THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF PEASANT FARMING SCHEMES IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA: A CASE STUDY OF LUNDAZI DISTRICT, 1954 - 76.

by

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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This dissertation represents my own work, and it has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or another University.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the policies of the colonial and Zambian governments on peasant farming schemes in Lundazi District. I discuss the formulation, implementation and results of these policies from 1954 to 1976. These governments provided considerable financial and technical assistance in the hope of transforming agriculture from subsistence to commercial production. I have also looked at how markets played a positive role in expanding agriculture in an area which had been considered backward for a long time. With credit and technical facilities at the disposal of the peasants, agricultural production changed because of increased use of ploughs and tractors in place of the hoe.

From 1954 to 1963, I have shown how the colonial administration concentrated on peasant farming schemes with a few selected settlers, neglecting the majority of the community in the district. I have shown how colonial technical and credit services created a socio-economic differentiation between the peasants on the schemes and those in the surrounding villages. Even among the settlers themselves, such differentiation was prevalent resulting in a few of them becoming richer than the majority. The differentiation was seen in the style of life each of them led. Some settlers, through the accumulation of wealth, put up reasonable houses which were comparable to those in towns. They also acquired tractors,

more cattle, radios, bicycles, grinding mills, shops and vehicles. Their styles of dress improved. They adopted modern and sophisticated techniques of farming such as crop rotation, use of kraal and compost manure.

From 1964 to 1976, agriculture became more developed under the Zambian government. While advocating the development of settlement schmes, the government policy incorporated the village farmers in peasant farming. Credit and technical assistance was open to everyone without discrimination. This was a reversal of the colonial administration policy which discriminated against village based farmers. Some peasants, both, on the schemes and surrounding villages, increased their agricultural incomes. Agriculture was becoming more and more scientific and mechanized than during the colonial period especially with the wide use of chemical fertilisers after 1964. The Zambian government was therefore bridging the gap between the settlers on the schemes and the village farmers.

It was at this stage that post independence loans had affected the rural locals' economy. The government was able to rescue the farmers from several financial burdens. It created institutions, like the Credit Organisation of Zambia (COZ) which was replaced by Agricultural Finance Company in 1970. These institutions gave soft loans to farmers. The Zambian government did not only concentrate on the production of a few exportable crops as was the case with the colonial administration. It diversified its economy

by growing a variety of crops. In the end it is shown that agricultural production had improved significantly, increased local population through the reduction of malnutrition among a number of families. The objective of increased food production and employment creation was partly achieved as more and more people, both, young men and adults took up farming.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has developed out of the work of the primary and secondary sources, field research with the actual informants on the settlement schemes, and some government officials. It is my pleasure to acknowledge the services rendered to me by various people, although mention cannot be made of all the help I had received.

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I would like to record my further thanks to the many librarians who gave freely of their time and who allowed me the use of their facilities. I specially thank members of staff of the University of Zambia Library and of the National Archives of Zambia for their assistance to me in locating the right material at the right time. I thank members of staff of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development at the Headquarters in Lusaka for the information

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My final stage of my research work was to write my findings after my field research. My success in doing this work should have failed without the untiring guidance and assistance of my supervisor, Dr. Ackson M. Kanduza, My greatest debt in this regard is to him, whose patient criticisms, suggestions and comments extnded as fully as they did in detail. Only lack of space prevents me from making a much fuller acknowledgment of this debt. To him, my sincere thanks will never end and I hope that the final result will not be too disappointing to him. He was with

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The maps and statistical charts were interpreted by me after consulting various materials, especially tour reports, annual reports, textbooks and the actual informants on the settlement schemes and government officials. All subsequent additions, as well as interpretations of data are solely my own.

An immeasurable debt of appreciation goes to my beloved wife, Chaliya, for her patience and encouragement throughout my two years at the University of Zambia. I pity the solitary life she led without showing signs of complaints. I should not forget my beloved children, Charles, Gertrude, Cosmas, Irene and Gift, who missed me greatly but never despaired.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFC : Agricultural Finance Company

AFIF : African Farmers Improvement Fund

AIFS : African Improved Farming Scheme

ANC : African National Congress

BSAC : British South Africa Company

COZ : Credit Organization of Zambia

DMCO : District Marketing Cooperative Office

IFS : Improved Farmers' Scheme

ECU : Eastern Cooperative Union

EPAPB : Eastern Province Agricultural Produce Board

EPCMA : Eastern Province Cooperative Marketing Association

EPMP : Eastern Province Maize Pool

FNDP : First National Development Plan

Kg : Kilogram

NAZ : National Archives of Zambia

PFA : Peasant Farming Agreement

PFS : Peasant Farming Scheme

SNDP : Second National Development Plan

TBZ : Tobacco Board of Zambia

TNDP : Third National Development Plan

UNIP : United National Independence Party

ZANC : Zambia African National Congress

NOTE ON CURRENCY

In January 1968, Zambia adopted a new currency, Kwacha (K) and Ngwee (n) replacing the pound and pence, which the country inherited at independence. One unit of kwacha is designated in ngwee where 100 ngwee is equivalent to one kwacha. From 1968 to 1976, two kwacha was roughly equivalent to one (British) pound. Although mathematically unsatisfactory, I have used K2 to be equivalent to £1. For reasons of consistence, I used the kwacha as the currency of transaction throughout the study period.

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I examine the establishment and development of peasant farming schemes and their contrubution to agricultural production and creation of employment in Lundazi District of Eastern Province. The first peasant farming scheme was Nthembwe Peasant Scheme, established in 1954 in Chief Mwase Lundazi. In 1956, Phalaza Peasant Scheme, in Chief Mwase Lundazi, was established with seven settlers. Other farming schemes were established at Luambwa in Chief Magodi in 1957, Chama in Chief Kambombo in 1958, Champheta in Chief Mphamba in 1958, Kachule in Chief Pikamalaza in 1959, Molozi in Chief Kapichila in 1962, Kamutande in Chief Mwase Lundazi in 1965, Lumezi Tobacco Scheme in Chief Mwase Lundazi in 1971 and Luwerezi in Chief Magodi in 1972[1] (see Map 1).

Peasant Farming Schemes were designed to spearhead a transition from subsistence agriculture based on shifting cultivation to commercial farming; to inject capital into the countryside and to raise the standard of living of the local people.[2] The colonial and post-colonial governments considered farming schemes as the most important agent for rural development in Lundazi District and other rural areas of Zambia. In seeking to encourage permanent cultivation, minimise rural-urban migration, the schemes also provided employment opportunities for the local population. They also acted as advertisement of benefits of farming by increasing food

production in the district.

As elsewhere in the country, the schemes were politically motivated. M.S. Muntemba made a general observation that the measures taken were aimed at 'creating a group of producers through which the government could demonstrate its concern for rural betterment and defend itself against rural discontent'.[3] These ambitions were not fully realised. Despite the government's clamp down on the political agitators in Lundazi, some chiefs, and civil servants, notably Chief Mphamba II, Senior Chief Magodi and, Chief Kapichila encouraged political activities in their areas. In 1954, the problem of contour ridging turned into a political issue. Handawey Nyirenda as Chief Mphamba II, was deposed from his chieftaincy for his political involvement and for encouraging his subjects to oppose contour-ridges.[4] Political conflict between the local population in Lundazi and the colonial government was widespread in the district from 1954 up to the time of independence. Despite this political problem, the assistance rendered to peasant farmers on the schemes by the government in a form of financial and technical support contributed to socio-economic differentiation between farmers on the schemes and farmers in the surrounding villages.

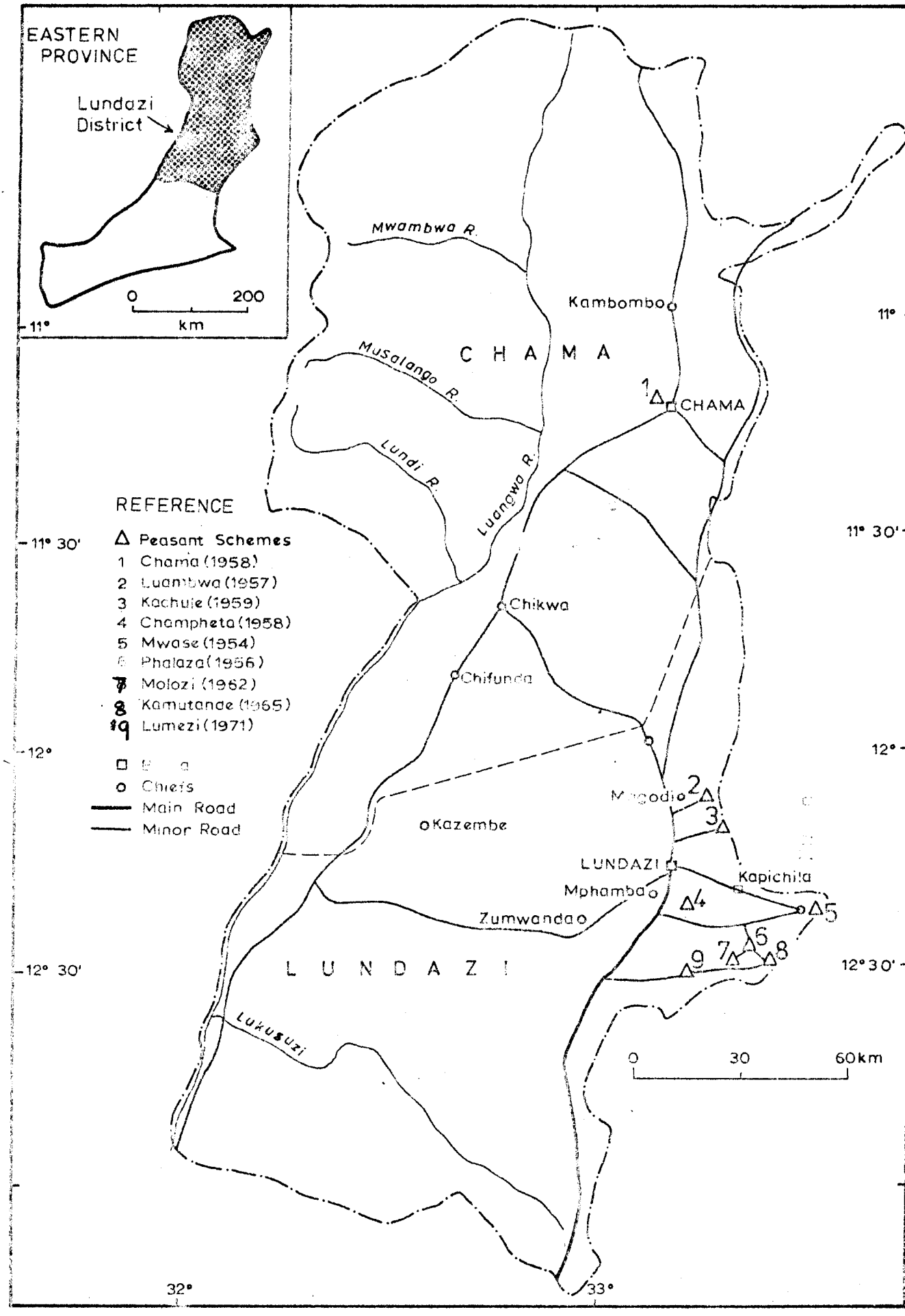
Up to January, 1969, Lundazi District included the present day Chama District. Chama became a separate political district unit in 1969. However, Lundazi District will refer to the area as it existed before the creation of Chama as an autonomous political unit because the 1969 separation between Lundazi and Chama did not

affect the framework relating to the peasant farming schemes. The details of this separation were finalised and gazetted in 1978.

The original Lundazi District lies between latitude 11° and 13° south and longitude 32° and 33° 30' east. It is bounded on the east by Malawi, on the north by Isoka District, on the west by Chinsali and Mpika Districts and on the south by Chipata District. It is approximately 324.8 kilometres long and 160 kilometres broad and covers an area of 27300 square kilometres. The physical features fall into two distinct parts. On the eastern side is the plateau which lies between 914.4 metres and 1219.2 metres above see level and which rises in the north to about 1524 metres. On the western side is the Luangwa Valley separated from the plateau by a steep escarpment. The floor of this valley is from 579.12 to 731.52 metres above the sea[5] (see map 1).

Although a few scholars, notably Kay and Van Donge, have written on agriculture and labour migration in the District, their coverage of peasant farming schemes is insufficient.[6] They have not been specific in their discussion of peasant farming schemes. For example, they do not explain how these schemes were established and developed. They simply mention chiefs' headquarters as farming schemes. I identify all the schemes in the district between 1954 and 1976 as a basis for examining and assessing their broad impact.

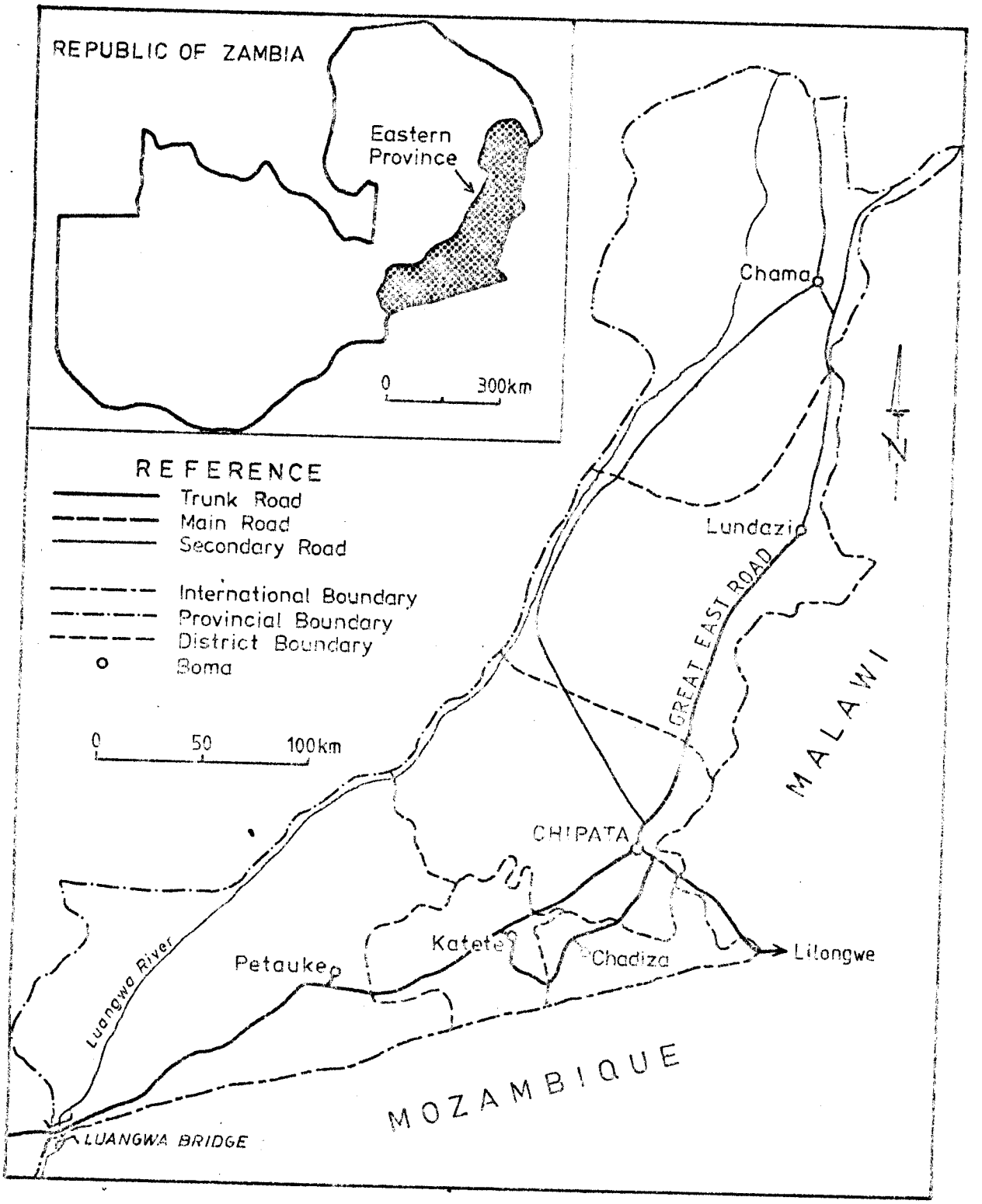
Kay's work on peasant farming in Eastern Province, and in Lundazi District in particular, goes only up to 1963. This means that little is known about peasant



Map 1 Some Peasant Farming Schemes in Lundazi District, 1954 - '76

farming schemes in the district after 1963. I also add to Kay's study through a discussion of a shift from peasant farming schemes which focussed on individual settlers during the colonial period to the family and cooperative schemes launched after the attainment of political independence in Zambia in October 1964. Van Donge concentrated his study of agriculture and labour migration on only four villages in Chief Mwase Lundazi. This can hardly be a fair representation of the district. These gaps in a few studies that focus on agricultural change in Lundazi District prompted me to pay more attention to the establishment and development of peasant farming schemes in the area.

