Lord's divine performance. Quarrelling about a man's tribe, a man's race, just betrays the undeveloped attitudes of those responsible. The philosophy of our people of old leads me to say that "he who laughs at a pot really and truly laughs at the potter". By the same token, the tribe or colour of a person is not an achievement or failure on the part of anyone concerned, it is God's work and so none of us should be proud of either being black, white, brown, yellow or anything else, because, I repeat, this is neither an achievement, nor a failure, on our part. In other words, I am saying that none of us ever sat down to apply to the Good Lord to be born what we are, before we were born.

'We should therefore, while being proud to be what we are, not use what we are to the detriment of people who may be racially or tribally different from us. In fact I would stress the point that in so far as the race or tribe of a person is concerned it should be used only to glorify God the Almighty.

'I might add here that the spirit of vengeance is, as I have pointed out, not there. We believe that if you harbour bitterness
and think of vengeance you cloud your thinking so much with these destructive thought-forces, that you have no time for constructive thinking. In any case, what moral and spiritual right would we have on our side, if after having condemned these colonial activities that deprive man of opportunities to display and develop his talents, we ourselves on ascending to the highest, turned round and did the same things against those whose activities we had condemned and fought.

'Now why do we want all this power? Is it for the sake of power itself? My colleagues and I hold the view most sincerely that any leader who is without love for his people should not lead at all, and that the importance of the individual in any given society is unquestionable. Several times we have discussed the question of the Bill of Rights. This perhaps in itself is important in that it serves as a guide line as to what rights and protection the individual shall enjoy. But this can never be a true safeguard for anyone. What is required in our country is to build confidence between our respective racial groups, emphasizing in the process the importance of the rights of the individual because once you respect and protect the rights of the individual you have succeeded in protecting society as a whole.

'I might extend this to say this is where we believe both the East and the West are failing mankind. We see far too much emphasis placed on material development which in fact is very quickly leading to the eclipse of man as the centre of all human activity. Can they recover from this or is there going to come out of Africa a new ideology to help our fellowmen in these two camps? I should point out that if we ourselves in Africa are not careful, we might also find ourselves slaves to the machine.

'It might be thought we are too much in a world of idealism. I can assure you that we combine both idealism and realism. We aim at contributing, in the international field, to the establishment of peace amongst nations. To do that we must obviously combine the “isms” I have referred to above.

'To my colleagues and myself, power is an instrument which we must employ to serve our fellowmen. Today the country suffers from two extremes. Some people are exceptionally rich and others exceptionally poor. There is no need for this because we have fabulously rich copper-mines which we have declared
from time to time we intend to leave as they are now, in the hands of private enterprise. I repeat this assurance here now. But sadly ours is a mono-economy and that this is bad economic planning goes without saying. Not only do the masses of our people live in rural areas, but in the event of the price of copper dropping, we would suffer greatly.

'We are working hard, therefore, to diversify our economy. So long as my Party continues to enjoy power, and the present indications are that it is going to do so for a long time to come, the emphasis is going to be on agricultural development. This is in no way underrating the importance of the copper-mining industry and secondary industries which we hope to develop to the fullest. But gone are the days when agriculture and horticulture were our economic cinderellas.

'That economic development is unquestionably the most important thing after attaining political power cannot be doubted, because if you want power as an instrument for good, then obviously one of your greatest objectives is to raise the standard of living of the people in your country. After all there are only between three and four million people now in an area of 290,000 square miles and potentially one of the richest countries in Africa. The problem of raising the standards of living, therefore, is not as immense as it is elsewhere.

'I believe my address would not be complete if I did not say something about the non-violent approach to human problems. I will try to resist the temptation of discussing this in the context of our struggle at home and will try to deal with it as a principle in general. From time immemorial man has been using violence to settle disputes; “might is right” has in practice largely been accepted. Countries have been conquered and reconquered; Governments have been overcome and the new authorities themselves overthrown by violence, and the only concern of the vanquished was whether there was a possibility of gaining sufficient strength to renew the battle.

