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**Zambia: from the Western
markets to the Chinese ones.**

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Introduction

Zambia is a country situated in South-Central Africa bordered to the northwest by the Democratic Republic of Congo, to northeast by Tanzania, to the east by Malawi, to the southeast by Mozambique, to the south by Zimbabwe and Botswana, and to the southwest by Namibia. It took the name from the river Zambezi that crosses the territory and falls in what are known as the largest falls in the World; Victoria Falls. Lusaka, the capital, shows the past colonial heritage with its high skyscrapers and the asphalted streets that clash with the misery of the people who lived there.

The visitors who arrive in Lusaka, the capital will at once see signs of wealth produced by copper industry: the grandiose international airport, the opulent, copper-sheathed Parliament building and the tall office blocks in the city centre. Five hundred kilometres to the south-west the wide Zambezi river suddenly drops into abyss, forming the largest waterfall in the world. Elsewhere the visitor may well find the landscape monotonous and lacking in human interest.¹

The distance between one village and another is very wide; and every area has its own character given that the Zambian population is composed by different ethnicities with different habits. The official language is English thanks to British domination, but there are so many dialects that not even a Zambian could understand all of them. Zambia is a protestant country but recently there have been Muslim settlements, in particular in the Northern areas, and the ancient tradition of animism are still perceived as important. Moving from the big cities to the countryside the poverty of the people is more visible; the Zambians are the poorest in the African continent, not counting the spread of HIV infection and malnutrition. Despite this, the country has great possibilities from an agricultural point of view; the weather is gentle and part of the territory is well irrigated. However, this country has a vast public debt and a large rate of unemployment. This situation might suggest some perplexities considering that Zambia's land is well-known for its richness; the mineral rocks are stretching through the large plateau that cross the country and there are presences of copper mineral in the soil². So, why today does Zambia has such disastrous economic

¹ Andrew Roberts, *A history of Zambia*, Africana Publish Company, New York, 1979, p.1

² Ibid,

and social conditions? The reasons are numerous but in the first instance it is important to linger on the analysis of the economic system that has been applied during this country's history.

An economic system

It is possible to talk about a real economic system in Zambia only after the colonization, in fact the British domination in this country had transmitted the basis of what we define as 'capitalism'. It is not easy to define the term capitalism because is connected to a real economic situation that reflects the social and political structures of a country, however:

Capitalism is a special social formation where both the selling and buying of commodities organised by capital dominate human economic activities. [...] On one hand, capitalism broadened and complicated social relations in production, distribution and consumption. The social commodities, money and capital, not only became more and more important for society but it was also impossible to fully understand it merely by daily common sense. On the other hand, economic activities based on commodity transactions, unlike those in various pre-capitalist societies, basically tended to be self-operating and became independent of extra economic religious and political force.³

Capitalism is an economic system based on the capital that through buying and selling produces accumulation and in the long run the prosperity of the society. However, defining it as a mere economic system is reductive; according to the definition given by Makoto Itoh, a society that chooses to apply capitalism as the economic system inevitably changes and adopts peculiar characteristics. Moreover, a capitalistic economic model cannot be considered as static and still, capitalism is a concept that has been evolving continuously, it changes according to the structure of the society and the willingness of political authorities. So, it is not only an economic

³ Makoto Itoh, *The basic theory of capitalism : the forms and substance of the capitalist economy*, Basingstoke ; London : MacMillan, 1988.p.1

system but also an important social and political phenomenon, for this reason it is quite difficult to proceed with an analysis of this without taking into consideration other elements of the society.

When contextualizing the economic system in a developing and postcolonial country like Zambia, it is important to give hint to 'imperialism'. This is a complex concept and its definition has been largely discussed by a lot of scholars, for example, R.Luxemburg gives us a definition that contrasts with the one offered by the Marxists:

“Imperialism was then defined as a historically inevitable stage for capitalistic great powers to struggle against each other to acquire increasingly scarce no-capitalist external market areas for the realisation of the surplus value.”⁴

According to Marx this theory was not well founded:

[..] Though capitalism certainly utilised the peripheral countries throughout its development, the economic relation between the capitalistic centre and the periphery cannot be confined only to a supplementary market for surplus value, and must be clarified concretely with its historical changes at a research level which is different from the general principles of capitalistic economy. “⁵

In this quotation Marx affirms that the concept of imperialism is basically different from capitalism applied in the modern society, to understand better the characteristics of this form of capitalism it is necessary to plunge into the context of the Third World countries; in particular one of the purposes of this dissertation is to inquire into the way Imperialism had been imposed in Zambia during colonial domination and how this economic system was integrated in the Zambian economy in the following years.

Moreover, there is another element to consider; starting from the assumption that capitalism is a dynamic concept, it is important to consider its changes during history that could have influenced the global market and the political structure of the

⁴ Makoto Itoh, *The basic theory of capitalism : the forms and substance of the capitalist economy*, Basingstoke ; London : MacMillan, 1988. p.64

⁵ Makoto Itoh, *The basic theory of capitalism : the forms and substance of the capitalist economy*, Basingstoke ; London : MacMillan, 1988.p.65

countries involved. History has given a lot of examples, but the most recent can be traced back to the changes in the economic global market immediately after the energy crisis of the seventies. In this period, a lot of developing countries got into a huge debt, Zambia in particular could not handle the fall of the Copperbelt prices and its economy became more and more fragile, dependent on foreign interests. The globalisation that spread throughout the eighties worsened the Zambian economic situation and it has remained immobile until today without any hint of improvements in the economic field. Considering all this information, it seems that the capitalistic economic system did not promote the development of the country, both in its imperialistic form and in the capitalistic system integrated in the independent Zambia, so might it have been the wrong model for a country like that?

However, after having clarified that Capitalism and Imperialism are two dynamics concepts that have been influencing many aspects of society, and moreover, considering that the application of capitalism could not have been the right economic system for a country like Zambia, the better solution seems to require a deepening of the analysis of this country from a political and cultural point of view.

'One nation One Zambia'

Starting from the political structure of this country it is necessary to define some fundamental concepts before plunging into the real Zambian policy, the concept of state and nation. According to the European historical tradition, the definition of the modern state came from the modern age (between the XV and XVII centuries) and it includes three main concepts, the sovereignty of the people, the maintenance of the order within its territory and the bureaucracy: "Lo 'Stato' è quella istituzione o serie di istituzioni, impegnata a far valere l'ordine (anche se poi può essere impegnata in altre cose). Lo Stato esiste laddove enti specializzati nell'imporre l'ordine, quali le forze di polizia e i tribunale, sono separati dal resto della vita sociale."⁶ Weber sustained that the State can be defined as a political body capable of imposing the legitimate violence inside its territory, however, there are States that cannot have the monopoly of this violence, because in most cases they did not have a defined territory. However, what most pushes a State to become a political unit might be the

⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Nazioni e nazionalismi*, Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1993, p 6

national spirit, in fact, nationalism could be an instrument that unifies the people in a possible nation and as a consequences, in a concrete and real state. At this point, it is important to deepen the meaning of these two concepts of 'nation' and 'nationalism' in order to understand better the political unit that we are going to deal with.

Nation and nationalism

In the Western world the concept of nation was an idea that was born with the Enlightenment and it developed as a fundamental topic of the Romantics. The willingness of some populations to fight with the aim of having their own nation, brought about the creation of new states, as had happened for Germans and Italians during the XIV century. In addition, the importance of culture cannot be forgotten because a nation is supposed to be a whole of people that has lived with the same past and shares the same traditions. It is not easy to define a nation because it is often confused with state, society and race, however Benedict Anderson gave a definition of nation in his book '*Comunità immaginate*', underlining the importance of the imagination as a fundamental element for the creation of national conscience:

Con lo spirito di un antropologo, propongo quindi la seguente definizione di nazione: si tratta di una comunità politica immaginata, e immaginata come intrinsecamente insieme limitata e sovrana. È immaginata in quanto gli abitanti della più piccola nazione non conosceranno mai la maggior parte dei loro compatrioti, nè li incontreranno, nè ne sentiranno mai parlare, eppure nella mente di ognuno vive l'immaginazione del loro essere comunità⁷.

Anderson in this sentence talks about 'the imagined community' sustaining that not only the nation must be imagined but also it had to be sovereign and free. This discourse takes the spontaneous origin of nationalism for granted, saying that a community that imagined themselves as a nation but formally is not tries to build its own state and society, based on the cultural elements that the community shares. On the contrary, according to Geller's thesis, nationalism might not be born spontaneously but in some cases it might be piloted and monopolized. Geller affirmed that nationalism might be the political instrument used to create an

⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Comunità immaginate: origini e diffusione dei nazionalismi*, manifesto-libri, Roma, 1996, p.23

imagined community that did not have any foundation to exist in the political reality. He defined nationalism as “il nazionalismo è anzitutto un principio politico che sostiene che l’unità nazionale e l’unità politica dovrebbero essere perfettamente coincidenti”⁸ and he specified that “il nazionalismo non è il risveglio delle nazioni all’autoconsapevolezza: piuttosto inventa le nazioni dove esse non esistono.”⁹ So, according to Gellner’s thesis nationalism has groundless elements, he tried to prove that in many cases this ‘ideology’ creates false community in order to guarantee other kind of interests, for example, political ones. An obvious deduction is that nationalism can be imposed by political authorities as an ideology to control the masses and to gain more power. Therefore, there are two different conflicting theses about nationalism, the first defined nationalism as a spontaneous movement, whereas the second shows how nationalism can be groundless, without any key foundations.

However, it could be interesting to analyze the application of these concepts in Zambia, and the development of nationalism that brought about the formation of the state ‘Zambia’ in order to understand if these two concepts belong to Zambian traditions or if they have been imposed by colonialism; to this purpose it is necessary to give a brief historical summary of the political structures in the country.

Zambia formally became a ‘nation-state’ with its independence in 1964. Thanks to the actions of the rebellious movement and its greatest representatives, such as Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia did not exist anymore. However, what is interesting to analyze is the way in which the country became a ‘country’ and above all, what brought about the formation of the State ‘Zambia’, but before we have to make a step backward starting from the colonial period. The colonial inheritance has a huge impact on the formation of the nation-state, the long English domination provoked a transmission of British values, customs and habits. To this purpose, Terence Ranger in one of his essays talks about ‘the invention of the tradition’ in colonial Africa; he sustains that the imposition of European traditions on African colonies had caused the creation of false African traditions. Starting from the form of the government to the scholar system and finally with some model of behaviour considered ‘modern’ by the Europeans. During the colonial period, the British tried to modernize the African through utilizing the traditions that they had created, that were completely invented based on British culture. For example, in Northern

⁸ *Nazioni e nazionalismi*, pp 3

⁹ *Nazioni e nazionalismi*, pp 25

Rhodesia many celebrations were organized in the honour of the British king assuming that George V would be the king of all the population that lived in the territory. The Northern Rhodesian administration boasted the fact that he was successful in unifying all the population as citizens of the British Empire.

Tutti voi qui presenti, siete un unico popolo- i sudditi del re d'Inghilterra. È desiderio del re che tutti i suoi sudditi vivano insieme in pace..È per questo che invia i Governatori..Il governatore che vive a Livingstone, e deve pensare all'amministrazione di un grande paese, non può stare sempre nello stesso posto, ma i Commissari distrettuali..sono i rappresentanti del Re e del Governatore, ed è loro compito far sì che vengano eseguiti i desideri del Re. ¹⁰

Later, the British tried to integrate members of the black community in the administration giving them semi-power positions, however, the colonial administration reserved favourable treatment for some ethnicities over others, for example, the Lozi people whose king completely adopted the British royal ceremonies. So, the colonial influence might bring heavy consequences in the formation of social and political state, considering that part of European culture was transmitted and became part of Zambian culture. So, when Zambia found its independence and the new Government had to shape the basis of its political structure there were a lot of difficulties to keep together the nation. From a political point of view, the country was far away from being stable, and this situation continued into the following administration. After Kaunda, the one-party system ended and it seems that the Government of Chiluba assumed a more democratic governance, however in that year the country was subjected to a burst of corruption that favoured the unsteady political situation. Recently, the elections that have taken place last September have shown how this instability lingers in the political institutions, the tensions, the contrasts and the violence that took place in Lusaka during the elections of the new president underlined the unstable political structure¹¹.

The reasons of this instability are numerous, my intention is to explain all of them with this dissertation and verifying if this political situation could have had influence

¹⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Comunità immaginate:origini e diffusione dei nazionalismi*, manifesto-libri, Roma, 1996,p 223

¹¹ From the website <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15019198> the article "Zambia poll; Riots in Kitwe and Ndola over slow results" consulted on 23 September 2011 time 16.54

on the economic system; is it possible that the unsteady political situation has had a bad influence on the economic system and the consequent development? Certainly the political choices that have been made have had a fundamental role in determining the current situation, but before deepening this argument it is fundamental to describe the cultural aspect of this country. As I have explained before, the transmission of the European culture had a great impact in the African population, so I think it is worth explaining better the kinds of culture that existed before colonialism.

The importance of culture

With the words “African traditions” the first two concepts that occur in the mind are spontaneously ethnicity and tribalism, but the real meaning of this term is not really understood by a person that did not know much about African culture and traditions. So, the first step to proceed with the analysis of Zambian culture is to define the concept of ethnicity and tribalism in general; R.A Schermerhorn starts from the definition of the ethnic groups to approach the whole concept of ethnicity:

An ethnic group is ...a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a central focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their people hood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.¹²

As it is explained above, the definition includes both external and internal factors, but unfortunately it does not analyze deeper the relations with other important elements such as class, race, identity and modernity.

Class

Starting from the axiom that *ethnicity is not class* it is interesting to underline the strict connection between these two concepts in the modern society; class is quite

¹² Werner Sollors, *Theories of Ethnicities: A classical reader*, Mcmilland Press LTD, London 1996, p 7

certainly a product of society and an instrument useful to structure its population, whereas ethnicity has roots in the common culture and traditions as we have already said. Identifying a social class with an ethnicity can be a dangerous for a country that has an ethnic structured society. In many developing and poor countries, it happened that the members of the government that belonged to a peculiar ethnicity favored that ethnic group over the others, giving it privileges and transforming that ethnicity into the elite class.

The confusion of ethnicity and class highlighted contrasts and encouraged competitiveness between the different ethnic groups that had lived together for centuries.

Race

If class is purely a social concept, with the word 'race' the first element that comes to mind is the biological aspect; it is a common opinion to think that race is correlated only with a genetic and inherited physical appearance, on the contrary ethnicity is strictly connected with cultural traits. However, the distinction between these two concepts is not so simple, considering that in many cases they are confused and one is utilized instead of the other.

In practice, the distinction between a racial and an ethnic group is sometimes blurred by several facts. Cultural traits are often regarded as genetic and inherited (e.g, body odor, which is a function of diet, cosmetic, and other cultural items); physical appearance can be culturally changed (sacrification, surgery, and cosmetics) ; and the sensory perception of physical differences is affected by cultural perceptions of race (e.g. a rich Negro may be seen as lighter than equally dark poor Negro, as suggested by the Brazilian proverb: 'Money leaches'). However, the distinction between race and ethnicity remains analytically useful.¹³

It sounds like race and ethnicity are complementary in that the term ethnicity cannot be completed without the connotation of race and vice versa, so race cannot be defined only from a biological and physical point of view. Moreover, it is important to underline that the concept of race has sociological and psychological

¹³ *Theories of Ethnicities: A classical reader*, pp.32

origins, considering that it is subjected to the dynamics that are established within a modern society. It is not admissible to define the concept of race solely on the basis of biological elements without recognizing the importance of anthropological ideas correlated with physical features. In some developing countries during the colonial past the black natives were considered a race because they were physically different from the white Europeans, but it was impossible to define the black communities as a whole ethnicity, because they did not know anything about their cultural traits or traditions. Such a mistake was committed by the colonial powers when they decided on the borders of the African states without thinking of ethnic affiliation and tribes. Another example was the South-Africa apartheid, considering that the discrimination was applied to all the ethnicities it was a dangerous mistake of generalization.

Identity and Modernity

There is a loss of traditional and primordial identities because of trends of modernization. This means: urbanisation, new occupations, mass education transmitting general and abstract information, mass media presenting a general and universal culture. Now all this should make original ethnic identities-tribal, linguistic, regional and the like, all the 'primordial' identities-weaker. However... in mass society there is the need in the individual for some kind of identity – smaller than the State, larger than the family, something akin to 'familistic allegiance'.¹⁴

The meaning of the note above is that the modern society had transformed the concept of primordial identity reducing all its fundamental features such as linguistic, tribal and regional aspects that usually characterized the individual identity. The reason why that happened is correlated to the formation of modernity and in particular in the last forty years, the mass society; this phenomenon had fragmented the different ethnic identities in unifying them in a single State. So, the individual identity with all its peculiar elements, in the modern society is something blurred and confused because it refers to a mass identity.

Max Weber, a famous sociologist tried to connect the concept of ethnicity with what he had called 'race identity' that is, something inherited and descending from a common past, traditions and political dynamics. According to Weber, when race is perceived as a common

¹⁴ *Theories of Ethnicities: A classical reader*, p 37

characteristic, it creates groups of people that identify themselves by their distinction from other groups. That brings us back to the concept of 'otherness' as a fundamental element in order to shape the idea of identity. Moreover, he underlined the importance of common belief in the creation of ethnic identities; that put together with all other cultural traits, tradition and a common historical past, it contributed to enforce a sense of ethnic group affinity.

We shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs of both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists.¹⁵

So, Weber's thesis starts from the fact that the ethnic group affiliation is strictly connected with the development of a common and subjective belief; on one hand it was determined by similarities in the physical appearance, and on the other it descended from historical memories of a common past. As a result, it seems that ethnicity can be defined as a concept that includes a part of the biological element (race), cultural traits that formed an ethnic consciousness and contributes to the creation of ethnic identity (identity) and the influence of the society (class). So it seems that this concept of ethnicity is fundamental in order to describe the cultural and traditional element in an African society like Zambia, because it stressed the attention to a 'collective identity' that is strictly connected with a national sense; so in what way could ethnic affiliation influence the political structure?

However, first there is another consideration to cater for; a famous French anthropologist in his work 'L'invenzione dell'etnia' presents a significant thesis about the concept of ethnicity that can be a starting point of new reconsideration of the concept with all the implication in the political and economic aspects of this country. In the first instance, J.L. Amselle affirms that the concept of ethnicity cannot have a standard definition, because the ethnic reality has strong relative character that changes according to the geographical and social position.[Fortes]¹⁶ However, in the second instance, he underlined the importance of distinguishing the ethnicity from the concept of 'tribes'.

¹⁵ *Theories of Ethnicities: A classical reader*, 56

¹⁶ J.L Amselle, *L'invenzione dell'etnia*, Meltemi editore, Roma, 2008

All'origine un'etnia è prima di tutto un insieme sociale relativamente chiuso e durevole radicato in un passato più o meno mitico. Questo gruppo possiede un nome, generalmente una lingua dei costumi e valori propri e si afferma come differente dai suoi vicini. L'universo etnico è costituito da un mosaico (...) di lignaggi. Esiste una profonda parentela tra etnia lignaggio o clan parentela che si trova il più sovente rafforzata da un vocabolario familiare, oppure da un mito d'origine che stabilisce la comune dipendenza dei membri del gruppo a partire da una coppia iniziale o da un eroe mitico. (Nicolas 1973, p.103).¹⁷

Then, the same author specifies “un'etnia può corrispondere a una o più tribù e nazioni, come una cultura e una civilizzazione. [...] un'etnia non è né una cultura né una società, bensì un composto specifico, in equilibrio più o meno instabile di cultura e di sociale”¹⁸

The ethnicity is a more complex concept of tribal character that was defined “ si chiama tribù o popolo un raggruppamento unitario in cui i membri rivendicano la loro appartenenza a questo stesso raggruppamento”¹⁹ According to Amselle it is easy to confused ethnicity with tribalism (that is generally assumed to have a negative connotation), many times the word tribalism is used to determine a separation of one population from another, and often it is monopolized by he who has an interests in keeping this separation.

The common application of generalized complex of 'tribalism' has become almost tautological. Used to denote how those face-to-face communities we once unproblematically called 'tribes' are different from modern communities abstracted communities such as the nation, the concept of nationalism turns on a convention of self-naming.²⁰

Having clarified that ethnicity and tribalism are slightly different concepts considering that the first is wider and less determined than the second, it can be curious to plunge into the Zambian reality.

Nowadays, officially there are 72 ethnic groups in Zambia and each of them has their own language and tradition that comes from a common historical past. They

¹⁷ J.L Amselle, *L'invenzione dell'etnia*, Meltemi editore, Roma, 2008, p 46

¹⁸ J.L Amselle, *L'invenzione dell'etnia*, Meltemi editore, Roma, 2008,

¹⁹ *L'invenzione dell'etnia*, p.45

²⁰ Paul Warren James, *Globalism, nationalism tribalism: bringing theory back in*, Sage publications Ltd, London, 2006.

have lived together peacefully for centuries, despite the differences that characterized each of them. However, recently episodes of interracial tension took place in the Western part of the country provoking violent protests and contrasts between different ethnies, the Lozi and the Bemba and also the Lozi and the Nyanjas.

In January 2011, clashes between Zambian security forces and demonstrators linked to a pro-secession group resulted in several deaths. Lozi leaders have demanded an apology from president Rupiah Banda for the killings, and they accuse him—like previous national leaders—of ignoring the developmental needs of the region. Such grievances are exacerbated, they maintain, by the fact that Banda won the last presidential election in part through the support of the Lozi electorate. A militant group called the Linyundangambo has discussed declaring the independence of Barotseland. Tensions are currently running so high in western Zambia that one risks a beating for singing the Zambian national anthem in public rather than the Barotse anthem.²¹

So, it seems that recently there have been contrasts that have undermined the unity of the country, the Lozi question can be an interesting point of start in order to question other important situations; does what has been happening have pure ethnic causes or there are other reasons that need to be considered?

Moreover, in what way does the tense ethnic situation influence the politic situation and as a consequence the economic development?

Surely one thing is certain; that culture and ethnicity are fundamental to better understand the political choices and consequently the political situation is important to—understand the economic system. So analysis of the cultural and the political aspects must be deepened in order to verify them; could the current economic model of development be adequate for a country like Zambia or, considering the peculiar characteristics, is it necessary to think about another model?

The China model: an alternative one?

In the last forty years a new powerful country had risen making its economy one of the most competitive in the world, the People's Republic of China. Chinese economy began to increase when the communist regime decided to introduce

²¹ Taken by the web site <http://geocurrents.info/geopolitics/lozi-barotse-nationalism-in-western-zambia>.
Date: 05/11/2011 Time;14.28

capitalistic elements in its system assuring a huge social and economic development. After the death of Mao Tse Tung the Government decided to open the economy to the global market with the introduction and the development of Sino-foreign joint adventure.²² This helped China to become more independent from the international markets:

Fra il 1978 e il 2001 il commercio cinese con l'estero cresce ad un tasso medio del 15% annuo. Gli scambi con l'estero hanno un peso crescente nell'economia. Con un volume d'esportazioni (e importazioni) che raggiunge più del 22% del Pil nel 2001, la Cina è uno dei più grande paesi in via di sviluppo più aperti al commercio internazionale²³.

On the wave of expansion China spread all over the world conquering the international markets, in particular the Chinese economy has recently been focusing on the African continent; in the last few years the presence of the Chinese people in Africa has transformed from a marginal theme into a central topic of international relations.

In pochi anni, la presenza della Cina in Africa è passata da argomento marginale per specialisti di geopolitica a tema centrale nelle relazioni internazionali e nella vita quotidiana del continente. E tuttavia, ricercatori giornalisti continuano a rimasticare le stesse cifre macroeconomiche: il bilancio bilaterale tra le due aree si è moltiplicato per cinquanta tra il 1980 e il 2005, è quintuplicato tra il 2000 e il 2006 passando da 10 a 55 miliardi, e dovrebbe raggiungere i 100 miliardi nel 2010. Ci sarebbero già novecento imprese cinesi sul suolo africano e nel 2007, la Cina preso il posto della Francia come secondo maggiore partner commerciale dell'Africa.²⁴

The rise of Chinese presence in Africa and the consequent economic development is impressive, the economic measures utilized in order to implement the African economy are interesting to continue my analysis; it seems that the Chinese model could be the better solution. Serge Mombouli, the advisor to the Congolese president

²² Oded Shenkar, *Il secolo della Cina : l'impatto della crescita cinese sull'economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro, traduzione di Nicola Borzi.* - Milano : Il sole-24 ore, 2005.

²³ Françoise Lemoine, *L'economia cinese*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2005

²⁴ Serge Michel, Michel Beuret, *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, Il Saggiatore, Milano, 2009, p 11

once said: “I cinese ci offrono cose concrete, L’Occidente valori intangibili. Ma a cosa servono la trasparenza, la *governante*, se la gente non ha elettricità né lavoro? La democrazia non si mangia mica.”²⁵ The Chinese has been financing the huge enterprises giving a large demand of labor force, diminishing the unemployment and favoring the African workers, in this way the popularity of China increases more and more among the African populations. However, ~~in~~ from my point of view it could be interesting to analyze the Chinese model in a more specific way in Zambia, considering that in this country the Chinese presence is higher than all the other African countries. Besides the construction of the long railway that starts from Lusaka to Dar es Saalam, the attention of the Chinese in Zambia was mainly on the Copperbelt. When the Chinese arrived in Zambia they found the mines closed and mostly not utilized since the times of colonialism. They restarted the mining labour force, implementing economic development based on the copper market, which meant it once again became the object of transcontinental trade—boosting the market that had stopped years ago²⁶. So, it seems that the spread of the Chinese economy can be a positive stimulus for a possible economic development, however it could be interesting to understand if this possible alternative model could be a real solution also for Zambian political authorities and the people.

In summary, the political and cultural aspects are fundamental to better understand the economic model adopted in Zambia during the country’s history, in the first instance Zambia is an African country and it has peculiar characteristics that need to be explained; in the second instance, these two aspects can help to verify if the capitalistic economic system is adequate for this country. Moreover, in the last forty years a new superpower began to colonize the African continent introducing an alternative economic model, the Chinese one that seems to be very popular among the African population. So, the questions are mainly two, can the capitalistic model be considered adequate to promote a developing economic model? And if not can the Chinese economy help Zambia to turn around from the static economic situation? Then, considering the recent tendency of the economy to become less globalized, another interesting element that is worth analyzing could be the spread of micro

²⁵ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero.*

²⁶ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero.*

finance; recently in fact, there is a preference in focusing on the local development production by the credit agency, implementing what is known as microcredit²⁷.

In conclusion, the aim of this dissertation is to verify if there is a possible alternative to the capitalistic economy and the global market, considering that the Zambian economic situation is quite disastrous. Before plunging into an analysis of the economic system applied in Zambia I think it is necessary to introduce the politic and cultural aspects of this country, so the first part is dedicated to the history of the Zambian political structure that is not completed without a study of the culture of this country. Instead, in the second part I want to deepen the economic aspects of the country starting from the beginning of the first national trade markets to the recent changes in the global market; moreover, the rise of Chinese economy that offers an alternative economic model could be an interesting point of start in order to answer my analysis; can the Chinese economy substitute the capitalistic one or not? And are there other forms to increment the economic development, considering the attention given to local production and microcredit?

²⁷ [Becchetti, Leonardo](#), *Il microcredito : [una nuova frontiera per l'economia]*, Bologna : Il mulino, [2008].

PART ONE

In this first part, my intention is firstly to analyze the development of the political structures during this country's history; from its origins to the recent presidential elections; and in the second instance, to deepen the concept of African culture, using the theme of ethnicity as applied to the recent events. Finally, the aim of my analysis is to analyse the economic capitalistic model that has been applied in Zambia in order to verify if it could be an adequate model according to the political, social and cultural characteristics of the country.

CHAPTER I

1. Zambia as a nation

This chapter is entirely dedicated to the political unit that has been developed in this country during its history; my intention is to deepen the understanding of the formation of the pre colonial social and political structure and in which way they have been integrated in the model of nation-state imposed during Colonialism. Afterwards, I think that an analysis of the colonial period can be useful in order to understand in which way some concepts have been adopted by Zambian traditions and afterwards how they have caused the first national movements for independency and freedom. At the beginning of Kaunda's government there were a lot of difficulties to keep the 'nation' together, questioning the reason of this fragility and the consequent establishment of a socialist regime, it could be an interesting point in order to shine a light on the more recent political administration. Zambian post-colonial policies seems to be characterized by an intrinsic instability that corroded the political structures and institutions. This instability, that has been characterizing the country till today, could have an impact on the political choices connected to economic reforms, and it could be interesting to deepen the understanding of how much influence this could have in an unstable country as far as economic development is concerned.

However, in order to have the instruments to make a complete analysis it is necessary to take a step backwards beginning with the pre-colonial history.

1.2 Pre-colonial Zambia

Little is known about of the pre-documented history of this country; the only traces that are related to this period are archeological testimonies from the Iron Age. However, as far as the political organization is concerned little is known about in the pre-colonial period. The only certainty is that during the sixteen centuries preceding colonization lineage was fundamental in determining political relations.

We have already noted the likelihood that over much of the country people belonged to descent groups which exercised corporate rights. It seems very probable that these rights were claimed in what we would call both civil and criminal cases. It was, in short, the lineage group which regulated disputes and if two given lineage groups failed to settle a quarrel, it could always be referred to the elders of a more senior branch of the lineage;²⁸

So, lineage was very important in order to regulate the daily life of the people, it can be considered one of the first forms of political organization; in some ancient Zambian populations the matrilineages was still perceived as fundamental until quite recently; for example, the Luvale people had been determining their political relations by lineage structure.²⁹

Besides lineage, another significant element that characterized the political decisions, in particular during the eighteen centuries, was chieftainship. It could be interesting to examine what chieftainship has meant for this country, considering that everyone was governed by a chief until the end of the nineteenth century. The nature of chieftainship assumed different shapes according to the time and region, but in one form or another, chieftainship is the most ancient political structure and the chief is the fundamental authoritarian figure in pre colonial Zambian.

Zambian chiefs varied a great deal in the nature and extent of their authority. Some were not much more than village headmen; at the other extreme there were rulers who should really be called kings, since they were each acknowledged to be the senior ruler in a hierarchy of chiefs, great and small. Some chiefs owed their position to the prevailing rules of succession and inheritance; others might be chosen according to other rules, simply on the basis of personal merit. [...]. It was the chief – assisted by his more senior subjects – who was responsible for seeing that law and custom were upheld; that the guilty were punished; and that his people were protected from their enemies.³⁰

²⁸ Andrew Roberts, *A history of Zambia*, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1976, p78

²⁹ *Ibid*, *A history of Zambia*,

³⁰ *Ibid*, *A history of Zambia*, p80

Moreover, the chiefs usually used to manage the administration of the village, levying the tributes, in labour, beer and local craft-work and in food crops, thanks to all of those things the chiefs could live in a more comfortable way than their subjects. However, hospitality was an important character in the village structure and it was expected by the chiefs, they not only met significant visitors but also were accustomed to welcome those subjects who were unable to provide for themselves;³¹“they maintained food reserves to meet the threat of famine, and in receiving tribute a chief commonly made some payment in return.”³²

The concept of chieftainship also had a religious aspect; in fact, besides controlling the land that would be cultivated according to the proper rights, the chief had to care for the health of the land in a spiritual point of view.

If the rains were too short or too late, or if crops and animals were assailed by pests, it was the duty of a chief to intercede on behalf of his people by arranging prayers and offerings to the spirits of his ancestors or whatever other spirits were thought to exert power over the land. And occasionally this religious function of chieftainship went further. Some chiefs were regarded as a ‘divine king’, [...]If they fell ill, or failed to observe certain rituals and taboos (especially concerning sex and fire), the land itself would suffer, and the people with it.³³

The death of a chief was a terrible event because the country could fall apart, provoking a period of regency in which successions of war were prolonged and very frequent. When a king or a chief died there was temporarily a lack of law and order and the license of anarchy; this situation served to underline the importance of having a chief to lead the country or the village.

All this information that is written above has been preserved by oral tradition, and if it were possible to read about them we would thank the action of the chiefs, for they were the first supporters of the transmission of dynastic traditions. “ And it is mainly in and around the courts of chiefs that such traditions have been preserved, whether by special officials or - perhaps more commonly – by men who have

³¹ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

³² Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

³³ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 81

acquired their knowledge simply as part of the business of getting ahead in the service of their chief.³⁴

In the second instance, it could be interesting to focus on the origins of these ancient political structures; according to Andrew Roberts in his book ‘A history of Zambia’ the origins of chieftainship can be traced to near the region of Luba, in South-Eastern Zaire³⁵. Moreover, the traditions of chiefs born in the north-western part of Zambia seems to be connected to those of the southern part of Zaire where there was the Lunda kingdom. There are a lot of similarities in political ideas and institutions that implicate the founding chiefs’ migration to Zaire; however, before analyzing Luba and Lunda influences it is important to note that also in and around Zambia there had been traces of chieftainship. In fact, archaeological hints show how chiefdoms and kingdoms had been established in areas close to what is now Zambia during the fifteenth century.³⁶ Therefore, the spread of Lunda and Luba traditions consists an innovative idea of chieftainship that quickly rooted in the area that today it is known as Zambia.

we should think in terms, not so much of invasion and conquest, but rather of newcomers acquiring authority by virtue of techniques and ideas which were found to be both attractive and adaptable. We may suppose that here and there the resources of lineage and clan organization proved equal to the resolution of long-standing feuds, or to the efficient exploitation of the natural environment. [...] The most important political idea of the Luba was their belief that the ability to rule was essentially an inborn quality, which could only be transmitted through a single line of descent, whether male or female.³⁷

The rejection of divine right theory is a progressive step in the political structure of the pre-colonial Zambian population, according to this innovative concept every man has the right to be elected as a king or chief. However, despite the ethic meaning of this concept that is fundamental, the disadvantages could bring about internal dynastic conflicts for succession.