Peasant farming schemes were established earlier in Katete in 1948 and Chipata in 1951 because of their geographical location and easy access to the central markets along the line of rail.[7] The Great East Road was more developed up to Chipata and made the marketing of agricultural commodities easy from these districts to the line of rail towns. From Chipata, the Great East Road branches into Malawi (See map 2) and until 1978, the branch road from Chipata to Lundazi, was a poorly developed gravel route. This then created a problem for Lundazi District to be opened up to commercial agriculture before 1954. It was only in 1954 that the first peasant farming scheme was established in Lundazi. I attribute the late establishment of peasant farming schemes in Lundazi to a combination of factors such as a small and unstable local market, high transport costs for agricul-

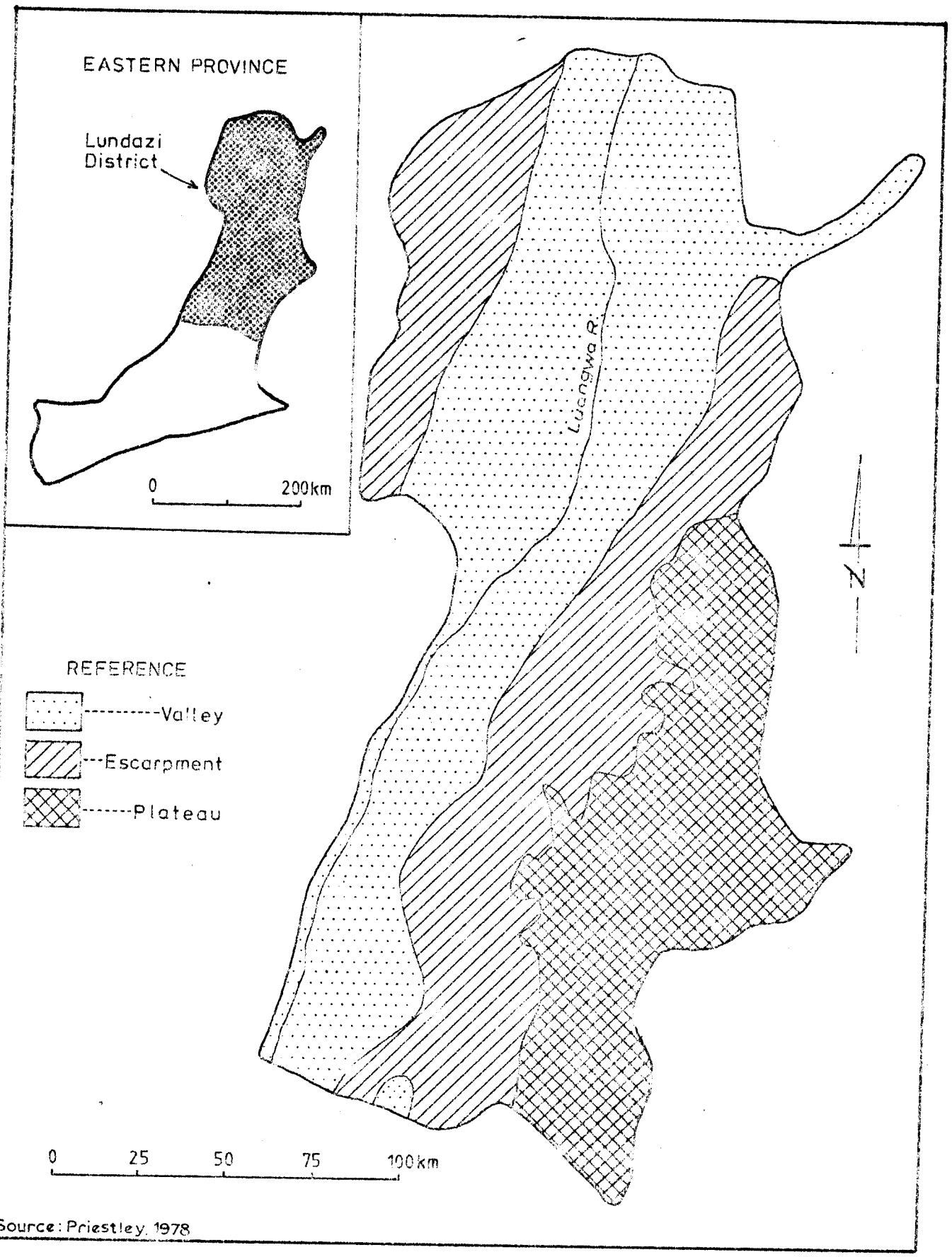


Map 2 Road System in Eastern Province.

tural inputs, lack of capital and expertise and the government's funding policy which discriminated against small scale rural producers.

For example, marketing and pricing control mechanisms adopted in the 1930s in favour of white settler farming[8] contributed to the delay in systematic intervention in African agriculture in remote areas of Zambia such as Lundazi which had no settler farming. Moreover, there was also no extensive land alienation in Lundazi District (see map 3) which caused overcrowding, soil erosion and a decline in African commercial production elsewhere in the country. This background influenced the launching of peasant farming schemes in Southern and Central Provinces and in Chipata, Katete and Petauke Districts of the Eastern Province earlier than in Lundazi District in the hope that improved African farming methods would retain soil fertility and enable Africans to contribute to food and export commodities in the wake of local food shortage and worldwide demand after the second World War.

Before the 1950s, the people of Lundazi mainly produced for their own consumption and a little surplus for local exchanges. Limited markets and transport facilities created problems for the people of Lundazi in their effort to engage in commercial agriculture. Bridges in the district, particularly in the valley, were mainly temporary, because the rivers in the area changed course during the rainy season. Godfrey S. Ndlovu, the Assistant District Agricultural Officer in Chama, recollected that:



Map 3 Physical Regions of Lundazi District.

Bridges were temporary and seasonal. They were just put up as drifts. This was so because rivers changed course year after year, and therefore, it became very difficult to erect permanent bridges. The infrastructure existed mainly during marketing season and during delivery of agricultural inputs.[9] The colonial administration regarded the area as unproductive in terms of exportable crops.

But the schemes in Lundazi District arose from a particular process of development which stretched as far back as the 1930s. State intervention in African agriculture was extensive throughout colonial Zambia and increased from the late 1930s following the establishment of marketing and pricing controls. Lundazi was not bypassed. In 1944, contour ridges were introduced but most people in the district resisted them. They argued that contour ridges either caused waterlogging or facilitated soil erosion and loss of water along the ridges as water ran parallel with the ridges and spread out at the end of the ridges. Contour ridges were also unpopular because they were labour intensive. Crop rotation was also unpopular because it was considered an uneconomic spread of scarce labour resources over given crops. In contrast, mixed cropping was favoured because the same labour was used for several crops planted in the same area. This resistance to crop rotation and contour ridging made it increasingly difficult for the district to be opened up to commercial agriculture.

The government quickly changed its earlier approach of attempting to cover the whole district at once. A piece meal approach in introducing new farming methods was adopted. The first focus in 1945 became Chief Mwase Lundazi's Palace. Resistance was still encountered as the new farming measures were tried out in other parts of Mwase's chiefdom and Lundazi District. In response to this, the colonial government embarked on the provision and improvement of infrastructure in what were identified as potential productive areas. The government also provided some financial and technical assistance to a few selected African cultivators, mainly those who had accepted the adoption of new agricultural methods. The government realized that the district had as much productive potential as some of the districts in the province, especially so in 1947 when it sold 7,000 bags of maize and a large quantity of beans and groundnuts.[10] The government was interested in the growing of cash crops which could be exported. The government also realized the importance of developing African agriculture because it saw in African production a reliable source of food supplies for the growing labour force in urban areas which was not adequately supplied by white farmers alone.

The dissertation is divided into three chapters, indicating changes in the development of peasant farming schemes and agriculture. The first chapter covers the period 1954 to 1963. Its main theme is the establishment

of peasant farming schemes and their purposes. It traces the problems which constrained African agriculture before 1954, and how these were tackled in the process of setting up peasant farming schemes. This is an account of the concentration of financial and technical assistance on a small group of settlers in the schemes.

The second chapter covers the period 1964 to 1976. It is concerned with the development of new types of schemes. The Zambian government initiated the family farms and communal cooperative farms. The chapter also deals with the problems the settlers faced on the schemes and the facilities rendered to them. It was a period when discrimination in a form of financial and technical assistance was minimised because settlers on the schemes and village based farmers received assistance from the government.

In chapter three, I assess the impact of the policies which the colonial government and the Zambian government adopted towards peasant farming schemes in the district. I argue that during the colonial period, there was more socio-economic differentiation between farmers on the schemes and the village based farmers. My argument is that the colonial government encouraged the rich-poor divide by neglecting the village based producers and favouring a few selected settlers on the schemes through the provision of credit and technical facilities.

Discriminatory provision of credit and technical services deprived some in the district of opportunities to increase their production capacity.

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CHAPTER ONE

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PEASANT FARMING SCHEMES

Introduction.

In this chapter, I deal with the transformation of agriculture from subsistence production to market-oriented production following the establishment and development of peasant farming schemes in Lundazi District. The colonial government considered the peasant farming scheme as the fundamental basis for all development work in rural areas. The long term goal of peasant farming scheme was the concentrations of population in suitable localities. I shall discuss the reasons for establishing these schemes and the varied responses of the target population.

As a background to this discussion and at the outset, I shall note briefly, some factors which led the colonial administration to take little interest in African agriculture before 1954. The government took more interest in safeguarding European farmers along the line of rail against competition from African producers. This led to neglecting remote rural areas without settler farming. Lundazi's remote geographical position, with hardly any

European settlement, was not favourable to the development of commercial agriculture. The colonial administration did not provide adequate transport and communication facilities to improve local marketing so that the district could be linked to territorial markets. The only significant link was labour migration to territorial and regional labour markets. The district was regarded as unproductive and that opening up agriculture in the area would only be a risk.[1] The government thought it would be a waste of money in view of the unproductive nature of the area to open up schemes. This would in the long run result in the awakening of political consciousness among the local people. The other argument was that such a venture would result in a loss of labour reserve.

Background to the Schemes, 1937-54

The people of Lundazi had a keen interest in agriculture for a long time prior to the 1950s. They grew crops such as maize, beans, groundnuts, tobacco and millet for their own consumption and local exchange. They also raised cattle for consumption and local sales. The main markets were mission stations, schools, chiefs' headquarters and the Boma. In 1937, maize was sold at 1 ngwee (n) per kilogram (kg), shelled groundnuts were sold at 1n per kilogram, dried beans at 1n per kilogram, sweet potatoes at 5n a large basket and tobacco at 2n per half kilogram. The price of bull was between K2 and K4,

while a cow sold at K4 to K8, a heifer at K4 to K5, a calf at 50n to K1.50n and an ox at K1.50n to K3.[2] Simple data of this kind on agricultural production and livestock led to a formulation of government intervention in African agriculture from the late 1930s which became extensive after the Second World War.

A combination of urban population growth in Northern Rhodesia and a concern for agricultural exports to Europe after the Second World War, prompted the colonial administration of Northern Rhodesia to increase its support and attention to African agriculture. M.S. Mutemba who generalised from her study of agriculture in Kabwe rural observed that:

> After the Second World War, the Northern Rhodesia government began for the first time to take a serious interest in African agriculture ..... The awakening of the interest after 1945 was in fact directly related to the unhealthy state of the metropolitan economy and the perceived need to strengthen it by encouraging the colonies to produce 'economic' i.e. exportable, crops such as cotton, groundnuts, tobacco, etc.[3]

It is in this general context that the colonial government began to take a serious interest in agriculture in Lundazi district. As this entailed, in part,

creation of employment opportunities in the district, it could be argued that there was concern with high labour migration from the district. For the whole Eastern Province, 20250 taxable males in 1937 and 18954 taxable males in 1947 were away as labour migrants. This represented 61 per cent and 56 percent of taxable males for the respective years.[4] In Lundazi District, 49 percent of taxable males were away as labour migrants in 1947. It could be interpreted that subsistence agriculture in the district was an inadequate source of money for paying taxes. Subsistence agriculture and labour migration imposed constraints on development in the district.

Against this background, in 1944 the Department of Agriculture embarked upon introducing contour ridges and other new farming practices as a way of promoting agricultural development and in the hope of creating employment opportunities in the district. The people of Lundazi District resisted the introduction of contour ridges. They felt that these caused waterlogging in their fields which in turn resulted in poor crop yields. They also argued that the ridges took most of their labour time and land for other plants because the space between the ridges could have been planted with other crops. They further stated that contour ridges did not serve any purpose because water usually ran parallel to the ridges and run off where the ridges ended.

Soil erosion was thus caused in this way. In the 1954 Lundazi Tour Report it was noted that the people felt that 'the ridges caused waterlogging and took most of the water from the gardens or that there was not enough labour available'[5]. Crop rotation was considered to impose the same problems on African agriculture as did the contour ridges. Crop rotation demanded a lot of labour because it needed more than one garden. Planting a mixture of maize, nuts, beans and other related crops would save time, land and labour.

These views did not discourage, and detract the Department of Agriculture from implementing its programme. The department counteracted that the frequent habit of making village paths at right angles to the contour ridges defeated the whole object of ridging because the paths allowed water to flow down along these paths. The department also insisted that crop rotation and the use of kraal and compost manure would increase crop yields and therefore boost food production in the district. The conflicting views of Africans and the colonial administration characterised the development of peasant farming schemes when they became introduced in 1954.

However, there was no stalemate because the Department of Agriculture made advances in 1945. In that year, some people in the district, particularly in Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi, began to adopt the new

agricultural practices. The leading farmers who accepted conservation rules were the Senior Chief Mwase; January Mwale, Wilson Mwale, Themba Chirwa and Satiel Banda in Chief Kapichila; Gideon Zulu in Chief Pikamalaza; Guduza Phiri in Chief Zumwanda and Japhet Phiri in Chief Mphamba. Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi was the most enthusiastic follower of the new farming practices. He practised crop rotation and accepted contour ridges to promote agricultural development and to check and control soil erosion. He also directed Kapasos at his Native Authority and court to teach people in his chiefdom the advantages of the new agricultural methods. In 1947, the District Commissioner was highly impressed with the new development. He remarked that:

> There have been abortive efforts in the past by individuals to build alone and cultivate their own farms. No obstacles have been put in their way;.... There is however, one such farmer thriving in this district at present who cultivates according to the methods employed by the Agricultural Department in this province, and cultivates a very large area. He is building up an orchard and I hope will make real success. Others are following his example; some have the initiatives, others I doubt. There is a more promising departure, however, in the practice of

small family groups breaking away from their villages, and building substantial homes, and cultivating their own fields.[6]

A number of people showed interest in adopting new agricultural methods. They bought ploughs, wheels and axles on which they built carts. The Chewa and Tumbuka Native Authorities sent men to Chipata to be trained in proper use of ploughs because there was no qualified Agricultural Officer in Lundazi District. Among farmers who went for training included January Mwale, Satiel Banda, Gideon Zulu, Wilson Mwale and Japhet Phiri.[7] Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi was accorded an opportunity to visit areas outside Lundazi to study the cultivation of various types of crops in 1948. In January, the Provincial Commissioner, sent him to Luapula Province where he visited Mwata Kazembe. He toured all Lunda Native Authority chiefs and studied their farms on which they grew vegetables and some other crops. He was later sent to Senga Hill in Mbala District to study irrigation scheme. In February, he went to Kanchomba station for extension work in Mazabuka to study new agricultural practices in growing crops and raising cattle. In June he was sent to Basutoland (Lesotho) to study administration, dairy farming, cattle raising and peasant farming.

When he returned from his study tours at the end of June 1948, he made a start to implement what he had learnt.