'Yet gradually there has spread the concept of settling disputes within a political unit by methods other than war. Constitutions providing for Governments which are responsive to the desires of the people have removed the need for changes through violence, in certain territories, although the threat always remains, and the possibility of small and poor minorities,
or even majorities, getting an effective say in their own Government is often nullified in practice. Yet even now in large areas of the world Governments maintain their power through the judicious use of force, or the threat of force, and there are peoples who are believed to acquiesce in the policies of their Government simply because there seems no alternative—they do not feel that they could effectively overcome the force wielded by those in authority.

‘What I have just said gives rise to encouragement because there has been more organized resistance to violence within man himself, and this development, I suppose, is called civilization, although others may have some other definitions for this word.

‘Essentially man is against violence even when he doesn’t realize it. The very fact that he doesn’t want to be hurt supports this argument. The fact that we have well-armed nations, big and small, who are on a round-the-clock alert, ready to strike at each other at the first opportunity, meeting together to try and find methods of disarming themselves, is an indication that man has been, and is, and I am hopeful will increasingly be, non-violent.

‘In essence, therefore, the problem is: how do we get rid of the fear of man by man, or the fear that man has of himself?

‘If the entire mankind is to survive, we have no choice in the matter but to try and employ the method of non-violence, when and where conflict arises. There are no half-measures here; either man destroys himself or he continues to develop the techniques of non-violence not only where individuals are concerned, but also where racial, national and international problems arise.

‘From the saintly Mahatma Gandhi to all those who profess non-violence, it must be admitted that in our world today non-violence can be terribly and dangerously impotent as the conflict between India and China has shown.

‘I do not believe that the present limitations in the practice of non-violence mean that it is of limited importance. On the contrary, I believe that it may be the most important social agent for the betterment of mankind that has ever been discovered. It accords with the teachings of all the world-known religious leaders, and those of the people who might be termed
leaders of progressive thought. It is based on the twin concepts of equality and love between men. Indeed, it follows from this automatically because when there is love between people there is no question of them murdering each other for something which might arise; they will instead make every attempt to solve their problems peacefully.

Yet the principles of non-violence follow from the teachings of love, so it assists them by its insistence on the importance of the individual. It is something which depends on the individual, and is in a sense exclusively an individual weapon. It therefore may have a place in any society. Every political leader, whether democratic or dictatorial, is a prisoner of many circumstances. Sometimes he has vested interests to deal with, military or party leaders, or he may be a slave to an ideology; all of these mean that the common man has no direct access to or influence on his leader. In these conditions it is difficult for the leader not to get out of touch, and it may be that in such circumstances the principles of non-violent resistance have another part to play.

But none of this is certain. While it is true that extreme goodness and love is the most powerful force there is, few of us are yet capable of it in its extremity. We therefore do not know its potentialities, any more than we really know the power and the problems raised by non-violent passive resistance to oppression. It is therefore necessary that students of non-violence should undertake further philosophical and practical studies into the meaning and the effectiveness of these techniques and the possibility of developing them into a way of life. We are accustomed to scientists spending time in laboratories; we must pursue the same habits when examining the potentialities of this social agent as when examining the potentialities of a chemical agent.

This is not a religious question. It is political, economic, social and spiritual. It brings man, as an individual living in society, back into the centre of things. Nothing is more necessary, for we are now in danger of getting so wrapped up in machines, organizations and plans that man who is the purpose of it all is treated like an instrument. Man must realize his own importance, both as an individual and as a member of society.

Yet now we are left with an apparently unending series of questions. Is it still within man’s grasp to save himself from the
dangerous weapons he has created? Is it possible for nations which hate and fear each other to come together and discuss their problems peacefully? Is it possible for individuals to stop dislocating each other's jaws by the use of fists? I can see only one answer which is in itself a question. Can the conscience of the common man be aroused to action by a realization of his own importance in relation to the totality of human activity? If this happens mankind will develop a new sense of direction and responsibility. But it can only happen if we can reach the conscience of the common man.