³⁴ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 81

³⁵ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

³⁶ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

³⁷ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 84

The Lunda influences instead introduced an important concept of ‘perpetual kinship’³⁸ and the consequent idea of ‘positional succession’³⁹;

when a chief or headman succeeded to a title, he regarded certain other title-holders as ‘father’ or ‘brother’ or ‘son’, regardless of their actual relationship to him. If, for example, the original holders of two Lunda titles had been father and son, their respective successor would continue to regard each other as father and son even if they were really quite distant cousins. In other words, perpetual kinship linked titled positions rather than individual people. In taking over such a position, a Lunda ruler assumed the same ties of perpetual kinship as had bound his predecessor. This held good even if the two men were not in fact kin at all, which might be the case if the new title-holder was appointed to his position instead of inheriting it. This custom is called ‘positional succession’ :an office-holder succeeds not only to certain rights and duties, but also to certain fixed social relationships.⁴⁰

So, the Lunda kingdom ideally had created a web of title positions that are linked in a hierarchical way, in this way, the familiar affiliation with its language and culture was extended far beyond the lineage or family circle. Another element that was introduced by Lunda traditions was the fundamental importance of the ‘owners of the land’ that is; “When a Lunda kingdom took over territory which had previously been ruled by an independent chief, he might be left in control of his own chiefdom but he would have to submit to the king’s higher authority”⁴¹.

The Lunda and Luba traditions about chieftainship spread more or less over all the region, in particular they had a great impact in the formation of political structures in the ancient kingdom, for example, these traditions brought a cohesive and effective sense of kingship in the Bemba kingdom, despite that at the beginning chieftainship was not so popular between the Bemba population. Moreover, the kingdom of Kazembe was deeply influenced by the social and political structure proposed by the new immigrants:

³⁸ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

³⁹ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

⁴⁰ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p.85

⁴¹ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p86

The structure of Kazembe's kingdom resembled that of Mwata Yamvo⁴²'s. Succession to the kingship was restricted to one dynastic line and usually went from father to son. Other members of the dynasty might be given appointments at court or on the battlefield, but they were excluded from any important hereditary posts in territorial administration. The central part of the kingdom, in and around the lower Laupula valley⁴³, was divided into districts, each under a titled governor. The governors' titles were usually hereditary and remained within non-royal Lunda lineages.⁴⁴

In the western part of pre-colonial Zambia another kingdom flourished, the Lozi one, whose traditions of chieftainship had little connection with Lunda's traditions: there are few features that linked the Lozi with the Mwata Yamvo, but the Lozi kingship was probably the result of a quite gradual process of migration from the north⁴⁵. The Lozi dynasty was governed by relatives of the kings during the early days, but only in the eighteenth century it was possible to talk about any kind of royal bureaucracy, this was very unusual in Africa, but the Lozi made it possible thanks to plains that were cultivable and people who could settle without any kind of restrictions.

Specific plots of land there came to be valued as a means of supporting large groups of followers. There was competition for control over them, and they could be shared out, like cattle, as political spoils. The king, as a guardian of the land, could build up a following of loyal officials by allotting them estate on the plain; furthermore, these estates were assigned, not to individuals, but rather to the offices they held: when they fell from favour, they lost both job and land. In this way, Lozi kings had an opportunity to make political appointments on the basis of personal

⁴² Mwata Yamvo is a city conquered by Lunda in the south east of the country, characterized by the application of Lunda's chieftainship.

⁴³ Laupula valley is the territory where Kazembe established and developed its kingdom situated on the Northern part of the region,

⁴⁴ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit p 95

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, *A history of Zambia*, p 96

merit rather than birth. This was a source of great strength in facing their rivals both within and outside the kingdom.⁴⁶

The Lozi kingdom had a centralized economic and political organization and that made the kingdom to acquire an imperial aspect, the Lozi domain began to develop creating a vast empire; a sure advantage for the Lozi. However, during the nineteenth century this expansion brought-tensions and contrasts.

This concept of chieftainship that had been the most important political structure is fundamental to understanding the following political figure of this country. In pre-colonial Zambia the chief or king structure remained the same till the coming of the British troops; in fact, during the nineteenth century the European imposition of a new political organization substituted the role of chieftainship still perceived in the Zambian culture.

However, in the middle of the nineteenth century there was a lot of competition between the European powers and all the territory was divided and assigned to a superpower in the so called 'scramble for Africa'.

We can thus see the partition of Africa, sudden though it was, as logical consequences of changes in economic relations between the tropics and the industrial West. But the reason why any one part of Africa was assigned to one European power rather than another must be sought in the history of that particular region and in the case of Zambia the explanation is rather complex⁴⁷.

1.2 The colonial era

The first stimulus that focused the attention on Central Africa came from David Livingstone in his '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*'⁴⁸. Thanks to his mission along the river Zambezi and Lake Malawi he boosted interest in the region and a lot of expeditions were made to Central and Southern Africa. The

⁴⁶ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 98

⁴⁷ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 102

⁴⁸ Bizeck Jube Phiri, *A political history of Zambia :from colonial rule to the third Republic, 1890-2001*, African Word Press, Inc, Asmara, 2006.

attention on the region increased when the European countries discovered the presence of gold, diamonds and other mineral rocks, thus they began the occupation of the Central and the Southern part of the continent. At first, the British Government was not interested in Central Africa because it had control of the Cape which was essential in maintaining their supremacy of the Indian Ocean and thus India.⁴⁹

However, in the long run the competition between the Germans and the Portuguese that began to colonize the region near Central and Southern Africa provoked a sort of fear among the British. So, the idea of a British expansion over Central and Southern African territories began to be considered as a wise action to constrain rival European countries, and in a few years this idea became a reality thanks to the action of a famous millionaire, Cecil Rhodes. He succeeded in the creation of a connected economic web that linked all these territories under the economic hegemonic power of the United Kingdom. In 1889 Rhodes formed the British South Africa Company, a private economic company that made its business under the direct control of the British Government, which allowed the BSA's actions by granting a charter.

This allowed Rhodes to use the authority of the British government in staking out claims to African territory at the expense of other European powers. He could now make treaties with African rulers which would give his Company powers of administration. Such a charter was well established technique for extending the British empire. [...] Rhodes's charter provided the British government with the means to exclude potentially hostile European powers from the high central plateau⁵⁰.

So, Cecil Rhodes with the BSA Company⁵¹ began to obtain the rule of Central and South Africa, which today include Zambia and Zimbabwe, thanks to treaties with the African tribal chiefs, stealing territories from the Portuguese, Belgian and German hegemonies.

⁴⁹ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*,

⁵⁰ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 157

⁵¹ The British South African Company: it was a company founded by Cecil Rhodes whose aim was the occupation and the exploitation of the African territories and their mineral rocks.

They obtain[ed] this through a series of international treaties which largely determined the present borders of Zambia. In 1890 Britain and Germany settled their various differences in Africa by a treaty which included a definition of the frontiers between German East Africa and the British sphere; as a result of Johnston's treaties in 1889, this ran more or less directly from the south end of Lake Tanganika to the north end of Lake Malawi.⁵²

However, while the economic role of the British in these territories had begun with the creation of the BSA, the political and military occupation of the area by British troops was very slow. Despite the international recognition from other European powers, the British government had to deal with the approbation of the African chiefs and Arabs trades, using the Company as an intermediary; even if it was not so easy to achieve an agreement with them. In many case the British were obliged to use violent instruments of persuasion, but finally the British succeeded in occupying the area that today is Zambia and Zimbabwe.

At first Colonial Zambia was divided in two parts, Northern-Eastern Rhodesia and Northern-Western Rhodesia, but later the BSA Company decided to unify these two areas forming the so-called Northern Rhodesia in 1911⁵³.

Figure 1⁵⁴

At-first, only the eastern part of the region was under the direct control of the British and the Company, but in a few short years-the entire region was under their control, forming the colonial territory of Northern Rhodesia, in honour of the president of the Company, Cecil Rhodes.

Actually this political organization was not designed to rule, it did not have the adequate instruments to establish political and administrative institutions for a possible development. This situation would merely influence the following political and economic choices of the colony as we will see. In fact, the first consequence of this BSA Company's administration was the great migration of white workers from

⁵² Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 161

⁵³ Bizeck Jube Phiri, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, African world press, Asmara, 2006.

⁵⁴ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 64

Europe to this area in search of fortune, most of them being British who, once they found a job, began to settle.

By the 1920s Northern Rhodesia's position began to shift from that of a purely black colony like British colonies in West Africa to the uncomfortable middle position of a multiracial colony. The political development of Northern Rhodesia was shaped by Cecil Rhodes belief that territory should be ruled by whites, developed by Indians and worked by Africans. This is essentially the philosophy behind British colonialism in Central Africa. Company rule was most unlikely to survive for very long because the Company was not really designed to rule. As a commercial company its desire was profit and not to spend on administration.⁵⁵

Moreover, during the twenties a large quantity of copper was discovered in Northern Rhodesia, so that the labour force who could work in the mines increased, favouring not only the black migration from neighbouring countries, but also the white influxes from Europe and South Africa.

The large quantities of people that reached the Copperbelt in those years had a considerable impact from a social and political point of view, in particular the region underwent a process of urbanization. From the moment on the copper mines became the backbone of Northern Rhodesia's economic, political and social development⁵⁶. In the meantime, the demand for copper increased thanks to the electrical and automobile industries that had been expanding in developed countries after the Great War. Private companies began to pay more attention on the copper resources of Northern Rhodesia, and they began to finance the works from extraction to exportations; most of these companies were foreign in particular, Americans and Europeans. It is interesting to examine in which way colonialism exploited these vast reserves of copper, and so there will be an entire chapter later dedicated to this economic theme.

However, the hegemony of the British South African Company did not last because, on one side, the same Company was not interested totally in Northern Rhodesia it was only an appendage to its real seat of power in Southern Rhodesia⁵⁷;

⁵⁵ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, p 11

⁵⁶ *Ibid, A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic*,

⁵⁷ *A history of Zambia*, op cit, p174

in fact, the Company's dominion was a simple instrument to exploit the region; and on the other hand, the British government realised that the BSA Company had been acquiring a lot of power, and it was trying to find a way to diminish it.

The Company's rule finished in 1924 when the Colonial Office gained political power over Northern Rhodesia. Another important cause that brought an end to the Company's dominion being the discontent and the opposition from the few European settlers:

They resented the Company's restrictive policies concerning rights to land and minerals, which tended to discourage European business and settlement. They also resented the emigration of so much African labour, which forced them to pay higher wages than they wished.[...] In 1924 the Colonial office took over Northern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company and instituted a legislative council. This was dominated by officials, but instituted by five members elected on a franchise which effectively excluded Africans⁵⁸.

However, the shift of Government and administration did not change the orientation of the country's development and business, and in particular the huge influence of South Africa over Northern Rhodesia remained the same.

Firstly, the Colonial Office established a form of government based on racial discrimination; the old Advisory Council that was the legislative organ established under the role of BSA was replaced with a franchise limited only to British members. In this way the few Africans that wanted to express their vote were excluded, unless they belonged to 'the British Protect Persons'.

The 'British Protect Persons' was a constricted elite of African members that were nominated by the Government, and it was only in this way that the Africans could participate in political life during colonialism. "the colour-blind franchise effectively guaranteed control of the five elected seats in the fourteen-member house to the tiny groups of white settlers"⁵⁹. The 'franchise law'⁶⁰ was one of the most discussed themes during the formation and the development of colonial Zambia, it was a political dilemma among the British members of the Colonial Office. There was a

⁵⁸ Ibid, *A history of Zambia*, p 182

⁵⁹ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic*, op.cit. p16

⁶⁰ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.

political conflict between the introduction of racial policies, such as the franchise and the supposed implementation of democracy. However, the race question has been the main theme in the development of the country, in fact, the policy that the Colonial Office tempted to carry on was extremely racial and polarized between the white settlers and the black workers. From a political point of view as we have already said the black community was quite excluded from the governance's participation. The Colonial Office was very reluctant to give political powers to the natives, because they considered them immature and not able to take an intelligent part in politics⁶¹. The same discrimination was applied in the working field of the mines; while the Europeans were favoured in the settlements that usually took place near the area of Livingstone, the mining companies made no efforts to encourage African settlements.

This attitude of the colonialist administration to exclude the black natives from political participation, would be a great mistake for mainly two reasons; in the first instance, these discriminations carried on by the colonial government caused the burst of nationalism that in the following years would bring to the creation of the state of Zambia, and in the second instance, excluding the blacks from an active political participation would cause many difficulties for the future political figures to administrate and govern a country. My intention is to deepen the analysis of these two elements that could be considered important consequences of the colonial impact in Northern Rhodesia and in current Zambia.

The rise of African Nationalism

In most African countries that had been subjected to colonial rule, the rise of nationalism is a pure political response to imperialism and its racial ideology of Western and white supremacy. In Northern Rhodesia the national sense was born from the demand of the African Northern Rhodesian to self-govern, but the Colonial Office was not well-disposed to concede such a claim. As a result, considering that the racial discrimination continued over the black population, some reformist movements became more militant, forming an organization that strongly opposed the colonial power. In time these movements had been acquiring such a popularity

⁶¹ NAZ, HM 53/2/Legco 2978 Nightngale to R. P. Bush, Secretary for Native Affairs, 16 August 1950.

among the Northern Rhodesian black people that the people's support brought about the formation of a concrete political party; the African Congress⁶² at its inception, and later the UNIP⁶³.

However, it is curious how this kind of movement for freedom and independence reflected the ideas imposed by the colonialism such as military strategy and the liberal ideas proposed by Western thought.

For all its apparent militancy and anti-colonialist stance, African nationalism is essentially a liberal ideology. This is not surprising since liberalism itself is part of the capitalistic ideology and as the capitalistic mode of production is dominant in the colonial society, it follows that the capitalist (or bourgeois) ideology is also the dominant ideology- as the ideology of the ruling class- in such a society, and penetrates the entire fabric of the colonial society, through economic, political and social structures, which emerged during colonization. More specifically, liberalism (as a part of the capitalistic ideology) is imparted into the colonised through the colonialist educational system, the Christian religion and various other forms of cultural and ideological expressions of colonial life⁶⁴.

Nevertheless, the origins of nationalism in Colonial Zambia could not be traced back without taking into consideration the African oppositions and protests against the rule of the mining companies in the Copperbelt. The African workers were obliged to work hard in the mines, and in the long run they joined together creating the first forms of 'welfare societies' that were social organizations provided to guarantee the African's rights, in particular for workers. The evolution of this form of safeguard brought about the formation of real trade unions in the mining workers' labour force, that fed the rise of 'African racial consciousness'⁶⁵. Therefore, the first forms of oppositions to the colonial power were born in the working places such as the Copperbelt and along the railways that cross the country. So, on one hand the miners expressed their discontent through strikes and demonstrations, joining together in order to have more rights and independence. On the other hand, the

⁶² Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.

⁶³ A Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.

⁶⁴ Mandaza, *White Settler Ideology*, p 817

⁶⁵ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.

constricted elite that belonged to the British Protect Person understood the importance of gaining more autonomy from the British and they were slowly emerging on the political scene. So, thanks to the social African forces the first form of an independent Northern Rhodesian party was born.

Meanwhile, alongside these government initiatives, mission-educated Africans developed their own political bodies that sought to participate in the political process. [...] The association lasted only for five years; nonetheless, this was not the end of the movement. Some migrant workers from the Northern Province became leading champions of the movement in urban areas of Colonial Zambia. In May 1946 representatives of fourteen welfare associations scattered across the country met at Broken Hill and formed the Federation of African Societies of Northern Rhodesia (FAS)⁶⁶

In 1948 the organization was renamed by unanimous vote and the Northern Rhodesia African Congress was created whose president was an aristocrat from Barotseland, Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika; the Congress was the first party formed by Africans in Colonial Zambia⁶⁷.

The aim of this organization was to preserve the right of African participation to political and economic powers, but the claims resolved addressed only those Africans that were near the government. The working class and the respective union trade were not considered so much, and as a result a huge increase of discontent spread all over the Copperbelt and the rural areas. This would be a terrible mistake because Northern Rhodesia's economy was basically based in the agricultural and mineral sectors, so the approval of the miners and farmers was fundamental to enforce political action against the colonial rule. This fact was widely understood by the major representatives of the freedom movement among them, Kenneth Kaunda, that succeeded in conquering people's respect with a political campaign that started from the countryside. We have many testimonies of -Kaunda's trip across the country to alert the people of the rural areas to the fight against the colonial role.

⁶⁶ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.pp 24

⁶⁷ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.

My political activities did not end with my leaving the Copperbelt. Late in 1949, I contacted the General Secretary of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, who then was Mr. Robinson Nabulyato, for permission to open up a branch of Congress in Chinsali. I got the authorities to go ahead and then discussed this with Makasa and Sokoni. [...] The period that followed was one of the most amazing in my life. During the week, I would be working at my farm while Makasa would be teaching. On Fridays, I would cycle to high school and then after work we would cycle for distances of from forty to sixty miles. We would be singing hymns which Rev. R. D. McMinn and Rev. P. B. Mushindo translated into Bemba from the Church of Scotland hymn book⁶⁸.

Thanks to Kaunda's trip across the region, the national movement acquired more popularity and the admiration of the people that was fundamental in order to create the solid bases for the future national populist movement that would aid the country in gaining independence. This theme will be deepened in the following paragraphs, but now it would be interesting to focus on what impact colonialism left on the political structures.

In summary, the model of state that the colonialist governance had been imposing during their rule can be defined as an imperialistic kind of state that established a strictly relation of dependency between the colony and Great Britain.

It lacked a pre-existing revenue base; was organized swiftly in an intense competitive imperial environment; contained a more extensive cultural project than most other forms; and was organized at an historical moment when European states themselves were far more comprehensive, institutionally and doctrinally elaborated polities than earlier centuries⁶⁹.

In time, the imposition of the political colonial structures has changed, while before 1924 the colonialists imposed a racial policy based on the supremacy of European white settlers, later the racial discrimination remained but it assumed less pronounced characteristics. In addition, Colonial Zambia introduced the adoption of partnership features in particular in the political and economic fields of the Northern

⁶⁸ Kuanda Kenneth, *Zambia Shall be free*, Heinemann London Ibadan Nairobi, Great Britain, 1981, p 40

⁶⁹ Crawford Young, "The Colonial State and its Connection to Current Political Crises in Africa", draft paper given at a conference on African Independence, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, January 1985.

Rhodesia administration. On one side, the colonialists transmitted their Western culture, giving a hint of a concept of modern nation-state and an idea of democracy. Unfortunately these ideas were perceived as an imposition by the black natives, considering that they were quite excluded from the political choices, so once they gained independence they found difficulties in creating democratic institutions. On the other hand, a fundamental concept that belonged to the British inheritance was liberalism, which in part favoured the development of the national and independent spirit among the Northern Rhodesians. The following chapter tries to describe the attempts carried out by the national movement to create a nation, it could be interesting to analyse the difficulties in the formation of the state considering the heavy burden of colonialism.

1.3 'Zambia shall be free'

The man who brought about the formation of Zambia was actually a simple teacher who began his political career inside the Congress (ARC) and then became president of the UNIP, the United National Independence party. The UNIP was created thanks to a political separation within the ZANC, the Zambia African National Congress established in 1948, as already said. In fact, during the following years of its institution, the Congress had lost most of its popularity among Northern Rhodesians; the relationships with the trade unions of the African Mineworkers were getting worse because of the fall in copper prices and the consequent repeated strikes that had crippled the Copperbelt. This delicate situation provoked a lot of tensions and contrasts within the same organization, that led to the first large split and the UNIP was formed, whose chief was named Kenneth Kaunda. In the meantime, the colonial political authorities began to worry about the popularity that the party was earning; they feared that the support of the Africans could expand all over the regions, considering that the party had acquired large support over the Copperbelt. Kaunda and Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula were arrested several times for various trivial activities.

Early in 1955, I went to prison for the first time. The events which led up to this are worth relating because they show that the authorities, which were hounding our organizers in the Provinces, were determinate to get some of us at headquarters

behind the bars. The opportunity came when they discovered that we held some prohibited literature in our office.⁷⁰

The British were scared to lose the control not only over Northern Rhodesia but also of the other colonies, the new national movement was seen as a dangerous epidemic disease that could contaminate Southern Rhodesia and nearby Nyasaland.

In 1959 a state of emergency was declared in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, following the unfounded rumours that the Nyasaland African Congress was about to launch a 'murder plot' against Europeans. As a result, the ZANC was banned and several of its leaders gaoled, but this repression only stiffened African resistance. Following further secessions from the ANC, a new party was formed, the United National Independence Party (UNIP). In January 1960, Kaunda was released from gaol, he was greeted as a popular hero and took over the leadership of the UNIP⁷¹.

After detention at the mercy of the colonial authorities, Kaunda came back onto the political scene stronger than ever, and in 1960 he became president of the party. Considering the wide popularity that Kaunda and the UNIP was conquering, the British government decided that a constitutional advance movement was required and "in 1961 the Colonial Office proposed a constitution which would make possible an African majority in the legislature"⁷²

However, despite the apparent good intention of the proposal to sort out this delicate situation the plan was revised in favour of the Europeans under the pressure of the Federal Prime Minister. As a response of this political provocation, the UNIP launched a civil campaign of disobedience through the north and east of Northern Rhodesia that briefly transformed into a great deal of violence against the Europeans and all their properties. These events led to a further revision of the constitution in 1962, and this time the party accepted it; in the same year the elections showed how the UNIP had conquered two-thirds of voters and the party won the elections with a large majority.

⁷⁰ *Zambia Shall be free*, op.cit p 63

⁷¹ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit, p 220

⁷² *Ibid*, *A history of Zambia* , p 220

Early in the 1964 another election was held, based on universal suffrage. This gave UNIP a decisive majority. Kaunda now became Prime Minister of an all-UNIP government with full control of internal affairs, except for defence. Constitutionally, the way was now clear to full independence and this was arranged for October. But triumphant force of African nationalism faced two major sources of resistance, and these were not European but African.⁷³

In this way, Northern Rhodesia became finally independent, and a new nation was born in 1964, the 'nation Zambia' whose government was represented by the 'black community' and sustained by the liberal ideas of the nationalists. The independence claimed by Northern Rhodesian could be considered a triumph of the populist African nationalists that based their theories on liberal and constitutional ideas.

The nationalist movement that had begun as a reformist movement, seeking only to reform the political system and acquire some limited power sharing and basic rights for the emergent African elite, was completely transformed into a populist movement claiming to champion the cause of the African masses⁷⁴.

So, we can affirm that the liberal ideas favoured the flourishing of nationalism, despite the concept of liberalism clearly being a colonialism inheritance, however it is impossible not to consider the important role of the national movements for freedom and independence.

In fact the charismatic role of the UNIP and its major representatives, in particular, Kenneth Kaunda, were fundamental in creating a cohesive sense of nation. Kaunda understood that in Zambia the national spirit needed to be fed to the working classes separately from the African emerging elite, and he began a campaign involving members of the mining workers and rural farmers. Kaunda and the UNIP favoured the version of national populism that had been born on the Copperbelt and in the countryside, this kind of spirit had been fundamental in the creation of the Zambian nation.

⁷³ Ibid, *A history of Zambia* p 221

⁷⁴ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, pp 120

However once created, the independent nation of Zambia, the structure on which the UNIP had based its political campaign, began to creak, because the aim of spreading nationalism lasted only till the country obtained the independence. So, the political authorities that had to govern the new born Zambia encountered a lot of difficulties. The fact is that the pre-independent nationalism had no solid foundations because it lacked a concrete political solidity, for this reason Kenneth Kaunda's government would make extreme political choices, ones that would lead the country to the road of dictatorship.

The one-party state

After independence the UNIP took control of the political structures and there are two important issues that dominated the party's action; firstly, the party tried to keep their political dominance under a constitution that would guarantee a liberal and democratic state.

By liberal democracy is meant "a political system characterized by regular and free elections in which politicians organised into parties compete to form the government, by the right of virtually all adult citizens to vote, and by guarantees of a range of familiar political and civil rights." Since 1959 colonial Zambia had a multiparty political system that "for a while maintained competitive pluralistic institutions- a framework for power contests in the polity"⁷⁵.

Secondly, the UNIP tried to maintain the national unity as a fundamental prerequisite for the creation of the nation-state of Zambia, this drive for political supremacy would lead it onto the road of the one party state established in 1972. The reason why the government abandoned the idea of democracy and it began to take the path of dictatorship could be explained considering a nationalism that might be misunderstood in the Zambian context.

UNIP leaders noted that while "the spirit of Africanism" had successfully led to independence, a sense of national identity had not simultaneously been developed. Indeed, as M.G. de Winton argued, "the creation of a sense of national identity was one of the problems

⁷⁵ A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001, op.cit, pp 132

of nation-building. [...] Kaunda pointed out that although nationalism had successfully led to independence, its future was uncertain, because many Africans in the country lacked any notion of national identity “their loyalties were more restricted and fragmentary”⁷⁶.

So, for a new born country such as Zambia the reigning form of nationalism had to be transformed into patriotism in order to guarantee a more solid and stronger political structure that assured the supremacy of the UNIP. However, at the beginning the government was formed successfully with Kaunda as prime minister, and the concentration of political power on the hand of the executive and the president.⁷⁷ During the eight years after the independence, the UNIP struggled to gain political unity, but from a structural point of view the party was not able and unprepared to govern the country, most of the members of the new government did not have any experience in the political field. The first mistake that the party committed was not to consider the political pluralism of the population, in this way, many conflicts and tensions were born, in particular the party had to face the discontent of those people who wanted a reward for having fought in the battle for freedom.

However, the first problem that UNIP had to face in the political agenda was the huge level of unemployment that provoked a great deal of frustration among the workers. The action of the government consisted of the introduction of nationalization programs and the creation of national organizations such as the Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO)⁷⁸ and the Zambian Industrial Development Corporation (ZIMCO)⁷⁹ However, these political programs contributed to the formation of a privileged group that could control the most lucrative economic fields whilst simultaneously accumulating a lot of capital for their own. The fact was that the nationalism that had brought the country to independence did not work anymore, instead creating more divisions and conflicts within society.

⁷⁶ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, pp 132

⁷⁷ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*

⁷⁸ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, op.cit

⁷⁹ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*

Zambia's experience in the first eight years of independence is a typical example of how most newly independent African countries grappled with the need to create a sense of national identity. While the colonial geographical entity of colonial Zambia provided the frontiers for nation building, the people inhabiting that unit lacked the ingredients usually required to form "nation" in the classic sense, such as a common language, culture and religion. "Africanism", which had provided a temporary unity during the independence struggle, ceased to be a unifying factor after independence.⁸⁰

So, the nationalism that led to independence diminished in its strength because basically it was without solid foundations as we have already said, and for this reason the political authorities of the time thought of a political strategy to keep the nation united. The idea of the political leaders was to focus on the racial question, that is to use the racial antagonism that was still present in country as leverage, considering that a lot of white men still lived in Zambia. The intention of the president Kenneth Kaunda was to begin a process of "Africanization"⁸¹, discriminating against the whites in order to strengthen the national sense of unity; the most popular phrases at that time against them were "white man could never be Zambian" or "the only good white man was a dead one"⁸² The party continued their propaganda introducing the ideology of togetherness among the black community that was supposed to be a radical solution to keep together the members of the party. Unfortunately, this strategic measure to enforce the sense of nation was temporary, because once all the whites left the country was left lacking the motivation needed to unite. Kaunda thought that using the racial question as a strategy could strengthen the national sense of unity among the population and in the meantime increasing the UNIP's popularity to the detriment of the ancient ANC, however in the following elections the party in power did not win the necessary support. The political leaders of the party were slowly paving the road for a possible one party political system, but in the following elections they encountered the strong opposition of the ANC.

For this reason, the leaders of UNIP began to ostracize members of the opposition in the first instance through so called 'selective sanctions', but later they took

⁸⁰ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*pp 135

⁸¹ Ibid, *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.

⁸² Ibid,

punitive measures against the ANC and its supporters. The unstable political situation and the tension between the parties remained vividly felt till Kaunda decided to use the economy as a weapon to alienate the opposition, in this way he conquered the popularity of the people on the one hand but on the other he exacerbated ethnic division in the country.⁸³ The economic reform consisted of limiting trade licenses to Zambians only, but in this way he worsened the relationship between the UNIP and the ANC increasing the rivalry. The ANC in their economic agenda had proposed the increment of the foreign labour force, in particular the Indians and most of ANC's supporters were not Zambians .

The principal behind the economic reforms was to stimulate indigenous entrepreneurship. Party affiliation was not originally part of the equation of the economic reforms. Thus the introduction of party affiliation into the equation in December meant that non-UNIP members were lumped together with non-Zambians, at least as far as President Kaunda's interpretation of how he intended to see the economic reforms implemented. [...] More important it made it difficult for ANC members to be patriotic to the nation when they were being treated like foreigners⁸⁴.

As a result, the opposition was completely isolated and its supporters constituted such a small minority, that the UNIP refused to recognise them as an official opposition. The political decision taken by Kaunda had a huge impact on the democratic and universal character of the state, in fact with the introduction of this economic reform, he ended the pluralistic parties system inherently destroying the nation of Zambia.

The choices made by the prime minister provoked tensions not only among the population and the different ethnicities but also within the same party, for this reason Kaunda decided to resign for a brief period. The decision of resignation was a political strategy because with his absence from the political field he succeeded in earning more popularity among the people. "An impression was therefore created that only Kaunda was able to lead Zambia"⁸⁵. As a result, in 1972 he returned in the

⁸³ Ibid,

⁸⁴ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, op.cit, pp.143

⁸⁵ Ibid, pp.146

political scene, acquiring more popularity than ever and he finally established the one party scene. The transformation of the state into a one party system happened with the total absence of an opposition, the consensus of the population and with constitutional measure:

A national Commission was set up under the chairmanship of the vice president, Mainza Chona, to recommend necessary changes to the constitution in preparation for the introduction of the one-party state system. The Chona Commission reported in October 1972. Public debate was minimal. [...] On 8 December by a vote of seventy-eight to none, the National Assembly approved the second and third reading of the Constitutional Amendment Bill prohibiting all opposition parties. It established the ruling UNIP as the country's 'sole legal party. [...] Under this bill no person was allowed to attempt to form a political party or organization other than UNIP. Further, no one was allowed to sympathise with any such political party or organization⁸⁶.

However, the ANC was still perceived as the major threat by the UNIP members, so in 1973 the party was officially banned and it was asked that its members to join fully with the UNIP, so Zambia became officially and constitutionally a state dominated by the willingness of one single party, one single man. The establishment of the one party state signalled the end of any democratic attempts to build an independent and free nation, the country was on the road to dictatorship centred on the figure of a charismatic political leader. Kenneth Kaunda succeeded in establishing a one-party regime only thanks to the fanatical faith of the masses. The devotion to a charismatic leader is an emblem of the historical heritage of the pre-colonial chieftainship tradition on one hand, and on the other it underlined an intrinsic political fragility caused by the impact of the colonial administration. In fact, colonialism did not transmit an adequate independent political structure, it imposed a model of a modern state that came from European traditions; so, once the Zambian government gained independence they had to take into account a hybrid culture composed of the African traditions and the colonial transmission. As a consequence, the charismatic figure of a leader and the imposition of the state model had been taken into consideration by the political authorities, underlining a complete absence of solidity.

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp 150-151

As soon as Kaunda's regime began its rule, it had numerous difficulties in carrying on the economic reforms; the inability of Kaunda's administration to improve the Zambian economy provoked some irreversible consequences from a political and social point of view. During the eighties there was a huge process of urbanization, the people migrated to central towns from the countryside and as the urbanized population increased, the political costs rose to guarantee benefits and it became quite impossible to subsidize all the people that came to town; this delicate situation provoked an economic decline and a consequent unemployment among the urban population. In addition, the great discontent against the government spread over all the regions of Zambia, provoking a lot of demonstrations and strikes against the regime in particular in the academic fields.

Initially the state was able to meet the needs of the urbanites through the policy of subsidizing food and other societal requisites. However, as the long economic depression began in the mid-1970s worsened in the 1980s, most urbanites became disillusioned with government performance. While it had been easy to satisfy the rural population, the urbanities were more difficult to buy off. The unemployment of youthful urbanities became a source of worry for the Kaunda government⁸⁷.

The economic situation of the country rapidly worsened when the government decided to assist the liberation South African troops in their struggle for independence, Kaunda wanted to assure the political stability and peace of the neighbour countries without taking into consideration the military spending. In fact, the choice of President Kaunda to help Southern African forces had a negative impact on Zambian finances, and the country was obliged to get into debt with the international organizations, in particular the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. This situation brought an increase in inflation and a consequent fall of the currency value, which provoked a rise in the rate of unemployment and also the discontent of the population increasingly creating more and more tension on the political and social scenes.

The strongest protest against Kaunda's regime was born inside the University of Zambia, the students began to oppose to the complete absence of democratic and civil rights of Kaunda's administration. The demonstrations became so frequent and

⁸⁷ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*.op.cit, pp 166

powerful that the same Kaunda was afraid of the student's uprising and closed the universities for a brief period. During the protests there were violent clashes between the police and students, and many were arrested and detained for up to eight weeks.

These demonstrations began to gain power and influence over social Zambian structures, in particular during the Angolan international crises the students made their voices heard⁸⁸.

Angola was a Portuguese colony that when the fascist dictatorship of Salazar ended in 1974, fell into a huge civil war⁸⁹; considering the fragility of the Portuguese's political structure in that moment the Angolan parties tried to take advantage in order to obtain independence. The parties that fought for independence are mainly three; the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA) that was supported by the communists, the Soviet Union and Cuba, and in contrast the anti-communist forces, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front of Liberation of Angola (FNLA) sustained by the United States and South Africa⁹⁰.

This episode was considered one of the most dangerous events in the cold war context, because at the international equilibrium was threatened considering that the communist forces were supported by the soviet bloc, while the United States gave their support to the rival parties. From an international point of view, the situation was very delicate because Angola risked falling under the communist forces, breaking the power balance established till that moment between the protagonists of the cold war.