He recollected that:

> it was at this time after my study tour that I developed the idea of establishing a Native Authority farm, Dairy farm and my own peasant farm, seriously. I called a meeting of all the Chewa chiefs in the district at which they unanimously endorsed my idea. These chiefs included Kapichila, Chikomeni, Zumwanda, Kazembe, Chitungulu and Mwanya. We then bought cattle and donkeys from the Copperbelt to help in our campaign for peasant farming and dairy farming.[8]

His plan was received with mixed feelings by some of the chiefs who thought Chief Mwase was merely after developing his own area. Some of my informants who were not chiefs said that the beneficiaries were only those who were close to those in authority. Elekiya Tembo commented as follows on a Central Fund the Chewa chiefs had created:

> The money from the Central Treasury Fund benefited only those who were known by the chiefs and the <u>kapasos</u>. I cannot remember of anyone from among the subjects being offered money and sponsorship from the Central Treasury Fund. There was a lot of favouritism, and yet when it came to working

on any project, everyone of us was forced to participate. Anyone who absented himself was either fined or imprisoned.[9]

The significant validity of these sentiments is that Chief Mwase Lundazi's former messengers had similar views.

However, there were some benefits from Chief Mwase's efforts. Oxen helped greatly in cultivating the Native Authority Farm and his own. Donkeys were used for transport. The Native Authority bought a separator to make cream, butter and ghee from milk. The Native Authority also began raising pigs. In 1949, villagers and government engineers built Mwase Lundazi Dam for irrigation. The dam was also a source of fish and water for livestock during dry season and during times of poor rain fall. The people around the Chief's area benefited from this dam as they grew some vegetables near the dam. Some who were far from the Palace and dam, also benefited through their livestock which went to the dam for water.

In 1950, an orchard was opened below the Mwase Lundazi Dam under irrigation (see picture 1). The chief selected some of his subjects who accepted new agricultural practices to cultivate some plots in the orchard. He also cultivated some plots. Initially, there was a plot of eleven acres. The main crops grown included lettuce, cabbage, oranges, bananas, guavas and peach trees which he had brought from Lesotho.

MWASE IRRIGATION SCHEME, 1950



The Chief employed both permanent and temporary workers. By 1954, there were fifteen quarter acre plots. The Chief and Native Authority leased eleven one acre plots at 75n per annum.[10]

Some people received financial assistance from the Central Treasury Fund of their respective chiefdoms for the purchase of ploughs and carts to increase production. The Department of Agriculture trained men who manned the Native Treasury to supervise agricultural improvements. The Central Treasury Funds were also built up from fines of various cases at each chief's court. In addition, in Chief Mwase Lundazi, money from the Native Authority Farm was ploughed into this fund. The same fund was used to support those who went for short courses in the new agricultural methods. Some of the funds were used on Native Authority buildings, water supplies, payment of school boarding grants and the projected loans scheme. The Central Treasury Fund was financial institution built up by funds from both the Chewa and Tumbuka Native Authority Treasuries, based at the Boma.

By 1954, the colonial administration had made much progress in imposing its views on what it considered progressive farming methods, in securing the support of chiefs and setting up an institutional financial base (see Table 1) for an agricultural revolution in Lundazi District.

TABLE 1

CENTRAL TREASURY FUNDS

Native Authority	Surplus Funds 31.12.54	Expenditure 1954	Revenue 1955	Surplus Funds 31.12.55
	k n	k n	k n	k n
Chewa	31,710.00	13,692.00	18,314.00	36,334.00
Tumbuka	11,592.00	11,734.00	13,414.00	13,274.00
Senga	16,242.00	10,056.00	11,774.00	17,964.00

Source: N.A.Z., SEC2/88, Provincial and District Organization, Eastern Province Annual Report, 1954-55.

Setting up the Schemes, 1954.

The impressions formed, especially from Chief Mwase's efforts led the government to start schemes in the district. For this reason, the Department of Agriculture transferred an Agricultural Assistant from Chipata to Lundazi in 1954 to coordinate and supervise Native Authority agricultural work. This immediately coincided with an approach Chief Mwase Lundazi and Sandy Nkunika made to the Acting Provincial Commissioner for setting up peasant farming schemes in Lundazi District. While attending a provincial meeting of chiefs in Chipata, Chief Mwase Lundazi conferred with Sandy Nkunika and agreed to seek support from the provincial administration so that peasant farming schemes could be started in Lundazi.

Chief Mwase Lundazi's interest in farming was well known to the administration by 1954. Sandy Nkunika who had worked on the Copperbelt from 1951 to 1953 and in Chipata from 1954 to 1955 as a storekeeper at a government store had watched the establishment of peasant farming schemes in the country and the Eastern Province with keen interest. He had also adequately known that the government had encouraged the adoption of new farming methods since 1944 in Lundazi. Sandy Nkunika had particularly been inspired by the development of schemes

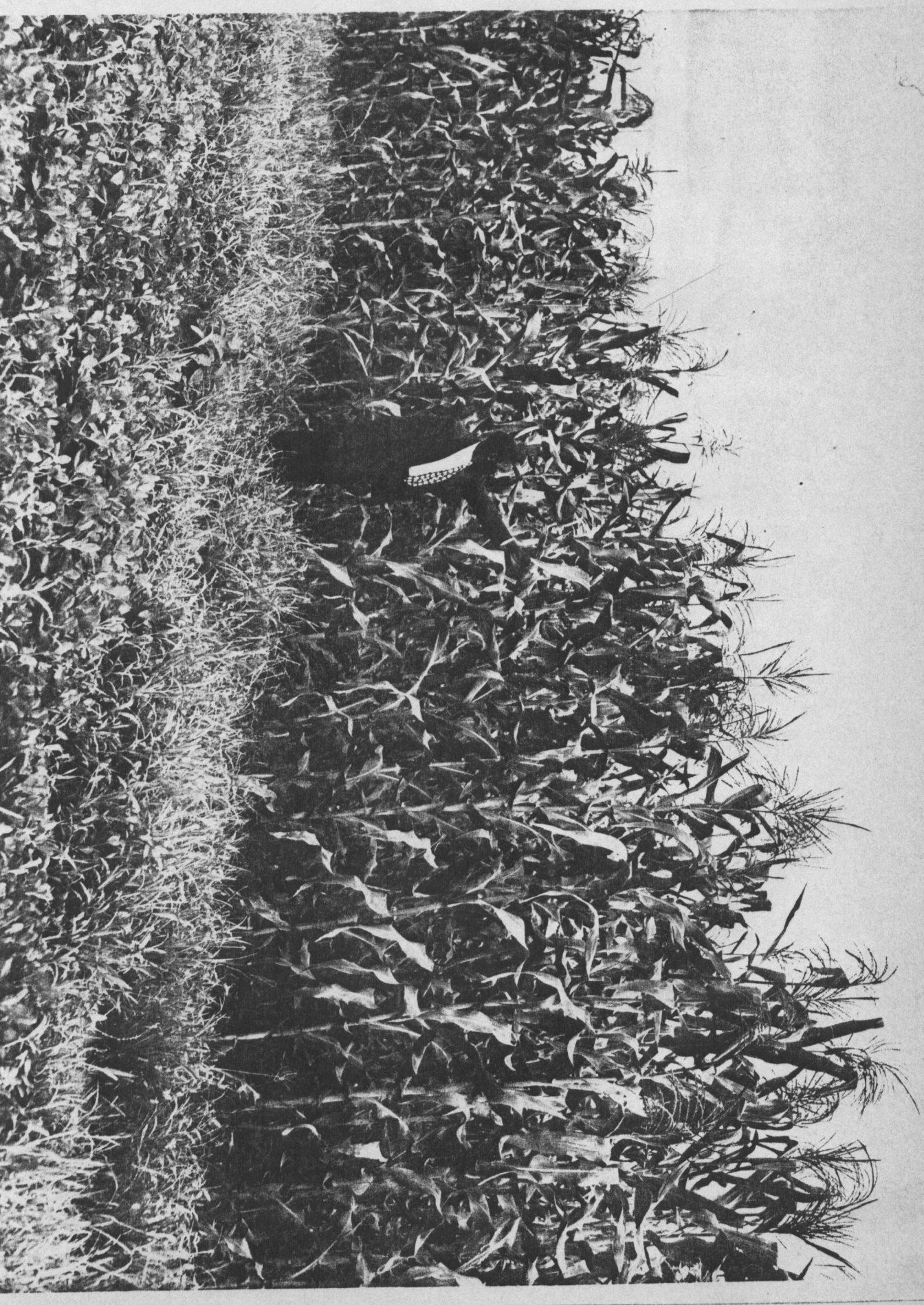
in Chipata. He had been impressed with the financial and technical assistance given to the peasant farmers in Chipata district. Nkunika and Senior Chief Mwase took up the matter with L. Bean, the Acting Provincial Commissioner. Bean assured the two men that their request would be given an urgent attention.

It appears that the Provincial administration already had plans to establish a peasant farming scheme. This is so when seen against the background of an Agricultural Assistant who was posted to Lundazi earlier in 1954 as reflection of the administration's wish to consolidate agricultural efforts it had embarked upon since 1944 in that district. Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi's Native Authority farm was redesignated a peasant farming scheme in 1954 (see picture 2). The Chief was the leading peasant farmer.

The government established peasant farming schemes in order to 'facilitate the development of commercial farming and rural prosperity by creating a nucleus of proficient peasant farmers who would, by their example, inspire others to improve their farming and seek their living from the land'.[11]

When the peasant farming schemes were introduced it was decided that they 'must do no violence to either the traditional structure or to the accepted system of land tenure, thought its establishment may well help in the evolution of both'[12]. The government had aimed at

MWASE LUNDAZI PEASANT FARMING SCHEME.



enabling people of Lundazi to stabilise their permanent cultivation in order to contribute towards territorial self-sufficiency in food and create employment in rural areas. The government also wanted the district to be self-sufficient in food and avoid the importation from other districts of food commodities it could produce. These goals were in line with the government policy of improving living standards of the rural people.

The figures of peasant farmers and improved farmers given in Table 2 between 1954 and 1963 imply that the government emphasized the creation of a nucleus of farmers who would inspire others. The population of Lundazi is estimated to have increased from 93,620 in 1954 (see Table 3) to 122,332 in 1963.[13] During the same period, and as shown in Table 2, this special group of farmers rose from ten to 411.

Extending the Schemes, 1955 - 1963.

The usage of the terms 'peasant farmer' and 'peasant farming scheme' in the official literature is unclear as the government did not define them. However, it can be explained that a peasant farmer was an agricultural producer selected by the government for resettlement on a designated farming scheme. Therefore, a peasant farming scheme was a programme of demarcating agricultural units where to resettle producers from villages and returning labour migrants who would receive government financial and technical support for agricultural production

according to farming methods which the government prescribed. Within this framework, the colonial government distinguished between a peasant farmer and an improved peasant farmer. The peasant farmers were seen as relatively rich village cultivators willing to leave their village gardens to take up farming on virgin areas which the government prepared. An improved farmer was considered to be a progressive individual who generally had assets and had advanced more than producers in villages and others on the schemes. The improved farmer had made gradual and steady progress in adopting prescribed farming methods and improving total commercial production. The improved farmer was the master farmer who had progressively reduced loan facilities from the government.

The colonial government's definition of a peasant farmer does not easily fit Saul and Woods' highly popularised definition of a peasant. To them, a peasant is a small scale producer with limited simple tools and capital whose ultimate security and subsistence lie in having certain rights inland and in the labour of family members on the land as well as being involved in a wider economic system.[14] Saul and Woods would counteract that the Northern Rhodesia Government dealt with categories of peasants who emerged as a consequence of peasant differentiation and deliberate government policy.

Notwithstanding this, it must be emphasised that the Northern Rhodesia Government deliberately sought to support promising producers and discriminated against those who were neither peasant farmers nor improved farmers. The Northern Rhodesia Government did not specify quantitatively in terms of assets, size of farm, total commercial production and income from marketed oriented farming between the categories of peasants it identified. This is evident, for example, from some individuals identified as improved farmers in 1954. Sandford Mvula, a cook at Lundazi, was an improved farmer with two acres and produced twenty-five bags of maize and five bags of groundnuts from which he realized K70.75n.[15] Headman Pendwe and Simion Kumwenda in Chief Kambombo earned K30 and K40 respectively in 1955.[16] In the same year, January Mwale, Japhet Phiri, Gideon Zulu, Wilson Mwale, Satiel Banda, Pickford Mvula, Guduza Phiri and Chief Mwase earned more than K200 from commercial farming. Thus peasant and improved farmers were varieties of peasant producers with marked differences distinguished mainly because they were selected to be recepients of services from the government agricultural policy. Improved farmers usually used family labour including dependants. They owned oxen and some farm implements like ploughs and ridgers. The government also supplied them with financial and technical assistance.

After 1954, there is a general improvement in the number of people engaged in agricultural production of some sale. This is clear from an interpretation of some statistics in Table 3 on labour and population from 1947

to 1961. This is strongly shown in column 8 of the table. In that column, the totals for the period 1947 to 1953 except 1950 and 1951 are lower than those for the period 1954 to 1961. For 1954 to 1959, the number of tax payers engaged at home in production of agricultural crops for sale is particularly high. This implies an increas in local employment and an increase in the local population engaged in peasant farming following the establishment of peasant farming schemes. This partly reveals the intended objective of developing the schemes. It is unfortunate that the statistical data is not available in column 8 for the period 1962 to 1976. There are also no direct statistics showing the number of wage labourers on the schemes brought to the district. However, there is some decline over the years 1947 to 1961 in the number of people employed within the province. One of the factors is that people from Lundazi were attracted back home to join the schemes.[17] They received news about a boom in peasant farming schemes at home. The large number of people staying at home and engaged in production of agricultural crops for sale was a result of some success in the schemes and the government propaganda which convinced some people that agricultural opportunities in Lundazi had improved. A number of people also found it extremely difficult to find employment in Chipata and Katete because settler tobacco growers were leaving the province for better possiblities elsewhere which the Federal Government had offered.[18]

TABLE 2

MEMBERSHIP OF SCHEMES, 1954-1963

Year	Peasant Farmers	Improved Farmers
1954-55	Nil	10
1955-56	Nil	15
1956-57	7	47
1957-58	31	94
1958-59	49	165
1959-60	62	251
1960-61	62	282
1961-62	75	307
1962-63	79	332
TOTAL	411	411

Sources: N.A.Z., KST3/1, Lundazi District Notebooks, vol.4, 1956-63.

: N.A.Z., SEC2/725-732, Lundazi Tour Reports, 1954-1961

: G. Kay, Changing Patterns of Settlement and Land Use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia (Hull: University of Hull, 1965).