‘In conclusion I would like to say how grateful and thankful I am to all my colleagues and our many followers, without whose co-operation and loyalty I would not be here to receive this honour, Mr President.’

At Sussex University, Dr Kaunda was honoured jointly with India’s Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. The two leaders contrasted strangely in their decorative ceremonial gowns—the Indian leader, small, frail and shy; the Zambian leader, tall, straight and confident. But these two men held many things in common, notably the influence on their lives of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

The orator proclaiming Kaunda's claim to the degree of Doctor of Laws is himself a well-known expert on Africa, Professor D. A. Low:

‘It is now just twenty years ago that a young schoolmaster left the Chinsali District of what was then Northern Rhodesia, to travel first to Tanganyika, and then to Southern Rhodesia, before plunging himself deep into the nationalist cause he has made his own. The times were out of joint—there was colour bar on the Copperbelt, and soon an imposed Federation. For Kenneth Kaunda it meant little but hardship, and insult, and prison. In seeking to place him upon our own roll of graduates we should never forget that his name already stands upon that other roll of graduates—the graduates of British prisons—which is to be well represented at the Prime Minister's Conference tomorrow. Yet through it all, friend and political foe alike soon learned that here was a man who not only felt passionately about freedom and nationalism, but about the Gandhian doctrine of non-
violence as well; a man who bore no ill-will for the white men against whom he strove; and who when given the power to control the destinies of his own people quickly made stability and quietude the order of the day. With the Congo erupting to the north, and some sharp troubles at home, his countrymen had cause to be thankful; and we for hailing a remarkable human achievement.'

Responding to the honour conferred on him Dr Kaunda said:

'For me this is a very happy occasion. That you in your young university should have conferred such an honour on an even younger country—for in honouring me you honour Zambia—is something which I find difficult to express in words. But then words are not my forte. I have always led a fighting life, in a struggle which has always had in view the ultimate independence of my people. My struggle has caused me to be called many things—criminal—a wild man—a black mamba—an agitator. Once I was even called a diplomat. Is this the reputation which has led the University of Sussex to honour me today?

'No, Mr Vice-Chancellor. A university, however young, however old, searches for truth, and in that search goes behind the façade of accepted views to seek out the true nature of things. And I stand here today, and I am honoured today, for what I really am—a man with two roles.

'First and foremost I stand as the leader of my country, Zambia, and secondly I stand here as a politician.

'In my political role I have always tried to lead the people of my country, without regard to race or creed, to a better life, a life in which each individual is valued because he is a human being. This has been my aim and it is to this end that my struggle has been dedicated. Dedicated to service to man, for only in the service of mankind as a whole can anyone find real happiness and fulfil his destiny.

'In the past, my struggle has centred on political independence, on ensuring that every individual in Zambia was given political rights and afforded the dignity entitled to all who are created in the image of God. Now my struggle and my dedication will be to ensure that this essential dignity of man is not denigrated by poverty, ignorance and disease.
'Mr Vice-Chancellor—I have only one message—and I hope this message will not give you second thoughts about the honour you and this university have accorded me. My message is that I will continue to fight—and to fight hard—to ensure that my people, each and every one, is freed from economic oppression as they have now been freed from political oppression.

'And because I am first of all a politician and a leader of my people, so it will be that most of my fight will be for the people of Zambia. And should those who do not understand the necessity for creating conditions in which man can fulfil his destiny, label me again a wild man, I would ask you to remember this message.

'But we in Zambia know that unselfishness is an essential attribute of man as created by God. And I therefore give a pledge that other unfortunates, still faced with economic or political oppression and thereby restrained from developing as individuals, will not be absent from the thoughts and policies of the Government and people of Zambia.

'Mr Vice-Chancellor, in conclusion I would like to thank you, not only for the honour you have accorded me and my country, but for allowing me to share this honour with my good friend Prime Minister Shastri of India. Two great pleasures in one day, and for them I thank you most sincerely.'
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