In this context, Kenneth Kaunda decided to align with anti-communist forces, a choice that was quite surprising from an international point of view, considering that Kaunda had established a socialist regime. However, while the government supported UNITA the students carried on demonstrations against the government, a move that was violently stopped by the police⁹¹.

⁸⁸Ibid

⁸⁹ Raffaele, Masto, *L'Africa del tesoro, diamanti oro petrolio il saccheggio del continente*, Sperling & Kupfer editori, Milano 2006.

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, op.cit

Kaunda's contradictory decision to support the conservatory forces was probably motivated by internal political reasons, in fact, in the last few years the government had had many problems in maintaining and controlling the civil order. This unstable situation was determined by the huge discontent against the regime; the students of the university being the major promoters of the protests.

Kaunda's decision might have been an obligated choice to strengthen the government's supremacy against the opposition of the students, but obviously there were other elements that pushed Kaunda to make his political choices; sustaining UNITA could be a strategic measure to keep the superpower balance in an international context. In addition, Kaunda condemned strongly the racial regime in Southern Africa, Zambia had strict economic relations with South Africa; many products were imported from that country, creating a sort of fundamental economic relationship.

However, when the Angolan civil war ended and the communist forces triumphed Kaunda's government recognised the MPLA government in Angola. Certainly, the university students' demonstrations and the wide opposition to the regime had a huge social impact on the Zambian society. The University became the most important vehicle of liberal and democratic ideas, affecting the political government and its structural institution. "From the foregoing, it is no wonder that University of Zambia students have always been part of the equation in the political history of Zambia. They have always been major players in propagating democracy and good governance"⁹².

It was within the university that was born the idea of a first opposing movement to Kaunda's regime; many scholars began to organize themselves in social and political groups that wanted a more democratic country and Kaunda's resignations. In the meantime, the economic situation worsened, provoking unemployment and so much discontent among the population that food riots erupted in the 1980s and in the 1990s culminated in a coup attempt against the regime. Moreover, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War brought a liberalization of the markets and to a new hope of building a democratic state. So, on one hand there was the pressure of the political organizations that strongly opposed the regime, on the other hand the end of the international bipolarized world gave hope to a possible

⁹² Ibid, pp 174

democratic future. In this context the Movement for a Multiparty Democracy was founded, a party that claimed to reintroduce democracy to political institutions with a multi-party system.

1.4 A multi-party state

Thus resulting from the popular struggle emerged the MMD, “a loose congeries of various social forces and politicians disillusioned by two decades of one-party state”. The rise to power of the MMD “represents a new context [in] which the people’s role was more representative and decisive therefore making a new level of state organization and political consciousness”⁹³.

This new party seemed to respond to a need that came from the Zambian population, as the UNIP had done thirty-five years before; the MMD represented the expression of the popular struggle for democracy and liberalism.

In the meantime, inside the party in power, UNIP, there were a lot of tensions and risking the loss of his leadership Kaunda was obliged to revise the article of the constitution which forbid the formation of political groups except the UNIP. It seems that years of struggle against the socialist regime would bring about a more democratic government. Moreover, under the pressure of the new social and political forces new elections were held in 1991, and on this occasion seven different parties would present themselves as candidates. The scores of voters proclaimed the Movement for a Multiparty Democracy as the winner and its leader, Frederik Chiluba became the president of Zambia.

Once the MMD gained power, the first thing that the new administration had to face was the transformation of the political structure, in fact after thirty years of one-party state it was not easy to change the structure of the government and the shape of constitution.

The change of the government in our country that took place following the general elections of 31 October 1991 was not just a change of government like the USA or the UK, where a new administration comes in after parliament and Presidential

⁹³ Ibid, pp 166

elections. No, ours was a transformation of the political system, from one based on the supremacy of a political party which was espoused by the ruling UNIP in its constitution and practice, to a totally new system where the will and the consent of the people is the basis of power and legitimacy of government⁹⁴.

The revision of the Zambian constitution began with the reintroduction of the basic civil rights of the people; the freedom of assembly and expression were restored and a more representative body was created, the Constituent Assembly⁹⁵. From an economic point of view the political authorities started a process of liberalization, favouring private enterprises in particular liquidating the making-state owned companies⁹⁶. Moreover, the attitude of the president Chiluba towards the World Bank and the IMF was completely different from the one carried by Kaunda; the MMD government in fact tried to follow religiously the structural adjustment proposed by the international organizations in order to revive the Zambian economy. The democratic opening introduced by Chiluba's administration had a positive influence on the development of the nation, but transparency was paid to the detriment of stability, in fact, it was more difficult to keep the parties united because the action of the politicians were frequently attacked and that caused greater political instability. During the five years after the collapse of the one party state the MMD succeeded in governance and in promoting political and economic reforms, however, their second term was more problematic:

While multiparty democracy was getting rooted in Zambia, there were elements that were seriously working toward ensuring its failure. The main threat to multiparty democracy in Zambia in the Third Republic was the intolerance of those in the ruling party and some members of the opposition. These elements were not prepared to follow democratic principles in addressing their grievances. While civil society was constantly reminding government of its obligations in a multiparty

⁹⁴ Donald Chanda, *Democracy in Zambia: Key Speeches of President Chiluba 1991-1992* (Lusaka: Africa Press Trust, 1993), p.1

⁹⁵ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, op.cit

⁹⁶ Ibid,

political system, some perpetually issued inflammatory statements were bordering on treason⁹⁷.

One of those that tried to use the political violence as an instrument to upraise the Zambians against the Government was the former president Kenneth Kaunda; his incitation to violence provoked tensions among the political actors that culminated in a coup attempt. This contrasting situation weakened the unity of the MMD thus in the following years worsening its political ability in handling the third term debate. A tendency of ‘mobocracy’ appeared among the politicians of the MMD, in Zambia the term mobocracy meant an attempt by the politicians to manipulate the will of the population:

Arguably, a political system where one person, backed by a small group of people, sought to control the power of state, and used that power in a self-service manner, was a mobocracy. The MMD demonstrated that it was willing to do whatever it took to carry out its agenda of converting the republic, a government under the authority of the people it governed, into a mobocracy. A mobocracy is the passing of more and more laws by fewer and fewer people with less and less relevant information and less accountability⁹⁸.

This tendency became more evident when the MMD amended the constitution in order to facilitate president Chiluba’s candidacy for a third term; Chiluba’s administration tried to revise the constitution several times, provoking the increasing political tension. When he tried to modify it again, he provoked a mass demonstration of the university students. The protestors demanded the expulsion of Chiluba from the party considering he was re-elected as the president despite strong opposition. They wanted Chiluba to renounce to his third term’s candidature, signing his resignation as soon as possible. Chiluba is remembered as the most corrupted president that Zambia has never had, and he recently passed away after a stroke⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp 195

⁹⁸ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*, pp 202-203

⁹⁹ See the article “Chiluba guilty or graft” on the web site <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6624547.stm> visited on the 6th of December 2011 time 20.23

However, what had happened before the electoral campaign resonated profoundly as evidence that the MMD party had lost most of its reliability as a political unit capable of governing a state such as Zambia. The fact is that the opening towards a more democratic state gave more freedom to political actions and that on one hand it is an index of democracy, but on the other hand, it often caused a spread of corruption. In addition, as a consequence, the mobocracy brought about the formation of an elite system, where some representatives of social or cultural groups were favoured in spite of others. This was a dangerous field because giving privileges to ethnic groups enforced tribal divisions, undermining national unity, however in the next chapter this theme will be explained better. Therefore, the elite system of government is a fundamental element to understand the difficulties that characterized the political structures in the following administration till today.

Banda's administration and the recent presidential elections

After Chiluba another representative of the MMD was elected as president, Levy Mwanawasa, but the popularity of the party had diminished a lot and other parties gained the favour of the masses; the United Party of National Development (UPND) that was the former UNIP still represented a threat and later the FP, the Popular Front arose.

Managing succession politics has proved equally challenging for the MMD. In 2001 the party successfully negotiated transfer from Chiluba (constitutionally barred from a third-term) to Levy Mwanawasa, although not without cost; soon afterwards, Micheal Sata quit the party – having been overlooked by Chiluba- and established the Patriotic Front (PF), which quickly became the MMD's main electoral rival¹⁰⁰.

Mwanawasa was not able to manage the government of Zambia; he did not improve the economic development, and moreover, under his rule the level of corruption inside the government increased more and more. In addition, there was another element connected to the ethnic balance that characterized this

¹⁰⁰ See Jeremy Gould "Zambia's elections: the ethnicization of politics?" (article in Northic Africa Institute newsletter, No.1, January 2007), <http://www.nai.uu.se/> (24 June 2009)

administration; there was a tendency to favour the Bemba-speaking ethnic group. However, Mwanawasa died on 29 June 2008, letting the country fall into a chaotic situation; the natural successor of the president would be Rupiah Banda, however, he was obliged to fight against rival Micheal Sata, the so called King Cobra¹⁰¹ and the president of FP. Finally, Banda was elected president in 2008 and he remained in power till the recent elections. The elements that brought Banda to the victory are principally three, the first was his ability in managing the mass media, in fact he was able to monopolize a structured network of information and in this way he prepared the political campaign in order to win the elections. Second, he recognized the senior MMD members that belonged to a previous political generation, calling them ‘king makers’ this element granted him the support of important political figures that sustained him during the campaign. The final factor that led Banda to win the elections was his ability to present as a candidate who would not take advantage of his position to better his personal economic health.

Rupiah Banda was the vice president during Mwanawasa’s administration and lead the country when the president was sick. He had a great political career behind him; before becoming president he had been the youngest African ambassador in the continent. The first element that characterized his political agenda during the campaign was the fight against the corruption of the elite ruled the country, and in addition, he focused mainly on economic reforms and diplomatic travels¹⁰².

However, the major representative of the FP, Michael Sata, was gaining more popularity; Sata was able to capture attention in urban areas increasing the political competition among the Zambian population. The FP began to build its support in particular among the Bemba ethnic group; a political choices that would influence all the ethnic tensions and contrasts that have characterized Zambia recently. When Banda was elected president the Popular Front did not want to recognise the new president, since under Mwanawasa’s role Sata opposed the government “As relations between Mwanawasa and Sata reached an all-time low, the PF leader threatened to use his party’s new found urban dominance and strong performance in local elections

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Nic Cheeseman and Marja Hinfelaar “ Parties, platforms, and political Mobilization: the Zambian presidential election of 2008”

to establish a ‘parallel government’ that would render the country ungovernable”¹⁰³. Sata represented a perfect example of a populist charismatic political figure and thanks to his personality he succeeded in winning the favour of the working class and the mineworkers, thus his party’s popularity increased. On 23rd of September of 2011 he was elected president of Zambia, provoking many clashes among the population.

Quella che finora era l’opposizione è tornata al potere in Zambia dopo vent’anni. Michael Sata ha vinto le elezioni presidenziali contro il presidente uscente Rupiah Banda, che era alla sua quarta candidatura consecutiva. Gli ultimi giorni sono stati caratterizzati da numerosi scontri nella regione settentrionale del paese, dopo che il governo aveva impedito ai giornali di pubblicare i primi exit poll che davano Sata in largo vantaggio. Alle ultime elezioni del 2008, Banda aveva vinto di soli 35mila voti ed era stato accusato di avere boicottato lo spoglio. Il nuovo presidente dello Zambia, che in passato ha lavorato anche alle pulizie della Victoria Station di Londra, ha una lunga carriera politica in Zambia ed è già stato ministro del lavoro e della sicurezza sociale. È conosciuto con il soprannome di Re Cobra, per la gli attacchi velenosi che lancia spesso contro i suoi avversari. I suoi più recenti interventi sono stati soprattutto contro le aziende cinesi che gestiscono molte delle miniere di rame del paese. Lo Zambia è una repubblica dell’Africa centro-meridionale. Ex colonia britannica, ottenne l’indipendenza totale solo nel 1964. È uno dei paesi più poveri del mondo, con oltre il 70 per cento della popolazione sotto la soglia di povertà e uno stipendio medio annuale di circa 395 dollari¹⁰⁴.

1.5 Conclusion

According to the things said till know, the character of instability has been a constant—during the political history of Zambia; in fact, it is quite impossible to consider Zambia as a stable political country. In this chapter we have seen that the reasons for the fragility in the administrative institutions are numerous; in particular colonialism had had a huge impact on the historical development of the political

¹⁰³ Ibid,pp 63.

¹⁰⁴ See the web site <http://www.ilpost.it/2011/09/23/in-zambia-lopposizione-vince-dopo-20-anni/> the article “In Zambia l’opposizione vince dopo vent’anni” 23 settembre 2011 il post visited on 24th September 2011 time 17.28

structures. During the colonial period the British had introduced their model of modern nation-state and moreover, they had transmitted part of their culture to the idea of democracy. There were numerous attempts of introducing democracy to the African countries, and as a result the forms that the different governments adapted assumed different shapes.

Today, most African governments, including those that are universally known to be autocratic, claim to be democratic. In justifying such claims there have been attempts to “racialize” democracy into brands of “African” democracy, which is then claimed to be different from brands of democracy elsewhere. [...] Unfortunately, African experience with modern governmental system has known little but central executives so powerful that their claims to democracy, even “African” democracy, command little credence¹⁰⁵.

So it seems that the idea of democracy had encountered a lot of difficulty in taking root on African soil, the reasons could be different, but certainly the establishment of a correct and fair governance could help in order to create a democratic state. During Zambian political history, as we have already seen, there were administrations that tried to apply these democratic principles transmitted by the colonialists, but sometimes the attempt of creating a democratic nation led to a wider freedom of the political authorities that often ended in corruption. In fact, the monopolization of the political power by the politicians in order to increase their personal wealth is a characterizing elements of most of African countries and in addition, could provoke an arrest of the democratic political process:

Most politicians in Africa see the state as the primary source of accumulation of personal wealth. This economic interest motivates the drive toward the monopolization of power by a single party and narrow class of elites. This partly explains the multiplicity of political parties in Zambia. The call by some political parties that the state should fund opposition political parties seems to be informed by this economic motive¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ *A political history of Zambia; from colonial rule to the third republic, 1890-2001*op,cit, pp 212

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp 213

It can be interesting to discuss if the idea of a democratic modern-state can be an adequate model for an African and post-colonial country such as Zambia and if the democracy would guarantee a real stability or not. However, we will not deal with this theme here, instead we will focus on the character of instability that has been created by Zambian governments during this country's history. Another element that needs to be explained is the intrinsic lack of institutionalization inside the political parties, they were not able to create a stable and political development and as a consequence they were easily monopolized by the government and divided within the opposition parties.

They saw their role in governance as ensuring that the ruling party fell from power by whatever means. Yet, from time to time political leaders and those in the middle ranks constantly defected to either the ruling party or the party that appeared most promising to offer rewards. This constant shift of political leaders and their quest for personal achievement maintained that state of flux of the opposition political parties.[...] Arguably, therefore, this lack of institutionalization of political parties became even more evident in other important respects. Modern party systems are invariably involved in interlocking relationships with other political institutions as controllers of the military and other national bureaucracy..¹⁰⁷

In conclusion, the colonialist influence that had a huge impact on the development of a stable country and the heavy burden of the English culture with democratic ideas had marked the following establishment of political structure. After the end of the one party state the political situation had been worsened by the burst of the so-called mobocracy that gave the appearance of a democratic structure but instead it favoured the spread of corruption and the satisfaction of the economic needs among the Zambian politicians. In addition, it is impossible not to consider the change in the ethnic balance, in fact, after Kaunda's regime the political authorities tended to favour the ethnic group to which they belonged, this attitude would provoke irreversible consequences; in particular it affected the relationship between the different ethnicities, and for this reason it is important to introduce the cultural aspect. Therefore, an analysis of the culture could help in order to understand better the different aspects of this country, for example deepening the study of ethnicity

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, pp 222

can be an interesting starting point to better understand the Zambian society, the political choices taken and the economic reforms decided upon. From the political point of view, it is possible to affirm that the fragility of the Zambian political institutions have characterized an unstable political reform on the economic field that could not succeed in recovering the emptiness created by colonialism. In summary, the political aspects have influenced and are still influencing the economic development, but there are further considerations due to the lack of an important element: the fact that Zambia is an African country, so its cultural and ethnic character needs to be understood and shall be in the second chapter

CHAPTER II

2. The Zambian cultural roots

In the previous chapter we have dealt with the political history of Zambia and we have understood that it is impossible to reach a conclusion to our problem from an economic point of view; my analysis needs a further study of African culture in order to have a general spectrum of this country. The most important element that I am going to introduce is the heavy cultural burden that was left by colonialism; as already seen, the colonialist imposition had a huge impact on the creation of Zambian political institutions, my intention here is to deepen this theme from a cultural point of view, analyzing the influences of colonialism. However, before doing this research it is necessary to take a step backward by analyzing the origins of African culture in the first instance, for this reason the first part of this chapter is dedicated to the ancient pre-colonial traditions and specifically the different ethnic groups that have been living in the territory that today is named as Zambia. So, I will begin with a brief historical exercise into the people's tradition, focusing on the important theme of ethnicity in particular the Lozi ethnic group considering that recently there have been episodes of ethnic tensions and contrasts. Then, I want to deal with colonialism and the huge impact that it had on African culture introducing two important concepts that fit under the umbrella of ethnicity; race and identity. My intention with this chapter is to understand in which way culture has influenced political decision and consequently the economic development during the country's history until today.

2.1 The people of Zambia

The terminology used to identify the different ethnic groups that lived in pre-colonial Zambia refers to the concept of tribes, despite the fact that in the introduction we have seen how this term has a negative and distorted connotation.

‘Tribes’, like nation, is a confusing and emotive word which the historian must use with great care. A tribal name, after all, can mean a variety of things. Occasionally, it may refer to a clearly defined group of people: for example, all the subjects of a certain king. Or of a chiefs belonging to a certain clan. But frequently a tribal name has no such precise meaning. [...] Tribes, in short, are not actual social organization: rather, they are states of mind. The awareness of belonging to a ‘tribe’ simply reflects social and cultural conditions at a certain point in time. [...] We do not know what meaning is being to the word ‘tribe’: it might be used to refer to differences in language, or political organization, or a mixture of both¹⁰⁸.

So, it should be better not to use the term ‘tribes’ in this study, but considering that there are not any other words that could identify the groups of people that lived during the pre-colonial period it is unavoidable, however the most important thing is not to attribute to it any political implications and meanings or any other monopolizations.

In addition, according to what I have said in the introduction there is another word that could be controversial because it has a dynamic meaning and it depends on a lot of cultural, political and social factors; the concept of ethnicity. So, using the term ‘ethnic group’ could be dangerous in particular in this pre-colonial period, considering that it is a purely modern term; as a consequence I will use the word ethnic only to refer to the current ethnic groups.

However, in order to examine the traditions of the people who lived in pre-colonial Zambia a reference to the oral tradition is fundamental, in fact, most of the tribal origins are based on the myths and fantastic stories that came from the folkloristic culture. For this reason, however, it is impossible to consider them completely reliable because many times they were introduced and invented by chiefs.

¹⁰⁸ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit, pp 65

However, there are other elements that can help us to trace back the distinguishable tribal groups; the archaeological remains that offer us testimony to the presence of the people who lived in the territory and the analysis of their languages. The archaeological remains tell us that there is not much about objects or relics that could prove the presence of ancient tribal traditions; it could be very difficult, in other words, to start an analysis from an archaeological point of view. Instead it could be easier begin from the language that these people spoke; it is probable that the languages spoken in the pre-colonial past would be very similar to those spoken today. Obviously, we have to take into consideration that languages change in time, that dialects developed according to the invaders that had occupied the territory and some of them have completely disappeared.

Local changes within each of these groups have produced the languages and dialects spoken today. It is probable that in the distant past – say a thousand years ago or so – there were far fewer such differences within each one of these groups; it is also possible that each group may correspond more or less to a single language which has since been modified into several different forms [...] But if we also take into account the archaeological evidence, we can begin to perceive some possible patterns of linguistic change and continuity ¹⁰⁹.

So, according to the languages spoken all over the country it is possible to trace back the origins of these languages through ancient traditions; today we can classify nine main groups of language that are shown in the table below.

Figure 2 ¹¹⁰

Thanks to this table it is easier to understand the languages that the different cultural groups speak, and it is interesting to trace them back the ancient language and traditions of the past. So, the linguistic lineage could help us to understand the different ‘tribal’ groups of pre-colonial Zambia and moreover, it could be useful to find out the most important ethnicities that are present today in the territory.

¹⁰⁹ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit,pp 68

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 70

As it is known there are different ethnic groups in Zambia that have been living together quite peacefully, however I am going to introduce the most important ethnicities that characterize the area. In time, these groups were subjected to invasions from other tribes, and their culture has been influenced by other ethnicities. Historically, it is possible to identify five ethnic groups; the Tonga, the Lenje, the Bemba, the Lunda and finally the Lozi.

The first ethnic group, the Tonga, is still present in current Zambia, they speak a Bantu language and they settled in the Southern part of the country. During pre-colonial history, they lived through a means of hunting and fishing and they were organised in a clan-system society. During the nineteenth century, Tonga's kingdom was completely destroyed by raids from other tribal groups, only some small villages remained, spread all over the country. At the end of the century, the Tonga country passed under the rule of the British protectorate with the B.S.A Company, as a result of the Barotse concession¹¹¹.

The Lenje lived in the central Province of Zambia; as Tonga people they descended from the eastern Bantu-speaking population. Before the British domination they were not subjected to any penetrations from other primitive tribes, although they were frequently threatened. Moreover, they carried out trade with the Swahili in the north-east, the Mbari in the west, and the Chikunda in the south¹¹². Today, this ethnic group has almost disappeared, the few members that remain have been absorbed by other ethnicities and traditions.

The Bemba live till the present day in the high plateau land of northern eastern Zambia, stretching on the west from lake Bangweulu to the borders of Malawi in the east. The language spoken by this population does not have any origins in the Bantu traditions, in fact the common language was their own language, the Bemba. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, when the British South African company arrived in the country and it imposed its rule; the BSA took advantages of a succession dispute and finally gained dominance over the territories.

Nowadays, the Lunda people can be divided into three groups , one who still live in Zaire, the Northern Lunda that live in Luapula Valley and the Southern Lunda of

¹¹¹ Ibid,

¹¹² K.K. Dasgupta, *In search of the Zambian past*, Multimedia publications Lusaka, Ndola, 1986

the North-west¹¹³; the second, the Northern Lundas, have an ancient and interesting political history. In the past, they lived in the vast area that stretched over the land of the Lualaba river to the west, Lake Tanganyika to the North-east, and Lake Bangweulu to the east. In 1900 Lunda's king was obliged to accept British protection and he was recognised as a king.

Finally, the origins of the Lozi ethnic group seems to be connected to a migration from the North; the Lozi established a powerful kingdom that became flourishing and powerful in time. The Lozi's national consciousness is still perceived as a strong element that characterizes their culture and it comes from an ancient past and belief of divine origins. They settled on the Western part of the territory that it is known as Zambia today, the so called Barotseland and during the centuries they maintained the kingdom's administration with a centralized administrative power.

Today, it is possible to divide the Zambian ethnic groups mainly in four ethnicities; the Bemba, the Nyanja, the Tonga and the Lozi; among them I want to focus my attention on a peculiar ethnic group, the Lozi, considering that recently the political situation of this country has been influenced by the tension between this group and other ethnic groups. Therefore, I think it is worth deepening this analysis in the next paragraph in order to understand better how the relationship between the ethnic groups and the political authorities had influence in the economic and political development of the country.

2.2 The Lozi Kingdom

In the previous paragraph there was given an introduction to the Lozi people, however, here I want to analyze in a more specific way the cultural and political development of this ethnic groups, considering that their kingdom has ancient origins and moreover, they had had an important role in the politics and economy of Zambia's history.

The Lozi people lived in the great flood plain of the river Zambesi, expanding from the e merging of the river Lui and the Zambezi in the South, and the merging of the rivers Lungevungu and Kabompo with Zambezi in the north¹¹⁴. It seems that the

¹¹³ Ibid,

¹¹⁴ *A history of Zambia*

origins of the Lozi can be traced back to the Luyu that came from the region of Katanga in present-day Democratic Republic of Congo—that borders over the upper part of the river Zambesi, these people seemed to arrive to the Western part of the territory that is now Zambia around the seventeenth century. The Lozi claim their divine origins from an ancient past, they believe that they descended directly from a God, Nyambe¹¹⁵ whose daughter Mbuyu or Mbuywambwa was born after a relationship between the Lozi God and a young Lozi women. She was supposed to give birth to the first royal lineage, starting from the most famous monarchs of the Lozi history¹¹⁶.

Mwambwa a popular leader, ruled the Luyi peoples as queen until she died (and was buried at Sangaulu) when Mbuywambwa took over the chieftainship. This succession is common to all versions of Lozi history recounted for this work demonstrating that the earliest rulers of the Luyi people were, in fact, female. Discounting for a moment, the tradition relating to Nyambe, it is Mwambwa, then who is credited with leading the Luyi when they first came to Bulozzi¹¹⁷

Moreover, according to the supposed divine origins they believed that the fruitfulness of the fertile territory that they occupied was a further justification of the God's will.

This Lozi myth expressed an important truth: where the dynasty came from mattered much less than the character of the land they colonised. The great formative influence on the Lozi kingdom was the flood plain of the upper Zambezi. This is a sharply enclosed area of fertile land surrounded by the poor soils typical of western Zambia¹¹⁸.

In addition, the Lozi's life had been characterized by religious and sometime mystic elements, in fact, they lead their daily life in complete harmony with nature:

¹¹⁵ Gerald L. Caplan, *The elite of Barotseland 1878-1969 A political history of Zambia's Western Province*, University of California Press, Great Britain, 1970.

¹¹⁶ K.K. Dasgupta, *In search of the Zambian past*, Multimedia publications Lusaka, Ndola, 1986

¹¹⁷ Interview with Induna Nawa Matakala, Limulunga, 13-07-2001, taken from the website [http:// barotseland.com](http://barotseland.com) visited on 01/12/2011 time 14.57

¹¹⁸ Ibid, pp 97

Life is organised around the land and the seasons. There are three seasons in Western Zambia – hot and wet (November through May), cool and dry (June through July), and hot and dry (August through October). Each season affected farming and other activities. When the rains begin in November, farmers plant their crops, and wild grasses grow on the plain, providing rich grazing land for cattle¹¹⁹.

The spiritual character of the Lozi people was so innately perceived that the law was also based on a divine principle; according to a legend the first kings were bestowed by God to create a group of rulers that defined the rights and duties of every member of the community. In addition, the king was legitimated by the divine principle and he could amend any particular rule modified by the cultural influences of the new invaders.

At the edge of the political and structural society of the Lozi there was the king who was a fundamental figure in social structures, moreover, royal genealogies are considered very important too; thanks to the oral traditions the history of the ancient lineages are still well preserved. The administrative political power was centralized and it followed a hierarchy political organization of the court, moreover, the villages had a fundamental role in Lozi social structure considering that they remained the most important basic administrative unit of the country. Until the British colonialism the social and political structure of the Lozi remained unchanged.

From an economic point of view, in pre-colonial Zambia the heart of the Lozi's economy was the cattle; the prolific land that they had occupied assured them not only a great harvest but it granted an excellent graze. This economy centralized on the cattle and the agriculture side slowly disappeared when the British conquered the territory and they imposed their model of economy. Before the first European settlements, the Lozi's was one of the most powerful kingdoms in pre-colonial Zambia; from the piece of land occupied since their early history the Lozi were able to carry on their conquest, creating a large powerful kingdom and including different foreign features in their culture.

The British take over

¹¹⁹ Ernest D Brown, *Lozi*, The rosen publishing group, New York, 1998, p. 11-12

Soon after the British began to colonize the area, the kingdom had been subjected to a foreign rule, the Mokololo's one¹²⁰ : from 1820 to 1840 the current Barotseland was ruled by this population who came from the Southern-eastern territories. During the forty years of Mokololo's domain, the Mokololo culture and traditions were imposed onto the Lozi population; the organizational political structure and the language used becoming part of the Lozi culture.

However, thanks to the Lozi resistance headed by Lewanika and thanks to the action of some British missionaries, among them the famous David Livingstone, the Mokololo monarchy was overthrown, the kingdom returned to the rule of the Lozi/Luyi people and Lewanika became king. However, after twenty years more or less, the first colonial settlements appeared threatening the integrity of the kingdom, so the king, according to the missionaries' advice—carried out an accommodating 'politics of survival' asking for British protection against other European countries and the Ndebele tribes that were seen as a threat.

After some negotiations, the Colonial Office influenced by the British South African company was not so inclined to continue the protection mainly for economic reasons, so Lewanika decided to signed the so-called Lochner Concession permitting the formation of ~~the~~ Northern Rhodesia in which Barotseland was included. The Lochener Concession was an agreement made between the British government and Lewanika that on one hand granted privileged rights to the Lozi with the so called 'British Resident'¹²¹, but on the other the Lozi King allowed the BSA to have free movement on the mineral richness of the Barotseland.

Despite the BSA's exploitation of the Lozi territories, with this agreement Lewanika succeed in establishing a protection agreement that temporarily kept the Barotseland out of the power games of the European countries that were busy with the 'African scramble'¹²². In fact, at the beginning of the British colonisation, the Lozi had many privileges and more rights than the other ethnicities becoming a proper ruling élite, however, during the first years of the twentieth century the

¹²⁰ Ernest D Brown, *Lozi*, The rosen publishing group, op.cit.

¹²¹ 'British Resident':it was a body of privileged that was granted to the Lozi by the colonialist government despite the other ethnic groups.

¹²² Gerald L. Caplan, *The elite of Barotseland1878-1969 A political history of Zambia's Western Province*, University of California Press, Great Britain, 1970.

situation changed; the Colonial Office in fact made a step backward reclaiming its authority over the Lozi kingdom.

In this way, the period during which the interests of the Lozi ruling class happened to coincide with those of the detribalized elite elsewhere north of the Zambesi came to an end. As the latter increasingly pressed to acquire new privileges and greater opportunities with the national administration, the essential parochialism, or tribalism, of the Lozi elite manifested in virtual isolationism from the mainstream of African affairs in the remainders of the territory ¹²³.

In time, the Colonial Office and the Company had been trying to reduce the privileges of the Lozi kingdom, this decrease of the preferential relationship that the Government used to have with the Lozi provoked a burst of discontent among the population. Since the kingdom had renounced its rights over the land, the political authorities should have assured the Lozi's privileges and rights. However, this never happened and groups of dissidents appeared all around the kingdom claiming the secessionism and independence of Northern Rhodesia. At the dawn of independence Northern Rhodesia appeared as a divided country, the tension between the Lozi ethnicities and the Bemba increased. In addition, with the formation of the UNIP, the former ZANC (the Zambian African National Congress) and its sympathies towards the tribal group of the Bemba the ethnic tension assumed a political challenge:

Early in the 1959, the Northern Rhodesia government banned ZANC. Several of its non-Lozi leaders were restricted to Barotseland, an action which has been described as a 'cardinal mistake' on the part of the government, and which reflected the delusion of white officials that rural Africans would not be susceptible to the nationalists' message, and that the Lozi would not succumb to the lure of 'alien' Africans.¹²⁴

The opposition of the Lozi towards the UNIP's campaign for power was extremely evident such that the Lozi wanted to declare themselves independent,

¹²³ Gerald L. Caplan, *The elite of Barotseland 1878-1969 A political history of Zambia's Western Province*, University of California Press, Great Britain, 1970, p 13

¹²⁴ *The elite of Barotseland 1878-1969 A political history of Zambia's Western Province*, pp 191

threatening a concrete secession from Northern Rhodesia; so when the Barotseland Agreement was signed the discontent of the Lozi aristocracy increased more and more. In 1964 the signature of the agreement made by Kenneth Kaunda and Lewanika the III recognized Barotseland as a part of the independent Republic of Zambia; from that moment on the Western part of the territory ceased to be considered protected from other European countries. This agreement was claimed frequently during the last year because the Lozi wanted to be an independent country thanks to the strong Lozi nationalism that has been intrinsic in the ancient powerful origins of the kingdom and that had developed during the pre-colonial and colonial period. When Zambia became independent the favor that the Europeans had dedicated to the Lozi ceased and the following political authorities seemed to support the Bemba who became the political ruling class. For this reason, the resentment of the Lozi against the political administration increased during this period till the complete breakdown of the relationship between the Lozi and the political Zambian institutions.

Finally, growing friction within UNIP between its Lozi and Bemba members functioned so as to exacerbate anti-nationalist sentiment in Barotseland. Undue Bemba influence in the national government was widely held to be responsible for Barotseland's continuing neglect. It was true that having four Lozi members of the Cabinet was far more than the province's population strictly warranted, but this was the President's mechanism for demonstrating that his government was ethnic balance¹²⁵.

In the following administration after Kaunda the situation remained the same and in some aspects it worsened; under Chiluba the country would be assisted to an exacerbating of the relationship between the Lozi and the political authorities that clearly favoured the Bemba ethnic group.

These political choices would provoke important consequences in particular under the light of the recent ethnic tensions that have involved the ethnicities of present-day Zambia. It seems that colonialism had interfered, upsetting the so called ethnic balance that any and every political authority should be keep as a fundamental equilibrium.

¹²⁵ *The elite of Barotseland 1878-1969 A political history of Zambia's Western Province*, pp 214

The ethnic balance

The ethnic balance is an important element to consider when talking about ethnicity and politics, because some political choices determine a complicated cultural and ethnic situation. For example, according to a recent study of the ethnicity it seems that the first ethnic tensions appeared after the end of the one-party system. Kenneth Kaunda's regime, in fact, with its axiom 'One nation, one Zambia' succeed in promoting the unity among the different ethnicities. The problems began with the presidency of Chiluba that created a more significant ruling class that was the more representative of the Bemba ethnic group, and in this way he divided the Zambian population creating misunderstanding among the different ethnicities. The following political administrations tried to restore the balance but recently this ethnic tension has been slowly increasing.