TABLE 3

LABOUR AND POPULATION STATISTICS EASTERN PROVINCE LUNDAZI DISTRICT 1947-1961

Year	Area	Adults		Children		Taxable Males	Exempt Males	Taxpayers engaged at home in production of agricultural crops for sale	At Work for Wages						Total Population
									Locally within province	Outside Province but in Territory	Southern Rhodesia	Nyasaland	Union of South Afrika	Tanganyika	
		M	F	M	F										
1947	Chewa	8115	9751	6817	6661	6947	1149	1320	699	574	966	40	943	8	31344
	Tumbuka	6068	6925	4888	4757	5256	802	600	410	275	892	25	912	2	22638
	Senga	4819	5744	5029	4714	4257	565	-	82	382	142	13	1136	53	20306
	Total	19002	22420	16734	16132	16460	2516	1920	1191	1231	2000	78	2991	63	74288
1948	Chewa	8115	9751	6817	6661	6947	1149	1320	699	574	966	40	943	8	31344
	Tumbuka	6068	6925	4888	4757	5256	802	600	410	275	892	25	912	2	22638
	Senga	4819	5744	5029	4714	4257	562	-	82	382	142	13	1136	53	20306
	Total	19002	22420	16734	16132	16460	2516	1920	1191	1231	2000	78	2991	63	74288

1949	Chewa	8359	10259	7557	6461	7363	1007	1588	604	721	850	59	1049	-	32636
	Tumbuka	6498	7530	5515	5186	5698	800	128	378	371	983	34	911	-	24729
	Senga	4950	6073	5187	4983	4443	509	45	81	367	158	6	1217	119	21193
	Total	19807	23862	18259	16630	17504	2316	1761	1063	1459	1991	99	3177	119	78558
	Chewa	8446	10567	7644	6849	7355	1091	4041	633	916	elsewhere	171	2184	30	33506
1950	Tumbuka	6558	7717	5778	5464	5751	807	2954	385	1020	277	574	4726	142	25517
	Senga	5215	5504	5427	5287	4735	480	2697	472	189					21433
	Total	20219	23788	18849	17600	17841	2378	9692	1490	2125	277	574	4726	142	80456
	Chewa	10308	12984	9450	8501	9093	1215	4293	1337	1133					41243
1951	Tumbuka	6711	7688	6181	5714	5919	792	2981	453	1037	161	578	5466	67	26294
	Senga	5285	6677	5641	5542	4778	507	2783	468						23145
	Total	22304	27349	21272	19757	19790	2514	10057	2258	2438					90682
	Chewa	3304	3571	2680	2603	2228	287	393	310	457	264	8	112	-	11667
1952	Tumbuka	2030	1973	1649	1522	1128	179	-	126	134	210	9	222	-	
	Senga	1625	1534	1395	1370	1027	123	240	19	149	71	3	166	2	5423
	Total	6959	7078	5724	5495	4383	589	333	455	740	545	20	500	2	23636

	Chewa	11872	12312	9215	8366	12574	754	651	1162	1335	974	136	839	3	28191
1953	Tumbuka	6432	7671	5814	5366	5714	718	449	522	796	809	26	725	7	25696
	Senga	5851	5830	4822	4919	4046	408	312	219	1023	219	9	620	20	20384
	Total	24155	25813	19851	18641	22334	1880	1412	1903	3154	2002	171	2184	30	74181
	Chewa	9725	12933	10049	9070	6224	1065	1859	919	1287	526	118	559	7	41777
1954	Tumbuka	6869	8327	6301	5924	2433	778	583	397	453	226	43	279	-	27421
	Senga	5265	6837	5642	5678	2538	502	893	145	882	129	1	271	-	24422
	Total	21859	28097	21992	20672	11195	2345	3289	1461	2522	881	162	1109	7	93620
	Chewa	9919	12994	10095	9195	3566	1101	1393	435	1198	275	17	60	-	42203
1955	Tumbuka	6771	8202	6264	5962	3697	778	1502	315	1003	377	15	254	4	27199
	Senga	5413	7001	5795	5778	2805	525	1265	129	1025	98	3	221	21	23987
	Total	22103	28197	22154	20935	10068	2404	4160	879	3236	740	35	535	25	93389
	Chewa	7952	8296	7177	6825	7139	771	3024	897	1807	655	56	442	-	31250
1956	Tumbuka	2854	3804	3125	2786	2554	300	1182	370	779	304	22	207	1	12569
	Senga	6839	8762	7257	7088	6219	610	1669	171	1369	172	1	241	5	29825
	Total	17645	20862	17559	16699	15912	1681	5875	1438	3955	1131	80	890	6	73644

	Chewa	7952	8296	7177	6825	7139	771	2859	591	2114	558	27	242	2	31250
1957	Tumbuka	2854	3804	3125	2786	2554	300	971	402	759	285	8	113	6	12569
	Senga	6839	8762	7257	7088	6219	610	2589	130	2320	246	2	196	25	29825
	Total	17645	20862	17559	16699	15912	1681	6319	1123	5293	1089	37	551	33	73644
	Chewa	10037	12768	8850	8658	8982	1055	4069	663	2392	655	85	308	4	40293
1958	Tumbuka	7975	9476	7484	6903	7165	810	3319	513	2191	696	33	398	6	31828
	Senga	5436	6764	5573	5316	4882	554	2847	201	2133	262	4	117	32	23089
	Total	23448	29008	21907	20877	21029	2419	10235	1377	6816	1613	122	823	42	95210
	Chewa	9203	11692	8064	7924	8210	993	3523	846	2288	526	65	185	2	36883
1959	Tumbuka	3027	3755	3123	2871	2711	316	1239	299	740	285	25	112	4	12776
	Senga	2987	3975	2526	3382	2696	289	1627	99	1434	170	20	90	4	13868
	Total	15217	19422	13713	14177	13617	1598	6389	1244	4462	981	110	387	10	63527

	Chewa	997	1064	948	814	869	128	446	125	232	51	10	4	-	3823
1960	Tumbuka	1364	1748	1409	1230	1364	112	600	113	273	189	19	54	4	5751
	Senga	459	566	477	369	411	48	223	7	105	82	-	1	1	1881
	Total	2820	3378	2834	2413	2644	288	1269	245	610	322	29	59	5	11455
	Chewa	1940	2025	1645	1507	1757	183	369	113	324	79	2	25	-	7107
1961	Tumbuka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Senga	5092	4146	3149	2902	2790	2360	2630	156	1859	304	15	104	23	13347
	Total	7032	6171	4794	4409	4547	543	2999	269	2183	383	17	129	23	20454

Source: SEC2/723 - 732, Lundazi Tour Reports, 1947 - 1961

Although these statistics show some gaps in some columns, the general impression is that the schemes had the effect of retaining the population. However, there was out-migration because of the greater pull in the regional economy. Those who failed to join the schemes tended to continue migrating outside the district, province or territory for wage employment elsewhere. For example 50 per cent of the population left the district in 1955. In Chief Magodi's area, sixty-three were at work locally within the province, 377 were outside the province, but within the territory, 118 were in Southern Rhodesia, two were in Malawi (Nyasaland), 103 were in South Africa and one in Tanzania (Tanganyika).[19] It seems reasonable to state from the figures in Table 3 that the schemes and other agricultural activities increased following the launching of the schemes with the result that some people were encouraged to stay at home although this did not end out migrations.

Some columns show low statistics because tours were seriously affected by staff changes which considerably upset the work of the district. Detailed village to village touring therefore suffered. In 1948, comprehensive population counts were made in only 146 villages in the district which represented only 13 per-cent of the entire district.[20] Between 1957 and 1963, increased political hostility towards the government

and some members of the schemes, discouraged the district administration from making regular tours.[21] Some columns, especially under agricultural production, show decline in some years for 1952, 1956, 1957, 1960 and 1961. The problems were many which caused all this. Most areas were not easily accessible. In some cases, there were no roads, especially in the valley. This made it difficult for the District Commissioner and his staff to tour such areas to collect up-to-date data on labour and population. P.G.E. Farwell reported:

> In February 1952, in Chief Lundu area, the tour infact started disastrously and government nearly lost the services of one District Officer and one Senior Chief when the slender dug out in which we were being ferried across the Luangwa capsized. Fortunately, the reeds off shore were nearer than the crocodiles and the tour continued. The ending was also extremely damp. For a week, no sun was seen and it was either rain from above or floods underfoot or both and everyone and everything was damp.[22]

Such areas were rarely toured. Political agitators in some cases prevented local people from cooperating with the authorities between 1954 and 1963. In most cases, the authorities avoided such areas whenever they made tours.

Some political agitators agitated against the introduction of contour ridges, new agricultural practices and the close supervision of agricultural officers who sought to ensure that new agricultural rules were adhered to. Some political agitators, both chiefs and civil servants, were either dismissed or imprisoned for opposing the authorities by not cooperating with them. Chiefs Mphamba, Magodi and Kapichila stand out as chiefs who were dismissed and in some cases imprisoned for their involvement in political activities. Limited supervision of the schemes created some problems particularly for new members.

Another problem in the early stages of the schemes was unrealistic pricing and marketing facilities. The new shift to peasant schemes was impeded by the reduction of maize price by the Eastern Province Agricultural Produce Board (EPAPB). The EPAPB acted as an umbrella for primary societies. It was responsible for advancing money to all societies for the purchase of the produce. In 1955, it advanced K180,000 to cooperative societies to dinance the purchase of scheduled crops in the province. It coordinated the operations of the cooperative socieites. It started operating in Lundazi in 1954. It also bought crops and subsidized prices to the peasant farming schemes. In 1955, the E.P.A.P.B. announced that it would reduce the price of maize for Lundazi District. The cost of transport was shifted to the produce. The District Commissioner, P.G.E. Farwell, remarked:

> The news that maize producer price would be reduced next year by an unknown amount from the present level of 29n per gogogo

Plateau Farming Scheme in Chief Nsefu Lundazi in 1956 launched a by-law the process of creating schemes by the colonial administration in the district which I cited until now started in the introduction to this study. The setting up of Phalaza scheme followed a pattern that had emerged in creating these projects throughout the Eastern Province. Beginning at Phalaza, the colonial government cleared two and demarcated twelve more farms for such settlers. This was the first major attempt forming schemes on the plateau. The majority of the farmers were drawn from the improved farmers. The first settlers were drawn from three chiefs, Nsefu Lundazi, Kapichila and Mumbuzi. This was the first time that the Department of Agriculture had introduced an Impact scheme whose progressive individuals were equipped with land, capital and technical assistance to become advanced commercial farmers in a very short time'.[15] The Impact scheme was a demonstration to attract more settlers.

Of the seven farmers who initially occupied Phalaza scheme, five were retired workers and the other two had resigned from wage employment. The retired workers were Thom Mulenga Chirwa, Suza Ngulube, Elias Kabondaba, Jotiel Banda and M. Mtonga. Those who resigned from their employment were Andy Nkunika and Sowekani Chirwa. Sowekani Chirwa owned a store before and after joining the scheme. The settlers were loaned a scotch cart, a ridger, a plough, a chain and four oxen each.

The cost of a plough was K2-25, a ridger K3-50 and an ox was K36-00 in 1956.[26]

These constituted an interest free loan, to be repaid in ten yearly equal instalments. The Department of Agriculture dug communal wells for them. In the first year of their resettlement, they were provided with maize seeds, groundnuts, beans and Turkish tobacco seeds to be grown on a rotation basis. In 1957-58 season, the scheme produced 275 bags of maize, 302 bags of groundnuts and 354 bags of beans. The price of groundnuts was 95n per debbi, that is, K5-70n per bag. The price of maize was K3-50 a bag. The farmers realised K1,012.50 from maize sales.[27] Phalaza Peasant Scheme had drawn its inspiration from the developments at Chief Mwase Native Authority project. It was due to the success of this scheme that more schemes were established in various areas in the district.

In 1957, a peasant farming scheme was established at Luambwa in Chief Magodi with six farmers cultivating twelve acres each. However, the place was usually cut off from the rest of the district during rainy season. It became increasingly difficult for Agricultural Assistants to visit the settlers. C. St. J. Wallis, District Assistant, commented in 1958:

> It is not a very accessible area in the rains as two large Dambos when full of water cut it off from the main roads.

> There was only one farmer I thought
> unsatisfactory-he had done nothing to clear
> and plough his land ready for planting
> whilst all the others were well ahead
> with this work.[27]

In 1958, Chama Peasant Scheme in Chief Kambombo was established with six settlers cultivating four acres each on an experimental basis using a hoe. Farmers could not keep cattle in this area because of tsetse fly. The government had stumped the area for them using a tractor. The Department of Agriculture could not loan them ploughs, ridgers and scotch carts because the environment did not favour the raising of cattle due to tsetse fly infestation. The government stationed the tractor at the scheme for hire. The geographical position of the area and the tsetse fly infestation warranted Chama farmers tractor hire services.

The crops for rotation at Chama consisted of maize, Burley tobacco, cotton with a small part of soya beans or finger millet and groundnuts. Turkish tobacco could not grow well at Chama Peasant Farming Scheme because the soil is clayey. Turkish tobacco grows better in loamy sandy soil. The farmers did well in the initial stage, and by 1959, there were fourteen farmers at the scheme. In the same year, the average income of an individual farmer at Chama Peasant Scheme was K70.[28] With such progress, the scheme provided an inspiring example to other valley people of what could be done despite the lack of oxen due to tsetse fly infestation.

Champheta Peasant Farming Scheme, in Chief Mphamba, was also established in 1958. The initial recruits were ten, cultivating twelve acres each. In early March 1959, Kachule Peasant Farming Scheme in Chief Pikamalaza was established. It was occupied by seven settlers in the first year. The area had fourteen improved farmers in 1961. As was the case with all other farming schemes on the plateau, the farmers were loaned all the farming implements. They grew maize, groundnuts, beans and Turkish tobacco on rotational basis. Unfortunately, Champheta Scheme proved unsuitable for peasant farming. It had heavy soils which made farming difficult. It was a waterlogged place. There were plenty of stalk borers which damaged crops extensively. The scheme was abandoned after a few years in operation, due to poor planning by the Department of Agriculture. All the settlers were resettled on other peasant farming schemes in the district, mainly at Kachule Scheme, in Chief Pikamalaza.

In 1962, another peasant farming scheme was opened at Molozi, in Chief Kapichila on the plateau, with two settlers in the first year. The number rose to four in 1963. These farmers were only loaned two oxen, a ridger, a plough and a chain each. The Department of Agriculture was finding it difficult to fund these settlers due to economic constraints it faced. They were given K72 stumping

loan.[30] They employed their own workers for stumping.

The largest and most progressive farmer in the district between 1954 and 1963 was January Mwale in Chief Kapichila's area. He cultivated twenty five acres in 1957. He was among the first 'Improved Farmers' in 1954 in the district. He earned an income of K524 in 1958.[31] By 1963, he extended his farm by sixty acres. Another outstanding improved farmer was Gideon Zulu in Chief Pikamalaza. In 1959, he had a sixty acre farm run entirely by himself and his family. He had already repaid his loan to the government in 1959. He had two wives and twenty-one children.[32] Guduza Phiri, in Chief Zumwanda, was the most prosperous improved farmer. In 1959, his income was K150.[33] In Chief Mphamba's area, Japhet Phiri cultivated fourteen acres in 1957. He was the most progressive individual farmer in that area. The farmers on the plateau were more successful than those in the valley because of using cattle.

Table 4 shows a variety of domesticated animals in the district. A few goats were found in the valley because they are resistant to trypanosomiasis. On average, Peasant farmers and Improved farmers on the plateau had more animals than those outside the schemes.

TABLE 4: POPULATION OF DOMESTICATED ANIMALS 1947-1976

YEAR	CATTLE	GOATS	SHEEP	PIGS
1947	5005	4654	723	2877
1948	6068	4029	653	1487
1950	4197	312	83	37
1953	4353	214	49	not available
1954	4252	581	212	87
1955	8298	1152	521	570
1956	6287	1177	232	374
1957	4704	944	361	522
1958	5376	1211	393	592
1959	5467	1432	411	631
1960	18671	1746	312	674
1963	25312	1751	1461	1613
1966	26514	2131	1490	1654
1969	25847	1986	1520	1678
1971	17436	832	1469	1694
1972	25976	1791	2921	1611
1973	34142	2867	5069	6962
1974	14755	2970	4711	2245
1975	37833	2033	5304	2226
1976	17175	2815	5412	5825

Sources: Annual Report, Native Affairs, Lundazi District, 1947.

N.A.Z., SEC2/723-731, Lundazi Tour Report, 1954-1960.

N.A.Z., KST3/1 Lundazi District Notebooks, vol. 2, 1938-1956.

Baseline Project: Eastern Province, First Draft of Report, NCDP/UNZA, Lusaka, 1981.

N.B. There is a wide range of discrepancy in figures of animals due to the the different sources I had consulted.

The East Coast Fever was a constant menace on the plateau. In June, 1955, the Veterinary Department built a Quarantine Station at Kanyunya on the Malawi border to treat this disease which had killed 94 cattle in Chief Mwase Lundazi.[34] In 1956, the Department of Veterinary constructed a Dip Tank at Chief Mwase Lundazi at the cost of K900.[35] This was a big relief to the owners of cattle.

Initially, the development of agriculture was impeded by limited marketing and transport facilities. There was no organized market system, and consumers usually sent their representatives to arrange purchases of crops in the villages. Roads and bridges were poor and undeveloped. The only reliable transportation system traversing the district was from Lundazi Boma to Chipata.

Improvement in road transport to serve the schemes resulted partly from the need to support Producer and Marketing Cooperatives that began to be established in the district in 1951. In 1951, Chimaliro, Membe, and Mkaya Producers' Cooperative Societies were established. In 1952, Kapichila, Sitwe, Chikomeni and Luwerezi Producers' Cooperative Societies were also established. They operated rural buying stations and dispatched the produce to various consumers within the district. A company known as Gaye and Milling Company, based in Chipata, established maize markets at Nthembwe, Kapichila and Chikomeni on behalf of the Eastern Produce Maize Pool. Goodfellow Gush from Chipata was a well known buyer. In 1952, it bought 2970 bags of maize from these markets at K1.65n per bag. In that year, the Department of Agriculture bought 36,000 lbs (18,000 kilograms) of cotton, 1060 bags of groundnuts, 863 bags of beans, ninety bags of rice and 639 bags of millet from the district.[35] Improved transport infrastructure and commodity sales are a result of

increased government involvement in agriculture through farming schemes.

In Chief Zumwanda's area, where a cooperative society had not been established by 1956, over 40 per cent of the scheme members had a surplus of maize to sell. They complained about lack of market facilities and asked for Gush to be allowed to buy crops from their area. They also preferred to receive payment in cash, rather than cloth or soap.[37] In 1955, the Luangwa Valley Scheme was formed in Chama. It was a marketing organization. In 1956, Zumwanda Producers' Cooperative Society was formed.[38] These operated rural buying stations. Table 5 on page 54 shows crop sales in the district from 1951 - 1960.

In Chief Pikamalaza, Membe Cooperative Marketing Society, with sixty-five members, bought 958 bags of groundnuts, twenty nine bags of beans, sixty bags of cow-peas, sixteen bags of millet, two bags of pigeon-peas and one bag of ground beans in 1956; realizing K5174.[39] In 1957, it marketed three bags of maize, 159 bags of groundnuts, eleven bags of beans two and half bags of pigeon-peas and one bag of ground beans, realizing K872.[40] Most of the producers sold their crops in Malawi. This shows how low prices can deflect crop sales from national markets. Mathias Banda gave a number of reasons why farmers sold their crops in Malawi.[41] He told me that from

TABLE 5:

Crop Purchases in Lundazi District, 1951 - 1960

Year	Maize (bags)	G/nuts (bags)	Beans (bags)	Cotton (lbs)	Rice (bags)	Millet (bags)
1951	3900	565	1100		40	440
1952	2970	1060	409	36678	97	639
1953	3633	890	333	36322	20	461
1954	7421	334	372	32469	40	264
1955	13400	915	1421	27578	131	171
1956	24800	2958	329	n.a	n.a	316
1957	31656	1770	615	n.a	n.a	n.a
1958	27681	2153	363	n.a	n.a	n.a
1959	36791	2870	762	n.a	n.a	n.a
1960	41842	1692	469	n.a.	n.a	n.a

n.a. stands for 'not available'.

Sources: N.A.Z. SEC2/720 - 732, Lundazi Tour Reports, 1951 - 61

1958, Malawi offered attractive producer prices for groundnuts. Lojwa, Chisinga and Izilayale markets in Malawi are along the border and very close to farming schemes in Lundazi, Zambia. When the price of groundnuts was 85n a gogogo in Zambia in 1958, it was between K1 and K1.10n in Malawi.[42] However, there was an improvement in 1958. The same Cooperative Society had bought 354 bags of groundnuts in 1958 as against 159 bags in 1957. This was undoubtedly due to the rise in producer price from 85n to 95n per gogogo.[43] In Chief Mwase Lundazi, the Chimaliro Producers' Cooperative Society had handled 611 bags of groundnuts, 452 bags of maize and 404 bags of beans in 1957, as against 2,486 bags of groundnuts, 1851 bags of maize and thirteen bags of beans in 1958.[44]

Marketing of crops was a big problem in the valley. D.A. Penn, District Commissioner had noted in 1957:

> Marketing here, as elsewhere in the valley, is a large sized headache. To establish markets every 10 miles (16 kilometres) or so, with attendant costs for Capitaos and transport would make all crops uneconomic to purchase or bring the price down to the growers, below a figure they would accept.[45]

This made it difficult to open up large Peasant farms throughout the valley area. Communications were

limited to the main valley road with access roads to Lundazi via Kazembe and Chitungulu and Mbuzi. During the wet season all roads were closed to motor transport. Unlike the plateau, the prople in the valley had no cattle that could be used to draw carts. By denying the people fairly accessible market and communication facilities, the encouragement to grow more lost its impetus. P.W.H. North, Cadet, commented in 1961:

> One of the main problems which hinders any form of development in the northern part of Senga country is the lack of even a dry road. Chiwale is even more remote being a further 15 miles (24 kilometres) beyond Mulilo on the western bank of the Luangwa. The big obstacle at Sitwe to Chikontha to Mulilo is at the very start, the crossing of the Luwumbu river at Sitwe. It is certainly out of question to attempt a crossing by vehicle at this time of the year although it is probably possible after the middle of July.[46]

It was difficult to run markets in the valley because of such problems.

Although peasant farmers had access to credit facilities, these were not fairly disbursed. The government concentrated their financial support on those who

were already well-off. The Department of Agriculture at times avoided giving loans to some farmers because such farmers rarely repaid the loans. It was difficult to pay back loans during seasons of poor yields and when poor prices and marketing facilities adversely affected sales. From 1960 the government concentrated loans on those who repaid. Such treatment of farmers was also noted in Mazabuka and Monze Districts. Momba observed that:

> rich peasants have a monopoly of access to all the kinds of agricultural credit open to farmers. The poor peasants have difficulties in securing regular state credits because of their poor repayment rate.[47]

The level of indebtedness is difficult to establish for the farming schemes in Lundazi because of lack of records.

As far back as 1957, the government had been concerned about the problems which the farmers faced. Improvement of transport in a physical setting like Lundazi needed considerable funds. The government did not provide these. However, other means were tried to encourage producers on the schemes. J.H. Burges, District Commissioner, during his tour of the area commented in 1959:

> Films on agriculture, combined with talks and pamphlet 'hand-outs' were given each night, and certainly caused considerable

entertainment to local people in this area. The area is undoubtedly becoming agriculture minded and this simple entertaining form of propaganda may well fall on receptive ground. Further applications for peasant farms were received during the tour and Phalaza Block of farms continues to set an excellent example.[48]

Improvement in crop production was usually high in a number of areas such as Magodi, Kapichila, Pikamalaza and Mphamba, where there were big peasant farming schemes producing different crops.

Economic and social differentiation can be seen in a number of ways such as the number of acres each farmer cultivated and also the output from their acres. The other thing is to see how many of these were previously in wage labour before they joined peasant farming schemes and how they fared in farming. Of the twenty five farmers at Phalaza Peasant Farming Scheme, five or 20 per cent, had extended their acres to thirty in 1963. They were producing an average of sixty bags of groundnuts, 100 bags of maize, ten bales of Turkish tobacco, fifteen bags of beans and five bags of millet. Ten of the twenty five farmers extended their acres to twenty producing an average of forty bags of groundnuts, sixty five bags of maize, ten bags of beans, five bales

of Turkish tobacco and three bags of millet. The ten farmers in the second group represented 40 per cent. Seven of the twenty five farmers extended their acres to twelve, producing thirty bags of groundnuts, forty five bags of maize, five bags of beans, three bags of millet and three bales of Turkish tobacco. The seven farmers in this third category represented 28 per cent. Two of the farmers represented by 8 per cent, extended their acres to five, producing two bags of groundnuts, sixteen bags of maize and one bale of Turkish tobacco. One of the farmers, representing 4 per cent of the group, cultivated two acres, producing only seven bags of maize and no other crop.

In 1962/63 season, each of five farmers earned K410 from maize sales, K180 from groundnuts sales, K45 from beans sales and K120 from Turkish tobacco sales on average. The richest farmers on the scheme earned a total of K765 in 1963. These are the farmers who managed to engage permanent workers. Satiel Banda, Sandy Nkunika, Thom Kalenje, Chidula Mtonga and M. Mtonga used to employ three to five permanent workers. The other ten farmers in the second group, at times managed to employ permanent workers. These farmers usually employed less than three permanent workers. The remaining farmers, who formed 40 per cent in all, were unable to engage perma-

nent workers because the income they earned was insufficient. They depended on family labour. There was one farmer, at this scheme (Phalaza), who could even work for fellow farmers for his livelihood. He only earned K48.85n from his sales.[49] However, some farmers do not remember how many permanent workers they had but they also used many auxiliaries for ganyu (piece-work). The scheme provided employment to some local people either on permanent or temporary basis. It contributed to the decline of rural-urban migration. Some settlers took up farming as their career for life.

Livestock was another means through which to measure socio-economic differentiation. Those farmers who owned more cattle took advantage of possibilities of agricultural production for the market which was increasingly based on ploughs and oxen. These farmers had large labour resources and owned a wide range of agricultural equipment. They had access to draught power in almost all cases. Some of them owned tractors, cultivators, scotch carts, and many other types of equipment.

I interviewed twenty farmers in surrounding villages to broaden the basis of my assessing peasant farmers. The majority of these started peasant farming during colonial administration. Three farmers, that is, 15 per cent, extended their farms to fifteen acres, producing twenty bags of groundnuts, forty bags of maize, eight bags of

beans, two bags of millet and five bales of Turkish tobacco on average. They earned K120 from groundnuts sales, K164 from maize sales, K24 from beans and K50 from Turkish tobacco sales. Tryson July Phiri and Aziwell Banda were earning such income in 1960 and 1961.[50] Clearly, a majority of the farmers on the schemes did better than most of those in the villages.

Most of the farmers who succeeded in their farming venture were those who had retired from wage employment and those who resigned from their jobs. These farmers were able to spend some of their pension benefits on developing their farms. Some had other businesses which helped them to extend their land under cultivation. Both the retired workers and those doing other businesses, were on average more successful. This was the trend with all peasant farming schemes I visited. Satiel Banda retired from employment and became a prosperous farmer owning a tractor, a cultivator, two grinding mills, maize and nut shellers and enough livestock. Thom Kalenje was a retired worker who became a prosperous farmer too. He owned a grinding mill, nut sheller, a vehicle and enough livestock.

Schemes and Politics

The introduction of new farming methods in the 1940s, the Peasant Farming Schemes in the 1950s and 1960s and their development took place at a time of active anti-colonial protest. I noted in the introduction Muntemba's argument that rural development schemes were intended to stem anti-colonial protest as the schemes were hoped to demonstrate the colonial government's concern for rural areas. She further pointed out that these schemes were anticipated to produce a rural leadership which would facilitate the implementation of colonial policies and weaken nationalism in rural areas. These anticipated goals were not fully realised. Those who were not in the schemes felt discriminated against and worked towards frustrating the schemes. They created an atmosphere where it was difficult for field officers to work. They also directed their hostility to those who had joined the schemes in the hope of forcing them to abandon the scheme and broaden the forces against colonialism. While this may appear to have turned peasant against peasant or African against African, the ultimate goal was to weaken colonial institutions and African collaborators. Below I sketch out details of the anti-colonial protest in Lundazi.

Limited and selective development patterns forced implementation of contour ridges and tax levies turned the colonial administration into an unsolicited recruiter of

membership for the nationalist movement. Magodi who was recalled from Southern Rhodesia in 1945 to become chief gave active support to African National Congress from 1952. He allowed Congress meetings and assigned his Kapasos to collect funds for Congress. He opposed contour ridges and encouraged his subjects not to accept them. In 1952, he was imprisoned for diverting government funds to Congress. He annually levied his subjects 25n for Congress per head.[51] In 1953, Chief Kapichila also became involved in Congress activities. He levied his subjects 25n per head annually for Congress.[52]

Chief Mphamba's area was 'Congress minded'. Mphamba led his people in opposing government agricultural policies. He was surrounded by 'Intellectuals' at his court. Most notable were Medson Manda, a court clerk with Standard VI; Petros Mtonga, a Kapaso with Standard IV, Japhet Nyirenda, Deputy Mphamba with Standard VI, and Gideon Luhana, Headmaster of Mphamba Middle School with Standard VI. Poor state support for African based production gave rise to African resistance to colonial rule. In 1954, Handawey Nyirenda, Chief Mphamba II was dismissed for his political activities which included his opposition to new agricultural policies. He had constantly held African National Congress meetings in his palace and

allowed local leaders to collect funds for the Congress. He was replaced by his nephew, Green Zulu, as Chief Mphamba III.[53]

The colonial government thought that by resettling some few selected Africans on peasant farming schemes, it would weaken and finally destroy African nationalism. In actual fact, farmers continued joining the schemes because they knew that that was the only way of obtaining credit and technical facilities from the government. The colonial government had placed more emphasis on peasant farming schemes as the only way of increasing food production and winning Africans on its side.

In 1956, Ndeketeya Mwale, Chief Kapichila, was deposed for his involvement in Congress activities. He opposed new agricultural policies. He urged his subjects to oppose contour ridges. Jeriko Lungu, in Chief Magodi's area, ex-policeman was imprisoned in Jort Jameson Prison (Chipata Prison) for Congress activities. He also told his supporters, not to pay taxes, at the meetings he held.

The situation of political activity was so widespread in the district, to the extent, that the administrators began going round discussing political activities with Chiefs and their subjects. In 1957, J.M. Willson, Cadet, discussed with new Chief Kapichila and his subjects, the importance of developing agriculture. He also discussed the activities of the African National Congress in the area, and asked the Chief to put an end to such

activities because they retarded development. The Congress sympathisers opposed the ban on Congress activities. One of them said, 'If Congress is not to be banned, will you repay the contributions which you (the Chiefs) authorized'?[54] Meanwhile Wycliffe Phiri, a local Congress Secretary in Chief Mwase moved to Chief Kapichila's area and lived in Masalu Chitekeska Village in 1957. In the same year, Bright Zulu, a Congress representative from Chipata held several meetings in defiance of Native Authority Orders. He was imprisoned for six months for refusing to obey Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi when he ordered him to leave the area.

Despite dismissals and imprisonment of Chiefs Mphamba II, Magodi and Kapichila, and other Congress leaders, political activities and consciousness spread to all parts of Lundazi. H.T. Kirwan-Tailor, Cadet, said in 1958:

> There remain certain undesirable characters whom while now without authority require 'watching', and the Boma, most welcome as a source of employment, does harbour its share to Teddy-boys with inflated ideas of their importance and money to flash around in the 'Hop' country just a step across the Lundazi River.[55]

Things became bad in the district. In 1958, the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) broke away from political ANC because the political activists felt that the latter was not forceful enough to achieve independence. ZANC continued discouraging people from accepting contour ridges and tax. In 1959, it was banned, but it quickly reorganized itself into United National Independence Party (UNIP). There was open and active participation in nationalism activities on an increased scale from 1957.

Between 1960 and 1963, the schemes faced the problem of nationalism. This showed itself in a number of disturbances in the district. A number of farmers had their crops destroyed. The majority of farmers were accused of collaborating with the colonial government. M. Moyo, a Youth Publicity Secretary of Nthembwe Branch recollected that:

> We resorted to crop and other property destruction because we knew that that was the only language the colonial administration and its agents could understand in the district. We knew those farmers on the schemes who were sell-outs and collaborators with the colonialists, and those were the only ones whose crops and other property were destroyed. This was why some were banished to Malawi in 1963 and 1964.[56]

The Native Authority Farm at Mwase was extensively damaged and livestock destroyed during the disturbances. The road between Lundazi Boma and Chief Mwase was blocked, a number of schools were burned and bridges destroyed. The local leaders urged people to burn their chitupas (certificates or passes). The other reason for opposing colonial administration was connected with racial discrimination. The Africans were subjected to carrying passes and certain categories of jobs were reserved for whites only regardless of qualification. M. Moyo was an ordinary peasant farmer in Muchelu village. At this time farmers on the schemes suffered. Their Turkish tobacco, groundnuts and maize were thrashed. Their groundnuts were dug before they were ready. Thom Kalenje, Setiel Banda on Phalaza and January Mwale at Changaliwa suffered this punishment. There were a few more who suffered this punishment who I could not identify. This time of political disturbance, retarded development in agriculture both on the scheme and in the surrounding villages. Phalaza Dip Tank was set on fire. The political parties had played a decisive role in articulating local people's grievances against colonial administration between 1952 and 1962. Local politicians conducted political meetings, organized boycotts and encouraged non-compliance with administrative regulations.