Generally, ethnicity did not have a notable importance in Zambian politics, in particular compared with other African countries; it has been said:

Zambia is a unique place, I think. Kenya is very ethnic, Zambia is not. And the reason Zambia is not ethnically inclined is the intermarriages that have taken place. For instance, I come from a family where my father comes from Northern Zambia. My mother comes from eastern part of Zambia. My sisters are married to a virtually every other province. My wife comes from Eastern part. Her family has links to Southern province. So when we have family gathering we have the whole country in one house. So I have no ethnic basis of treating anybody because I accept the chaps who have married my sisters, for instance, simply as Zambians. So we don't have a serious ethnic problem. (Chunga, 30-10-2001)¹²⁶

So, the frequency of intermarriages caused the formation of many Zambian multiethnic regions where the different ethnic groups were fairly integrated. The policy carried out in the nation building process helped to avoid any ethnic competition, in fact, the strong nationalism of the First Republic created a cohesive nation where ethnicity did not seem so significant. The UNIP and the one-party

¹²⁶ Henning Melber, *Political opposition in African Countries: The case of Kenya Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2007, p 22

system contributed to the formation of homogenous political groups where diversity is not seen as being primarily connected to ethnic divisions. Under Kenneth Kuanda's rule there was the logic of ethnic balancing, that is, the policy ensured representation to all of Zambia's major ethnic communities.

However, in the last twenty years the situation has changed, president Chiluba did not give the same priority to this balancing as his predecessor, so that ethnic consciousness increased at the beginning of 1990. In fact, with the end of the One-Party state, politics in Zambia became slowly more ethnic, because of the necessity of mobilizing political support in favour of a leader or an elite.

Because of the way that our nation were built. Our nation were arbitrarily set up. So if you take the Chewas; a small group in the Eastern province of Zambia; a big group in Malawi; and even bigger group in Mozambique...So if there was supposed to be a Chewa nation it would cut across four countries. What this means is that our countries, many of them have not succeeded in nation building. And in some cases that caused serious problems of ethnic violence. So this is an area which is delicate. So that "I am just representing the Tongas" – (laughing a great deal) I think you would be laughed out of luncheon.. Every political party in Zambia attempts to get support from everywhere. Because I think we have been more successful in the process of nation building. (Choongo, 17-12-1999)¹²⁷

They used ethnic kinship to gain the political support of a particular group of the population. According to some studies, it was seen in case of the elections that Zambian people tended to vote 'local men' as politicians. Voters choose representatives who have a strong local connection and knowledge of the territory and the traditions of the country. Although ethnicity has been taken into consideration from a large part of the population, it had to compete with a numerous other qualities, such as professionalism or individual qualities that characterizes a leader. Therefore, on one hand Zambian ideology in politics has changed in the last years, but on the other hand, ethnic division is not still perceived as a norm in the selection policy. The reason is connected to the fear of a tribal burst, tribalism in Zambia is illegitimated and not desired; the political elite has been trying to avoid

¹²⁷ Henning Melber, *Political opposition in African Countries: The case of Kenya Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2007, p 25

this danger by enforcing ethnic balancing. “ In Zambia, there is that intensely held fear that ethnic politics would not only progress but that it would destroy the Zambian ‘nation’ with its perceived violent consequences.”¹²⁸

So, reintroducing the theme of Lozi it is possible to affirm that the current situation is the result of the colonialism on one hand, and on the other the lack of ethnic balance in the recent political administration. In addition, the extreme poverty that has been characterized the Western province in the last twenty years has worsened the situation, exacerbating the relationship between the Lozi and the central power.

Earlier this month Mungu, the capital of Western Province, saw protests demanding independence for the region: Violent clashes with security forces left three dead, including a nine-year-old child, and 12 others were hospitalized. The protests started with a poster and flier campaign by a group calling themselves the Black Bulls, which urged all of the province's "non-inhabitants" (non-Lozi) to leave the province by 15 January 2011, or risk being hacked to death. Western Province is home to the Lozi-speaking people, one of the biggest of Zambia's 73 ethnic groups. The minority Nkoyas and Mbunda ethnic groups in the province were classed as "non-inhabitants" in the poster campaign¹²⁹.

According to another local newspaper in January of last year there were several contrasts and violent clashes:

The Barotse issue, not surprisingly, burns much hotter in Western Zambia than it does in Namibia. In January 2011, clashes between Zambian security forces and demonstrators linked to a pro-secession group resulted in several deaths. Lozi leaders have demanded an apology from president Rupiah Banda for the killings, and they accuse him—like previous national leaders—of ignoring the developmental needs of the region. Such grievances are exacerbated, they maintain, by the fact that Banda won the last presidential election in part through the support of the Lozi electorate. A militant group called the Linyundangambo has discussed declaring the independence of Barotseland. Tensions are currently

¹²⁸ *Political opposition in African Countries: The case of Kenya Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, p 31

¹²⁹ “Zambia: poverty fuels succession bid by western province” 25 January 2011 was taken by allafrica.com.

running so high in western Zambia that one risks a beating for singing the Zambian national anthem in public rather than the Barotse anthem¹³⁰.

Surely the current situation of the Lozi is an index of a wider discontent among the Zambian population, this country appears political instable and profoundly divided from an ethnic point of view.

In conclusion, it is quite obvious that the recent ethnic conflict and tensions among the Zambian population have determined the political instability and the consequent economic development. However, the complex analysis of what is going on in Zambia from a political and cultural point of view needs further explanation as for what concerns the concept of ethnicity: there are two important elements that must to be understood; racism and identity.

2.4 Racism and ethnic hatred

In order to plunge into the recent Zambia ethnic situation I think it is important to clarify the concept of racism, considering that it is not simple to classify it on a single definition; according to the Oxford dictionary, racism generally can be defined as the ‘belief that all members of each race possess characteristics, abilities, or qualities specific to that race, especially so as to distinguish it as inferior or superior to another race or races’ in some extreme cases racism can become a prejudice or a real discrimination inside the society; ‘prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one’s own race is superior’¹³¹.

However, considering the political implications that the word ‘racism’ has, particularly given the connotations of ideology as attached to the ‘ism’ suffix, I think it would be better to analyze the term ‘race’ in the first instance.

For most of us that there are different races of people is one of the most obvious features of our social worlds. The term “race” is a vehicle for notions deployed in the organization of these worlds in our encounters with persons who are

¹³⁰ Martin W. Lewis in the article : Lozi(Barotse) nationalism in the Western Zambia, 15 September 2011 taken by the website <http://www.watchdog.com>.

¹³¹ Taken by the web site oxforddictionaries.com/definition/racism visited on the 12th December 2011 time 18.23

significantly different from us particularly in terms of physical features (skin colour and other anatomical features), but also, often combined with these, when they are different with respect to language, behaviour, ideas, and other “cultural” matters¹³².

So, it is possible to affirm that the term ‘race’ is a neutral word, empty of any political and social implication, while the word racism assumes numerous negative connotations that sometimes can be monopolized by political actors. The fact is that racism is alimented by ‘social prejudice’ that is used to favour the birth of tensions and contrasts between different groups of the society. Racial prejudice is commonly regarded as a feeling of dislike towards a specific group and in many cases it was conditioned by the society and the political authorities¹³³. “ If it is clear that the racial prejudice is regrettable, it is also clear in the nature of the case that providing even a superabundance of reasons and evidence will not be a successful way of removing it¹³⁴.

As a result, considering the meaning of the term ‘racism’ and the implications that the world could have from a political and social points of views, it is possible to affirm that it is a complex and structured concept and in many case it comes from the willingness of the political action. In other words, incrementing the spread of racism inside a society it is a political strategy to reach, political or economic aims. However, it could be interesting to analyse in which way the political structures utilized this concept and if this has any similarities with ethnic hatred that is a fundamental element for our study.

During mankind’s history there had been numerous examples of racism, some forms of racism are very similar to the hatred that an ethnic group can feel against another, however it is important to keep separate these two concepts according to what we have already said in the introduction about ethnicity.

For what concerns Zambia it could be better analyzing first the episodes of racism that happened during the country’s history and only on a second instance verifying if this kind of racism could be connected with some episodes of ethnic hatred. As it

¹³² [Goldberg, David Theo](#), *Anatomy of racism*, Minneapolis ; London : University of Minnesota Press, c 1990, p 58

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴ Ibid, p 9

stands the first forms of racism in Zambia could be traced back the birth of the colonial imperialism.

The racial discrimination as applied by the United Kingdom in Northern Rhodesia had a specific political and economic aims, on one hand the British had wanted to impose the idea of white supremacy to better manage the administration of the colonies:

In primo luogo seguirono la direttiva di Cecil Rhodes, secondo cui avrebbe dovuto esserci: “una comunità bianca autogovernantesi”, nell’interesse della Gran Bretagna. [...] Il governo britannico seguì il precedente stabilito nel 1909 quando diede l’indipendenza agli “europei” del Sud Africa con l’Atto di Unione, in base al quale i “non-europei” non avrebbero mai potuto far sentire la propria voce nella formulazione delle leggi per il Sud-Africa. Nel 1923 lo stesso “autogoverno” fu concesso ai “bianchi” rodesiani, con l’esclusione di ogni diritto politico per gli africani¹³⁵.

On the other hand, this racist policy was sustained by specific economics; it was convenient to impose a policy of white supremacy because it justified the wide employment of Africans workers in the mineral resources industry of the country. This process established a complex, structured organization of the colony based on the complete exclusion of the black from every kind of privilege reserved for the white.

Gli inglesi riservarono il 94,5 % della terra agli africani, ma come al solito, questa era costituita dalle “Riserve” e dalle terre della Corona, in altre parole era di proprietà del governo britannico e dei suoi rappresentanti locali e non degli africani. In realtà, nella Rodesia del Nord sino al 1959 non era concesso per legge ad alcun africano di possedere una casa propria. Tutta la terra coltivabile di migliore qualità fu assegnata agli europei, che possedevano così il 90% della terra situata lungo la ferrovia che attraversava le zone più fertili del paese¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ Hosea Jaffe, *Razzismo e capitalismo in Rodesia*, Jaca Books, Milano 1971, p 49

¹³⁶ *Razzismo e capitalismo in Rodesia*, op.cit p 65

In order to maintain this racial political system many fields of daily life would be contaminated by racism, in many cases the discrimination was applied on the buses, in the shops and in schools:

Fino al 1939 non vi furono scuole secondarie di alcun genere per i ragazzi africani in Nyasaland, Rhodesia del Sud e del Nord. Il governo spendeva 6 sterline (9000 lire) all'anno per ogni bambino europeo e 1 scellino e 5 penny (100 lire) per ogni bambino africano. Dal periodo dell' "indipendenza" ci sono stati 3.300 africani nelle scuole secondarie nella Rhodesia del Sud, 2108 nella Rhodesia del Nord e 1300 nel Nyasaland, se confrontati con i 21.108 studenti europei delle scuole secondarie ne risulta una "discriminazione razziale" di più di 100 a 1¹³⁷.

Therefore, this political system was based on a racial discrimination that involved many fields of the Zambian colonial society, and it was this discrimination as applied by the British that provoked a sense of black consciousness. The latter would help to spread the idea of a probable black nation and thanks to the action of some representatives of the resistance this idea became real with the onset of independence. The same Kenneth Kaunda in his autobiography expresses disgust for the continuous racial discrimination that happened in Zambian daily life.

In Mufulira, for the first time, I found myself suffering the indignities of the colour bar. Africans were not permitted to enter the European shops by the front door. If they wanted anything, they had to go to a hole in the wall at the side of the shop to ask for it. I determined to expose this system, for what it was, an insult to my race and my people¹³⁸.

So, in Zambia there were a lot of episodes of racism during colonialism, however my intention here is to analyze if this concept could be connected with ethnic hatred.

Considering that the British racial government seemed to prefer some ethnic groups over others, it is possible to affirm that some events of ethnic tensions happened because of determinate political choices, that could be assimilated with racism. However, in the introduction we have seen that the ethnic character could not have a delineated definition, because it includes not only physical but also political,

¹³⁷ Ibid, p 70

¹³⁸ Kuanda Kenneth, *Zambia Shall be free*, Heinemann London Ibadan Nairobi, Great Britain, 1981, p 31

social and cultural elements, it is a concept that depended on a lot of changeable variables. So, besides the political choices made during the country's history, there must have been a cultural character that enforced the ethnic divisions. For example, in the case of Lozi it was the strong ethnic affiliation that influenced Lozi attitude towards the central political power, thus their ethnic hatred had a strong cultural character.

On the contrary, the idea of racism is sustained mainly by physical features that distinguish one race from another; despite how sometimes it is used as a political and economic weapon it remains a pure physical concept considering that it can be applied everywhere. In addition, while ethnic hatred is born from cultural contrasts between different groups of the same race, racist hatred normally is imposed by a majority to a minority in order to reach concrete objectives¹³⁹. However, in many cases of ethnic conflicts, a racial discrimination is imposed on the rival ethnic group and episodes of racism happen also among different ethnicities.

From a conceptual point of view, it is possible to affirm that the concept of race manifests itself as an incomplete and superficial form of the bigger concept of ethnicity, for this reason I have considered necessary a further examination of racism because it was quite impossible to understand better ethnicity without talking about racism. Another important element that characterized ethnicity specifically and should be important in order to face the study of this country is identity and I'm going to deal with this in the following section.

2.5 Identity and the impact of colonialism

A fundamental element that I want to introduce to complete my analysis of ethnicity and Zambian ethnic culture is the concept of identity. "Identity is only ever possible in the *negation* of any sense of originality or plenitude, through the principle of displacement and differentiation....that always renders it a minimal reality."¹⁴⁰

The first element to analyze when talking about this concept is the idea of 'Otherness'¹⁴¹, many scholars tried to define identity starting from the fact that the

¹³⁹ Werner Sollors, *Theories of Ethnicities: A classical reader*, Mcmilland Press LTD, London 1996

¹⁴⁰ Moore, Gilbert, *Postcolonial theory. Contexts, Practices, Politics*, Verso, 1988, p 116

¹⁴¹ *Theories of Ethnicities: A classical reader*, op.cit

individual has distinguished itself thanks with a meeting/clash with someone different. In this way the person could create his identity or 'Self' in contrast with the other identity or selves, starting a long process of identification.

The demand of identification- that is, to be for an Other- entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of Otherness. Identification, as we inferred from the preceding illustrations, is always the return of an image of identity that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes¹⁴².

So, according to this theory the affiliation for a certain group depends on opposition to 'the Others', in other words to different groups that have completely different features from a social, physical and cultural point of view. The question of otherness is also a pillar of the postcolonial theory that inserted this concept into the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized; many theoreticians of postcolonial studies analyzed the paradoxical relationship that the colonists imposed to the natives. On the one hand they establish a relationship based on the extreme concept of 'otherness' considered as a synonym of 'inferiority', but on the other they justified themselves as the bearers of the civilized value, so in this way the impact of the colonized subject's identity was largely destabilized. According to postcolonial theories this relationship could have affected negatively formation of native's identity, creating a process of dependency and annihilation of the colonized subject. It seems that the colonized alienate their own identity in favour of the colonizer's one.

I had to meet the white's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. In the white world the man of colour encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema...I was battered down by tom-tom, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects..I took myself far off from my own presence.. What else could it be form me but an amputation, an excision, haemorrhage that spattered my whole body with black blood?¹⁴³

¹⁴² *Anatomy of racism*, op.cit p 188

¹⁴³ Ibid

As already known, from a political point of view we have seen that the impact of colonial power had influenced the social and political structures of the country, so I think it could be interesting to analyze the impact of the colonial culture over the pre-existing tribal culture. The transmission of the British traditions and values had a huge impact on post-colonial Zambia because the European culture became part of the Zambian creating a sort of hybrid, that brought about the formation of a fragmented culture and social identity. In addition, this hybrid identity could have been an obstacle to the formation of a national identity when colonialism ended and the country became independent.

The cultural interruption that embodied colonialism to the evolution of the Zambian culture, could have favoured a process of 'tribalization' once the colonial rule ended. The sense of alienation left by the imposition of colonialism, in many cases enforced ethnic affiliation, considering that the black race had been underestimated during the colonial rule, the population prefers to be connected to a common cultural factor, ethnic tribes.

In this way, independent Zambians turned to their tribal culture that came from the ancient pre-colonial past, because colonialism stopped the natural process of cultural and collective identification. When colonialism ended the Zambians needed to refer to 'a collective identity' and in many cases it was the ethnic groups to which they belonged. As a result the tribes and ethnic affiliation were enforced despite the national consciousness.

So, it is possible to affirm that the flourishing of ethnic division and tribalism had been favoured by the lack of a collective cultural identity. In addition, deliberate political choices taken during colonialism and the complete absence of the ethnic balance in the more recent political administration could enforce ethnic affiliation.

In conclusion, identity is fundamental in determining ethnic affiliation, because the sense of belonging starts from a process of identification. In addition, the racial discrimination imposed by the colonialists favoured the further alienation of the native's identity. In fact, colonialism caused an interruption of the identifying process provoking hybrid and fragmented identity that was difficult to manage once the colonialists left.

2.6 Conclusion

In sums, in this chapter we have understood the importance of culture as an important element that characterized the society and how it has an influence on the political choices and consequently on economic development. Moreover, the importance of the ancient tribal origins and the concept of ethnicity are two elements that had helped in the analysis of the *Zambian* culture.

The terms ‘tribal’ and ‘ethnic’ are very dangerous because many times they are used with a negative political connotation, however they have been useful to plunge into the roots of a country like *Zambia*. In particular, the concept of ethnicity is fundamental in order to study the culture of an African country, but considering that it is a vast concept it is necessary to focus on two important elements that could explain better the ethnicity, racism and identity.

My intention was to connect these two elements with colonialism, because both the racial discrimination imposed during the colonial period and the imposition of European culture in *Zambia* had important consequences not only on the cultural fields but also in the political sphere and in the development of the country. It is possible to affirm that colonialism helped to favour the ethnic tensions, on one hand by imposing racial discrimination and in some cases preferring one ethnicity over another, and on the other hand, by transmitting their culture, they created a fragmented cultural identity that obliged people to refer to ethnic and tribal affiliation in the identifying process.

These two political choices taken by the British authorities provoked a huge lack of the national sense of being ‘*Zambian*’ and in contrast it caused the enforcement of the ethnic affiliation. This situation worsened when the political administration decided not to keep the so called ethnic balance, creating a ruling class based on ethnic character.

In the case of the *Lozi*, they were used to being the ruling class during the colonial rule, but when the *UNIP* conquered the political power they lost every privilege that had now been assigned to the rival ethnic groups. The loss of a power position within the government was felt as such a stab to their pride and national consciousness that their relationship with the central government completely declined. The recent episodes of contrasts and violence between the *Lozi* and other ethnic groups are only the most outstanding cases of a long series of problems that began just before the colonial occupation.

In addition, the ethnic contrasts and the worsening of the relationships between the ethnicities have been characterizing a fragile political situation, because the ethnic groups are strictly connected to the political parties and the political decision caused the discontent of one group to the aid of another. The continuous internal contrasts are a huge obstacle to political stability and as a consequence the fragility of the political and social structures influenced negatively the decisions that concerns the economy.

However, before saying with certainty that the political fragility and the ethnic tension inside the country have influenced the economic development of Zambia, it is necessary to focus first on the economic system itself.

CHAPTER III

3.The capitalistic model of development

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the analysis focused on the political and cultural fields of the country, the aim being to plunge completely into Zambian culture and policy. The obvious following step would be the study of the economic system that has been

characterizing Zambia from the pre-colonial period till today. We will see that the capitalistic economic model was adopted as an inheritance of European domination, considering that before colonialism the economy was based on trades, agriculture and cattle. With British rule the economic model became an imperialistic system, the most radical form of capitalism as shown in the introduction.

Colonialism did not bring the necessary economic instruments to make Zambia a productive country after independence; in fact, although the country would have excellent mineral and agriculture possibilities, the Zambian political authorities were not able to take advantage of the territory to improve development. When the country became independent there were vast quantities of copper that could be used to improve the economic prospects, however the political administration did not try to invest it wisely, and instead the copper was used to finance the luxurious lifestyles of the political elite.

The economic situation worsened when Kaunda's one party state decided to help the resistance troops of South Africa in their fight against the racial government of apartheid. When the capitalism of welfare ended and the fixed rates system collapsed due to the big energy crisis of the seventies, a lot of developing countries got into debt; among them was Zambia. Since that moment the political authorities have never been able to repair the hole created by the vast public debt, a process that began during colonialism and became larger with the introduction of 'unleashed capitalism'¹⁴⁴. The lack of any economic improvements brought to the table the idea that the capitalistic economic model might not be the adequate model to improve economic development in a country such as Zambia. The only way to find out if capitalism could have been the wrong economic approach is analyzing its economic features within the Zambian context, starting from the pre-colonial period.

3.2 Ancient trade and the origins of capitalism

Historically speaking, the first forms of capitalism were introduced by the colonial occupation. Before the coming of the British, the economy of pre-colonial Zambia was based on the village and economic activities were mainly connected to a sustainable economy, so for example, most of the activities were centered on

¹⁴⁴ Glyn, Andrew, *Capitalism unleashed : finance, globalization, and welfare*, New York : Oxford university press, 2006.

livestock and agriculture. In addition, another fundamental element that needs clarifying is the forms of pre-colonial trade. In that period in fact the territory that we know today as Zambia was a crossroads of Arabian trades.

The immediate stimulus to this expansion of overseas trade came from settlements on the east and west coasts. Arabs and Swahili on the east coast had long sought ivory and gold to export to India. By the seventeenth century the gold trade of Rhodesia had been taken over by traders based in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique: during the eighteenth century they also gained a major share in the ivory trade with India and began exporting slaves to islands in the Indian ocean¹⁴⁵.

The inhabitants of pre-colonial Zambia slowly began to develop a continental trade themselves that crossed the southern part of continental Africa and reached the oceans coasts on the routes to India.

Generally, it is believed that the most revered products were ivory, gold and slaves, because the African countries were full of these resources, however, in this period people would often trade simpler products such as salt, iron, pottery, cosmetics clothing and metalwork. Actually the more valuable products were introduced first by the Arabs and then by the Europeans that had begun to settle in Livingstone.

However, the first forms of trade carried out by the Africans did not take place in a regular market, usually the place for the redistribution of goods was the court of the chiefs.

As we have seen, such redistribution was a prominent feature of the Lozi kingdom and Kazembe's. Even in less favorable environments, as Bemba country, chiefs were able to increase their power by promoting the exchange of local products, as well as by outright raiding.

Whatever form it took, such local trade largely determined the capacity of Zambian societies to take part in long-distance trade. Patterns of local exchange and industry shaped and sustained the trade routes between the African interior to the coast¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁵ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit, pp 100

¹⁴⁶ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit pp101

In addition, the development of coastal trades stimulated the consumption of these goods within the single African societies. “Nevertheless, the location of the most important resources, especially iron and salt, give us some clue to likely patterns of trade in earlier times, for such basic materials would long have been in great demand”¹⁴⁷.

In the north-eastern part of the territory the Bemba and Kazembe kingdom probably would have stimulated the exchanges across the plateau, in particular the trade of iron that in this region was abundant. Another important product for trade was salt that unfortunately was scarcer than iron because there were only few places where it was produced, specifically in the northern and in the eastern parts of the region. The exchange of some products promoted the trades of others, for example, “Both Bemba and Bisa sold salt and iron to the Senga, on the upper Luangua, who in return supplied tobacco, mats and baskets, and also grain and cotton”¹⁴⁸. In the central part of pre-colonial Zambia the trades were concentrated on the middle of the river Zambesi where there was a major centre of iron production, in the eastern part of the present day city of Lusaka. Finally in the western part trades was dominated by the Lozi kingdom till the late eighteen century. “As we have seen, the Lozi capital was the focus for the exchange of a wide variety of products from the flood plain and the surrounding woodland. Two items were especially important. The Totela supplied a redwood suitable for boat-building; and both they and the Kwangwa smelted and forged iron obtained from mines in the dambos east of the plain”¹⁴⁹. In this period copper was slightly underestimated because iron was considered more precious and stronger, although copper was used for ornamental things such as anklets and bracelets. The copper demands were not particularly high till the nineteenth centuries, in fact, the first European traders were the Portuguese who were actually attracted by the prospect of gold.

It was the Portuguese in Mozambique who first began to involve parts of Zambia in regular trade with the outside world. In the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese ousted Muslims from the gold trade of Central Africa. At first, like the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, pp101

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, pp102

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, pp103

Muslims, they ignored the country north of the middle Zambezi, since it seemed to have no gold. But in about 1684 the Rozwi king drove the Portuguese right off the Rhodesian plateau and back to their bases at Tete and Sena on the lower Zambezi¹⁵⁰.

The European intruders favored also the slave trades, because there was a huge demand for African slaves from Western Europe and North America, in particular in pre-colonial Zambia, the concentration on the slave markets increased considering that the Africans helped to stimulate this trade at a certain point. So, if at the beginning the trades were limited to the continental routes, with the implementation of the slavery demand from industrial countries contributing to enlarge the trades, they transformed it into an intercontinental market. The expansion of the market was stimulated also by the trade of other products that had been introduced by the Portuguese, for example, food products such as crops.

In the middle of the XVIII century the British interests began to focus on the region, in particular there was an English businessman and politician, Cecil Rhodes, who found in the territory an interesting mineral richness. His main intention was to capitalize those territories that could be exploited for their diamonds, or gold or other mineral rocks; in this way he wanted to increase the economic and political power of the United Kingdom.

He wanted to see the British flag fly across Africa, from the Cape to Cairo; he also wanted to extend his control of Africa's mineral resources. In 1887 he invested heavily in gold mines on the Rand; this venture turned out badly, but Rhodes also had his eye on the goldfields north of the Limpopo. African reef mining had virtually ceased many years before, and although a few whites had tried mining in the region they had had far too little capital. Rhodes, however, had plenty of capital, and in 1888 he sent off his partner, Rudd, to negotiate with Lobengula, who as king of the Ndebele dominated the southern lines of access to the goldfields beyond the Limpopo. This expedition resulted in the Rudd Concession, which promised Lobengula £ 1200 a year and 1000 of the most up-to-date rifles. In return, Lobengula signed away rights to all minerals in his dominion¹⁵¹.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp106

¹⁵¹ *A history of Zambia*, op.cit pp 157

In this way, Rhodes succeeded in organizing a lot of opportune economic negotiations, in particular through making agreements with the different tribal chiefs he obtained a lot of rights over their rich soils. So, he began to establish an economic hegemony across the territories of Southern and Central Africa, that later it would pass under the control of the English government with the creation of the BSA.

In fact, it is possible to affirm that the United Kingdom established an economic rule in the first instance, and that only afterwards they chose to occupy these territories politically and militarily, creating a system based on a racial political structure and an imperialistic form of exploitation.

3.3 Imperialism and the Copperbelt

Before analyzing the economic model that the British colonialists imposed during their domination, I think it is important to first deepen the theme of the Copperbelt; this vast region rich of mineral rocks that represented the most important pillar of the Zambian economy for many years. The Copperbelt was the neuralgic economic centre of colonial Zambia, and remained so after independence being considered a huge source of wealth for the new born country. So, I consider it important to start with a brief historical summary of this important Zambian region, not only to understand the economic processes that brought about the current conditions, but also to understand better the political and cultural dynamics of social Zambian structures.

The Copperbelt

As was already said, the Copperbelt has had an important role in the development of Zambia's political economy. So, a historical analysis of this region could be illuminating in order to understand better the current economic and political dynamics. "An industry of this potential in a territory as poor as Northern Rhodesia naturally dominated from an early date. Many other industries, transport facilities,

and power supplies were dependent on the mines. Even the Government itself relied heavily on them for revenues”¹⁵².

British exploitation of this region began when the British Office took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company in 1924. Since the development of the Copperbelt began, there was a great shortage of African labor, considering that the population density was very low at that time. Many experienced workers arrived from every part, not only African miners but also white workers that were attracted by the high pay rates. Besides, the mines provided the Europeans with well-designed houses at normal rent and excellent medical services¹⁵³.

For white workers the opening up of the Copperbelt was a boom period. Mining experts were brought from America, skilled men were imported from there and from Britain, Yugoslav timbermen were engaged to help line the shafts, and many workers were recruited in the Transvaal. Before the opening of the mines the main fields of employment for Europeans had been the Public Service and farming, but by 1931 mining accounted for 35.1 per cent of the European work force, compared with 41.1 per cent for Public Service and only 7.3 per cent for agriculture.¹⁵⁴

The conditions of the local workers were worse than those of their white colleagues, in fact, the Africans lived in houses similar to barracks or iron-roofed family huts. There were adequate medical services, but the provision of education was minimal and a lot of the children that lived there did not attend the schools. The huge difference between the treatment of the whites and the black labor force caused a rise of racial competition. On top of this, the fact that a lot of white families began to settle in the region increased the tension between the blacks and the Europeans. Moreover, the payment for black labor force was lower than for the whites; it was generally known that an African worker was paid by far less than a European one, because it was presumed that the latter would be more skilled and experienced than the first. There was even an attempt to introduce identity cards for the workers,

¹⁵² Elena L. Berger, *Labour race and colonial rule*, Oxford University Press, Glasgow, 1974, p 8

¹⁵³ *Labour race and colonial rule*, op.cit

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp 17

called '*chitupas*', similar to the Southern African pass, in order to regulate the movement of the African labor forces. Fortunately, the Government did not have any intention on enforcing this regulation. In addition, the great depression of the thirties exacerbated the relations of the Africans and the Europeans, provoking unemployment, the imposition of taxes and as a consequences, large strikes of the miners.

During the great depression of 1930, the prices of the Copperbelt became very low and the political choices taken by the Government did not help to better the situation that deteriorated a few years later. In 1935 there was a large strike brought on by African workers in Roan Antelope mine; during the disturbances some government troops opened fire on the crowd and six Africans were killed¹⁵⁵. After this tragic episode, the Government lost its reliability in administrating the region, and they decided to change their political policy. Before the accident, the Government had permitted African workers to settle in the Copperbelt because most of the labor force came from other countries. However, what had happened during the disturbances showed that the settlements of Africans were dangerous, so the Government decided to favor African workers' migration even though this idea would be revealed completely unsuccessful.

For various reasons, in the mid-1930s, the Government committed itself firmly to a migrant labour system. This system had been long established in Central Africa, and could not be easily turned aside. But the Government deliberately encouraged it, expanded it through the pressures of taxation, and rejected the opportunity which arose in one part of the country, on the Copperbelt, to foster a settled African labour force. The justification given for a migrant labour policy was that migration could be controlled: workers could be withdrawn from their villages for two years with a minimum of disruption of tribal life. But the Government lacked the administrative machinery to enforce such a plan, and tried in vain to persuade local employers and foreign governments to support it, for it was clearly against their interests¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid,

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, pp 40

Although the protests of the miners, some forms of discrimination remained and as a response in 1936 the Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union was founded. The main claim of the Union was to have equal pay for the workers regardless of the color of the skin.

Equal pay for equal work was an orthodox trade-union principle designed to stop employers using cheap labor. It assumed a special importance in Northern Rhodesia, where cheap labor was African labor. Africans were customarily employed at rates much lower than those received by Europeans, and no employer would consider hiring them at European rates when there was an ample supply of African labor at the low wage levels offered. (...) Where Africans were capable of doing similar work to Europeans, employers justified wage differentials on the grounds that Africans lacked adaptability or a sense of responsibility, or by reference to a dual economy in which the needs of African were less than those of the European¹⁵⁷.

On one hand, the Government tried to undermine the Union's attempt to improve the conditions of the black workers, protecting instead the European workers' interests. The jobs of African workers became more and more uncertain and they were completely excluded from any form of supervision, in fact, the Africans were controlled solely by European chiefs. On the other hand, the Colonial office pressed to stabilize the situation of the African mine labor, in order to avoid other disturbances and violence in the Copperbelt. In fact, after the strike in 1940, the Secretary of State informed the Governor that the copper industries had to establish permanency and the black industrialized community should be reorganized and defined more closely.

A difficult, potentially dangerous situation had developed at the mines, and the Government was aware that this added a new dimension to the policy of short-term labor migration which it had earlier favored for cheapness of administration and as a solution to rural economic difficulties. Now that African advancement was blocked, to encourage Africans to remain longer at the mines and acquire industrial skills or increased efficiency might lead to a clash with European workers.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ *Labour race and colonial rule*, op.cit, pp 50

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp 72

However, during the Second World War the situation of the Copperbelt did not improve all that much, on the contrary the working conditions of African miners steadily deteriorated. The African mineworker's Union grew rapidly, but it was still very weak, considering that the main aim of the Union was to guarantee the rights of mineworkers.

Inside the Government itself there were those who wanted to improve mineworkers' conditions, and those who instead persisted in conserving European interests and privileges. In the meantime, the idea for a plan of African advancement was getting more concrete and real, despite the Colonial Office's opposition the talks continued.

In April 1953 copper was released from British Government controls and the European Union and African Union of mine workers began to discuss a solution of the problems in the Copperbelt; given that the prices of the Copperbelt fell during the crisis of the sterling and the following world war. A commission was established by the Government in order to examine the question, and Sir John Forster was appointed to assess the situation of the Copperbelt. The Forster Commission encouraged the industry and temporarily the prices of copper soared.

In addition, the negotiations for the improvement of employee conditions carried on with the aim of achieving the principle of 'equal pay for equal work of equal value', but in time the further agreements did not meet the aspirations of the African labor force. The competition between the African and European unions increased, despite the divisions within both such as tribal rivalry between the Bemba speaking peoples and the Lozi and Nyasa who had higher wages and status.

The Bemba predominated in the A.M.U. as they did in the general labor force, and Katilungu, who was distantly related to the Bemba royal family, was labeled by the opponents as 'the paramount chief of the Bemba trade union'. The union's General Secretary, Simon Kaluwa, was of Nyasa origin and his dismissal by Supreme Council in 1952 appears to have been strongly influenced by this fact. The union faced a difficult problem in imposing unity on a membership of varied tribal origins, but the many different types of job held by the members formed an even greater challenge¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁹ *Labour race and colonial rule*, op.cit pp 135

Despite the divisions within the union, the protesters proceeded with a boycott campaign in the Copperbelt that was followed by some disturbances and a lot of tension. The situation became troubled, there were rumours of an African general strike, and the protest for the workers' rights assumed a political tone; some representatives of the African National Congress, such as Harry Nkumbula the president of the Congress, supported the demonstration. The A.N.C had a great influence in these episodes:

The Government had linked the unrest at the mines to A.N.C influence because of a revival of Congress activities in 1956, after several years of decline. A vigorous series of boycotts had been conducted in April, May and June in both line of the rail towns and remote rural centres against stores which practised racial discrimination towards African customers. The European community demanded that the Government take steps to control the boycotts, and a Crown prosecution alleging conspiracy to injure trade was brought against four A.N.C officials in Mufulira¹⁶⁰.

The strikes in the 1955 and 1956 scared the companies that were thinking about the possibility of discharging and promoting evictions in the region, but the Government thought that this choice could cause disorders and problems of food distribution, repatriation and unemployment. The strikers claimed an increase in the wages for African workers, considering that they were paid less, but the companies tried to keep the wages low, according to them the African produced much less than a European who was well prepared for mining jobs.

One of the most important results of 1955 was the managements' decision to recognise the Mines African Staff Association (M.A.S.A) as an official negotiating body, to provide an alternative to the union leadership. The Association had been set up by senior African workers in 1953. They had considered forming a similar body in 1948, when the first branch of the union was formed, but abandoned the

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, pp 154

idea after the Government trade-union officer stressed the importance of a unified labour front in early negotiations with management.¹⁶¹

The inability of the Union to manage the delicate situation of the mine worker strikes, provoked discontent not only among the political authorities but also the African population. As a result, the Union became weaker and weaker compared to the popularity that had been acquired by the new born association, M.A.S.A.¹⁶². This new organization, the Mines African Staff Association, tried to offer a vigorous alternative to the union leadership that had become weaker and weaker.

Moreover, the Government considered the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Trade Union the main body responsible for the disturbances, leading to the detention of some of the leaders. The decision to detain had been taken by political officers, but the Labour Department wanted to rebuild the organization, reforming the industry and improving communication with African workers. At the same time, the wish of the Department was also to check the union's work, making frequent inspections of the account and giving advice to manage the union's finances. The number of full-time paid workers was cut back but the cost of official's salaries rose.

The A.M.U obviously opposed the growth of the Association and the competition between the two increased. When the union leadership weakened because of the detention of its leaders, the M.A.S.A. tried to gain the advantage. As was already said, the Congress had supported the African strikes and over the course of a few years the Union became more and more involved in the political question of the Congress.

In 1959 relations between Katilungu and the African National Congress changed, and began to take part in its affairs, even advocating the transfer of A.N.C headquarters to the Copperbelt and the need for strike action to break up the Federation. [...] More important, the rapid evolution of African nationalist politics had placed Katilungu and Harry Nkumbula, the President of A.N.C., on the right wing of the African opinion. The foundation of a more extreme rival organization, the Zambia African National Congress, by Kenneth Kuanda late in 1958 alarmed the Government. At a time when Northern Rhodesia was embarking on its first

¹⁶¹ Ibid, pp 146

¹⁶² Ibid, pp 154

elections under a new constitution which gave Africans the right to vote and African politicians a place in the electoral system, Nkumbula acquired a measure of respectability in the eyes of the Government.¹⁶³

After the two huge strikes of 1955 and 1956, the tension in the Copperbelt increased; during these years the number of disturbances had raised since the fifties. There were disputes about different matters, for examples, rations, housing and the conditions of work, , plus the difficulty of comprehension between the African workers and the Europeans was in many cases a sources of trouble.

On the contrary, the political authorities tried to do their best to improve this situation, in fact, the main objectives of labour policy in Northern Rhodesia were to establish fair work conditions for the employees and the maintenance of good relations.

In the later years, the Government intensified its interest in the copper industry considering that the prices of the copper dropped and its value declined in the world market. Moreover, the frequent strikes in the Copperbelt provoked losses of national revenues.

Its price dropped from a peak of over £400 per ton in 1956 to £158 per ton in 1958, and the contribution of taxes on the copper industries to combined Federal and Northern Rhodesian revenues raised in the territory fell from 66.2 per cent in 1956-7 to 40.2 per cent in 1958-9. The prolonged African strike in 1955 cost Northern Rhodesia just under £2 ½ million in lost taxes, and the Federal Government lost more than £3 1/3 million¹⁶⁴.

The intention of the political authorities was to renew the Northern Rhodesia legislation, considering that the law fixed a minimum standard for the organization of the union and, besides, it was established on a racial basis. The reason of this change was mainly because Northern Rhodesia legislation was related to English laws because it was an imported product of British colonialism. There were different applications of British legislation in Central Africa, but it was applied with small variations to the different colonies.

¹⁶³ *Labour race and colonial rule*, op.cit, pp 163

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp 167

Therefore, the colonial administration of this productive areas was based on an imperialistic system of exploitation; the area had been entirely dominated by private foreign companies that on one hand gave a job to the African workers, but on the other proceeded to extract the copper in order to export them to the homeland. In fact, a pillar of the colonial economic administration on the Copperbelt was based on the prohibition of selling the raw material inside the colony. The copper was simply exported to England and only there it could be transformed by manufacturers, or used by industry. In this way the colony never developed the right instruments to be productive on their own right; they never learnt to be economically independent from the British. This fact brought about the establishment of a very single sided dependent relationship between Northern Rhodesia and Great Britain.

In fact, this dependency could be a cause of the economic difficulties that the country has been living through. As we will see in the following paragraphs this sort of dependent relationship remained during the formation of the nation of Zambia till recent times. For this reason imperialism is considered as a form of capitalism brought to the extreme, because the productive instruments of accumulation are different considering that the colony offered the raw material and not the economic instruments necessary for production. Therefore, the great difference between capitalism and imperialism is mainly the mode of production and not the place where it was applied “to analyze the imperialistic system is to analyze a system of social formation and not the capitalistic mode extended to the world”¹⁶⁵ In addition, the economic relationship established by the colonialism consisted of a subordinated relationship where the periphery provided the raw material, the centre elaborated them and the profits went only to the centre.

At the level of the historic specificity, imperialism and the history of colonialism have introduced the element of extra-economical force by grafting specific production systems onto subordinated countries oriented to the needs of the core economies. At the same time developments related to the incipient expansion of capitalism are diverted by political means (i.e. the containment of the wage-labour system, limitations or indigenous commodity production, control of class formation, racist dual system of legislation, etc.)¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ John Tait, *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement: Capitalist development and urban planning in Lusaka, Zambia*, Avebury, Hants, 1997.

¹⁶⁶ *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement: Capitalist development and urban planning in Lusaka*, p 30

So, it is possible to affirm that the form of capitalism introduced in Zambia and in general in many developing worlds is mainly different from the classical concept of capitalism because it established a peculiar dependent relationship from the centre to the colony (periphery).

The contemporary model of peripheral social formations, following Amin, is rather determined by structural links between (1) the primary sector (mining and agriculture) oriented to exportation and (2) the luxury consumption of the middle and the upper classes. [...] As a part of the surplus is externalized by investment in imported capital goods, no adequate capital-goods sector can develop, and as demand promotes an industrialization of luxury-goods production at standard comparable to those of the centre, this type of production will absorb the bulk of available capital and skilled labour, leading to neglect of the mass consumer products¹⁶⁷.

When the country became independent, the situation of the Copperbelt changed slightly; President Kaunda started a process of nationalization all over the area. The intention of the new administration was to eliminate the foreign monopolization of the copper and he tried to favor internal production, limiting the exportation of the mineral rocks. However, the new government was not able to manage the extraction of the copper without spending large quantities of money, and moreover, it did not invest the capital obtained by selling the mineral rocks to reform other economic sectors such as the agriculture and industrial fields. In time, copper manufacturing was slowly abandoned and the copper mines closed because the political authorities were not able to create an industrialized system adequate enough for the extraction of the copper. At the end of the one-party state, the Copperbelt again fell into European and Americans hands because of the process of privatizing carried out by the MMD. However, the copper demand diminished due to the importance that oil was gaining on the international markets, so the exploitation projects of the copper mines were left alone indefinitely.

Only recently has the Copperbelt has been reevaluated by the Chinese who saw in the area a great economic opportunity. So, the Copperbelt is a fundamental area to

¹⁶⁷ *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement: Capitalist development and urban planning in Lusaka*, p 32

study the Zambian economic development because for many years it has been the economic centre of this country. In addition, the analysis of the Copperbelt's history helps us to better understand the political and cultural events that happened in this country. This region has been important not only from an economic, but also from a political and culture point of view, an analysis of Zambia without taking into consideration the Copperbelt would be useless.

In sums, the economic exploitation of the Copperbelt during colonialism had profoundly marred the following economic attempts to improve the economy, considering the total lack of a productive industrial system that the colonialists left. Once the country obtained independence the new government was not able to face up to this economic hole. In addition, the energy crises and the changes in the capitalist economic system did not help to better the situation.

3.4 The energy crisis and the globalization

When Kaunda came to power in 1964, Zambia was a country rich in mineral resources, despite the colonial employment; the vast copper reserve could satisfy the need and the expenses of the state according to the political authorities. However, in a few years the expenses increased, there was a large waste of money in unproductive investments and in luxury purchases without taking care of the real economic reforms that the country needed.

Belle case si stendono lungo tutti i quartieri pieni di verde. Poiché le case, circondate da vasti giardini, sono molto distanti le une dalle altre, i collegamenti per acqua, elettricità, telefono e fogne sono molto costosi. Ma la collettività vi provvede: per lo Zambia neinte è troppo bello. Si spende senza freno in investimenti improduttivi: il nuovo Parlamento, il centro dei Congressi di Mulungushi Hall, l'aeroporto internazionale, l'ospedale universitario e soprattutto i grattacieli di Cairo Road (22 piani). Grazie al denaro che proviene dal rame, unico settore sviluppato si costruisce una civiltà urbana [...]. Ma il tutto si poggia su una base agricola rimasta molto profondamente africana, tradizionale e su una scarsa industrializzazione¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁸ R.Dumont, M.F Mottin, *L' Africa strangolata*, Società Editrice Internazionale, Torino, 1985, p 50

The foreign investments increased and global organizations such as the World Bank and units of the United Nation began to be more present in the country, however despite any recommendations of prudence the country had been spending more than it could afford. In addition, the model of development was based on the colonial capitalistic model, which as we have already seen in the previous chapter, lacked important economic instruments. Zambia has defaulted to a new kind of colonization, because actually the dependent relationship with the European countries never ended, and the political authorities of that time did not realize the graveness of the situation.

Di questo tuttavia, le elite al potere non si rendono pienamente conto, all'inizio almeno, perchè ben presto alcuni di loro vi scorgono il proprio tornaconto personale. Dietro ad un discorso filosofico impreciso – ma l'umanesimo non è una teoria economica – la classe dirigente dello Zambia ed il suo presidente costruiscono un neocolonialismo incapace di condurli verso una vera indipendenza economica e politica¹⁶⁹.

Five years after independence the Gross National Product diminished, inflation raised and the rate of unemployment increased in particular in rural areas; Kaunda's government tried to make economic reforms in order to raise productivity in the secondary sector, however the impact of the international events hit him and his administration. In fact, the decision of Kaunda to support the anti-apartheid troops provoked an increase in military expenses that Kaunda tried to cover by asking for numerous loans from international organizations. During the seventies the International Monetary Fund lent a large sum of money to Kaunda's Zambia, only to help the overthrowing of the racist South African government. Zambia got into a large debt: in 1979 it was estimated that the sum of money lent to this country was 1, 5 billion US dollars¹⁷⁰. Besides the military costs, the expenses were centred in the agricultural sector; in order to stimulate the development of the villages and the rural areas importation was limited. The IMF solicited the Zambian government to cut expenses and to restore the balance of payments; as a result the centres of agriculture stopped their activities, provoking a reduction in productivity. Since the mid-1970s

¹⁶⁹ R.Dumont, M.F Mottin, *L' Africa strangolata*, Società Editrice Internazionale, op.cit, p 51

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 1985,

the income per capita began to fall and inequality and poverty among the population increased. What's more besides, the Government was obliged to spend huge amounts on military defence, because of the Angolan crisis and the Mozambique civil war.

In addition, Zambia has had to cope with growing numbers of refugees fleeing from intense fighting in Angola and Mozambique, as well as from Namibia and South Africa. It has been estimated that the total cost of destabilisation by South Africa - including increased transport costs and trade losses- already amounts to about US\$5million each year.¹⁷¹

The international financial revolution

It is very important to add information of what happened in that period in the rest of the world, considering that the whole economic system would be changed forever. In the 70s the world was hit by a huge energy crisis, the prices of oil increased more and more and one of the most powerful countries in the world, the United State of America, was not able to sustain the old fixed rates system. The 'new deal' capitalism established by the American president, Roosevelt, just after the war fixed the financial rates by imposing convertibility with gold. However, in 1972 Nixon's administration decided to put an end to the old capitalistic system, eliminating convertibility with gold, because the financial pressure had become unsustainable. Capitalism as an economic system changed, if before it was considered *liberal* now it would be a *neoliberal* capitalism, without any restrictions and regulations; where the state did not interfere with the economy and privatization was privileged¹⁷².

This process provoked an increase of inflation rates putting a lot of countries in serious financial troubles. A lot of developing countries that had received loans from international organisations duplicated their debts, facing a disastrous financial situation. The situation worsened when during the eighties any regulations about the market and the economy on an international context ceased to exist definitely; the world market became more and more globalized thanks to an economic process that goes over and above the economic and political national barriers.

¹⁷¹ John Clark & Caroline Allison, *Zambia debt & Poverty*, oxfam, Oxford 1989, p 10

¹⁷² Amin, Samir, *Capitalism in the age of globalization : the management of contemporary society*, London ; New Jersey : Zed Books, c1997

The globalization signifies the transnationalization of capitalism, the breakdown of national economies, and the creation of a more interconnected world economic system. It also describes the emergence of new technologies of communication such as satellite, fax, and e-mail, which, along with the possibility of rapid intercontinental travel, alter the relationship of time and space. This spatial compression and temporal acceleration allow people, ideas, and goods to move with great speed, while also making it possible for individuals, however far apart, to witness events simultaneously¹⁷³.

So, globalization can be considered not only as an important change to the economic capitalistic model, but also as a real mentality, a form of daily life, something completely totalizing that involved all the fields of society from a political and cultural point of view. Despite the positive sense of a global world that this new economic process brought, the effect of globalization on the developing countries was devastating. The impossibility of favouring their own model of economy to improve real productivity caused a further impoverishment of the Third World countries. Globalization is a sort of capitalism brought to the extreme, but unlike imperialism it is also a manner of approaching life, so it is not easy to ignore it.

In the case of Zambia, the developing processes have slowed down and in some cases totally stopped, the discrepancy between the urban and the rural world has become huge. The economic reforms in the agriculture field never succeeded on a large scale and the economy has become very static, as is the situation of the present day.

In some respects the economic problems now facing the Zambian government have remained unchanged since the colonial period. African leaders have had to accept a view held by their colonial predecessors, which caused great controversy and unrest; that it is desirable to hold back urban wage levels to reduce unemployment and encourage development in the poverty-stricken rural areas where the majority of the people live. The labour history of the Copperbelt developed around this theory, which was a justification for the dual wage system, which was a justification for the dual wage system.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Lazarus, Neil, *Nationalism and cultural practice in the postcolonial world*, Cambridge university press, 1999, pp 43-44

¹⁷⁴ *Labour race and colonial rule*, op.cit, pp.228

3.5 Conclusion

According to what has been said till now, it is possible to affirm that the Zambian economy today is quite fragile and during the last forty years it had not given any hint of development. The reasons are numerous; firstly the impact of the colonial imperialism on a mainly agricultural country that did not have the adequate instruments to afford capitalistic economic development. The colonialists did not worry about introducing an adequate model of development; on the contrary they focused on the exploitation of the mineral resources and the exportation of the raw material to the homeland. This lack of transmission would have a negative influence on the following economic attempts at development, because it had created a sort of dependent relationship between the ex-colony and the European country. Zambia has been depending on Western economic decisions for years, and this fact has ruined its natural economic development.

On the second instance, another element that stopped economic growth has been 'the malediction of copper'¹⁷⁵, that is, the political authorities that governed the country after independence overestimated the copper resources. In other words, they utilized it as a bargain for money, oil or to build infrastructures, without taking into consideration the possibility of investing it on other economic sectors. Obviously it might not be easy considering that the Europeans did not help to implement the internal production of copper manufacturing, however if Zambia had had less copper, probably the political authorities would not have wasted their richness in a such a way.

The third element that is necessary to consider is the international context, what happened during the 70s and the 80s put a great strain on the global market, and as we have seen in the previous paragraphs Zambia's economy was hit hard by changes to the capitalistic economic system. After the large crises Zambia's economy never recovered on the contrary it remained completely still without any improvements or traces of economic development, becoming more and more impoverished.

So, considering our analysis of this country that has been on the first instance political, then cultural and finally economic, the natural deduction is to think that

¹⁷⁵ *L' Africa strangolata*, Società, op.cit

probably the economic model applied in Zambia is not the right one in order to improve the development of this country, that in fact this country might need a different form of economic system that could value its intrinsic characteristics considering the political and culture features.

PART TWO

Having analyzed this country from a political, cultural and economic point of view it is possible to affirm that the economic models applied were not adequate for Zambia. So, considering that the Chinese emerging economy has become preponderant in this country, it is important to describe the Chinese economic features. In addition, the aim of this part is to verify if the Chinese economy could be an alternative model of development for Zambia.

CHAPTER IV

4. The Chinese proposal

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I want to understand if the Chinese economic approach could be adequate for the Zambian economy. In the previous part it was evident that the Zambian economy is fragile, and this weakness is mainly due to political instability and cultural contrasts. The fact is that the country has been characterized by a strong affiliation to cultural traditions. During the pre-colonial period the population utilized a subsistence economy, where villages were the centres of trades. In this way the economy had developed on local and micro areas in this period; and although the colonialists imposed a different economic system, influencing the economy at least in part, regional development is still perceived as an important economic instruments.

Therefore, the current Zambian political and economic situation is hybrid of two important elements; on the one hand the country has been influenced by the colonial model that imposed an imperialistic economy, and on the other the cultural traditions of pre-colonial Zambia are still felt strongly. Considering the character of hybridism that characterized the current cultural, political and economic situation, it could be interesting to understand how the Chinese economic approach has impacted the country.

In addition, ethnicity ascertained as a fundamental element in the previous chapter, is very important because recently the tensions stemming from ethnic divisions have increased in Zambia, undermining the political stability. The Barotseland, in particular, claimed its independence from the central government, causing hostility between the Lozi and the other ethnic groups. However, there is another factor that irritated the Lozi people; the new president's choice to limit the Chinese investments in the country. The inhabitants of Barotseland strongly opposed the president's decision, leading to contrasts and violence in the region.

Therefore, it is evident that the Chinese presence has been influencing the country from a cultural and political point of view; the aim of this second part is to deepen the Chinese question in the Zambian context. What does the Chinese economy means for the Zambian elite? Moreover, it is important to understand if the Chinese model has been helping Zambian economy to improve development.

The first part of this thesis has shown the incapacity of the capitalistic economy to improve economic growth in Zambia, considering the Chinese economic approach; is it possible to consider it a valuable alternative?

However, before answering this question, there are other explanations needed; first of all, if the Chinese economic approach can be considered a concrete economic model that Zambia might adopt. Moreover, the Chinese economic model has peculiar characteristics that needs a detailed description, before affirming if it is an alternative to the capitalistic economy. For these reasons, it is important to deepen the analysis from a Chinese point of view, in particular the recent economic growth that has characterized China in recent years. The following paragraphs are dedicated to the political and economic features of China before the reforms and after. Later, the attention moves onto Chinese economic growth and its expansion all over Africa and in Zambia.

4.2 The Chinese rising

Recently, the world has seen the birth of a new economic superpower, China. Since the 80s the country has increased economic productions becoming one of the primary exporters in the world. In a brief period of time, the Chinese economy has become competitive and expanded on into others countries. During the last twenty years China has literally conquered the black continent; traces of Chinese economy are everywhere in Africa, from Egypt to South Africa.

The Asian companies focused on building great infrastructures, bridges, railways and waterworks, using the mineral resources of the African states to finance the works and giving employment to the local labour force. In this way, China gained such popularity among the African state, that many of them were glad of the Chinese presence in their territories.

The Chinese model seems to offer a more concrete and accessible economy to undeveloped countries in comparison with the Western economy. China introduced basic goods and new technologies in these territories, incrementing the progress and wellness of the people. Many Africans began to consider the Chinese economy as a new hope for their fragile and weak economy.

Since the beginning of XXI century China has made a lot of economic deals with the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Angola in particular.

Since 2004, China has concluded similar deals in at least seven resource-rich countries in Africa, for a total of nearly \$14 billion. Reconstruction in war-battered Angola, for example, has been helped by three oil-backed loans from Beijing, under which Chinese companies have built roads, railways, hospitals, schools, and water systems. Nigeria took out two similar loans to finance projects that use gas to generate electricity. Chinese teams are building one hydropower project in the Republic of the Congo (to be repaid in oil) and another in Ghana (to be repaid in cocoa beans)¹⁷⁶.

It was estimated that more or less 20% of Chinese investments are directed to the Sub-Saharan African territories, and moreover, in the last two years the amount of Chinese economic deals and investments has increased a lot ~~in~~ across ~~all~~ the whole continent;

Two large deals were concluded in 2011, namely the US\$1.3-billion sale of mining company Metorex to Jinchuan and the sale of a 25% stake in Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) investment holding company Shanduka to China Investment Corporation for R2-billion. Closer to home, Standard Bank was also recently worked with the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) to provide funding to the value of \$835-million for the Morupule B Power Project in Botswana. Standard Bank's close relationship with ICBC stems from the Chinese bank having purchased a 20% stake in Standard Bank in 2007 for about \$5.5-billion¹⁷⁷.

Certainly, China's economic interests are evident all over the continent, but China has focused its attention mainly on those country rich in mineral resources. For example, in Zambia the Chinese were interested in the areas rich in copper; since the end of the Second World War the Zambian copper mines have always been attractive to foreign powers. The Chinese capitalized on the construction of the Lusaka- Dar es Salaam railways as a way-in, and they settled in Zambia.

¹⁷⁶Debora Brautigam, "*African Eastern promise; what the West can learn from the Chinese investment in Africa*", Foreign Affairs, January 5, 2010, p 1

¹⁷⁷ South Africa.info "*Africa: China investments picking up pace*" taken by the website allafrika.com visited on 09/04/2012 time 12.35

In the 90s the Chinese reopened the *Zambian* mines that had been closed since ~~the~~ *Kaunda's* era. Chinese investments were directed not only at the mines but also on building development and agriculture. Chinese companies spread all over the country, and as a result migration towards *Zambia* increased. Today, in *Zambia* it is possible to count eighty square miles worth of Chinese people living in *Zambian* territory. The country is the most densely populated in *Africa*. The Chinese settlements has been provoking cultural problems, considering the different traditions and mentality of the Chinese compared with *Zambian* culture. This “clash of civilization” has led to political troubles as we will see in the following paragraphs.

However, the main reason for Chinese expansion is connected to the huge economic growth that has been characterizing *China* since the economic reforms of the 80s. After the death of *Mao*, *China* introduced innovative elements in its economy, opening it to the global market.

Over the past 30 years or so, seizing the opportunity of the world economy's long-term prosperity and the deepening economic globalization. *China* has opened wider to the outside world, attracted and utilized foreign investment, introduced advanced technology, transformed and upgraded domestic industries, and achieved rapid development in foreign trade through all-round participation in the international division of labour and competition¹⁷⁸.

After the entrance of *China* in the *WTO* (*World Trade Organization*) in 2001, the country has developed rapidly and turned around to become an economic superpower from an undeveloped country's status. In 2006 *Chinese* economic growth increased very fast reaching 10.7 %¹⁷⁹. The *Chinese* economy became more and more aggressive in the following years, increasing competition against the *Western* economic powers. In addition, the recent economic crisis that has affected the global economies did not cause significant problems in *China*. The country in fact, seems to be responding positively to the economic recession that had hit the global market.

Therefore, it is curious to see how *China* succeeded in becoming a powerful country with a strong and competitive economy in a brief period of time. However,

¹⁷⁸ *Daily china*, “*China* economic growth benefits world” taken by the web site *chinasdaily.com* visited on the 23rd of *March* 2012 time 12.56

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*

before analyzing the effects of the Chinese economy on Zambia, it is necessary to describe the transformations of Chinese economic structures. Certainly, the Chinese economic approach could be a tempting alternative for the Zambian economy, but first of all it is important to understand the economic features of the Chinese proposal. For this reason, it is better to start from the beginning when the Popular Republic of China was founded.

4.3 China's adventure

Before the opening of the Chinese economy to the markets, China was characterized by a socialist economy where economic decisions were taken completely by the state. The Popular Republic of China (PCR) was born in 1949, when Mao Tse Tung, the leader of the communist party, came to power. During that period, the government was carrying on an economy based on the monopoly of the state; both industrial production and agriculture were controlled by the party.

During the Cold War period, China was obliged to align with the soviet bloc under the influence of the Soviet Union. Russia had huge power over the Chinese government that affected economic and political decisions, in a brief time China began to adopt soviet economic instruments, such as five-years plans.

As such, the country proceeded with the collectivization of agriculture, dismantling every traces of private property. In addition, industrial production was regulated by national rules that limited import from foreign countries.

La collettivizzazione dell'agricoltura all'inizio procede lentamente; ma nel luglio 1955 Mao Zedong dà un colpo di acceleratore alla formazione delle cooperative e, alla fine 1956, praticamente tutta la classe contadina è in qualche modo entrata a farne parte. Nell'industria lo Stato estende rapidamente la propria influenza e, alla fine del 1956, controlla direttamente o indirettamente la quasi totalità della produzione¹⁸⁰.

The first five-years plan consisted of large sums being invested into specific sectors of the economy; the state had a duty to allocate resources to those sectors that needed economic restoration most. The plan fixed the price of salaries and the final

¹⁸⁰ Françoise Lemoine, *L'economia cinese*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2005, p.12

destination of the investments; in other words, it determined where the financial, material and human resources would go. Generally, the five-years plans were created by the State and the government decided the economic conditions. They had to reach certain objectives and the companies did not have any autonomy of decision or movement. As far as finance is concerned, the banking system was based on a single bank, whose agencies controlled the accounts and gave credits in order to complete the plan successfully.

However, during Mao's rule the five-years plans focused on the improvement of heavy industry that provoked an acceleration of Chinese industrial development:

In cinque anni la Cina getta le basi del proprio apparato industriale. La produzione industriale è moltiplicata per 2,3, quella del carbone raddoppia (raggiungendo i 130 milioni di tonnellate), quella della ghisa triplica (5 milioni di tonnellate); la produzione industriale, infine, quadruplica (5,4 milioni di tonnellate)¹⁸¹.

So, despite China ~~was~~ being mainly an agricultural country, it succeeded in creating a huge industrial system in a brief times, the industrial development being favoured by soviet support. The USSR gave economic financial aids to China in order to promote the development. The soviet empire had political interests in helping China economically, Russia wanted to extend its hegemonic power, spreading the socialistie ideology. In this way, the Soviet Union would challenge the capitalistic American superpowers in the Cold War context.

However, during the 60s the political relationship between Mao and Chruščëv deteriorated, the Chinese government in fact never condemned the imperialistic Western countries; on the contrary the meeting between Nixon and the Chinese dictator suggested a possible future agreement. Therefore, the USSR was very disappointed with China's decision and as a result, Moscow completely cut the economic aids that they had been giving to China. So, the country not only had difficult financial problems, but also it was obliged to repay its debts to the Soviet Union.

The development of heavy industry without soviet help failed and the Chinese infrastructures were not able to promote economic production; many industries were closed and unemployment increased. In addition, the terrible agricultural conditions

¹⁸¹ *L'economia cinese*, p 13

worsened the situation, provoking an unstable economic and political period for China.

As a result, Mao decided to focus on improving the rural development of the country, increasing agricultural productions and regulations. Despite the clear intention of the government to improve rural farming, the main sector of the Chinese economy remained the industrial one;

Malgrado una politica che a partire dal 1960 continua a dichiarare prioritario lo sviluppo industriale, a cause della tendenza dei prezzi relativi che non smette di evolvere in suo sfavore. Certo apparentemente, tra il 1957 e il 1978 l'inserimento nell'economia si sviluppa in modo favorevole. La pressione fiscale diretta sul mondo rurale si riduce senza sosta: L'imposta agricola versata in natura (principalmente costituita di cereali) diminuisce¹⁸².

As it is possible to notice from the quotation, the agricultural sector developed positively during 1957 and 1978 but most of the financial investments focused heavily on industrial development, including complex machineries and technology.

L'agricoltura invece non ne riceve più del 10% (con l'eccezione del triennio 1963 – 1965), una quota completamente sproporzionata rispetto all'importanza del settore nell'economia: nel 1978 l'agricoltura occupa l'80% della popolazione attiva, contribuisce per un terzo al reddito nazionale e, direttamente o indirettamente, alla metà dei proventi derivanti dalle esportazioni¹⁸³.

It is possible to say that Chinese economic development up until 1978 brought a level of growth that reached 5,5 % ¹⁸⁴, and that this rate was superior to those obtained by other developing countries in that period. So, despite the economic difficulties that China had in the agricultural and industrial sectors, the country succeeded in improving slightly. The Mao era was a difficult and troubled period for China; not only from an economic point of view, but also in that the international political context did not favour Chinese economic development.

¹⁸² *L'economia cinese*, p 19

¹⁸³ *L'economia cinese*, p 21

¹⁸⁴ Françoise Lemoine, *L'economia cinese*.

The reforms

Things began to change in 1978 when the government decided to launch some economic reforms in order to promote economic production and competitiveness. In the same year the dictator Mao Tse Tung died and his successor, Deng Xiaoping carried on the liberalization of the Chinese economy; the country wanted to open its doors to the global markets. The first attempts at reform were based on the introduction of capitalistic elements into the Chinese economic structure.

La Cina s'incamminò ufficialmente sulla strada delle riforme nell'ottobre del 1978, attraverso varie fasi e seguendo un percorso di apprendimento per tentativi. Nei venticinque anni successivi, il paese spostò l'obiettivo dei suoi investimenti dal turismo all'industria manifatturiera leggera, da una politica che obbligava gli investitori stranieri a stringere alleanze con partner cinesi a una che consentiva la costituzione di imprese locali completamente controllate da multinazionali estere, e da una fase dedicata a recuperare il tempo perduto a una che mira a raggiungere un pari livello con il mondo industrializzato.¹⁸⁵

The principal aim of the Chinese government was to reach the industrial level of the Western powers; reforming the economy would let the Chinese markets become open to the world, challenging the foreign economies in a global context. The economic reforms took place mainly in three phases.

The first phase took place during 1978 and 1984 when the new Chinese prime minister decided to improve economic competitiveness in the global market starting from the agricultural sector.

Nel settore agricolo esso dà via libera allo sfruttamento familiare delle terre: lo smantellamento delle comuni popolari procede a grandissima velocità. Le misure relative agli altri settori dell'economia hanno l'obiettivo di migliorare il sistema,

¹⁸⁵ Oded Shenkar, *Il secolo della Cina : l'impatto della crescita cinese sull'economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro*, traduzione di Nicola Borzi. - Milano : Il sole-24 ore, 2005, p 40

² *Il secolo della Cina : l'impatto della crescita cinese sull'economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro*, traduzione di Nicola Borzi, p 50

senza tuttavia rimetterlo in discussione; esse ristabiliscono il profitto come criterio di gestione nelle imprese e reintroducono i premi di produttività per i salariati¹⁸⁶.

The government proceeded with the disassociation of the common land that was divided among the farmers' families. Thanks to 'responsibility contracts' the farmers could use the lands on their own, but they had to give the State part of the product. In this way, the lands remained under national control, even if the farmers could use them privately. The liberalization of the countryside continued increased in the following years.

In seguito all'abolizione del monopolio di stato, sui cereali nel 1982 e sulla quasi totalità dei prodotti agricoli dopo il 1985, i liberi mercati conoscono un importante sviluppo. Il fenomeno contribuisce a devitalizzare le cooperative agricole. A partire dal 1981 viene autorizzato il commercio privato anche sui mercati lontani dal luogo di produzione e i circuiti di distribuzione cominciano a diversificarsi¹⁸⁷.

The second phase consisted of a greater opening of the economy to the rules of the global market, in fact before 1978 China's foreign trades were regulated by mandatory plans imposed by the state. After the reforms the power of the state diminished, giving more freedom to the market.

At the end of the 80s the central government decided to introduce a mixed economic system based on one side on national planning, and on the other side ruled by the global market. The country adopted international trade practices, the liberalizations of prices and the decentralization of foreign trades, giving private companies more freedom in their actions. The 'mandatory planning' was replaced by a sort of guided planning, where the state had the right to decide the guidelines of economic deals, while the definition of the instrument and the objectives were left to the individual companies.

L'obiettivo è una pianificazione "dolce" che agisca fornendo le linee guida per lo sviluppo industriale, garantisca gli equilibri e utilizzi gli strumenti dell'azione macroeconomica (politica del credito, politica fiscale). Nel 1987 il tredicesimo

¹⁸⁶ *L'economia cinese*, p 25

¹⁸⁷ *L'economia cinese*, p. 29

congresso del partito introduce un nuovo concetto, lo stadio iniziale del socialismo”, per giustificare quello che ha sempre di più i connotati di un ritorno al capitalismo¹⁸⁸.