S. Moyo, a local Branch Chairman of UNIP in Senior Chief Mwase's area, recollected that it was too late for the colonial government to change their minds. They had already suffered enough and that those who supported colonialism would suffer once independence was won.[57] This feeling of nationalism and vengeance was found in other parts of the country. Muntemba had said the same about her area of study, Kabwe Rural District. She said:

> African nationalism accelerated; the government found it necessary to create a rural

> Kulak class (rich farmers) to deflect African political aspirations. The contradictions between settler' role to provide the agricultural requirements and their inadequacies was resolved by inviting some African producers from selected areas in the reserves of the Southern, Central and Eastern Provinces to service settler agriculture. The government cautiously became more involved in attempt to raise the productivity of African producers.[58]

On 12 January, 1961, W.A. Milligan, District Assistant, held a meeting with Senior Chief Magodi and his two Chiefs, Pikamalaza and Mphamba. They discussed politics, political parties and agricultural development in the district. The new Chief Magodi said that politics would not be allowed to play part in the life of his community if they were going to disturb the peace and development of the area. He went on to say that his people were happy mainly due to the excellent work of the Agricultural Department. He said:

> Politics is the cause of trouble in every country in the world. We have no politics here and we are happy and that is the way things will remain for as long as I am in a position to keep them so.[59]

Milligan observed that Chief Magodi was keeping his head too firmly in the sand, but on the other hand it was

difficult not to agree with him openly. The District Commissioner on the other hand doubted what Senior Chief Magodi said. He noted that Magodi and his Chiefs were reactionary in the extreme and that they were failing to come to terms with the new political conditions. He commented:

> The Tumbuka Chiefs are too close to Nyasaland (Malawi) to be able to 'bury their heads in the sand'. They are conscious of the political problems of this territory, but they feel that they cannot afford to come to terms with new political leaders unless those leaders show some respect for the chiefs' traditional authority. They prefer to discuss their future from strength and not from weakness.[60]

The colonial government realized that political consciousness had spread to every corner of the district and adversely affected the provision of services to Peasant Farmers and Improved Farmers. It should also be noted that T. Rasmussen and J.C. Momba, have cited data such as I collected from Lundazi to explain factors leading to Peasant involvement in nationalist politics.[61] The chances were extremely high in Lundazi for the Peasant Farmers, Improved Farmers and those outside the

Schemes to join nationalist politics because of the discriminatory nature of the Schemes policy and the continuing transport, pricing and marketing problems which faced the Peasant Farming and Improved Farmers Schemes.

Conclusion.

By 1963, peasant farming schemes had not fully developed because physical infrastructural, marketing, financial and technical facilities had not fully developed in the district. The colonial administration did not provide adequate transport and communication facilities to improve local marketing system and to link the district to territorial markets. The only main road was a branch gravel road from Chipata to Lundazi which was poorly developed. In the initial stage of the establishment of peasant farming scheme, labour migration had seriously affected its development, as the villages were occupied by a horde of women supported by a handful of elderly men and weaklings. The problem of developing peasant farming schemes was further compounded by political events in the district. The local people led by some of the chiefs and local political leaders, opposed new agricultural policies, especially contour ridges and rotational cropping. They also opposed all forms of taxes.

By 1963, there existed a danger that peasant farming schemes might lose their intended objective of creating employment and making the district self-sufficient in food production for the local people.

Further, socio-economic differentiation had consolidated between farmers on the schemes and the village based farmers because the colonial government had continued concentrating its financial and technical assistance on only a few selected settlers on the schemes.

Generally, more and more local people continued returning home from wage employment to take up farming. In the next chapter, I shall discuss how the Zambian government attempted to stimulate both, farmers on the schemes and the village based farmers to take up farming seriously immediately after independence.

CHAPTER ONE - FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEMS OF PEASANT FARMING SCHEMES, 1964 - 76

Introduction

In the first chapter, I looked at the establishment and development of peasant farming schemes in Lundazi District from 1954 to 1963. The official view was that the schemes were a strategy for boosting agriculture and development in the district. I also examined the target population's socio-economic and political reaction. In this chapter, I discuss the development of agriculture through settlement schemes, and a number of projects initiated in order to improve agricultural output from 1964 to 1976. The chapter is divided into two phases, in the first phase I deal with the development of the schemes from 1964 to 1972. In the second part, I examine the development of schemes during the Second National Development Plan, 1972-76. This discussion is set in the context of various steps which the government took aimed at self-sufficiency in food production in the district and in the rural areas of Zambia in general.

Development of the Schemes, 1964 - 1972.

In the colonial period, there were two types of schemes, the peasant farming scheme and the improved farmers' scheme. In the context of this, the Zambian

government introduced family farming schemes and expanded farming cooperative schemes from 1965 and continued with the colonial schemes. The aim of the government was to bring 'thousands of peasant households in the cash economy and to develop rural areas and halt rural-urban migration'.[1] The farming cooperatives were also intended 'to create conditions for self-employment and to boost food production' in the district and the country in general.[2] The Zambian government embarked on a programme of providing 'governmental inputs in such items as credits, fertilizers, extension services and infrastructure including merketing and storage facilities'.[3] It developed water conservation systems, irrigation, transportation and communication. Kalyalya who studied transport and communications in Chama and Lundazi noted that an adequate and efficient transport and communications system was a necessary precondition for the economic development.[4] Marketing facilities were open to all producers. The government established settlement schemes in 'sparsely populated areas where shifting farming was practised for the purpose of concentrating people and stabilising agriculture in order to allow intensification of agricultural extension advice, education, health and administrative facilities'.[5] The peasant farming schemes established after independence were Kamutande in 1965, farming cooperative schemes at Mkomba in Chief Kapichila, Tayani and Sambwa in Chief Mwase

Ziko in Chief Zumwanda, Manda Hill in Chief Magodi and Champheta in Chief Mphamba in 1965, Lumezi in 1971 in Chief Mwase and Luwerezi in 1972 in Chief Magodi.[6] These schemes were in addition to the existing ones at Phalaza, Luambwa, Chama, Kachule and Molozi established by the colonial administration.

There was a Committee for selecting settlers for the peasant farming schemes. It comprised staff from the Department of Agriculture, Ward Councillors, Chiefs, Headmen and members from the Office of the District Governor. Before 1964, the Native Authority, Headmen and members of the Department of Agriculture selected people for the schemes. The procedure for selection before and after independence was similar. Wherever possible, the settlement unit had to be capable of supporting and being managed by one family. In this case, the committee considered the size of the family, past experience in farming, age and willingness to live in a community.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development involved other Ministries such as those dealing with Education and Health when planning and setting up scheme units in the district. The government provided social services such as schools and health centres when developing peasant farming schemes. Phalaza Primary School was built at Phalaza in 1968. Robert Nyika Rural Health Centre was built near Phalaza in 1975. At Molozi, Kapangula

was built during colonial administration and Ng'onga Clinic at Lumezi Tobacco Scheme was provided in 1972. Kamutande has a nearby primary school at Kapangula and a clinic at Ngonga. Ng'onga primary school and clinic were built at Lumezi Tobacco Scheme in 1972. There is also Lumezi Mission Hospital built before independence, near Lumezi Tobacco Scheme which also caters for Molozi and Kamutande. Champheta had a primary school at Kapera and Lundazi District Hospital which also caters for all the schemes on the plateau. Luambwa has primary schools at Magodi and Chasefu and a dispensary at Kanyanga Mission School. Kachule has primary schools at Pikamalaza and Chijemu. Mwase has a primary school and a dispensary at Chief Mwase. Lundazi Secondary School was built in 1965 for the plateau and valley people. Chama has Chama Primary and Secondary Schools. There is also Chama rural district hospital. Phalaza and Ng'onga primary schools, Lundazi and Chama Secondary Schools and Ng'onga and Robert Nyika clinics were established after independence. These institutions were of great importance to the farmers and their children for imparting educational skills which also helped them in farming. Health centres were established to keep the farmers healthy so that they could increase and develop agricultural production.

Most peasant farmers in Lundazi still lacked adeqeate agricultural technology and skills. They were finding it difficult to cope with new agricultural methods. They used to encounter problems in applying the right amount

of fertilizer on each crop. Few farmers had attended agricultural courses and the majority had inadequate education to master new and complex problems of crop rotation. Of the ninety farmers that I interviewed on the schemes, twenty-seven or thirty per cent had four years of schooling, twenty-seven or thirty per cent had six years of schooling, eighteen or twenty per cent had eight years of schooling, one or one per cent had a General Certificate of Education and seventeen or nineteen per cent had either gone up to Sub-standard 8(Grade Two) or had not been to school. Table 6 shows the academic background of peasant farmers at various settlement schemes. The table is based on interviews with seventy-five people who formed the schemes in the 1950s and fifteen who joined the schemes in 1974.

TABLE 6

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND OF PEASANT FARMERS, 1974

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	No Schooling	%	Four Years Schooling	%	Four-Eight Years Schooling	%
Phalaza	25	46-73	3	12	16	64	6	24
Molozi	22	38-70	4	16	13	52	5	20
Kamutande	21	40-80	2	8	12	48	7	28
Lumezi	10	39-65	4	16	2	8	4	16
Chama	12	45-70	4	16	4	16	2	8

Note: Only Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi had gone as far as G.C.E.

Source: Interviews, December, 1986-January, 1987; June, 1987.

Of the twenty village based farmers that I interviewed, fourteen or seventy per cent had four years of schooling, four or twenty per cent had six years of schooling and two or ten per cent had not attended school. These people needed education to equip them with skills to master new and complex farming methods. The acquisition of new ideas and skills would help them to plan, criticize and evaluate their work. They would learn to measure the amount of fertilizer for their crops since not all crops need the same amount of fertilizer. They would learn the spacing of crops when planting. These farmers would readily accept change in agriculture. With the 'diffusion of hybrid seed and chemical fertilizer',[7] education would equip the farmers with the necessary skills to switch to new agricultural change. Since Agricultural Assistants rarely paid them visits, education would enable farmers cope with the introduction of new seeds and fertilizers. Irregular visits from the agricultural advisors and the methods of imparting new farming methods (which I discuss below) emphasized the fact that a certain level of literacy was necessary in the target population.

The government provided the settlers on the schemes and in the surrounding villages with management and mechanization services which included tractors and other implements. The Department of Agriculture employed settlement advisors who supervised physical development of the projects and maintenance of roads, water supply and soil

conservation works. The advisors were expected to help the farmers solve their problems connected with obtaining credit, purchasing seeds, fertilizers and animal husbandry, hiring tractors and marketing procedure. It also provided subsidies for clearing and stumping and loan facilities. The aim of the government was to create 'permanent family farming cooperative settlements with participants engaged in mixed farming, vegetable growing, poultry and animal husbandry'.[8] Cooperatives were communal. The government sought to provide common services to member societies and be responsible for tractors and implements previously loaned to individual societies. It provided sufficient cleared land for the first year of the farming system proposed for each farmer as an interest free loan, which would be repaid by an annuity charge over a period of fourteen years.[9] It constructed access roads to each farm on the scheme and provided wells and boreholes as communal water sources.

The government also increased extension services to all peasant families, instead of concentrating only on farmers on the settlement schemes. Unfortunately, this change in state policy was not matched by a rapid increase in the number of extension officers, so much so that in 1965, there were approximately 580 peasant families per extension officer of the Department of Agriculture throughout the country.[10]

The government continued developing physical infrastructure such as roads and marketing facilities in order to encourage farmers to increase food production. It gave prime importance to settlement schemes of commercially-oriented family farms, although its overall objective was to raise the living standards of the rural dwellers and the creation of employment opportunities. The commercially-oriented farmers, were to act as advertisements to the villagers in the subsistence sector who were not ready to commence farming on a small scale commercial farmers' level. There was an element of discrimination in this practice along the lines of the colonial government's policy on schemes. The policy of the government at this stage was to encourage a large number of rather unwilling family farmers, to cultivate large acreages in the hope that many would eventually become enthusiastic producers, through commercially-oriented enthusiasts. This was why the government also extended its credit and technical services to villagers. The government introduced new crops and husbandry methods, encouraged the formation of cooperatives and provided inexpensive mechanized services.[11]

There were different ways in which the Department of Agriculture encouraged peasant farmers on the schemes to increase productivity in the district. One way was the organization of annual Agricultural shows where farmers

had an opportunity of seeing what other farmers were doing on various settlement schemes. They learnt from each other how to grow certain new and recently introduced crops. It was at Agricultural Shows that the outstanding farmers received different kinds of prizes for their positive contribution to agricultural development in the area. The farmers received prizes such as scotch carts, ridgers, ploughs, canes, barbed wire, chains, harrows and many other farm implements and inputs like maize seeds and groundnuts. The prizes induced farmers to increase food production. These shows created a spirit of competition among farmers.

The Department of Agriculture also introduced Farmers' Days, where farmers from different schemes, including village based farmers, came to learn how farmers at a particular scheme were doing. These Farmers' Days were in a form of seminars. Lectures were given by outstanding farmers and Agricultural staff, followed by questions and discussions. The Department further organized Film Shows on agricultural production. These shows helped farmers to learn new methods and techniques in farming. These shows aimed at encouraging peasant farmers to increase productivity in the district. The films on agriculture were combined with talks and pamphlet hand-outs.

The shows demonstrated what skills the farmers acquired from the Lundazi Farm Training Centre which was established in 1967. Farmers learnt a number of skills

and techniques such as crop rotation, raising of cattle, use of oxen for ploughing and application of fertilizer to different crops. By 1976, 10,304 farmers had attended some courses at the Farm Training Centre.[12]

The government further developed the already existing Producer Marketing Cooperatives. Cooperative marketing was a necessary counterpart of the expansion of agricultural production in Lundazi. In 1963, there were five producers' marketing cooperative societies. These were Chimaliro, Membe, Mkaya, Luwerezi and Zumwanda.[13] By 1973, there were eight producers' marketing cooperatives in the district. These were Chimaliro, Luwerezi, Mkaya, Zumwanda, Membe, Kabinda, Chifunda and Nyimbwe.[14] These societies operated rural stations even in the remotest areas in the district.

The government also urged local people in the district to raise cattle. In 1968, the policy of the government was also concerned with increasing the rearing of livestock through small scale farmers. The raising of cattle was more favourable on the plateau than in the valley. Livestock was raised on natural pasture because the climate on the plateau has always been conducive to animal husbandry. The farmers on the settlement schemes increased their stock by buying cattle from Malawi at low prices. In 1969, one head of cattle cost K45.00.

Blackson Ziba said:

> I used to increase my cattle by bartering some of my produce and certain other inputs with cattle owners in Malawi. At times, a herd of cattle could be exchanged for six bags of fertilizer or a bicycle or a scotch cart full of unshelled maize. This was one way a number of us on the schemes built up our livestock. We timed Malawians along the border during famine in their country. They had no choice but to sell some of their animals in order to survive.[15]

In 1969, nine farmers joined the National Beef Scheme in the district. They had 238 head of cattle in all. In the third quarter of 1969, the number of farmers rose to twenty-three, rearing 488 cattle.[16] In 1969/70 season, five farmers joined the Grazier Scheme with twenty-seven cattle under their management. In 1970, Mwase sold 175 cattle to the Cold Storage Board of Zambia.[17] In 1971, thirty-three farmers joined the National Beef Schemes. They raised 841 cattle. In 1972, they raised 1296 cattle.[18] The government aimed at making the district self-sufficient in beef production.

The introduction of hybrid seed and fertilizer increased the sales of crop production on settlement schemes and in the surrounding villages. In 1967/68, Chief Mwase Lundazi

sold 800 bags of maize, Wilton Gwayi sold 180 bags of maize, Mathias Banda sold 200 bags of maize, Sandy Nkunika sold 350 bags of maize and Gatiel Banda sold 1200 bags of maize.[19] This increase in food production was generally reflected in the whole district. In 1968/69, the district sold 3753 - 80 kg bags of groundnuts, 412 - 90 kg bags of maize, 119 - 80 kg bags of beans and 27 - 70 kg bags of paddy rice to the Eastern Province Cooperative Marketing Association.[20] The production increased steadily from 3753-80 kg bags to 14,013-80 kg bags of groundnuts, 412-90 kg bags to 36,435-90 kg bags of maize, 119-80 kg bags to 577-80 kg bags of beans and 27-70 kg bags to 370-70 kg bags of paddy rice in 1971/72 season. Cotton production also increased from 5 kilograms (kg) in 1970 to 13,843 kg in 1971/72.[21] This increase was also as a result of tractor hire scheme. The fee for hire was K3.50. Up to 1972, government support generally had a positive impact.

Turkish tobacco production had declined over the years. It declined from 342,640 lbs (pounds)(171,320kg) in 1964/65 to 537 lbs (268.5 kg) in 1969/70 season. The price had also dropped from 31.50 ngwee per lb (half kg) to 21.56 ngwee per lb ($\frac{1}{2}$ kg) between 1962/63 and 1969/70 season.[22] The following table shows the decline in tobacco production and the fluctuation in the prices over the years.

TABLE 7

TURKISH TOBACCO DECLINE AND PRICE FLUCTUATIONS.

Year	Quantity Sold	Gross Value to Gowers	Average Price N/LB
1962/63	69911	22020.00	31.50
1963/64	162928	47611.89	29.22
1964/65	342640	73362.00	21.41
1965/66	141623	35023.30	24.72
1966/67	75428	12482.00	16.58
1967/68	34740	12194.69	22.28
1968/69	25901	n.a.	21.56
1969/70	537	n.a.	21.56

Source: Annual Tobacco Report, Eastern Provice, 1969/70.

These figures show continued decrease of the amount of Turkish tobacco production and price fluctuation during the last eight years. The impact of government support noted earlier was not uniformly positive.