Although China seemed to continue rapidly on the road to capitalism, the change was supposed to be slow and gradual. The intention was to avoid shocking the economic Chinese system, considering that China remained a communist country. The Chinese structures were subjected to a complex process of transformation that needed to evolve gradually.

However, at the beginning of the 90s China presented an economy that was more and more liberal, one where the government took all the responsibility for import and export enterprises.

Nel gennaio 1992 Deng Xiaoping, [...] dà ufficialmente il via al rilancio delle riforme in occasione di un viaggio nella Cina del Sud. Nell'autunno 1992 il quattordicesimo congresso del partito definisce un nuovo obiettivo per le riforme, “l'economia socialista di mercato”. La liberalizzazione dei prezzi è facilitata dal calo dell'inflazione, e alla fine del 1992 i prezzi amministrati rimangono applicati solo ad una percentuale minima (meno del 20%) del commercio all'ingrosso e al dettaglio. Le iniziative di riforma si moltiplicano¹⁸⁹.

The gradual transformation of the Chinese economy from a communist economy to the socialistic market economy culminated in the last phases of the reforms with the entrance of China in the WTO in 2001.

On December 11, 2001, China became the 143rd member country of the World Trade Organization after 16 years of negotiations. To honour its commitments upon entry into the WTO, China expanded its opening-up fields of industry,

¹⁸⁸ *L'economia cinese*, p 26

¹⁸⁹ *L'economia cinese*, p 28

agriculture and services trade, and accelerate trade and investment facilitation and liberalization¹⁹⁰.

In this way the government reduced the trade barriers ending on the complete abolishment of them and, moreover, it regulated foreign trades by a complex system based on the market economy. China had to modify numerous national laws and regulations in order to legitimize these structural changes. Since China has been entered in the World Trade Organization, the liberalization of the Chinese productive systems and the opening to international trade has produced a huge economic growth. The Chinese economy became one of the fastest growing economies in the developing world.

Today, China is one of the most powerful economies in the world full stop, challenging the United States as an hegemonic power. In addition, despite the current economic crisis the Chinese economic approach to the financial difficulties seems to be more than adequate to save the economic system from collapse.

Therefore, the economic reforms adopted by the Chinese government during the 80s let the country open its economy to the international markets. Certainly the reforms favoured Chinese growth, but there were other factors that incremented the expansion of the Chinese economy.

The strength of the Chinese economy

In the first instance, it is important to remember that China has huge human and natural richness, being as vast as the United States of America more or less. The vast reserve of oil allows China to economically support its enterprises and investments in foreign territories. In addition, the great availability of labour force permitted the country to become more productive and competitive.

Furthermore, the Chinese ambition to equalize the Western economic power was a further stimulus to promote economic development. “L’eccezionalità della Cina

¹⁹⁰ *Daily china*, “Fair features Chinese innovation”, taken by the web site *chinasdaily.com* visited on the 16th of February 2012 time 14.20

consiste in un'eredità speciale, in istituzioni particolari, in aspirazioni elevatissime e in un'irripetibile combinazione di risorse, potenzialità e potere contrattuale”¹⁹¹. The principle aim of the Chinese government was not only to reach the levels of the Western economic model but also to make it more productive. In this way China wanted to face the Western economic hegemony outside China too, proposing their model to other developing countries such as the African territories. So, the Chinese ambition provoked a strong determination to reach high objectives that in the same way influenced economic development.

However, one of the most important elements that helped to improve Chinese economic growth was foreign trade. Thanks to the opening of the Chinese market there was a huge increase of foreign investments in China. Foreign investors were attracted by labour forces at low prices and they began to create enterprises all over the Chinese territories.

As a result, the GDP increased provoking more profits, an availability of the Chinese currency and a reduction in unemployment. On the other hand, the Western countries that invested in China introduced new advanced technology, useful to improve the productive system of the country.

In addition, it is important to underline the significant cooperation between the country and ‘the other Asian tigers’ such as Taiwan and Japan. In particular the cooperation with Japan was fundamental to Chinese economic growth: “China was to get new infrastructure and technology from Japan and repay it with shipments of oil and coal. In 1980, Japan began to finance six major railway, port, and hydropower projects, the first of many projects that used Japanese firms to help build China's transport corridors, coal mines, and power grids”¹⁹². Thanks to the introduction of advanced Japanese technology, China could adopt the instruments needed to improve its production of technological goods.

So, on one hand Japan exploited Chinese resources, but on the other China received a range of technology that helped better Chinese industrial production. This form of cooperation is interesting because it is similar to those forms of aid that China seems to apply in the undeveloped countries. Today in fact, the Chinese

¹⁹¹ *Il secolo della Cina : l'impatto della crescita cinese sull'economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro, traduzione di Nicola Borzi*, p 34

¹⁹² Debora Brautigam, “*African Eastern promise; what the West can learn from the Chinese investment in Africa*”, Foreign Affairs, January 5, 2010, p 1

enterprises offers their advanced economic instruments in exchange for African mineral resources. Zambia is an evident example of what China is doing, considering the great exploitation of the copper-mines in order to build infrastructures and railways.

Finally, the character of innovation integrated into the Chinese productive system guaranteed the competitiveness of the economy in the global context. The country was able to introduce an innovative element in industrial production, limiting imports of other products.

La Cina comprese che, se voleva realizzare dei progressi, avrebbe dovuto considerare l'importazione di macchinari di base come una parte di una più ampia trasformazione volta a cambiare la natura stessa delle imprese: da semplice concentrazione di capacità tecniche focalizzate a organizzazioni in grado di sfruttare appieno il proprio potenziale di integrazione e sinergia. [...] tra il 1994 e il 2002 dell'importazione di linee di produzione complete e la loro sostituzione con contratti di trasferimento e licenze d'uso delle tecnologie, con accordi per ottenere consulenze e servizi, con l'acquisizione di software, con la produzione in *joint adventure* consorzio ¹⁹³.

China stopped importing an entire range of technology substituting them instead with basic machines created inside the national borders. The fact is that the country succeeded in reproducing some capitalistic characters of the Western industrial system but with the lowest expenditure. This is a revolutionary element that would change the whole conception of industrial production in China.

In the first place, economic development was related to the increment of light industry where regional cooperation had a positive influence on Chinese growth.

A partire dal 1979 la Cina adotta una strategia di apertura ispirata all'esperienza dei "Dragoni" asiatici, che avevano avviato uno sviluppo favorendo la creazione di capacità di esportazione nelle industrie leggere; era questa capacità che aveva consentito loro di finanziare lo sviluppo dei settori più capitalistici. Dalla fine degli

¹⁹³*Il secolo della Cina : l'impatto della crescita cinese sull'economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro, traduzione di Nicola Borzi, p 81*

anni settanta la Cina attua politiche che le consentono di trarre profitto dai propri vantaggi comparati nelle industrie ad alta intensità di lavoro¹⁹⁴.

In addition, thanks to the huge labour force that was comprised of the large Chinese population, the production of light industrial goods increased and as a consequences, the prices of the goods and of the salaries lowered. In this way products “made in China” became more competitive in the international markets compared to American and European goods. Chinese products began to invade the international markets, being more desirable because of their low prices. However, the winning Chinese recipe for development is more complex, it can be attributed only to a cheap labour force and products at low prices.

La formula vincente della Cina non si basa solamente sui bassi salari. Come nota la International Trade Commission, la Cina non è il paese con le paghe più basse del settore, ma è quello con i costi più bassi per unità di prodotto grazie alla sua maggiore produttività e alle sue economie di scala. [...] L'integrazione verticale di grandi imprese di produzione permette una rapida risposta e tiene lontani gli estranei dalla catena del valore. I produttori cinesi di vestiario sono anche più capitalizzati di quelli degli altri paesi in via di sviluppo, consentendo il recepimento delle tecnologie più avanzate¹⁹⁵.

As it is possible to notice from the quotation, the reason for China's economic growth is related to a more complicated process that includes the integration of industrial production with avant-garde technologies. So, at the beginning the Chinese economy focused on the production and trade of basic goods such as shoes, luggage, bicycles and toys. Later, the country was able to developed into the technological sector, and the production of new technologies became a point of strength; Chinese technology has turned around to become one of the most advanced in the entire world.

¹⁹⁴ *L'economia cinese*, p 95

¹⁹⁵ *Il secolo della Cina : l'impatto della crescita cinese sull'economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro*, traduzione di Nicola Borzi, p 129

In addition, the Chinese government wanted to give priority to foreign investments as ‘technology intensive’, creating joint adventures that imposed the adoption of Chinese partners.

L’idea era semplice, ma nella maggior parte dei casi si dimostrò efficace: le *joint venture* sono uno strumento efficiente per realizzare il trasferimento tecnologico a largo raggio (che va distinto dal trasferimento limitato condotto con l’importazione di linee di produzione, gli accordi di utilizzo o di licenza tecnologica) e sono meno esposte alla sensibilità nazionalistica che non le realtà produttive completamente controllate da imprese straniere¹⁹⁶.

Thanks to the *labour intensive*¹⁹⁷ and the *joint adventure*, China succeed in accelerating the process of economic development. As a result, foreign trades increased, guaranteeing the country complete entrance into the global markets. China became a protagonist of this modern process that we all know as ‘globalization’.

In time the country has moved on to conquering more economic sectors, and the competitiveness of the Chinese economy is causing trouble for Western productive systems; they are not able to equalize the Chinese production at minimum costs, because they have based their productive system on macro-economic regulations.

Fra il 1978 e il 2001 il commercio cinese con l’estero cresce ad un tasso medio del 15% annuo. Gli scambi con l’estero hanno un peso crescente nell’economia. Con un volume d’esportazioni (e importazioni) anche raggiunge più del 22% del PIL nel 2001, la Cina è uno dei grandi paesi in via di sviluppo più aperti al commercio internazionale¹⁹⁸.

During the last years China has become the major exporter, attracting more and more investments in all the sectors of the economy. Between the 2002 and 2003 the monetary flux exceeded that of the United States for the first time. ‘Nel 2002, i flussi

¹⁹⁶ *Il secolo della Cina : l’impatto della crescita cinese sull’economia globale, gli equilibri planetari, il lavoro, traduzione di Nicola Borzi, p 82*

¹⁹⁷ The labour intensive is a productive sector in which the main costs are attributed to the labour force; considering the sales it could be reduced or increased.

¹⁹⁸ *L’economia cinese, p.96*

di IDE¹⁹⁹ verso la Cina (più di 50 miliardi di dollari) sorpassano per la prima volta quelli verso gli Stati Uniti. In totale, tra il 1979 e il 2002, la Cina ha ammassato IDE per circa 440 miliardi di dollari.”²⁰⁰

The great amount of money obtained from high industrial productivity and exports permitted China to expand all over the world. In fact, the country understood the importance of investment in developing countries. The main Chinese economic interest seems to be directed mainly on the black continent where Chinese presence has become more impressive. In addition, the economic growth that has been characterized by China has provoked such a great interest, that a number of Chinese people were obliged to emigrate outside China. According to recent articles of ‘the Economist’ China has been conquering Africa not only to make business but also to reach cultivable lands in order to supply the large numbers of Chinese people.

The abundance of Chinese presence makes it worth wondering if this economy could be useful for the black continent. The fact is that the Chinese economy offers an economic alternative to the capitalistic neoliberal model. It is possible that Chinese economic support could be a concrete hope for Africa’s developing countries. In order to understand if China could save the African territories from economic depression, it is important to analyze the Sino-African relationships, focusing on the country of Zambia.

4.4 Cinafrica

China’s interests in Africa are not recent, the relationship between the two began in the first years of the Cold War. It was in the early 50s that the country discovered the political importance of Africa. So, it is necessary to consider a brief history of the relationships that has characterized the relationship, in order to better explain the current links between China and the African territories.

The first China-Africa contacts can be traced back to the Bandung conference when the Chinese prime minister met the Egyptian political authorities.

¹⁹⁹ IDE è l’acronimo di Investimento diretto all’estero, che è un puro concetto di economia politica internazionale che indica le operazioni finanziarie effettuate all’estero.

²⁰⁰ *L’economia cinese*, p. 99

Chou En-lai and Nasser, who had met socially in Rangoon en route to Bandung, talked together at the conference, and there were frequent contacts between the Chinese and Egyptian delegations. Although steps towards diplomatic relations with African countries were not mentioned, discussions of Sino-Egyptian trade and cultural ties were initiated and the groundwork for China's opening of a trade office in Cairo eight months later was laid ²⁰¹.

So, the conference of Bandung was the starting point for Afro-Asian political and economic relationships. Considering that China and the African countries had similar political features, the countries found a common ground on which they could build a future economic relationship.

In the first months of 1958 the CCP declared that African peoples were newly-important factor in world politics. This was not yet the view- which China advanced in the 1960- that Asia, Africa, and Latina America constitute the decisive arena of world struggle. It did identify forces just coming into play, however, which could reinforce the Soviet technological and military advantage²⁰².

During the cold war Sino-African contacts were aimed at establishing an anti-imperialistic alliance, and for this reason at the beginning China focused on forging closer relationships with the Northern African territories such as Egypt, Morocco and Algeria.

Egypt was the first country taken into consideration by the Chinese government because of its strategic position. In addition, the socialistic government of Nasser seemed to have many things in common with the Chinese communist party. Furthermore, the CCP wanted to create a technology-based cooperation with the Arabs countries, in order to favor the acceleration of Egypt's nuclear potential. "A succession of transactions concerned with technical cooperation between the United Arab Republic prompted observers to speculate that China could speed Egypt toward nuclear capability²⁰³

²⁰¹ Ogunsanwo, Alaba, *China's Policy in Africa 1958-1971*, Oxford : Cambridge University Press, 1974,p 17

²⁰² *China and Africa 1949-1970. The foreign policy of people's republic of China*, p 36

²⁰³ *China and Africa 1949-1970. The foreign policy of people's republic of China*, p 75

In the case of Algeria, despite clear soviet disapproval, China gave its support to the FNL²⁰⁴. The Chinese government considered the Algerian fight for freedom as an excellent example for many other colonial countries. The alliance with the Northern African territories was vital for the Chinese government, because the country needed to have a link with the Sub-Saharan countries. So, by establishing a relationship with Northern Africa, China could access the Southern countries of the black continent more easily. The Chinese penetration into Central and Southern Africa began later, in fact, only at the end of the 50s, when the Chinese approach to Africa reached Sudan, Ghana, Uganda, Ethiopia and Congo²⁰⁵.

The main Chinese political aim was to expand its hegemonic power over the African territories, considering the international political context of the Cold War. The Popular Republic of China was emerging as a powerful country on the international field; on one side it became the principal rival of the Soviet Union within the communist bloc, with a socialist model of state slightly different from the classic communist version. On the other, China was gaining popularity among the developing countries thanks to a strong anti-imperialistic stance.

This was a dangerous discourse considering that the Chinese ambition could clash with the Soviet and North American aims for Africa. Moreover, it could undermine the Soviet Union's hegemony as a communist champion in the cold war context. The Chinese choice to find African allies was a strategic decision from a political point of view. In this way, China had the possibility to balance the soviet sphere of influence among the developing countries.

Therefore, before 1978 China's aims could be considered mainly political, the communist government tried to start a tight web of diplomatic relationships with the African territories in order to strengthen their alliances. However, while previously China's support had been merely political, expressing approval for the anti-imperialism struggles, later the Chinese government understood the importance in helping African territories from an economic point of view too.

In September 1960 China made her first significant economic gesture in sub-Saharan Africa, a credit of 100,000,000 (old) rubles granted to Guinea. However,

²⁰⁴ FNL was the National Liberation Front that brought Algeria to independence from France, the FNL was of socialistic inspiration.

²⁰⁵ Ogunsanwo, Alaba, *China's Policy in Africa 1958-1971*, Oxford : Cambridge University Press, 1974.

large credits extended to Ghana and to Mali in 1961, [...] China's second significant aid was neither cash nor credit, but a grant of medical supplies, steel, and wheat (which may not have been grown in China, at that)²⁰⁶

China began to give economic aids to many African countries. The forms of help were numerous, but in particular China proposed nuclear plans directed at those territories that had a significant and strategic position during the Cold War.

In addition, during the 60s and the 70s more countries became independent in Africa, so the Chinese government did its best to enlarge its political alliances, by economically supporting the new born countries.

Therefore, if in one hand the economic aids were also political instruments to enforce the anti-imperialistic alliances, on the other China succeeded in increasing its trades. "each year China takes an important share of the exports of a few African countries. For example, more than 8,5 percent of Uganda's 1961 exports in 1965"²⁰⁷. Since the 60s China applied a system of exchanges in Africa; on one hand the Chinese got the mineral richness of the African territories, and on the other hand China financed the building of infrastructures in order to promote African development. This form of exchange seems to repeat a similar form used by Japan during the 80s. As is known, Japan introduced new technologies in the developing China in exchange for Chinese natural resources.

China has imported cotton from Egypt, Sudan, and Uganda, copper from Zambia, phosphates from Morocco, cloves from Zanzibar, incense from Somalia, trucks from Morocco and Algeria, maize from South Africa and Rhodesia, and other goods. She has shipped in return a variety of consumer goods, equipment for developing projects and arms²⁰⁸.

Among all the economic projects that China instigated in the African countries there was the intention of building a long railway. The huge construction would connect the Zambian capital with the important centre of Tanzania.

²⁰⁶ *China and Africa 1949-1970. The foreign policy of people's republic of China*, p 54

²⁰⁷ *China and Africa 1949-1970. The foreign policy of people's republic of China*, p 89

²⁰⁸ *China and Africa 1949-1970. The foreign policy of people's republic of China*, p 92

Lusaka-Dar es Salaam railway

All prior projects are dwarfed by the Tanzania-Zambia railways: it will run from the Zambia copper belt to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam. Zambia will be freed from dependence on Beira, the Portuguese- controlled Mozambican port. China will provide a loan for construction costs and rolling stock; moreover, Chinese engineers, who have completed a survey of the route, will supervise the construction. [...] Construction began in 1970, and it is expected to be completed in 1975. China's annual outlay will therefore be roughly \$70 million²⁰⁹.

The project of the Tam-Zam railway was a delicate issue, because it involved two African countries that had different pasts and completely different relationships with China. On one side, Tanzania had in fact, already made economic deals and business with the Chinese government, whereas, Zambia did not have any clue of what a Chinese aid-project consisted of. After independence was obtained in 1964 the country recognized China as a potential ally; president Kaunda wanted to establish diplomatic relations with the Chinese government. The president had heard that China was supporting, at least economically, the post colonial countries. Zambia was considered the southernmost recognition in Africa that China received, and immediately Peking began to be interested in Central-Southern area of Africa.

Nevertheless, the building of the railways had primarily political aims, in particular Zambia needed an outlet to the sea. The country depended on the Southern Rhodesian railways that could carry Zambian exports outside the country, but Zambia's closest neighbors, Mozambique and Angola were still under the Portuguese rule that controlled all the other trade routes. In addition, the strong Zambian hostility to the racist South African and South Rhodesian governments had worsened the situation.

Moreover, her economy was interwoven with that of Southern Africa as a whole rather than with the north. If decisions were to be taken against Rhodesia and the Portuguese in the interests of African nationalists, then Zambia needed an

²⁰⁹ *China and Africa 1949-1970. The foreign policy of people's republic of China*, p 99

alternative outlet to the sea which would bypass Portugal's authority and Rhodesia's railways²¹⁰.

So for Zambia, it was vital to build a railway—completely independent from the other countries and the Chinese proposal was tempting. However, Kaunda wanted first to approach the Western countries in search of financial aids. In Kaunda's opinion, as soon as Zambia took into consideration the Chinese project, the Western powers would help with the construction of the railways, including aid from the World Bank. However, this never happened because the Western countries and Japan refused to support the enterprise. In 1966 China made its first move sending an expert team to the area.

After the several years of negotiations, the first Chinese engineers went to Tanzania in order to do an inspection of the territories. Later in the 1967 China signed an agreement to finance the works of the entire railway.

In the meantime, the relationship between the Zambian president and Peking improved, Kaunda's visit to China confirmed the development of cordial relationships between the two countries. The president noticed the Chinese efficiency and seriousness, and he decided to proceed in accepting the Chinese project-aids and the protocol. "The protocols covered forms of loans to be provided for the railways; the dispatch of technical personnel by China, their treatment and working conditions; and physical survey and design work for the railway"²¹¹. Finally the works officially started. The construction proceeded and it seemed to respect the scheduled time given to complete the works. The building of the railways ended in 1975 just as the Chinese engineers had foreseen ~~in~~ at the start of the project.

The Lusaka- Dar er Salaam railway was the most evident example of the Chinese intervention in Africa in the last forty years. Thanks to the success of the construction China became very popular, not only in the Central and Southern areas but all over the black continent. However, it could be interesting to better explain the specific Chinese interests in this part of the world.

In fact, the Chinese economic support was very curious considering that the Chinese government did not ask anything in exchange for the construction. China

²¹⁰ Ogunsanwo, Alaba, *China's Policy in Africa 1958-1971*, Oxford : Cambridge University Press, 1974, p 205

²¹¹ *China's Policy in Africa 1958-1971*, p 208.

financed the entire construction and the only things that were needed were Zambian force labor and raw materials. The reasons for this economic approach could be numerous. For example, considering the historical period it is possible to presume that China wanted to extend its hegemony as far as the Southern states of Africa. Certainly China had numerous interests in the entire black continent, and its attention on the Southern and Central region has increased in the last forty years.

China in Zambia

The Chinese approach did not end with the building of the long railway in the Central and Southern Africa, the construction was just a starting point. The Chinese presence remained in the region constantly, considering that a team of Chinese technicians had to stay in the region to assure the correct maintenance of the railways.

However, while before the only interests in the area were political, later China changed its approach giving more importance to economic intervention. In fact, during the 90s the Chinese attention focused on the vast richness situated in the Western part of the country, the Copperbelt.

As we have already said in the previous chapters, the Copperbelt has always been attractive for foreign powers; the colonialists had already exploited the Zambian mines a century ago. However, when Kaunda came to power, the mines were nationalized with disastrous effects.

Zambia has been into copper mining for decades. There was a time in which exploration and production was very poor due to low prices of around \$1,500 per ton. Now it reaches more than \$7,000 a ton. The main reason was that the scale of investments in the industry went down. In 1974 Zambia produced more than 700,000 tons of copper. In 2000, it had dropped to over 200,000. Although we had the mines, there was no reinvestment and production collapsed²¹².

During the 80s the mines were closed because the government did not have enough investments to reopen them. So, the prices of the copper dropped provoking

²¹² *Daily China*, A magnet for Chinese investors, taken by the web site *chinasdaily.com* visited on the 28th of February 2012 time 13.09

inflations and unemployment. The Zambian economic situation deteriorated undermining the stability of the government.

E così è avvenuto, fino a quando i prezzi del rame non sono crollati dopo la scoperta di importanti giacimenti in America Latina e per via della cattiva gestione pubblica delle miniere zambiane, finite rapidamente in bancarotta. Seguendo alla lettera le ingiunzioni del FMI e della Banca Mondiale, alla fine degli anni 80 il governo di Lusaka si è affrettato a privatizzare, in cambio di un tozzo di pane, la maggior parte delle installazioni. È stato un disastro: alcuni investitori non hanno fatto altro che licenziare tutti i lavoratori e smantellare le strutture per rivenderle ai ferrivecchi²¹³.

When the Chinese arrived in Zambia one of the principal aims was to reopen the copper mines. Their intention was to stimulate the production of copper in order to launch the mineral market again in Zambia. When the first Chinese managers arrived they found a disastrous situation, considering that the Nfc Africa Mining companies has been closed for years.

The Chinese had huge projects on the copper mines and they worked hard to make them productive again. The final intention of the Chinese was copper extractions, the raw material was sent to China in order to be applied in the manufacturing sector. So, in a brief time the Chinese companies began to organize extractive working in the mines, hiring the local labor force and reducing unemployment.

In this way the demand of copper increased as to the level it was during colonialism, and China became the biggest customer of Zambian copper. The money obtained by the selling of copper was used in part to construct other buildings and infrastructures, and the other part went to the Chinese banks. So, on one side the Chinese obtained raw materials to boost manufacturing production, alongside the money, whereas Zambia gained more infrastructures and employment.

The mines were not the only sector where the Chinese applied their model of economy. China had projects aimed at developing the agriculture sector too. Improving the development of the Zambian countryside has been a critical problems since Kaunda tried to reforms the regulations of Zambian agriculture. Despite the

²¹³ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, p 193

attempts of the reforms, some rural areas continued to use a form of self sustainable economy. When the Chinese began to settle in the region they introduced ‘ intensive agriculture’ that increased the production of basic goods destined to be exported. In that way, they implemented trades not only with the selling of copper but also with basic and staple products.

Slowly the Chinese economy spread all over the Zambian territories, and more Chinese companies settled in the country. The Chinese companies administrated the mines, buying up little Zambian enterprises in to order to improve the efficiency. In addition, they began to acquire pieces of lands to create more farms increasing the spread of intensive agriculture.

In 1998 China bought the rights to a mine situated in Chambisi, a town in the middle of the Copperbelt. “China’s Nonferrous Metals Corporation, a state-owned company, purchased rights to develop a mine in Chambishi, in the heart of the copper belt, in 1998, and it plans to build factories in an export processing zone that will bring as many as 60,000 jobs, according to government officials”²¹⁴.

The Chinese administration of the mines provoked an economic boom in the copper industry and exportations reached new peaks; 80% of the national internal product in Zambia was composed of copper selling²¹⁵. Zambian economy seems to have improved thanks to Chinese economic help, and the GDP (gross domestic product) began to increase in brief time.

In addition, China succeeded in creating a web of regional cooperation; during the 80s the Southern African Development Community²¹⁶ was established. It was an organization that involved the countries of the Central and Southern Africa such as Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and it promoted regional economic cooperation and local trades. In recent times China has been supporting the local relationships between those African countries that have similar economic characteristics in order to promote regional development.

Therefore, the Chinese economy seems to have had a positive effect on Zambian recessive markets, but there also some negative aspects that the Chinese presence

²¹⁴ [LYDIA POLGREEN](#) and [HOWARD W. FRENCH](#), *China's Trade in Africa Carries a Price Tag*, New York times published on 21st on August 2007.

²¹⁵ Op, cit, *A magnet for investors*,

²¹⁶ Op, cit, *A magnet for investors*,

brought into the country. In fact, besides increasing the Zambian internal production and foreign trades, the Chinese introduced their own basic goods in the country at low prices, such as shoes, clothes and plastic products. Chinese shops appeared all over the Zambian streets, even the markets were full of Chinese cotton clothes. These cheaper goods provided Zambians with basic and useful products increasing the healthiness of the daily life, but on the contrary the introduction of the Chinese manufacturing provoked an increase in competition.

China is also bringing irresistible—some say unfair—competition to Africa. All over Africa Chinese traders can now be seen selling cheap products from the homeland, not just electronics but plastic goods and clothes. In Kamwala market in Lusaka a host of Chinese shops have appeared over the past couple of years. “Two years ago,” says Muhammad, a local trader of Indian origin, “I did not have time to sit down; now I’m sitting doing nothing.” Though his shelves are full of clocks and radios made in China, he blames his enforced idleness on the competition brought by Chinese traders²¹⁷.

So, on one hand China succeeded in boosting Zambian economy by launching the markets, but on the other hand the introduction of cheaper Chinese goods became critical for Zambian manufacturing.

The introduction of the Chinese intensive labour in the textile factories provoked the elimination of occupational figures in the rural area, for example, the craftsmen and the freelancers. These figures were fundamental in the years before, because they produced not only basic goods such as clothes and pottery, but also products destined to for the tourist industry that were fundamental for the Zambian economy.

“There is no doubt China has been good for Zambia,” said Felix Mutati, Zambia’s minister of finance. “Why should we have a bad attitude toward the Chinese when they are doing all the right things? They are bringing investment, world-class technology, jobs, value addition. What more can you ask for?” But across Africa, and especially in the relatively robust economies of southern Africa, there are clear winners and losers. Textile mills and other factories here in Zambia have suffered

²¹⁷ The economist, *Never too late to scramble. China is rapidly buying up Africa's oil, metals and farm produce. That fuels China's surging economic growth, but how good is it for Africa?*, published on the website the economist.com on 26th of October in 2006.

and even closed as cheap Chinese goods flood the world market, eliminating jobs in a country that sorely needs them²¹⁸.

The disappearance of some jobs in the countryside is one of the negative aspects of the Chinese presence, but the working conditions in the Copperbelt is are the most important. This question is very delicate and complex, because it involves the theme of human rights. Considering that recently this argument is has been a thorny one for the Chinese government, it is better to proceed with further explanations.

Before analyzing the question of China and human rights, it is important to underline that Zambia was subjected to a paternalistic capitalism. In other words, during colonialism the English administration imposed an economic and political system that provided duties but also rights. So, although the colonialists applied an exploitative model to the mines, they also introduced minimum regulations that would safeguard the mine-workers. The miners had a fair salary and they were represented by strong union trade. Furthermore, the companies provided for everything, education, housing, recreational areas. “I minatori avevano diritto ad un salario equo, ed erano rappresentati da sindacati competenti che ogni anno negoziavano ulteriori vantaggi, L’azienda provvedeva a tutto: ospedali, scuole, sport, spazi verdi”²¹⁹.

During colonialism the Zambian workers learnt how to protect themselves and they knew their rights as workers. On the contrary, the Chinese managers were not accustomed to guaranteeing workers principle rights, because the Chinese concept of work is completely dedicated to the community and the State. In fact, they remained astonished at some workers requests, such as provisions for diseases or maternity. In addition, the Zambian miners were expected to work more than eight hours in a day without a pause. They did not have a rest day to go to church and the salaries were low. From the Chinese point of view, these conditions were normal and the Zambian workers’ requests were exaggerated; in China the employees used to work ten or more hours even if they were paid not much.

So, the differences are evident between the Zambian conception of fair working conditions and the Chinese one. From a Chinese point of view, Zambians are lazy

²¹⁸ [LYDIA POLGREEN](#) and [HOWARD W. FRENCH](#), *China’s Trade in Africa Carries a Price Tag*, New York times published on 21st on August 2007.

²¹⁹ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, p 193

workers that slow down the development and the technological progress. On the contrary the local population claimed their rights accusing the Chinese to be worse than the colonialists. In addition, the workers did not have the necessary equipment to work without risking their health or even their life.

In November last year a big protest of Zambian mineworkers revealed the hard conditions in which the employees had been obliged to do their works.

But many Zambians complain that these powerful foreigners are permitted to play by their own rules, plundering the country more than developing it and abusing workers as they go. The wounding of 13 miners in a labor dispute at the Collum mine last month once again brought these raw feelings to the surface, revealing conditions at a coal mine where men walk more than 1,000 steps into the earth to slosh through dark and frequently unsafe tunnels. They are paid about \$4 a day and say they are expected to work every day of the year²²⁰.

According to some interviews done with the miners, the Chinese never provided for masks against the dust, or helmets in case of falling. The Zambian workers also reported that the Chinese managers were violent and corrupted. Last year there was an episode that showed how serious the conflict between the Chinese and the local population is becoming, the case of Chambisi in 2008 was resounding for the Zambian public opinion. In Chambisi a little town on the Copperbelt, a union of representatives of the mineworkers denounced the Chinese Nonferrous Metal Mining Company²²¹. The Chinese managers were accused of not paying the indemnifications for a worker's death.

The union representative that had denounced the Chinese administration was beat almost to death. The case came to the court but it remained unsolved because the witness of what had happened never appeared at the court. This episode was just one of the many unsolved cases that involves the Chinese. These episodes increased the tensions already raging in Zambian minds.

Furthermore, in 2005 there was a big accident in a dynamite's factory that belongs to the Nfc African mining, a branch of Nonferrous Metal Mining; in the explosion fifty two miners died, provoking the rage of the Zambians.

²²⁰ Berry Bearak, *Zambia Uneasily Balances Chinese Investment and Workers' Resentment*, New York times, published on 20 November 2010.

²²¹ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*,

Dopo l'incidente vengono indetti scioperi e marce di protesta. Gli abitanti di Chambishi bloccano più volte la strada principale, percorsa ogni giorno da centinaia di camion che trasportano il minerale della "cintura del rame" al porto di Durban, in Sudafrica. Almeno una volta la polizia zambiana apre il fuoco sulla folla causando altre vittime²²².

Another episodes took place during a demonstration against the Chinese, where thirteen people were shot by the Chinese supervisors.

During a protest organized by the Gemstone and Allied Workers Union of Zambia, hundreds of angry miners marched toward the locked gate of Shaft 3. The miners later said they had no intention of hurting anyone, but as the crowd butted up against the fence, the two managers fired their shotguns, in what the company called self-defense²²³.

Those responsible were arrested by Zambian authorities but they were released again after a short period of time; moreover, the reasons for the release remain uncertain. It was evident that the Chinese economy had a great influence over the political aspects of the country. That has a negative impact on the local population that have begun to disapprove the Chinese presence in Zambia. The hostility against the Chinese increased among the Zambian population, and the question became so critical that even the politicians were concerned by the consequences of the Chinese presence. In a short amount of time the Chinese questions evolved into the political sphere, and as a result a political party lead by Michael Sata began to utilize this question in order to undermine the liability of the opposition. The FNP accused Banda's administration of having let the Chinese enter in the country.

In fact, the president Rupiah Banda favoured the Chinese investments and settlements because he thought that the Chinese economy could be a stimulus to improve Zambian development. However, considering the resulting problems this choice was largely discussed by the public and the opposition. As already said,

²²² *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, pp 192

²²³ Berry Bearak, *Zambia drops case of shooting by Chinese mine bosses*, New York times, published on 21st of April 2011

during Banda's government the opposition was led by Michael Sata. He was trying to dismantle all of the MMD's political actions, criticizing Banda for his decision.

Considering the increase in hostility against the Chinese, Sata was conquering more popular consensus. On the contrary, the government was living through a critical moment, because the president Banda was not able to face the delicate situation. In particular, the response of the government to the Chambisi's accident was not sufficient; the Chinese were never persecuted for negligence and murder, so the people incited by Sata accused Banda's government of being responsible for the unsolved cases.

In time, the Chinese lost all their initial popularity among the Zambian population and besides the merely economic aspect the Chinese presence became a political question that risked ousting the government.

Nonostante tutto, sul campo gli effetti positive della presenza cinese non tardano a volte tardano a mostrarsi. In Zambia, dove la Cina ha sviluppato contemporaneamente una produzione agricola intensiva, il commercio, l'industria e l'estrazione mineraria, il malcontento nei confronti dei cinesi per poco non rovescia la presidenza. La risposta cinese all'incidente di Chambisi, l'abbiamo visto è stata insufficiente, e nella regione i rapporti tra africani e asiatici peggiorano ogni giorno²²⁴.

The protagonist of this political situation was Michael Sata the leader of FNP the opposition party. Sata is a controversial figure in the political scene of this country; as we will see Sata's decision will influence the political and economic structure of this country.

In the first instance, Sata wanted to limit the Asian investments in Zambia considering that in 2011 the Chinese joint adventures controlled 51% of Zambian companies²²⁵. Moreover, he criticized the unfair exploitation of the mines that has been carried out by Banda's administration.

The man carried the vote to Zambia's presidency mainly because he unleashed venomous criticism to the cruel fact that between 2002 and 2006 Zambia only

²²⁴ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, pp 207

²²⁵ Reason Wafawarova "Zambia: Michael Sata striking the dragon" published on *Allafrica.com* on 20th October 2011

managed to get US\$752 million in taxes from its entire mining sector. Added to this Zambia exported copper worth US\$3 billion and out of that amount the country only got US\$70 million²²⁶.

From the quotation it seems that the previous government had made a deal with the Chinese companies in order to fix the prices of the mines. In this way the Chinese have to pay a relatively low sums of money to get to the mines. Sata is firmly opposed to this selling out of the national richness and accused Banda's government of corruption and negligence. In one of his more venomous speeches Sata underlined that "the copper mines belongs to the nation of Zambia and the government did not have any right to decide to sell them at these ridiculous prices"²²⁷. He accused Banda's government of thievery and corruption against the state, because it was unthinkable to accept the prices proposed by the Chinese. In Sata's opinion copper is a fundamental richness of the state and it needs to be invested in from inside the national borders. So, he proposed radical changes in the system of investments, in order to eradicate the cruel exploitation of the mines by foreign countries.

On the second instance, he accused the Chinese companies of bad treatment towards the Zambian mine-workers, claiming the principal human rights of the miners. Moreover he underlined the fact that the Chinese never respected the Zambian soil, polluting the atmosphere and the waters. It is known that the Chinese company were not interested in respecting the environment in general, but in many African countries the pollution situation is even worse.

Sata was leveraging on the huge Zambian discontent against the Chinese settlements, earning more and more of the popular consensus. In addition, his venomous criticisms seemed to be appreciated by the Zambian population, and he began to win votes all over the territory but in particular in the Copperbelt. "He has threatened to kick out any foreign investors who do not respect Zambia's labour laws, and he won votes in the Copperbelt because he promised to end casualisation of labour. He has to fulfil that promise, or else the suffering of our people in Zambia will never end. Zambia we are one and together we will overcome"²²⁸.

²²⁶ Reason Wafawarova "Zambia: Michael Sata striking the dragon" published on AllAfrica.com on 20th October 2011

²²⁷ Reason Wafawarova "Zambia: Michael Sata striking the dragon" published on AllAfrica.com on 20th October 2011

²²⁸ Reason Wafawarova "Zambia: Michael Sata striking the dragon" published on AllAfrica.com on 20th October 2011

However, if on one hand Sata has succeeded in gaining popular support, on the other his decision of limiting Chinese investments has undermined even further his position in the Barotseland. As already said in the previous chapter, the Lozi elite did not appreciate Sata as a new president, in particular for the question of the Barotseland agreement'. The Barotseland agreement guaranteed the independence of the Western part from the central government. During Kaunda's role the agreement had been annulled, provoking tensions and hostility among the Lozi population. In the political campaign Sata promised to the Lozi that he would proceed with the restoration of the agreement, however the new president seems not to keep ~~its~~ his promises.

PF stalwarts then weighed in with both the Vice-President and the Secretary General claiming - as politicians with unwarranted campaign promises to live up often do - that they had been misquoted or that there was no specific reference to the restoration of BA64 in the party's manifesto. [...] Infuriated by the government's response to the Mongu report, the BNC re-affirmed its secessionist position, claiming that "unless the Barotseland Agreement of 1964 is honored and implemented, the peace and stability of Barotseland, and by extension Zambia, will not be guaranteed."²²⁹.

In addition, besides the pre-existing Lozi hostility against the FNP, the Chinese question resulted in further reason of conflicts. The Chinese presence has become fundamental to the economic development of the Barotseland. If Sata succeeds in expelling the Chinese from Zambian territory, the Lozi would miss the Chinese economic support.

The Western part of Zambia has always been a prolific source of business; during the colonial period this region was the most economically developed area. Thanks to the Europeans' investments, the region promoted economic developments and regional trades. However, when colonialism ended the Lozi were not able to enforce the kingdom's economy. The region did not have the correct stimulus for a development without any foreign investments. Furthermore, the situation worsened with the nationalisation of the economy decided by Kaunda. From that moment on,

²²⁹ Zarina Geloo, *Zambia: Sata's secessionist struggle*, published on AllAfrica.com on 2nd May 2012.

the Barotseland has been subjected to a terrible economic recession that made it the poorest region in all the Zambian territory.

When the Chinese intervened in this region, the Lozi were glad and they favoured more than ever the Chinese investments. The Chinese gave economic aids to build useful infrastructures in the Barotseland, boosting export and regional trade. In almost no time, the Barotseland increased its GDP, returning to the flourishing region as it was in the ancient past. During Banda's period, many projects were finalized thanks to Chinese investments, the government arranged for the construction of important roads and, moreover, it financed the building of two hospitals in the Barotseland. "The residents are happy that China New Era has started the tarring of the K878 billion Senanga - Sesheke road which was commissioned by President Banda on Wednesday. The residents of Mongu, Senanga and Kaoma said in random interviews that they are happy with the various projects that government is undertaking in the province"²³⁰.

As a result, the Chinese economic approach had an immediate and efficient effect on the Barotseland, encouraging economic developments thanks to the implementation of economic projects. For this reason, when Sata threatened to stop Chinese investments, the Lozi strongly opposed. During the recent elections the violent contrasts shows how strong the opposition of the Barotseland against the central government was. The fact that Sata wanted to limit the Chinese presence, provoked protests all over the Western part of the country, the Lozi totally disagreed with Sata's government.

Therefore, the national unity of Zambia was undermined even further, and it is known that Lozi hostility has taken root many times before. Since the time of the Barotseland Agreement the Lozi have tried to oppose the central power, claiming secession from the Zambian government. This fact has caused political troubles that threaten the unity of the nation, and Sata has been forced to deal with the delicate situation in the Barotseland.

However, during the first months of his campaigning the new president remained coherent with his principles. He actually limited Chinese investments, discouraging settlements in Zambian territory. The president decided to cancel two important economic deals with a Chinese company in the first months as a president. As a

²³⁰ Whitney Muloubela "Zambia: Western province-The awakening of a giant" published on The Post and on AllAfrica.com on 10th September 2011.

consequence negotiations froze between the two countries, considering that Peking was getting more disappointed with Zambian political choices.

However, the Zambian economy was still fragile and the economic system needed foreign support in order to survive in the global context. Export of the copper would reduce to a minimum, bringing the economy to the brink of collapse without Chinese investments. Therefore, Sata was obliged to rethink his initial decision of cutting the business relationship with Peking. Six months after the elections, the new president decided to reopen negotiations with China.

Nevertheless, the situation has become more complicated since Sata's decision to limit Asian investments. The relationships has soured between China and Zambia, and the Zambian president understands the importance of dealing with the situation with delicateness and wisdom. So, he decided to nominate Kenneth Kaunda as ambassador to China. The former president has already dealt with the Chinese in the building project of the Tam-Zam railway, and the Chinese hold him in high esteem as a charismatic political figure.

So, in October Sata sent the former president Kaunda to China in order to recover the relations between the two countries. In this way, Sata hoped to establish a new economic agreement with the Asian economic power, increasing the Chinese investments in the territory again.

After lunch, Minister of Mines and Mineral Development Wylbur Simuusa told Chinese companies the government hopes for a period of unprecedented good relations with Beijing. He echoed the new Patriotic Front government's message that China's investments will be protected and that its companies will be able to engage in any economic activity as long as they respect Zambia's laws²³¹.

In addition, the president assured the Chinese foreign minister that he would make any efforts to reduce the misunderstanding between the two governments, enforcing the political and social relations between the Chinese investors and the local labour force.

Sata's political choices were largely debated among the opposition. He had based his political campaign on blaming the Chinese, and yet six months later he decided to reopen negotiations with Peking. The reasons why Sata behaved in this way could be

²³¹ "Zambia wild cats and King Cobra" published on AllAfrica.com on the 10th November 2011.

numerous, for example, Sata's decision to limit the Chinese presence could have been a mere political strategy to win the elections. However, the fact is that Zambia needs the economic support, because its economy is not strong enough to survive without foreign investments. In addition, considering the numerous Chinese investments in the territory since the 60s, the government did not have much choice. Furthermore, a new Sino-African cooperation would soothe the agitated relations with the Barotseland.

However, what has happened in Zambia during the last two years shows how huge is the Chinese influence on the country. The Chinese have been influencing not only the economic Zambian situation but also the political actions.

Although Chinese presence is not tolerated in the country, the Zambian economy needs Chinese investments. The Chinese have re-launched the Zambian economy, boosting the copper industry and the export. Even the current president of the country, Michael Sata, gave up to his conviction about the Chinese to save his country's economy.

In conclusion, the Chinese economy turned out to be fundamental for the Zambian market, but there is a concrete problem of difficult coexistence between the Zambians and the Asian people. So, on one side, the Chinese economy recovered the fragility of the Zambian economic system, but on the other the clashes between two different civilizations have been provoking political and social problems.

Therefore, I wonder if the Chinese economy could really help Zambia in a such an unstable context or if there is the risk that the country will fall apart if the situation does not fix itself.

Let's focus on what could be the Chinese economic approaches for a country such as Zambia and if it can be considered a concrete economic model for Zambian economic development

4.5 A Chinese model or an illusory hope?

Since the first Chinese economic ventures in the black continent, the Africans wondered if the Chinese economic methods could be useful to support their fragile economies. Most of the African countries understood that the Chinese economy

could be a solid alternative to the Western one, in particular considering the different forms of government.

In countering the Western promotion of neo-liberal reforms in Africa. China has argued that this imposition of Western ideology on African states is a form of neo-imperialism. Moreover, China's state directed model of development provides an appealing alternative to leaders when neo-liberal economic reforms have not, for a variety of reasons, delivered their promised economic revival²³².

At the beginning the Chinese economy represented an alternative to the neo-liberal model. The African countries were attracted by the Chinese proposal, because it seemed more adequate in order to promote a possible economic development. The factors that distinguish the Chinese approach from the Western neo-liberal economic model are mainly two; the concrete efficiency and the "no intervention" policies.

In the first place, the Chinese offered more concrete solutions to the African countries, building huge infrastructures, employing local labour forces and increasing exports. On the contrary, the Western powers did nothing to improve local development; they considered it more important to transmit the Western values of democracy and liberal economy. "I Cinesi ci offrono cose concrete, l'Occidente valori intangibili. Ma a cosa servono la trasparenza, la governance, se la gente non ha elettricità nè lavoro? La democrazia non si mangia mica" once said Serge Mombouli, advisor of the Congo's Brazzaville's president.

In addition, most of the Chinese economic projects actuated in Africa had been finished optimally and before the date fixed by the plan, this fact determined the huge success of the Chinese economy in Africa.

Il successo cinese in Africa è una posizione magica fatta di numerosi ingredienti : la Cina può mandare da una settimana all'altra decine di migliaia di operai in qualunque paese, per portare a termine i lavori in tempo di record a un prezzo record: ha sviluppato nel suo territorio tecnologie semplici ma perfettamente adatte ai bisogni dell'Africa; alla questione dei diritti umani e del buon governo antepone

²³² Luca Castellani, Pang Zhongying, Ian Taylor, *China outside China: China in Africa*, Quaderni del CASCC (Centro di alti studi sulla Cina contemporanea), Torino, 2007, p 17

in continuazione il principio di non ingerenza e l'indifferenza; ma soprattutto rischia e si impegna nel lungo periodo²³³.

On the other side, the Western powers had based ~~its~~ their economic support on a system of loans given to the African territories. The international organizations designated large sums to the developing countries without assuring where the money actually would go. In many cases in fact, the money was not used to aid economic development, because the African corrupted elite spent it buying luxury goods for themselves. In addition, during the 80s the Western countries tried to recover the recessive economies of the developing countries by applying neo-liberal measures. Considering that the neo-liberal market is completely unleashed, the economic difficulties for these countries were huge. Most African countries do not have a stable political situation and as a consequences the developing economies were not able to face up to global competitiveness. So, it was unthinkable that an imposition of a neo-liberalist economy could regulate internal economic production like before. The Western powers did not understand the real needs of the developing countries, imposing economic measures that were not adequate for them. "In this sense it is argued that the WC policies propose to introduce various free market oriented economic policy prescriptions which are theoretically designed to make the target nations economy function more like that of First World countries such as the United States."²³⁴ A developing country probably needs a model that could take care of the peculiar cultural and social conditions, while the Western countries imposed their economic models because they considered them the best ones to improve development. For example, the neo-liberal recipe did not recover the Zambian economy, on the contrary the country got into large debts during the 80s, while the Chinese economy seems to have improved internal production.

On the second instance, China's policy of "non intervention" was another important factor that has increased Chinese popularity in Africa. Peking never interfered in the internal political question of the African states.

²³³ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, pp 203

²³⁴ Luca Castellani, Pang Zhongying, Ian Taylor, *China outside China: China in Africa*, Quaderni del CASCC (Centro di alti studi sulla Cina contemporanea), Torino, 2007, p 44

China never imposed its will or unequal practices on other countries and will never do so in the future. It will certainly not do anything harmful to the interests of Africa and its people. China respects the political system and paths to development independently adopted and pursued by the African people that suit their national conditions²³⁵.

On the contrary, the Western countries not only introduced a model of state that involved determinate values, but also changed the political assets of the African countries. In some cases they favoured democracy and a liberal economy, in others they pursued their own economic interests.

In this way, China succeeded in undermining the Western hegemony on the black continent promoting local development and guaranteeing no intervention into political matters. Moreover, the Africans saw in the Chinese economy a concrete alternative to the Western economic approach, considering that the Chinese seemed to care more about African development. The Chinese economy seems to be better for the African economies, in comparison with the Western neo-liberal model.

However, recently the Chinese presence in Africa has become more problematic and in some cases it was very difficult for China to maintain the political choice of “non-intervention”. This policy has become more flexible in the last twenty years. With the entrance of China into the WTO, the country assumed a more important role in the international community, moreover, the spread of Sino-African ventures across all territories paved a the way for a change in Chinese policies.

A more flexible attitude towards non-intervention will be a good answer. It will also pave a way for China’s larger role in Africa without many international obstacles such as criticisms and worries in Europe and America. Africa can be a place to nurture a Chinese way of international intervention for cooperation in global security²³⁶.

For example, China began to reconsider the non-intervention policy in the humanitarian cases, to try and balance the critical situation; moreover, China has been supporting the development of regional trades and cooperation in the last few

²³⁵ *China outside China: China in Africa*, p 34

²³⁶ *China outside China: China in Africa*, p 43

years. In this way, the Chinese power in Africa has become hegemonic challenging the European and America influence.

However, in time China began to interfere with African political matters, not only for 'the greatest good' but also to follow its own economic interests. The Chinese interests were evident in Zambian political affairs. In fact, recently China exposed themselves even further, financing Banda's political campaign during the elections that took place in September; "But in the run-up to the polls questions are being asked about just how far China's influence in Zambia spreads, and if Chinese money is bankrolling the incumbent presidential candidate Rupiah Banda and his party the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)."²³⁷

In Zambia the political situation is more complex than for its African neighbours. The Chinese settlements have brought social and political contrasts among the population, diminishing Chinese popularity. Although Zambia recently has decided to maintain a business relationship with China, the hostility against Chinese presence remains. In many cases the Chinese were accused of introducing another form of colonialism, the leader of the chamber of the commerce affirmed that the Chinese managers of a big textile factory had used colonial methods. "Sending raw materials out, bringing cheap manufactured goods in. This isn't progress. It is colonialism."²³⁸ Certainly the Chinese interventions is not totally disinterested in what Africa has to offer; the Chinese were attracted by the vast resources of the continent just as the European countries were centuries ago.

La Cina non è disinteressata, è ovvio, e nessuno crede più ai suoi discorsi di amicizia, ma gli sforzi che ha posto in essere per raggiungere i suoi obiettivi offrono all'Africa un futuro che solo dieci anni fa era inconcepibile. In fondo, ha recuperato un continente alla deriva, dimenticato da tutti, in balia dei sommovimenti di globalizzazione²³⁹.

In addition, according to an article published in Foreign Affairs, it seems that the Chinese economic projects applied in Zambia belong to the 20 percent of the Sino-

²³⁷ Louise Redvers, *China's stake in Zambian election*, published on BBC news on 19th of September 2011.

²³⁸ [LYDIA POLGREEN](#) and [HOWARD W. FRENCH](#), *China's Trade in Africa Carries a Price Tag*, New York times published on 21st on August 2007.

²³⁹ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, p 209

African companies. “Chinese construction companies often bring in Chinese manpower -- on average about 20 percent of the total labour their projects require -- reducing opportunities for Africans. When they do employ locals, Chinese firms often offer low wages and low labour standards.”²⁴⁰ In other words, most of the companies created in the country use Chinese manpower.

Although the Chinese are helping the Zambian economy, providing some important instruments, they obviously wanted something in exchange. At the beginning the Chinese economy seemed to be the adequate solution to stimulate Zambian economic growth and the popular expectations were huge. Therefore as time went on, the discontent of the Zambian people increased more and more, creating a sort of disillusionment among the population.

Sono apparsi come dei salvatori, e invece ben presto hanno imposto le loro condizioni: visti per i numerosi lavoratori e capomastri cinesi, stipendi bassissimi per i lavoratori del posto, nessun sindacato, imposizione fiscal ridotta al minimo, obbligo di render conto solo alla casa madre a Pechino tutt'al più al presidente Zambiano²⁴¹.

The main point of discussions remained the delicate question of human rights; malcontent increased because the Chinese managers did not respect the mine-workers as human beings. The fact is that Zambia is a more democratic country than China thanks to its colonial heritage. So on one hand the Zambian mineworkers were accustomed to all their workers' rights, but on the other the Chinese utilized the “labour intensive” formula that did not leave a space for individual rights. The application of the labour intensive approach was seen as a total turnaround of Zambian mineworkers' rights.

Therefore, Chinese presence has become a controversial theme in Zambia, because on one hand the hostility towards the Chinese is a mere cultural factor, on the other hand the popular malcontent could, in time, influence the political economy. However, before expressing a judgment over the Chinese actions in this country, it is important to make another consideration. Certainly the Chinese have

²⁴⁰ Debora Brautigam, “*African Eastern promise; what the West can learn from the Chinese investment in Africa*”, Foreign Affairs, January 5, 2010.

²⁴¹ *Cinafrica: Pechino alla conquista del continente nero*, pp 193

been exploiting the national richness, but they offer to the Zambians the economic instruments to also do this on their own. While the European colonialists limited their political actions on the mere exploitation needed to increase exportation, the Chinese managers invested part of the money back into the country and the other part into trades. It is certain that this exchange is not fair, but the Chinese at least gave something to this country, and actually this 'something' is helping the economy.

Therefore, considering what has been said till now, it is possible to affirm that the Chinese economy is helping the Zambian economic system, despite the cultural and social troubles. The Chinese economic approaches have been effective and immediate, increasing the sales and exports of copper. They actually empowered the Zambian economy. The Chinese investments helped the Zambian economy to open up the national frontiers, provoking an economic boom in the copper industry.

In conclusion, making a comparison between the Western economy and the Chinese one, the latter turned out to be more useful for Zambia. However, it is impossible to talk about a concrete Chinese model in Zambia and the reasons are numerous.

First of all, analyzing the Chinese economic model it is possible to affirm that Zambia is not adopting a Chinese economy. As it has been said in the previous chapters, the Chinese model is based on an economy that has integrated capitalist elements in the socialistic production system. Today China has a mixed economy based on a free markets and a capitalistic production, but the economic maneuvers are organized by the State.

Considering the current Zambian situation, the country has not been reforming the economic and political structures in order to introduce this economic model. The current government is actually utilizing the Chinese economic instruments to strengthen the economy, but there is no intention of adopting the Chinese economic model. The Zambian political authorities certainly have taken into consideration the Chinese suggestions for the economic fields, but the country is not yet able to finalize reforms on its own at the moment. In addition, the internal cultural troubles and the political fragility have been blocking the necessary economic reforms to create an adequate economic system in order to promote development. Furthermore, the Zambian elite did not seem interested in changing the economic and political structures in order to promote development, probably because they did not want to change the current situation.

In the second instance, China never meant to impose its model; the aim of the Chinese was to open their market outside their country. China never wanted to teach how to fix the Zambian economy, the Chinese only proposed an alternative solution that could be useful. It was only a mere exchange of resources, the Chinese offered their economic know-how and technologies and the Zambians let the Chinese companies to work on the failing mines.

Certainly the Chinese economy is helping to recover the Zambian economic recession, but it is impossible to identify the Chinese model as the more adequate alternative right now.

The Chinese economic model can be adopted by a country such as Zambia only if the country will overcome significant political and cultural problems. In the first instance, Zambia should make further economic reforms to modernize its system in order to be competitive in the global markets. Before doing that it is necessary that the country solves the internal cultural and ethnic problems, creating a favourable situation for a stable political conduct. In the second instance, the political authorities should carry on a progressive policy that would guarantee the necessary reform for the country. Finally, the Zambian government should ascertain if Chinese exploitation is proportional to the economic instruments given. In other words, the Zambians need to work out if the negotiations with the Chinese managers could be a fair exchange or not.

Chapter V

5. Conclusions

5.1 A fragile economy

In the previous chapter, it was verified that Zambia has a fragile and unstable economic system; development has remained still for a long time and the economic situation is characterized by a strong stagnation. The reasons why the economic situation of Zambia is so disastrous depend on an intrinsic fragility of the political institutions characterized by an elitist system of government and dangerous tribal divisions. In the first and the second chapters, we have analyzed the political and cultural aspects of the country of Zambia, assuming that a complete study could be useful to understand better the application of the economic system.

From a political point of view, after the independence the political authorities were not able to create a national sense that had already been undermined during colonialism. The colonialist in fact had influenced negatively on the development of a national consciousness with the strategic '*divide et impera*'. They created divisions and conflicts among the different ethnicities, giving a lot of privileges of the Lozi ethnic group. As a result, the nationalism that unified the country in the struggle for independence fell apart once the country gained independence. The sense of nation that Kaunda prompted was groundless because it was based on anti-imperialist feelings. Therefore, the new president established a dictatorial regime in order to maintain unity in the new born state. In addition, the lack of concrete national roots provoked the strengthening of tribal identities that had remained strongly perceived since ancient times.

In particular, during the following political administrations after Kaunda, the question of the Lozi has never been solved; this particular ethnic group has always had a strong national consciousness that brought them to frequently oppose the government. Today the unsolved ethnic situation has political implications as shown in the recent presidential elections that took place in September 2011. In fact, the Lozi never recognised the Popular Front as a political party; they considered the members of the FP a to be militants and not serious political figures. So, when Sata

won, the Lozi community opposed the central government more than ever, claiming their independence. It is evident that the political and cultural situation was unstable and this instability had affected the economic development.

5.2 Capitalism or not capitalism?

Having analysed the cultural and political features of Zambia, it is possible to affirm that these two important elements has influenced the creation of the Zambian economic system.

The firsts forms of a modern economic system appeared in the region thanks to the British colonialists. Before the Europeans invaded the territory the pre-colonial economy was based on a sustainable economic system calibrated on the natural resources of the villages. However, the economic model applied during colonialism could not be considered 'capitalism' because it is a variant of capitalism that has been brought to the extreme; 'imperialism'. The latter had a negative impact on the following attempts to create an independent economic system, because the main character of imperialism is the strictly relationship of dependence established between the colony and the homeland. In fact, the colonialists did not create any productive instruments inside Northern Rhodesia, they limited themselves to draining the territory of the raw material that was exported to the homeland. For this reason, once they gained independence, the Zambian political institutions did not know how to improve the productive system of the country, expect by keeping the relationship of dependency with the Western countries. The Europeans helped to maintain this relationship because in this way they could continue to exploit the mineral richness and they controlled the trades by creating multinational companies.

When Zambia became independent president Kaunda did not take the correct political choices to better the economic situation; despite having a vast reserve of riches the government was not able to invest them in productive sectors. Kaunda's choice to help the South African troops fight against apartheid created a big hole in the financial Zambian balance. The Government was obliged to ask for further loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Funds to cover the military expenditure. Furthermore, Zambia fell into even greater debt when the energy and economic crisis burst in the 70s and the 80s. The country risked dangerous financial bankruptcy. The situation never restored itself completely and consequently today

Zambia has become the poorest country in South Central Africa with a vast public debt and a stagnant economy.

Therefore, it seems that the capitalistic economic system did not succeed in recovering the Zambian economy. Moreover, the wrong choices taken by the politicians during the country's history helped to worsen the situation in an irreversible way.

However, it is important to emphasise that the capitalism applied in Zambia has assumed different features. The colonialists imposed a radical capitalism that is better defined as imperialism. During the 80s instead, the Western countries proposed neo-liberal measures to save the economy. Both forms have economic features that differs from the pure concept of liberal capitalism. So, it is impossible to exclude capitalism as a form of development. Certainly though, the neo-liberal recipe for this country did not have positive effects on the Zambian economic situation, because this model did not consider the country's political and cultural features.

5.3 The Chinese model : an alternative economic possibility?

Excluding the neo-liberal model transmitted by the Western world to Zambia, I wanted to focus on other possible alternatives, and recently the most tempting proposal is that of the Popular Republic of China. In the third chapter I have focused my attention on Chinese economic growth and the Chinese presence in the black continent. In the last forty years China has become an economic superpower, challenging the international markets. The innovative element that had made China a powerful country in the international contexts was the introduction of a revolutionary character — to industrial production. The Chinese government understood the importance of limiting the imports and focusing on internal production. The innovation of the economic Chinese productive system provoked a massive production of basic goods at low prices that invaded the international markets, thus becoming competitive power. In addition, the large quantity of cheap labour force allowed the Chinese to limit the expenditures connected to labour. In a brief time China became 'the factory of the world', handling large quantities of money that the Chinese companies used to invest in foreign countries, in this way, China began to conquer the world.

In particular recently, the presence of the Chinese in Africa has increased significantly; it seems that China want to help the African economies. Thanks to their

concrete aims, the efficiency of their work and a specific budget, the Chinese conquered the popularity of many African populations that began to see the Chinese model as a possible economic alternative. However, the real interests of the Chinese government soon revealed themselves. The Chinese occupation seemed to be another form of exploitation, despite the fact that the Chinese economy had awaked a lot of African countries from a static situation. This fact immediately became fertile grounds for politicians and their campaigns, which utilized the hostility against the Chinese to conquer the popular consensus.

The ambiguities in China's relationship with Africa have created fertile ground for politicians. Opposition parties, especially in southern Africa, frequently campaign on anti-China platforms. Every country south of Rwanda has had acrimonious debates about Chinese "exploitation". Even in normally calm places like Namibia, antipathy is stirring. Workers on Chinese building sites in Windhoek, the capital, are said to get a "raw deal". In Zambia the opposition leader, Michael Sata, has made Sino-skepticism his trademark. Much of this is wide of the mark. Critics claim that China has acquired ownership of natural resources, although service contracts and other concessions are the norm. China is also often accused of bringing prison labour to Africa—locals assume the highly disciplined Chinese workers in identical boiler suits they see toiling day and night must be doing so under duress. Even so, the backlash is perhaps unsurprising. Africans say they feel under siege. Tens of thousands of entrepreneurs from one of the most successful modern economies have fanned out across the continent. Sanou Mbaye, a former senior official at the African Development Bank, says more Chinese have come to Africa in the past ten years than Europeans in the past 400. First came Chinese from state-owned companies, but more and more arrive solo or stay behind after finishing contract work²⁴².

As it possible to notice from this quotation from the Economist, the Chinese economic penetration has been causing some social and political problems in the Africa. In particular in Zambia the political and cultural situation is very delicate, because the hostility against the Chinese has reached high levels, influencing the policies of the country. However, it is necessary to underline the great influence that the Chinese have had in some economic and political aspects of the country. The fact

²⁴² The economist, the article "*Trying to pull together*" in the website <http://www.economist.com/node/8089719> visited on 14th of January time 12.34.

is that some elements of the Chinese economy have been helping the Zambian economy, improving internal production and regional trades.

So, on one hand the Chinese model could be very tempting for Zambia because in time it might be useful for a possible economic development. On the other hand the social, cultural and politic situation could not possibly allow the application of the Chinese economic model. Most probably the country is not yet able to reform his its economic institutions, because first it needs to attend to the internal cultural and political conflicts. However, the major reason for the lack of uptake was that the Zambian elite were not interested in adopting the Chinese economic model in order to improve development.

5.4 Micro economy

In this analysis of the possible economic systems applicable in Zambia that could consent to economic development, I have focused on the economic systems useful on a global scale. In other words, my attention was mostly dedicated to what is understood by the word 'macro economy'. That is the study of complex economic systems that involve not only individuals but also groups of people, such as family, companies and states²⁴³. Since the 80s, the macro-economy has provoked a huge economic phenomenon called 'globalization' that was explained in the previous chapters. The spread of the globalized market has caused on one side a great richness, but on the other it has deteriorated the worker's conditions so that they became miserable and poor in particular in the developing countries. As we have seen, the economic loans given to the Third World countries from the International Organization did not work to improve the economic development and to solve the big problem of poverty.

Risalendo la filiera di fondi si fanno scoperte poco lusinghiere sul conto sia dei donatori sia dei beneficiari. Circa i tre quarti dell'ammontare complessivo degli aiuti stranieri sono spesi dal paese donatore: insomma, le donazioni sono diventate un mezzo, per il paese ricco, di dar lavoro ai abitanti e di vendere i propri prodotti. Quanto all'ultimo quarto finisce quasi per intero ad arricchire una piccola élite bengalese di consulenti imprenditori, burocrati e funzionari corrotti, che lo

²⁴³ Amin, Samir, *Capitalism in the age of globalization : the management of contemporary society*, London ; New Jersey : Zed Books, c1997.

spendono in prodotti d'importazione e lo trasferiscono su conti stranieri, il che non apporta nessun beneficio alla nostra economia²⁴⁴.

So, the economic aids given by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank turned out to be completely useless. In many developing countries the political elite were not able to manage them in order to better the economic situation of their countries. This system of loans was not useful for these countries, because actually the funds given were misused and did not improve the economy.

However, during the 60s a professor of economy, Muhammad Yunus²⁴⁵, created a system of loans completely different from the international aids, because it was based on small sums of money finalized to fight poverty. Yunus had seen the poor and miserable conditions of Bengali people, in particular the women, and decided to help them with small loans. This was the birth of microcredit; considering the cultural and social features of the country, it offers the money necessary to finance small-scale economic activities. In this way the microcredit system grants the repayment of credits at favourable conditions for the debtors. In Bangladesh these economic actions succeeded in improving the local development of rural areas. Later, a bank was founded, the Greemenbank, that continued to finance local economic activities. In time, microcredit became an interesting economic instruments for fighting poverty and improving development. The idea of microcredit spread all over the world, and many projects were also set-up in Africa.

However, the African reality was different and it is not easy to apply microcredit in such a context. The economist Maria Novak explains the difficulties in promoting it in African countries:

Allorchè mi impegnai nello sviluppo, si parlava del “decollo” dei paesi poveri, pensando che per arrivarvi fosse sufficiente un trasferimento di tecnologia e di un po’ di capitali. La realtà si è rivelata completamente diversa. In Africa la cooperazione tra stati ha arricchito l’élite di governo ma non il popolo, l’assistenza

²⁴⁴ Muhammad Yunus, *Il banchiere dei poveri*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 2004, p 26-27.

²⁴⁵ Muhammad Yunus won the Peace Nobel Prize in 2006.

tecnica ha bloccato l'ascesa dei quadri locali, i progetti faraonici hanno assorbito una parte importante delle risorse senza portare i vantaggi sperati²⁴⁶.

So, noticing the difficulties of the African government in managing the money given by the International organization, microcredit could be a solution to this problem and Novak proved this fact with her field studies. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the African elite tended to use the money to finance their individual enterprises, but in this way they did not help the state to reach a consistent form of development and wellness. For this reason, the application of microfinance could be useful to promote local development, because it focuses on the village, giving money directly to the people.

Since the Greenbank was created the concept of microfinance was applied to some African countries, but the rural bank did not work in these countries; the solution for the development of the African countries was the application of saving projects.

Se nel Bangladesh il grande dibattito verteva attorno alla priorità delle donne, in Africa occidentale l'argomento che imperversava tra gli esperti era se si dovesse avviare un progetto col risparmio o col credito. [...]Se in Africa era effettivamente più facile per le banche agricole ricevere denaro "all'ingrosso" dagli organismi di aiuto al tassi del 2 o 3 %, piuttosto di raccoglierlo al dettaglio al 7 o 8%, il risparmio rurale non era ovunque sufficiente a finanziare, in un ragionevole lasso di tempo, i bisogni dell'economia agricola²⁴⁷.