In 1971 the Ministry of Rural Development announced the discontinuation of Turkish tobacco production in Chadiza and Lundazi Districts. The world market prices for oriental tobacco had fallen so low as to be quite unremunerative to growers. It advised growers to switch to alternative crops, like maize, rice or beans. The Tobacco Board of Zambia (TBZ) had advised farmers in suitable areas to switch to Virginia Tobacco. In response to this call, sixteen farmers switched to Virginia tobacco in 1971. Lumezi Virginia Tobacco Scheme was established in 1971. Consideration for selection was

given to those who accepted to grow tobacco other than maize, regardless of their past experience and financial position. In 1971/72 season, fourteen acres were cultivated. In 1972/73 season the number of growers increased to forty-eight. In 1973/74, there were 130 growers including village based growers. The following season, the number in all dropped to eighty because of poor payment. The growers used to cultivate 0.4 hectares of tobacco and 0.8 hectares of maize.[23]

In 1972/73 season, Luwerezi Virginia Tobacco Scheme in Chief Magodi was opened up for the village based growers. In the following season there were twenty settlers at the scheme. Poor extension service and poor marketing discouraged the growers. The growers did not welcome the idea of growing more tobacco than maize, since tobacco was more labour intensive than maize. As a result, the majority left, and those who stayed back switched to growing maize which was a staple.

The government saw the danger of depending only on a limited number of cash crops. It urged farmers to grow other crops apart from maize. In a bid to diversify the economy, it reduced the producer price of maize from K4.10 to K3.80 in 1968/69. It increased the producer prices of groundnuts and beans to K8.40 and K8.83 respectively.[24] The government took this step because its policy was to encourage the production of cash crops for export. The government also hoped to stabilize the price of maize by limiting its production. This action

resulted into poor sales in 1969/70 season when only 412-90 kg bags of maize were sold. The farmers boycotted to sell their maize at a reduced price. At Mwase and Ka Kapichila, I was told that:

> in 1969/70 they produced and sold very little maize because the government had reduced maize price. Even credit facilities on maize were restricted because the government diverted loans towards other crops like groundnuts, tobacco, cotton, soya beans and sunyflower.[25]

The previous year, in 1968, J.F. Smartson Zimba had protested openly to the government on its agricultural policies. He wrote a letter in Chewa on behalf of the local people in Chief Mwase Lundazi. He said:

> Bwana, Ise sitifuna zobvuta padziko kapena mudziko la Zambia. Ili ni Boma lathu tinali kufuna tsopano zinthu zija tinali kuuza anthu kuti tikatola boma mumanja athu zinthu zonse zidzakhala bwino, nanga nibwino tere. Muno mumizi mulibe mugodi anso kumigodi nchito zacepa anthu aculuka nanga thandizo adzapeza kuti anthu ammizi popeza mtengo wa zakudya siukwela yayi bonasinso nalo sapeleka muzigwirizano. Azapeleka lit mbiri ya mutengo wa zakudya akuti 14/- kaya kuti K1.40 chaka

chamawa, boza ilo tidzacita zobvuta mumawa musadabwe iyayi tifuna mutengo wazakudya wa bwino ndiponso tifuna mutengo wa ng'ombe wabwino. Izi zina tizadandaula ku Boma monga za makhalidwe ammizi. Pali mumawa tisadabwe kuti anthu ali oyipa yayi oyipa ndife apasogolo tinama bodza, tilembanso lipoti la boza tinena anthu kuti abvomera pamene alibe kukamba nawanthu yayi. Gitifuna zotere boza silimanga jiko anao lipasula muzi. Mundiyankhe kalata wanga.[26] (See Appendix 26)

Obviously this letter was a political and an economic protest against a widespread malaise. The people vowed not to cooperate with the government until things were improved in the district. The people complained of low producer prices, false promises made during the struggle for independence by leaders and lack of employment.

The government established financial institutions to give easy credit facilities to farmers to purchase farm equipment and inputs. The Credit Organization of Zambia (COZ) was established in 1966 for this purpose. In 1970 there were allegations that officers of COZ were discriminating in their lending policy. Some of the loans meant for farmers were given to people who were not farmers. The officers also often gave loans to businessmen and farmers who were already well off. These irregularities

and allegations of favouritism in disbursement of credits to farmers led to the dissolution of COZ and the establishment of the Agricultural Finance Company (AFCo) in 1971 to streamline the operations of the Company. Pletcher wrote that:

> The poor repayment record of the Credit Organization of Zambia coupled with allegations of favouritism in disbursement led to the reorganization of credit facilities and the birth of Agricultural Finance Company in 1970/71. Though there has been improvement in its programmes, avenues still exist for political manipulation of credit mechanisms.[27]

Despite these shortcomings, the improvement in lending policy to farmers in the province and district can be measured from the number of people given loans between 1970 and 1972. In 1970/71 season, eighty-nine farmers in Lundazi District obtained a combined loan of K13638. The district had the second largest number of loanees in the province. In 1971/72 season, 126 farmers in the district received a loan of K10973. Table 8 shows the AFCo's policy of granting loans to farmers in the province.

TABLE 8

THE AGRICULTURAL FINANCE COMPANY LIMITED

District	1970/71					1971/72				
	No. of Loanees	Amount of Loans Approved	Amount of Loans Issued	Amount of Loans Recovered	Amount of Loans to be Recovered	No. of Loanees	Amount of Loans Approved	Amount of Loans Issued	Amount of Loans Recovered	Amount of Loans to be Recovered
Chipata	71	343665	35190	15474	19716	174	64151	37060	1234.28	36373.72
Chadiza	66	44571	22656	13761	8895	102	25044	12170	731.71	11438.29
Chama	33	4713	1085	505	580	52	4963	1211	35.52	4175.48
Katete	121	39449	33850	12269	21581	155	40754	2978	487.?	29325.00
Lundazi	56	20443	12638	6657	5981	74	20644	9762	1419.76	8343.24
Petauke	75	28918	19610	2122	17488	93	24261	16979	300.00	16679.00
Total	492	481759	125029	50788	74241	650	179817	110543	4208.20	106335.73

Source: Annual Report, Eastern Province, 1971/72.

The number of people receiving loans had increased. In 1971/72 season, the farmers in Lundazi showed a keen interest in paying back most of the loans owed to the AFCo. The district repaid the highest amount in the province.

In 1970/71 season, the government introduced an irrigated vegetable scheme at Vuu Dam. This was the second vegetable scheme after the one at Mwase Lundazi Dam which was built in 1950 and the Zambian government was only strengthening it. There were five growers between 1970 and 1972, each cultivating 0.25 acre plot.[28] The growers used a syphon pump system for irrigation, under the charge of the Department of Water Affairs. A syphon pump system was a 'U' curved pipe system where the water flowed through it and then down to the gardens. The growers used an engine to pump water from the dam.

Vegetables were also widely grown at Membe, Musuzi, Lundazi and Manda Hill dams. The vegetable plots at Mwase Lundazi increased from 15.25 to 17.75 in 1970/71 season. This was due to great demand for vegetables at Lundazi and Chama Secondary Schools and other institutions such as the prison and hospitals at Lundazi and Chama, and dispensaries and other health centres at Lumezi, Mwase, Kanyanga and Kalinku. As more people took to vegetable growing, supply exceeded demand. The farmers

also encountered difficulties in transporting their vegetables to markets. The roads to the vegetable schemes were poorly maintained and rarely graded and repaired. One of the vegetable growers at Vuu Dam, L. Nkhoma, said that most of his vegetables went to waste because of lack of transport to markets. In 1971, he produced ten cases of tomato and fifteen bags of vegetables, but managed to sell only six cases of tomato and ten bags of vegetables. The rest went to waste. Chief Mwase expressed similar views. He said that due to limited market and transport facilities, the number of vegetable growers declined. By the end of the study period, vegetable plots at Mwase Lundazi Dam were reduced from 17.75 to 11.

Development of the Schemes during the Second National Development Plan, 1972-76.

The impression got from the results of production between 1964 and 1972, led the Catholic Mission at Lumezi to establish its own scheme. This was in response to the government's call for self-sufficiency in food production and creation of employment opportunities for the local people. In 1972, a Church Farming Scheme was established at Lumezi under Father Roy's leadership for the purpose of demonstrating the application of chemical fertilizer and the growing of hybrid maize to the Church members and non-church members. Church members from different stations cultivated the farm inturn; each section working for a week on the scheme. It was a forty

acre (16.23 hectares) farm and produced 200 bags of maize in 1974.[29] The scheme was established to play the role of being a centre for disseminating information on techniques in crop rotation, use of hybrid seeds and chemical fertilizer to farmers.

More individual and cooperative schemes were established from the church scheme. The success of the Catholic venture at Lumezi mission in 1972, led to the setting up of Ziko scheme on the Chipata-Lundazi road, Malinga Cooperative Farm with ten members, Kajipayike, Masulani and Raphael schemes. All these schemes bought a tractor each on loan from the Church scheme. Each station also opened up a four acre farm for church members. Kapangula, Mkomba, Khalira and Kapera were some of the stations which opened up schemes.

The Catholic scheme had coincided with the government's Second National Development Plan (SNDP), 1972-76, whose objectives included 'to improve rural standards of living and to create a self-reliant and progressive rural society; to create in the rural areas new employment and income opportunities and to improve those infrastructural services related to increased rural productivity in order to counteract migration to the urban areas; to increase the contribution of the sector to the Gross National Product (GNP) and to promote the diversification of the economy; to develop self-sufficiency in staple foodstuffs and to reduce the growing dependence on imports of higher commodities....'[30]

Although the church scheme coincided with the SNDP, it worked independently of the govenment, though, both of them had similar objectives and targets.

In order to increase rural productivity and create employment and income opportunities in the district, the government continued encouraging the use of mechanization. Tractors were among the machinery used by some farmers. There were already some settlers on the schemes who had continued using this kind of machinery well into the 1972-76 period. The tractor schemes strengthened them between 1972 and 1976 and these were beneficiaries of all government services. At the time of my reserach, Satiel Banda was the only farmer at Phalaza scheme with a tractor he had bought in 1961. Other farmers who had bought tractors during 1972-76 period were Senior Chief Mwase at Mwase and January Mwale at Changaliwa Farm in Chief Kapichila.

In 1973, productivity increased on the schemes and at the village level. The district sold 62,925-90kg bags of maize, 17,467-80kg bags of groundnuts, 13,507 kg of cotton, 608-80kg bags of beans, 651-70kg bags of rice and 17-80kg bags of sunflower to the Eastern Province Co-operative Marketing Association.[31] In 1974/75 season, the district sold 453-80kg bags of beans, 14,033-80kg bags of groundnuts, 1601-90kg bags of sunflower, 6,373-70kg bags of rice, 163.000-90kg bags of maize and 20,573kg of cotton to EPCMA.[32] These production figures were maintained in 1975/76 season. Attractive producer prices

encouraged farmers to increase production as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9.

EASTERN PROVINCE COOPERATIVE MARKETING ASSOCIATION PRODUCER PRICES, 1969 - 76. (value in kwacha)

Year	90kg bag Maize	80kg bag Ground nuts	80kg bag Beans	Grade 'A' per kg Cotton	70kg bag Rice	80kg bag Soya beans	90kg bag Sun flower
1968/69	2.20	8.40	8.83	0.07	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.
1969/70	3.00	9.60	8.83	0.06	7.02	n. a.	n. a.
1970/71	4.00	9.60	10.20	0.08	7.70	8.40	8.40
1971/72	4.30	9.60	10.20	0.08	7.70	8.40	8.40
1972/73	4.30	10.80	10.20	0.16	8.80	8.40	9.30
1973/74	4.30	10.80	10.20	0.16	8.80	n. a.	9.30
1974/75	5.00	15.00	10.20	0.32	10.50	13.00	9.40
1975/76	6.30	15.00	10.20	0.32	10.50	13.00	n. a.

Note: n.a. means 'not available'.

Sources: Eastern Province Cooperative Marketing Association, Chipata: Annual Reports, Department of Agriculture, Eastern Province, 1969-76.

However, in spite of attractive producer prices for beans over the years, production of this crop had dropped from 608-80kg bags in 1972/73 to 453-80kg bags in 1975/76 season because of production costs and pest infestation. This was the same case with groundnuts. Production dropped from 17,467-80kg bags in 1972/73 to 14,033-80kg bags in 1975/76 season. Wilton Gwayi said:

> We almost abandoned growing beans for the market because it was labour intensive. It was also easily attacked by insects. Furthermore, it took most of the land to grow it, but the yield was minimal. If one grew maize on the same land, one got more yield. Of late it has no stable market.[33]

By 1976, the local population in the district was growing beans for consumption and only a little for sale.

Although production of some crops increased, there were some setbacks. Procurement of labour was becoming more and more difficult. Out of ninety farmers I interviewed, only eighteen or twenty per cent employed permanent workers by the end of the study period. The other seventy-two or eighty per cent relied on family labour because their income could not enable them to engage permanent workers. They engaged auxiliaries for ganyu (piece-work). Van Donge found similar problems in his study of four villages in Chief Mwase Lundazi. There were other problems. He found that the main problems that the village peasant farmers faced were finance capital, land to be stumped, oxen to be hired or bought, and labour for planting and weeding.[34] Zeal for farming was usually paralleled with several difficulties.

Physical infrastructure by the end of the period under study, was still poorly developed. The road

network leading to settlement schemes was usually of poor standard except for the Chipata-Lundazi road and a few other roads leading to Chiefs' headquarters from the Boma. There was a problem of transporting fertilizer and other farm requisites to different settlement schemes scattered throughout the district. In some cases, bridges were constructed when the need to get some food-stuffs arose, and neglected when the need was fulfilled, and especially during the rainy season when farm inputs needed to be moved. The existing bridges were of poor quality and they were usually constructed of wood which was easily swept away during rainy season. Farmers used scotch carts to collect inputs and other requirements from the Boma to their settlement schemes using bush paths that avoided broken bridges. Those who lacked transport, hired those who had it at a prohibitive fee in addition to the already exhorbitant prices of fertilizer and hybrid seeds. Those who could not afford to pay the owners of transport in cash, had to part with the same fertilizer and seeds. This made it extremely difficult for such farmers to expand their land under cultivation. Chanaichi Bili complained:

> In 1973, I suffered in obtaining my farm inputs. I had to hire one of the farmers' to transport fertilizer, groundnuts and maize seeds from the Boma to my farm, which is a distance

> of nearly forty kilomentres, at the cost of K300.00. In the same year, I hired another farmer to cultivate one hectare (2.47 acres) of maize and he charged me K450.00.[35]

This problem was not only common to Lundazi District alone. Lombard and Tweedie have also said the same for the whole country. In 1974 they observed that:

> There is the difficulty of actually moving the inputs to farmers on time aggravated by high cost of transport..... Many commodities can only be grown near their final markets because of their nature and perishable crops in particular must be produced near markets.[36]

In 1975, the government continued with its policy of increasing productivity of livestock, so that the district could become self-sufficient in this field and eradicate malnutrition among the local people. The main objectives on beef production in the SNDP, were to build up a national herd, to improve quality and to increase off-take and the commercialization of livestock management. It was hoped that by 1976, beef production from domestic sources would increase to between 15,000 and 17,000 tons.[37] The government encouraged traditional producers to develop collective ranches, grazier schemes, the National Beef Scheme and mixed farming settlements. In

1975, thirty-nine small-scale farmers joined the National Beef Scheme. They raised 2,419 cattle. In 1976, the same number of farmers raised 2,654 cattle.[38] This steady increase in beef production in the district, was a result of improvement in husbandry extension services. The government continued giving emphasis to animal health to reduce mortality and improve calving and growth rates. It improved management and grazing systems. The number of farmers who joined the National Beef Scheme continued to grow.

However, as the drought situation and East Coast Fever prevailed from 1974 in the district, the number of cattle bought by the Cold Storage Board of Zambia from farmers on the schemes and in the surrounding villages, declined. By 1976, many farmers had lost most of their cattle as a result of the East Coast Fever along the Malawi border. The cattle disease had an adverse effect on the development of agriculture in the district. Robert Nyika Muhalule complained:

> Inoculations against East Coast Fever were not forthcoming despite making appeals to the Department of Veterinary and Tsetse Control Services. Instead, the farmers were asked to buy their own vaccines and syringes if they wanted their livestock inoculated against this disease. Dipping tanks were dilapidated. Farmers were further, to pay

> not less than K1-00 per head dipping fee. We had completely given up dipping our livestock because we were unable to raise cash and vaccines to pay to the Department of Veterinary and Tsetse Control Services. Such demands never occurred during colonial administration.[39]

The majority of farmers resisted and boycotted taking their cattle for dipping.