In Zambia microcredit could be very useful, considering that most of people live on less than euro a day and the rate of employment is still low. In addition, most of the Zambian population is not able to access the banking system that grants loans. Therefore, some non-profit organizations tried to introduce a system of microcredit that could guarantee a minimum sum of money to those people who could not afford a loan from the banks. The microcredit approach has been in place for the last ten years, and it forms part of the development projects applied near the boundaries of

²⁴⁶ Maria Nowak, *Non si presta solo ai ricchi. La rivoluzione del microcredito*, Gli struzzi Einaudi, Torino, 2005, p 44-45

²⁴⁷ Maria Nowak, *Non si presta solo ai ricchi. La rivoluzione del microcredito*, Gli struzzi Einaudi, Torino, 2005, p 90-91

the capital. It has been carried on by non-profit organisations who spread it all over the country. “Microfinance institutions (MFIs) have grown through the region as a way to boost economic development on a local scale. Micro-loans, oftentimes as small as 15 dollars to help someone start a small business, traditionally have nearly 100 percent repayment rates.”²⁴⁸

It is impossible to ascertain if this economic instruments could succeed on a long term scale, but the microcredit system could improve local development, helping the development of the national economic system.

Micro-areas

Besides microcredit, there is another recent economic trend that seems to prioritise local and regional development. This theory has been explained by a famous economist, Giovanni Arrighi who published “Caos e governo del mondo”. According to his opinion the economic capitalistic system was composed of phases that coincided with the identification of an economic superpower.

In history the economic superpowers had not only the supremacy of the markets but also the political hegemony on the global context. In addition the hegemonic countries were a model; they offered a new order of the world, proposing values and principles. However, every hegemonic powers was destined to fall in favour of another superpower. The cycle continued with an economic crisis and finally it concluded with a disastrous global war that decreed the ascension of a new superpower²⁴⁹.

Recently, as already said the world has seen the Chinese economic growth, facing off with the powerful Western countries. However, according to Arrighi’s thesis it is quite impossible that a conflict will originate between the economic global powers because in the last years a new regional tendency has developed. Arrighi talked about three big micro-areas, the Sino-Nippon region, the European countries and the American area. He has seen that in the last years, in fact, that the different countries prefer to focus on local development based on trades with the closest countries. This tendency is very significant because it means that the effect of globalization and the

²⁴⁸ Briana Sapp, *Africa: micro finance tackles aids head on*, published on AllAfrica.com on the 23rd of April 2007.

²⁴⁹ Giovanni Arrighi, Beverly J. Silver, *Caos e governo del mondo*, Mondadori editore, Milano, 2006.

global market has been diminishing as the global economies to acquire microeconomic features. The micro economy could be interesting to analyze because it focuses on local and regional production and can be applied to small companies, family or even the single individual.

Therefore, micro economy and regional cooperation could be useful in order to promote economic development.

5.5 Conclusion

Most of my dissertation dealt with a possible economic model for Zambia in a global scale; the protagonists of this economic system are the states that interact in the globalized market and international economic context. The 'macro economy' has imposed an interdependent relationship between the different economies, so that developing countries have to adapt to the global economic system. However, it is not easy to integrate a developing country into the global market, because their economies must already be adequate and competitive. In addition, the neo-liberal economic model did not improve development; as we have seen before, the Zambian economy did not benefit from the neo-liberal projects aimed at recovering the economic system. On the contrary, dependent relationships have continued to exist between Zambia and the Western countries. Probably, foreign interests in the region were an obstacle to economic growth, because a dependent Zambia could cause many problems to the superpowers that had been focusing purely on the mineral resources.

When the Chinese came they seemed to offer different economic instruments from the colonialists. They represented a new hope because they offered a possibility of development based on the labour force and industrial production. In addition, the Chinese economy could help the opening of the Zambian markets to the global economic system.

However, analyzing the Chinese proposal it is evident to see the substantial incompatibility between the Chinese mentality and Zambian cultural traditions. Zambia was not able to adopt the Chinese economic model because it implicated a radical reformation not only from an economic point of view, but also culturally speaking. Furthermore, the Zambian political authorities would not permit the

adoption of Chinese economic model, because assuming the Chinese economy did not coincide with their interests.

Therefore, in the last decade a new tendency appeared on the global markets, the micro economy that seems to focus on regional economic development. A process of de-globalization has been characterizing the global economy in the last ten years, moving from global to regional development. Thanks to this economic tendency, new economic instruments appeared such as microcredit and regional cooperation.

In developing countries such as Zambia, the micro economy and microcredit could be useful instruments to promote development on a local scale. It could be interesting to see if this new approach to economy in the future could be a real solution to the weakness of the current economic systems. Moreover, microcredit might be a concrete solution to finally fight poverty in Zambia and to promote economic regional development, leveraging on the cultural and social features of this country.

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The essay: Wim van Binsbergen "Fron Tribe to ethnicity in Western Zambia"

Abstract

Introduzione

Questo lavoro si propone d'indagare le caratteristiche essenziali dello Zambia, per comprendere le motivazioni della sua intrinseca povertà. Di fatti oggi questo paese è classificato come uno degli stati più poveri nel continente africano, considerando che una persona vive con meno di un euro al giorno e un elevato tasso di disoccupazione continua a pesare sulle finanze del paese. Questa realtà economica così disastrosa può sembrare curiosa viste le vaste quantità di rame e altre ricchezze minerarie che caratterizzano il paese. Per non parlare poi della parte occidentale della regione che comprende distese di terreno molto fertile, ma poco sfruttato visto che la produzione agricola è ridotta al minimo. Cosa ha portato lo Zambia ad essere uno dei paesi più poveri dell'Africa centro meridionale?

In prima istanza dunque è necessario analizzare il sistema economico che lo Zambia ha adottato dalla sua origine ad oggi, per comprendere se questo è adeguato alle esigenze del paese. Ad ogni modo, risulta impossibile approfondire questo argomento senza contestualizzare in maniera più precisa l'intera situazione. Per questa ragione la prima parte di questo lavoro sarà dedicato alla descrizione politica, storico e culturale dello stato dello Zambia. Solamente dopo aver messo in luce l'aspetto politico e culturale dello Zambia, si può accedere all'analisi del sistema economico del paese, poiché è evidente che la cultura, il modo di pensare e il passato socio-politico abbiano determinato l'adozione di uno specifico sistema economico. In questa prima analisi pertanto si arriverà a verificare che il modello economico adottato dallo Zambia non è adeguato a soddisfare le esigenze economiche, politiche e culturali di uno stato africano e post-coloniale.

In seconda istanza, affermando che il sistema economico non è adatto al paese, ritengo necessario procedere nell'analisi delle sistemi economici che si pongono come alternativi, prima fra tutte l'economia cinese. Negli ultimi quarant'anni infatti il mondo ha assistito all'ascesa di una nuova grande potenza economica, quella della Cina. Dopo la morte di Mao Tse Tung il paese ha attuato delle riforme economiche che hanno aiutato l'economia cinese ad essere più flessibile ed aperta ai mercati globali. Durante il periodo comunista l'economia era monopolizzata dallo stato e dal partito, l'agricoltura veniva pianificata tramite piani quinquennali. Con le riforme la Cina riuscì ad attrarre investimenti esteri, aumentando la produttività interna e le esportazioni, grazie alle joint ad venture. In breve tempo l'economia Cinese divenne competitiva sul mercato globale e cominciò ad espandersi anche fuori dal territorio cinese. In particolare, recentemente le imprese cinesi hanno preso piede nel continente nero. Negli ultimi vent'anni i cinesi hanno cominciato a comprare imprese locali, costruire grandi infrastrutture, incentivare l'economia intensiva. In Zambia l'economia cinese è più presente che mai e sembra aver rilanciato l'esportazione del rame sui mercati internazionali. Quindi sembra che la Cina possa offrire un'alternativa adeguata al modello capitalistico e post coloniale, il grande quesito rimane si può parlare di un modello cinese che lo Zambia sta adottando e può essere un modello che aiuti l'economia zambiana a rafforzarsi e a procedere sulla strada dello sviluppo? Questa seconda parte della mia tesi è appunto dedicata alla soluzione di questo grande quesito, per capire se il modello economico cinese può essere una concreta soluzione ai problemi economici dello Zambia.

Quindi come già accennato in questa breve introduzione la tesi sarà suddivisa in due parti principali che s'intersecano e si completano fra loro, la prima parte descriverà la storia politica, culturale ed economica dello stato, dalle origini fino ai giorni nostri. La seconda parte invece si concentrerà sulla presenza cinese in Zambia dagli anni settanta fino ad oggi. In particolare questa seconda parte tenterà di analizzare se la proposta Cinese si può considerare come un modello economico da adottare per promuovere lo sviluppo. Infine ho ritenuto necessario nell'introduzione dare una spiegazione più dettagliata e concreta di alcuni concetti, come l'etnicità, il tribalismo, la

nazione e l'idea di stato; questi sono concetti complessi che non possono essere dati per scontati altrimenti potrebbero essere fraintesi e portare ad errori di giudizio.

Parte prima

Una nazione, uno Zambia

Il primo capitolo di questa parte è dedicata allo sviluppo delle strutture politiche e sociali nel corso del tempo, partendo dalla storia precoloniale con le prime strutture d'ordine sociale fino alla formazione di uno stato moderno. La storia del periodo precoloniale è fondamentale a mio avviso poiché nella Zambia odierna le tradizioni culturali e tribali di quel periodo sono ancora molto forti. Ad ogni modo le prime organizzazioni politico-sociale rintracciabili nel tempo sono legate alla figura del leader, che fu fondamentale per comprendere ciò che avvenne dopo. La popolazione era suddivisa principalmente in villaggi dove veniva identificato un capo a cui si davano grandi responsabilità per tutta la comunità del villaggio. Un altro elemento da non sottovalutare in questo periodo è l'importanza che veniva data a lignaggio, la discendenza e la stirpe era rispettosamente seguite. Anche questo fattore non è da sottovalutare poiché aiuterà a capire l'importanza data alle divisioni tribali e all'identificazione collettive ad un'etnia rispetto che ad un'altra.

La strutture politiche e sociali moderne presero piede durante il colonialismo che impose il suo modello di stato moderno e democratico, è importante però non dimenticare che queste tradizioni rimasero vive nel folclore popolare. I primi europei ad esplorare la zona centrale-meridionale dell'Africa furono i missionari, in particolare in Zambia fu David Livingstone che grazie ai suoi viaggi chiamò l'attenzione della corona inglese. L'interesse britannico fu destato quando si scoprirono notevoli ricchezze, e il dominio della Gran Bretagna sembrava minacciato dalla Germania e dal Portogallo che già stavano controllando le vicine aree africane. Il dominio britannico inizialmente era totalmente economico, un famoso miliardario infatti Cecil Rhodes aveva già cominciato a negoziare contratti con i vari capi tribali. Solo successivamente l'Inghilterra si decise a cominciare l'azione politica per contrastare l'egemonia delle altre potenze Europee. Fu così che nel 1911 venne redatto il documento con cui si legittimava la creazione della Rhodesia del Nord, l'attuale Zambia.

L'amministrazione coloniale dello stato si basava principalmente su un governo razzista che impediva agli Africani di prendere parte totalmente alla vita politica. In questo modo, gli Inglesi sarebbero riusciti a domare gli Africani per poter accedere allo sfruttamento delle risorse naturali incontrastati. L'esclusione degli Africani dalla vita politica causerà non pochi problemi alla classe dirigente che una volta ottenuta l'indipendenza dovrà governare. Ad ogni modo, il razzismo intrinseco delle strutture sociali e politiche dello stato coloniale, portarono alla formazione di gruppi che s'opponevano fermamente alla discriminazione, rivendicando la loro libertà e indipendenza sulla base della coscienza nera. I primi movimenti nazionalisti vennero portati avanti dalla figura carismatica di Kenneth Kaunda e da alcuni collaboratori che attuavano una campagna anti-imperialista nelle campagne e nelle miniere.

Nel 1964 lo Zambia divenne uno stato indipendente al cui capo presiedeva l'UNIP il partito che aveva portato la nazione ad essere indipendente dal dominio coloniale. Tutta la campagna politica di Kaunda si basava su sentimenti anti-imperialisti, per cui quando gli Europei se ne andarono, i principi con cui s'era formato il nazionalismo zambiano vennero meno. Inoltre, i colonialisti avevano impostato un modello di stato autoritario nonostante predicassero la democrazia, per tanto fu molto difficile per la nuova elite non ricadere nello stesso errore. Ben presto lo Zambia divenne uno stato autoritario dove tutti i partiti eccetto l'UNIP vennero sciolti, e le libertà personali e individuali vennero ristrette al minimo. Durante la dittatura Kaunda prese decisioni politiche significative che determinarono i risvolti politici ed economici successivi.

Il governo di un solo partito ebbe fine con l'elezione di Chiluba che si era messo a capo di un movimento popolare per le libertà individuali del popolo Zambiano (MMD), quest'organizzazione

s'opponeva fermamente all'operato del presidente ed era portato avanti maggiormente dagli studenti universitari. Nel 1991 un nuovo governo venne eletto e finalmente il paese divenne nuovamente democratico e costituito da diversi partiti. Il presidente Chiluba governò per due mandati consecutivi ma ci furono dei casi di corruzione che lo incastrarono e venne accusato d'aver tentato di modificare la costituzione dello stato. Così il partito al potere dovette presentarsi con un nuovo candidato, Rupiah Banda che vinse per pochi voti contro il carismatico leader del Fronte Popolare, Michael Sata. Banda riuscì a portare avanti molte riforme all'interno delle strutture sociali ed economiche, ma la sua carriera venne sconvolta da un grave caso di corruzione. Nelle ultime elezioni infatti vinse il suo rivale storico, Sata soprannominato il Re Cobra per gli attacchi velenosi che riservava ai suoi avversari politici.

In conclusione, come abbiamo visto la storia politica dello Zambia è caratterizzata da una forte fragilità politica, determinata da comportamenti autoritari e corrotti. La mancanza di stabilità nelle strutture sociali e politiche potrebbero rendere la promozione di un'economia votata allo sviluppo molto difficile. Ad ogni modo manca una parte fondamentale di quest'analisi che è l'aspetto culturale.

Le radici culturali

In questo capitolo ho ritenuto necessario rintracciare le tradizioni culturali che caratterizzano la popolazione dello Zambia oggi, in particolare mi sono concentrata sull'individuazione dei differenti gruppi etnici e tribali. Per far ciò ho ritenuto utile considerare l'aspetto linguistico, in quanto è stato proprio questo l'elemento distintivo delle varie etnicità nello Zambia precoloniale. Ho individuato principalmente cinque gruppi etnici presenti nel territorio, descrivendo le differenze in ambito culturale e il loro sviluppo culturale nel tempo per cercare di comprendere le dinamiche etniche e culturali che caratterizzano il paese in età contemporanea. In particolare mi sono concentrata sui Lozi, un gruppo etnico che vive tuttora nella parte occidentale del paese, perché mi sembrava di notevole rilevanza analizzare la storia di questo popolo visto i recenti conflitti tra i Lozi e il governo centrale di Lusaka. Facendo un breve riassunto della storia dei Lozi si può capire come questo popolo abbia una grande coscienza nazionale dovuta principalmente al proprio passato reale. Il regno dei Lozi infatti fu uno dei più prosperosi nella storia della regione e diventò ancora più potente con l'avvento del colonialismo. Gli Europei infatti attuarono nella regione quella tecnica politica che si definisce "divide et impera", dando così molti più privilegi all'etnia Lozi che agli altri gruppi etnici. Questa tattica risultò vincente per dividere definitivamente il paese e consentire così al governo britannico di esercitare il proprio dominio.

Quando il paese divenne indipendente il gruppo etnico dei Lozi perse definitivamente ogni suo privilegio, poiché con l'unificazione della nazione, Zambia, il presidente Kaunda cercò di equilibrare il potere e i privilegi dati all'etnie, cercando di non creare squilibri pericolosi. Ad ogni modo parlando di uno stato come lo Zambia che è caratterizzato dalla presenza di varie etnie non si può non accennare a 'il bilancio etnico' che dovrebbe essere una misura politica preventiva per evitare contrasti fra due gruppi etnici diversi. Nella storia politica dello Zambia ci sono stati dei periodi in cui questo ethnic balance non è stato rispettato totalmente. Dopo la dittatura di Kenneth Kaunda, infatti il suo successore tese a preferire ed appoggiare un gruppo etnico rispetto ad un altro, creando così notevoli tensioni all'interno dello stato che non sono ancora completamente risolte. Chiluba e le successive amministrazioni diedero maggior spazio all'etnia Bemba, un gruppo etnico che vive nella parte settentrionale del paese, facendo così tutti gli altri gruppi etnici vennero messi da parte, e ciò provocò grandi risentimenti. In particolare tra gli abitanti della Barotseland che erano stati abituati a determinati privilegi. Nel tempo la situazione peggiorò ulteriormente rendendo i Lozi sempre più delusi del governo centrale, finché non cominciarono a declamare la secessione del regno da Lusaka.

Ad ogni modo per comprendere meglio la questione dell'etnicità è importante chiarire due aspetti fondamentali, il primo è la differenza tra razzismo e odio etnico e il secondo invece è il tema

dell'identità. La prima questione definisce il razzismo come concetto neutrale che può essere applicato in qualsiasi situazione e monopolizzato dalle autorità politiche per un determinato fine economico, mentre l'odio etnico è un concetto molto più ampio che coinvolge anche un forte aspetto culturale. Sicuramente anche quest'ultimo può facilmente essere manipolato a scopi politici ed economici, però gli effetti sono devastanti. La seconda questione invece riguarda l'identità, ossia il fatto che nella maggior parte dei casi il sentimento d'appartenenza a un determinato gruppo sia determinato dall'identificazione individuale e quindi l'identità risulta fondamentale. Nella cultura post-coloniale l'identificazione avviene con il contatto con l'Altro che in questo caso identifica un soggetto sottoposto e quindi inferiore e un altro soggetto che comanda ed è considerato superiore. Inoltre l'imposizione della cultura britannica e la conseguente assimilazione da parte del popolo africano ha provocato la nascita di una cultura ibrida e di una conseguente frammentazione dell'identità individuale. Per tanto questa identità frammentata e il razzismo imposto dall'amministrazione coloniale hanno portato conseguenze devastanti durante la formazione della nazione Zambia. Le persone non riuscivano ad identificarsi in quanto zambiani una volta che il colonialismo finì e fecero riferimento a una cultura pre-coloniale che dava maggior importanza all'affiliazione etnica e tribale.

Quindi le forti tradizioni culturali ed etniche non rendono semplice la condotta di una politica che promuova uno sviluppo economico e coerente, anzi i contrasti etnici sono la principale causa di un'instabilità politica e sociale che mina lo stesso sistema economico. Inoltre la presenza di una cultura ibrida provoca una fragilità interna delle strutture politiche e sociale che potrebbe aver portato a un'economia complessa anch'essa ibrida. Ecco perché nel prossimo capitolo andremo a studiare il sistema economico adottato dallo Zambia nella sua storia precoloniale e postcoloniale.

Un'economia capitalista

L'economia capitalista venne inserita in Zambia dall'imposizione dei colonialisti come abbiamo già accennato nei capitoli precedenti, il fatto è che la forma di capitalismo che venne introdotta in questo paese assunse caratteristiche molto radicali. Si può dire infatti che in Zambia venne applicata la forma più estremizzata di capitalismo, questo capitolo sarà dedicato allo studio di questo sistema economico, cercando di rintracciare le conseguenze di quest'imposizione. La mia analisi inizia con una ricerca delle prime iniziative economiche che caratterizzarono il territorio durante il periodo precoloniale. Ritengo questa scelta importante per comprendere che tipo di economia esisteva prima dell'avvento del capitalismo e per compararla con quel sistema economico che sembra non funzionare.

Lo Zambia precoloniale era caratterizzato da un'economia di sussistenza il cui fulcro era l'attività del villaggio, i primi grandi commerci vennero introdotti dagli Arabi ma in breve tempo la popolazione della regione riuscì a far proprie le tecniche commerciali, stabilendo delle vere e proprie rotte regionali. Poi arrivarono i colonialisti che concentrarono la loro attenzione principalmente sulla vasta cintura del rame che attraversa l'odierna Zambia, cominciarono lo sfruttamento delle vaste miniere di rame. Il modello economico utilizzato dagli inglesi in quel periodo si può definire sembra ombra di dubbio imperialista; la corona inglese aveva dato il permesso a numerose compagnie private di cominciare i lavori d'estrazione del rame con il fine d'esportarlo alla madrepatria. Sicuramente le compagnie che procedevano all'estrazione aumentavano la richiesta di forza lavoro autoctono, ma i salari erano relativamente bassi e la colonia non riceveva un centesimo per il rame esportato. Fu un vero e proprio saccheggio delle miniere della Rhodesia del Nord. Inoltre la questione della Copperbelt portò anche a conseguenze sociali e politiche devastanti, ci furono numerose rivolte da parte dei lavoratori africani durante tutto il periodo coloniale. La forza lavoro infatti non proveniva solo anche dalle regioni vicine, odierna Angola e Congo, ma anche da altri stati del mondo. L'afflusso di lavoratori provocò non pochi problemi a livello organizzativo, si cominciarono a costruire case e alloggi per i lavoratori intorno all'area lavorativa. C'era però una grande differenza tra neri e bianchi, le case destinate ai

primi erano per lo più capanne dove le persone vivevano in condizioni pessime, mentre gli alloggi destinati ai bianchi erano molto più lussuose. Questa situazione generale causò ulteriori malcontenti tra la popolazione nera che era già stanca dello sfruttamento continuo che avveniva nelle miniere.

Oltre a tutti i problemi politico sociali che lo sfruttamento coloniale provocò nella cintura del rame, non si può non sottolineare la mancanza di solide strutture economiche; i colonialisti infatti non introdussero mai strumenti economici necessari a un possibile sviluppo economico. Inoltre con l'imposizione del modello imperialista crearono una relazione di dipendenza tra la colonia (Rhodesia del Nord) e la madrepatria (Inghilterra), quindi di fatto lo Zambia rimase legato alla Gran Bretagna anche dopo la proclamazione d'indipendenza.

Il governo di Kenneth Kaunda cercò di spezzare questa relazione viziosa impostando un'economia basata sul monopolio nazionale, egli nazionalizzò le miniere e promosse riforme agrarie per incentivare l'agricoltura. Sembrava una mossa azzeccata perché in questo modo lo stato avrebbe potuto usufruire delle proprie risorse senza dover chiedere aiuto ad investimenti stranieri, ma nel tempo l'estrazione mineraria divenne troppo costosa per le finanze dello Zambia che aveva sperperato molti soldi in beni di lusso, senza investire nello sviluppo industriale e produttivo del paese. Inoltre la decisione del presidente di aiutare il Sud Africa e la Rhodesia del Sud ad ottenere l'indipendenza fu fatale per l'economia Zambiana, in quanto in quel periodo il paese spese grandi somme di denaro che andarono ad aumentare il debito pubblico.

A complicare le cose della situazione economica zambiana fu la grave crisi economica degli anni ottanta dovuta all'aumento dei prezzi del petrolio, in quel frangente il governo zambiano chiese aiuto agli organismi internazionali per poter affrontare la crisi e uscire da una situazione economica recessiva. Ma il cambiamento che avvenne nell'economia mondiale non ebbe pietà per i paesi in via di sviluppo come lo Zambia che si trovò ancora più indebitato di prima. Con i successivi governi dopo Kaunda la situazione economica non migliorò anzi si può affermare che la situazione economica dello Zambia è più meno la stessa: recessiva e stagnante.

In conclusione quindi si può dire che la ragione che hanno portato a questa situazione economica in Zambia sono l'imposizione di un modello economico basato sullo sfruttamento delle risorse minerarie e su una forte relazione d'indipendenza. Il passato coloniale di questo paese infatti ha segnato profondamente non solo la formazione dello stato e la cultura ibrida ma anche lo sviluppo economico, poiché il paese una volta raggiunta l'indipendenza non possedeva gli strumenti economici necessari per garantire un modello economico indipendente. Non si può poi dimenticare la fatalità di alcune decisioni prese dalle autorità politiche che non hanno fatto altro che peggiorare la situazione economica dello Zambia. Infine, probabilmente lo Zambia non era pronto per affrontare la competitività economica intrinseca nel sistema economico globale. Per tanto si può affermare che questo modello economico non sia adeguato a un paese come lo Zambia perché non tiene conto delle specifiche peculiarità politico-culturali e delle necessità sociali.

Parte seconda

La proposta Cinese

Avendo verificato che il modello capitalista non è adatto a promuovere uno sviluppo economico in un paese come lo Zambia, ho voluto dedicare questo penultimo capitolo all'economia cinese che negli ultimi vent'anni ha preso piede nel paese. Lo Zambia è infatti considerato il paese con più popolazione d'origine asiatica in tutta l'Africa. Il mio obiettivo principale è quello di comprendere in che modo l'intervento cinese s'interseca con le caratteristiche politico-culturali del paese africano; e se l'economia cinese presente nel territorio può essere presa come un modello alternativo capace di promuovere finalmente lo sviluppo. Prima di addentrarmi nel nucleo della mia analisi ho ritenuto opportuno dedicarmi a un'analisi dettagliata della storia cinese comprendendo le riforme economiche e la crescita a livello internazionale, senza dimenticare però il soggetto principale della mia tesi che rimane lo Zambia.

Negli ultimi quarant'anni l'economia cinese è diventata una delle più potenti economie mondiali, accrescendo il proprio prodotto interno lordo e aumentando l'esportazioni. La crescita economica cinese fu talmente significativa che cominciò ad espandersi in altri paesi del mondo, in particolare negli ultimi anni abbiamo visto come la presenza cinese sia diventata preponderante nel continente nero. Ma considerando la rapida crescita economica cinese, ci si può chiedere come questo stato abbia fatto a diventare una delle più grandi potenze in così breve tempo considerando che la Cina è un paese comunista.

Il fatto è che dopo la morte di Mao Tse Tung ci fu una radicale e lenta rivoluzione delle strutture economiche, mentre prima l'economia era basata sul monopolio statale e le riforme agrarie erano regolate da i piani quinquennali, dopo il 1978 vennero introdotti alcuni elementi capitalistici e integrati nell'economia cinese. S'incominciò con lo smantellamento delle comuni terre popolari, cercando d'avviare una conduzione familiare privata. Poi si passò all'abolizione del monopolio di stato e all'apertura ai mercati globali, si venne così a creare un'economia mista basata da un lato sulle leggi del mercato internazionale, ma dall'altro persisteva una pianificazione statale. Ciò che rese l'economia cinese forte fu il carattere d'innovazione che portò nella produzione industriale, ossia l'apertura dei mercati aveva attirato nuovi investimenti stranieri, che non solo introducevano finanziamenti ma anche nuove tecnologie. La Cina fu capace di acquisire queste tecnologie ed integrarle nel sistema produttivo dell'industria cinese in questo modo aumentava la produttività intensiva con un costo minore. Attraverso le joint ad venture poi riuscì ad esportare questo carattere innovativo a livello globale conquistando i mercati internazionali. In breve tempo la Cina cominciò a concentrarsi sull'Africa, cominciando a comprare imprese, compagnie, terre e a costruire grandi infrastrutture in tutto il continente.

I primi contatti tra Cina e Africa furono tutt'altro che recenti, infatti i primi meeting tra i due paesi si ebbero durante la guerra fredda, in quel periodo la Cina voleva estendere la sua egemonia politica cercando nuovi alleati tra i paesi appena divenuti indipendenti. Creando rapporti diplomatici con numerosi paesi africani la Cina si sarebbe garantita alleanze importanti nel contesto della guerra fredda, sfidando da un lato la potenza sovietica e dall'altro l'economia statunitense. Il rapporto tra Cina e Africa divenne più economico che politico con la fine della guerra fredda e le riforme economiche apportate al sistema socialista. Tornando all'oggetto della mia tesi, in Zambia la presenza cinese apparve negli anni settanta e ottanta con la costruzione della famosa ferrovia che attraversava lo Zambia fino a raggiungere la capitale della Tanzania. I cinesi erano efficienti e concreti e finirono i lavori di costruzione prima della scadenza dei termini dati dal contratto. In breve tempo gli interventi cinesi aumentarono in tutto il territorio ed erano ben accolti proprio per la loro efficienza e concretezza. In Zambia riuscirono a rilanciare l'esportazione del rame, promuovendo i lavori d'estrazione e diminuendo la disoccupazione. Inoltre l'aumento di produttività industriale e mineraria fece crescere il tasso d'esportazione aumentando così le vendite all'estero.

La presenza cinese però portò anche alcuni lati negativi primo fra tutto la scomparsa di alcune figure lavorative nell'entroterra zambiano, come ad esempio gli artigiani e i liberi professionisti. La competitività cinese infatti si fece sentire, quando molti prodotti di base cinesi invasero i mercati africani, togliendo il lavoro ad alcune persone. Un altro fattore che rese la convivenza tra Cinesi e Zambiani molto difficile fu il poco rispetto per i diritti umani soprattutto nelle miniere, la forza lavoro locale era costretta a lavorare dodici ore al giorno con stipendi bassissimi senza alcun tipo di protezione. La situazione cominciò ad essere tesa, finché un grave incidente in una fabbrica Sino-zambiana dovuta alla mancanza di misure protettive per i lavoratori fece esasperare la popolazione che scese per le strade a protestare. Dopo quell'incidenti ci furono molti altri episodi d'intolleranza da entrambi le parti, facendo pensare a una incompatibilità socio-culturale.

Il malcontento cresceva tra la popolazione dello Zambia, e alcune autorità politiche cercarono d'approfittarne facendo leva sull'attrito tra i due popoli per conquistare voti per le successive elezioni politiche. Uno di questi fu il leader del partito del Fronte Popolare, Michael Sata che attuò una vera e propria campagna anti-asiatica, vincendo così le elezioni politiche di Settembre 2011. La

strategia politica di Sata però ebbe breve vita perché da un lato si stava inimicando i Lozi che avevano tratto giovamento dall'economia cinese incrementando l'economia della Barotseland. Dall'altro lo Zambia necessitava di investimenti straniere per rafforzare la propria economia, in quanto l'economia era ancora troppo fragile per camminare con le proprie gambe.

Per tanto si può dire che nonostante i contrasti culturali lo Zambia necessita ancora del supporto dell'economia cinese, però non si può certo parlare di modello adottabile almeno non ancora. Sicuramente la Cina offre un'alternativa interessante rispetto al modello capitalista perché al contrario dei colonialisti i cinesi offrono qualcosa in cambio. Ma non si può parlare di adottare il modello cinese in Zambia, perché vorrebbe dire cambiare determinate caratteristiche culturali e politiche che sono proprie di questo stato.

Conclusioni

Concludendo si può affermare che la fragilità economica del paese è dovuta alle sue caratteristiche politiche e culturali che nel corso del tempo hanno determinato un'instabilità delle strutture sociali e incapacità di prendere determinate decisioni economiche in favore di uno sviluppo. Non si può negare il peso che ha avuto il periodo coloniale che ha minato la nascita di uno stato solido e indipendente dalle potenze straniere, creando una cultura ibrida incapace d'affrontare le sfide del mercato globale e della comunità internazionale. Inoltre le decisioni prese dalle varie classi dirigenti non hanno aiutato il paese a costruire una linea di condotta politica coerente con le esigenze economiche dello Zambia. Inoltre alcune scelte politiche sbagliate nel corso del tempo hanno provocato contrasti culturali interni alla nazione rendendo i governi ancora più instabili.

Nei capitoli successivi si è visto come il modello economico imposto dal colonialismo e la sua integrazione non è riuscito a garantire una crescita economica e uno sviluppo sostenibile dalle strutture interne. Questo lo rende inadeguato alle esigenze politiche e sociali del paese che avrebbe bisogno di un modello di sviluppo più attento alle caratteristiche di uno stato africano e postcoloniale. Nella ricerca quindi di un modello alternativo l'economia cinese sembra una possibilità allettante per favorire uno sviluppo economico basato sulla produzione industriale e sulle esportazioni. La presenza cinese divenuta sempre più preponderante in Zambia da un lato ha portato grandi benefici all'economia zambiana, dall'altro sembra ci sia un'incompatibilità culturale di fondo. L'assunzione del modello cinese da parte dello Zambia è interessante ma non possibile, in quanto il paese non è ancora pronto per assimilare strutture politiche e sociali simili a quelle della Cina. Per far ciò dovrebbe attuare un cambiamento radicale delle proprie strutture interne, mettendo da parte i contrasti socio-culturali.

Fin'ora abbiamo parlato di modelli economici che implicano non solo un sistema economico ma anche un determinato tipo di stato e di società, ci siamo riferiti pertanto a quella sfera dell'economia che si chiama "macroeconomia". Recentemente il sistema globale sembra cominciare un'inversione di tendenza, poiché si cominciano a prendere in considerazione anche aspetti di microeconomia, come lo sviluppo regionale e locale. In particolare, si sta dando una significativa importanza alla micro finanza con l'attuazione di un sistema di credito basato su prestiti minimi, il microcredito. Nei paesi in via di sviluppo l'adozione del microcredito sta mostrando risultati notevoli e anche nel territorio dello Zambia stanno prendendo piede molti progetti che finanziano i privati e le piccole imprese. La possibilità che il microcredito riesca a sconfiggere la povertà reale dello Zambia incrementando lo sviluppo regionale è reale, anche perché questo strumento economico si basa principalmente sulle caratteristiche culturali e sociali del paese in cui agisce. Lo Zambia potrebbe trovare un modello alternativo di sviluppo partendo proprio dal basso, e soddisfare in questo modo le esigenze proprie del paese.