Senior Chief Mwase who had 400 cattle, 100 sheep, 120 goats and 150 pigs in 1973, had only 190 cattle, eleven sheep, ten goats and eleven pigs in 1976. Sandy Nkunika who had 150 cattle, 200 sheep and 100 goats had only thirty cattle, sixty sheep and seven goats left in 1976. Samson Chirwa who had eighty cattle and Elias Ndabandaba who had 100 cattle and sixty goats, had none in 1976.[40] There were many more examples with similar experience.

Despite the creation of the Agricultural Finance Company to streamline the disbursement of loans to farmers, the farmers continued complaining in 1976 about the unfairness of the officers responsible for credit services. A. Ngulube said:

> even if one applied for loan, he was not given unless he was known to the officers of the Agricultural Finance Company. It was

> usually Party and Government officials who monopolized loan facilities. Some people received loans and yet they were not farmers.[41]

It was also discovered that even among farmers, it was often the well-off farmers who continued receiving more credit and technical services. The Agricultural Finance Company had developed a policy of granting more loans to those farmers who paid back all the previous loans. Ollawa had identified a similar problem in his study of the whole country. He said:

> ....those who benefit from development programmes or from the technical and extension service inputs of the government, including loan and credit facilities, are not the masses but a tiny minority of a rural elite group such as the relatively more prosperous commercial farmers, poultry keepers, members of cooperatives, businessmen, high ranking party and government officials,.....[42]

President Kaunda also got concerned with this state of affairs when he addressed the National Council of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in 1976. He noted:

> We have discovered that there is so much abuse of office in granting loans... we cannot encourage a loans policy which contracts Humanism

> and promotes capitalism instead. This is not UNIP's political line.... I have been shocked to note that only individual businessmen have been able to borrow so much money to expand their capitalist enterprises at the expense of the peasants and workers. Some loans have not been repaid and yet the same people are allowed to borrow even more.[43]

In spite of such remarks, the operations of the Agricultural Finance Company did not improve.

By 1976, the Agricultural Assistants made irregular visits to settlement schemes. Although, the farmers had the will to increase productivity, extension services and low literacy were a limiting factor. Agricultural Assistants usually visited schemes which had a beer party. Those farmers who were rarely visited, failed to acquire and improve their farming skills. In addition, the Department of Agriculture often sent well-off farmers for further courses at Lundazi Farm Training Centre and other Training Centres outside the district. Blackson Ziba stated:

> Farm Training Centres had been established with good intentions to let us increase our knowledge in new ideas and skills in agricultural techniques, unfortunately, the authorities used to concentrate on well-off farmers for such courses.[44]

Such views were hardly helpful for an agricultural district with a rapidly growing population. Lundazi the population had increased from 122,332 to 123,134 between 1963 and 1969. The population was increasing at the rate of 0.1 per cent annually. By 1980, which is slightly outside my study period, the population of the district had increased to 144,804.[45] These figures include Chama which in my study period was part of Lundazi District (see Table 10).

TABLE 10

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY DISTRICTS IN 1963, 1969 AND 1980.

EASTERN PROVINCE

District	1980 Census	Average Annual Growth Rate (%) 1969-80	1969 Census	Average Annual Growth Rate (%) 1963-1969	1963 Census
Chadiza	45601	3.2	32169	1.4	29592
Chama	36843	1.6	30887	0.1	30686
Chipata	203970	2.9	148416	1.4	136528
Katete	93220	1.3	80485	1.4	74038
Lundazi	117961	2.3	92247	0.1	91649
Petauke	158786	2.2	125311	1.1	117376
Total	656381	2.3	509515	1.0	479866

Note: Lundazi and Chama have been combined in my discussion because Chama was part of Lundazi during the period of study.

Sources: G.R.Z. 1980 Census of Population and Housing: Preliminary Report, Central Statistical Office, Lusaka: Government Printer, January, 1981.

: Monthly Digest of Statistics, Vol. X, No. 4 Central Statistical Office, Lusaka; Government Printer, April, 1974.

This increase in population in the district, gives an impression that there was an increase in local employment and an increase in local population engaged in the production of agricultural crops for sale on the settlement schemes and at the village level. The increase in food production and local employment opportunities also implied a reduction of rural-urban migration in the district. This revealed a partial attainment of the intended objectives of the development of peasant farming schemes in the district during the period under study.

During my field research, I found that at Chipumba village in Chief Mwase Lundazi, there were 150 people in 1976. Of the forty men, five were out at work and thirty-five had remained behind at home engaged in the production of agricultural crops for sale in 1976. In the same year, Chidoda Village, in Chief Zumwanda, had eighty people. Of these, twenty were men, three of whom had left the village for wage employment within the country, and the rest had engaged in crop production at home. At Kazicha village, in Chief Kapichila, there were 100 people. Of the twenty-five men, twenty had remained behind at home

growing crops for sale and only five had been out in wage employment within the province. All these villages were on the plateau. In Chama, at Mukuska village, in Chief Kambombo, I found seventy people. Of these, fifteen were men, four of whom had been away in wage employment, and the rest had remained at home, engaged in agricultural crop production and other economic production and distribution.

From the above findings, I formed an impression that local people had responded positively to farming activities. By the end of the study period, there was an increase in local employment and an increase in local population engaged in peasant farming schemes and small scale family farming schemes in the district. The creation of local employment and the boosting of agricultural production minimised rural-urban migration, despite the relaxation of restrictions on the freedom of movement after Zambia's independence in 1964. This also shows the success of the schemes by the end of the study period. This was further a reflection of the general declining opportunities on the Copperbelt and in the post Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U.D.I.) in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

There was socio-economic differentiation among farmers on the settlement schemes and between farmers on the schemes and the village based farmers. This differentiation was evident in a number of ways. Socio-economic differentiation arose from either inability or ability to increase productivity or due to limited availability of implements, the number of acres each farmer cultivated and the number of livestock each one owned, as I have attempted to show in tables 11, 12 and 13.

The farmers who owned oxen and implements, such as ploughs, ridgers, hoes and scotch carts had an advantage over those who did not own such capital. These farmers owned large labour resources which helped greatly in expanding land under cultivation. Some of these farmers backed their productivity through running other businesses such as shops and grinding mills.

TABLE 11

PEASANT ACCUMULATION OF IMPLEMENTS, 1976

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	Farmers Using Hoes Only	%	Farmers Using Hoes & Ox Ploughs	%	Farmers Using Hoes, Ox Ploughs and Tractors	%
Phalaza	25	46-73	16	64	7	28	2	8
Molozi	22	36-70	7	31.8	15	68.2	Nil	Nil
Kamu-tande	21	40-80	9	42.9	12	57.1	Nil	Nil
Lumezi	10	35.65	6	60	4	40	Nil	Nil
Chama	12	45-70	12	100	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

TABLE 12

AVERAGE LAND UNDER CULTIVATION 1976.

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	1-5 acres	6-20 acres	21-100 acres
Phalaza	25	46-73	Nil	20	5
Molozi	22	36-70	2	17	3
Kamutande	21	40-80	5	12	5
Lumezi	10	35-65	6	4	Nil
Chama	12	45-70	12	Nil	Nil

TABLE 13

ACCUMULATION OF LIVESTOCK 1976.

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	No. of Domestic Animals	1-100 Goats/ Sheep	1-10 Cattle	11-50 Cattle	51-200 Cattle
Phalaza	25	46-73	250	10	15	6	4
Molozi	22	36-70	176	11	14	8	Nil
Kamutande	21	40-80	140	10	12	8	Nil
Lumezi	10	35-65	10	2	2	Nil	Nil
Chama	12	45-70	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Source: Interviews, December, 1986-January, 1987, June, 1987.

Several comments could be made from tables 11, 12 and 13 when taken together. By 1976, it is only at Phalaza where there were two farmers possessing tractors in the twenty two years of the history of the peasant farming schemes in Lundazi district. There were thirty eight farmers in the schemes that own ox-drawn ploughs which is less than 50 percent of the ninety farmers I interviewed in the schemes. These two groups, on average, cultivate more land, have a higher annual yield for sale and possess more livestock than the rest of the members of the schemes and those in the villages. I have identified several difficulties that could explan this level of change.

As the level of capitalisation is a consequence of the introduction of peasant farming schemes, it is a measure of success. Moreover, there are many farmers who

do not have labour saving machinery because they became available following the launching of peasant farming schemes in 1954. No doubt, it may be argued that the success is limited but it should be noted that commercialisation of agriculture has taken place following the adoption of peasant farming schemes in the district. Lundazi district had, on the whole, a more productive agricultural system in place in 1976 than in 1954. Measuring success in terms of individual farmers may have the limitation of not appreciating the diversification of agriculture and varied economic activities generated as a result of introducing peasant farming schemes in the district. Any major injection of large scale capital in agriculture in Lundazi after 1976 had (has) to recognise a changed socio-economic infrastructure that had not existed in 1954.

From a total of ninety farmers I interviewed on the settlement schemes in terms of their sales in 1976, there were twelve who produced more than 100 bags of maize, thirty-six produced between thirty and 100 bags of maize and forty-two produced between one and thirty bags of maize. All the farmers on the schemes produced between one and thirty bags of groundnuts and between one and thirty bags of beans. Table 14 shows crop production in bags in 1976.

TABLE 14.

CROP PRODUCTION IN BAGS, 1976

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	1-30 bags Maize	30-100 bags Maize	100 bags & over Maize	1-30 bags Ground nuts	1-30 bags Beans
Phalaza	25	46-73	7	13	5	25	25
Molozi	22	36-70	7	12	3	22	22
Kamutande	21	40-80	7	12	3	21	21
Lumezi	10	35-65	5	3	1	10	10
Chama	12	45-70	8	4	Nil	12	12

Source: Interviews, December, 1986-January, 1987; June, 1987.

In 1970, Sandy Nkunika sold 400 bags of maize which earned him K1,200.00. In 1976, he produced 180 bags of maize. In 1975, Satiel Banda produced 2,200 bags of maize from which he realized K11,000. In 1976, he produced 2,000 bags of maize which earned him K12,600. The price of maize in 1975 was K5.00 a bag and in 1976, it was K6.30 a bag. Satiel Banda had cultivated fifty hectares in 1976. The last category who produced between one and thirty bags of maize, earned between K63.00 and K126.00 in 1976.

From a total of twenty individual farmers, three produced between 100 and 800 bags of maize which earned them between K430.00 and K3,400.00 in 1972. Senior Chief Mwase produced 700 bags of maize in 1972 and 800 bags of maize in 1973. R. Gondwe produced 400 bags of maize

in 1975 and 450 bags of maize in 1976. These farmers were in the category of the richest farmers. The last category of village based farmers produced between five and ten bags of maize. These farmers were not using oxen in cultivating their farms. The majority of farmers on the schemes were more prosperous than the village based farmers, especially those in the first and second categories. Marter and Honeybone who generalised from their study of agriculture made a useful attempt in dealing with socio-economic differentiation and this influenced my methodology.[46]

The majority of farmers who succeeded in their farming production were those who had returned from wage employment, either through retirement or resignation. These people had some additional resources to spend on agricultural production. Of the ninety farmers I interviewed, fifty-five were migrants from wage employment (see Table 15). Only eighteen of the ninety farmers on the schemes used permanent labour force. They paid their workers a monthly salary of between K10.00 and K20.00 in 1976 (see Table 16).

TABLE 15

RETURN MIGRANTS 1976

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	Return Migrants	Others
Phalaza	25	46-73	15	10
Molozi	22	36-70	12	10
Kamutande	21	40-80	14	7
Lumezi	10	35-65	6	4
Chama	12	45-70	8	4

Source: Interviews, December, 1986-January, 1987 June, 1987.

TABLE 16

PEASANT FARMERS USING PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY WORKERS 1976

Scheme	Sample	Age Range	Farmers using Permanent Workers	Monthly Average Wage	Average Family Size	Farmers Using Family Labour & Auxiliaries
Phalaza	25	46-73	6	K20.00	5	19
Molozi	22	36-70	4	K15.00	4	18
Kamutande	21	40-80	6	K20.00	4	15
Lumezi	10	35-65	2	K10.00	4	8
Chama		45-70	Nil	Nil	5	12

Source: Interviews, December, 1986-January, 1987; June, 1987.

Conclusion.

In this chapter, I have discussed that between 1964 and 1976, Lundazi District experienced some development

in agriculture on settlement schemes and at village level. The government had invested heavily in the development of human resources and physical infrastructure, such as roads, marketing structures, intensive extension services and appropriate technology. It had also established attractive price structures and some social facilities, such as schools and health centres in population centres on the settlement schemes. The government extended credit and technical assistance to village based farmers.

Despite all this achievement, the benefits of economic growth bypassed some farmers on the schemes and at village level. I have also discussed socio-economic inequalities between farmers on the schemes and in the surrounding villages. I have highlighted some problems in the form of undeveloped transport and communication systems, and unequal disbursement of credit and technical services. The development of peasant farming schemes and family farming schemes minimised rural-urban migration and created employment opportunities for local people.

CHAPTER TWO - FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

ASSESSMENT, 1954 - 76

In the first chapter, I discussed agricultural change and the establishment of peasant farming schemes by the colonial administration from 1954 to 1963. The government's aim was that the peasant farming scheme would contribute to 'spearheading the transition from subsistence' agriculture using a hoe to 'commercial agriculture' dependent on cattle as draught power in ploughing.[1] Its policy excluded those peasants outside the scheme in that they were not given the financial and technical facilities available to those in the schemes. As far as the colonial administration was concerned, 'a peasant farming scheme was designed to encourage permanent cultivation, to inject capital into the countryside and to raise the standard of living'.[2] Kay said that, 'the Department of Agriculture introduced an impact scheme where progressive individuals were equipped with land, capital and technical assistance to become advanced commercial farmers. The aim was to develop commercial farming and rural properity'.[3]

The colonial administration wanted to concentrate on those peasants who were willing to take up farming as their career and leave out those who were unwilling. The Chief Agricultural Officer in Eastern Province commented in 1954:

> The policy of encouraging a large number of rather unwilling growers to cultivate very small acreages in the hope that many would eventually become enthusiastic growers and increase their acreages in future years has been abandoned in favour of a policy of concentrating on enthusiasts only and discouraging other unsatisfactory growers.[4]

In the second chapter, I looked at the development of peasant farming schemes, farming cooperative schemes, family farming schemes and commercially-oriented farming schemes from 1964 to 1976, dependent on both draught power in ploughing and mechanization. The Zambian government sought to establish 'settlement schemes of commercially-oriented family farms, by introducing new crops and husbandry methods, by encouraging the formation of cooperatives, by extending credit facilities and by providing inexpensive mechanized services'.[5] It had extended financial and technical services even to village based cultivators.

In the concluding chapter, I assess the impact and achievements of both the colonial and post colonial policies on peasant farming schemes in Lundazi District during the period under consideration. From 1954 to 1963, the colonial government tried to stimulate agricultural

development from subsistence level to commercial production through settlement schemes. It improved the quality of agriculture and extended land under groundnuts and Turkish tobacco cultivation as the main cash crops of the district. The production of Turkish tobacco increased from 2,000 lbs (pounds) (1,000 kilograms) to 26,000 lbs between 1956 and 1960. In 1956, groundnuts production was 1500 bags. In 1960, production reached 1900 bags.[6] In the Luangwa Valley, mainly covering the present Chama district, the crop rotation involved Burley tobacco, groundnuts, soya beans and cotton. In 1955/56 season, 27578 lbs (13,789kg) of cotton were produced and sold at the value of K960.00, 1421 bags of beans were sold at the value of K4400 and 915 bags of groundnuts were sold at the value of K4116.[7]

The colonial administration gave more encouragement to farmers on peasant farming schemes. The effect of this was that 'peasant farmers increased their incomes. They were able to spend their money from sales of their crops in local stores'.[8] In 1958, the average income per farmer at Phalaza Peasant Farming Scheme was K204 and K90 for those newer farmers. January Mwale, a progressive farmer at Changaliwa Farm, had an income of K524.[9] In 1959, Headman Guduza in Chief Zumwanda earned K150 from his crop sales. Villagers in the same area earned between K18 and K70.[10]

However, it should be noted that the colonial government pioneered agricultural development by introducing ox-draught in ploughing on the settlement schemes in Lundazi District. Farmers on the plateau adopted ox-plough and ox-drawn transport in a form of sledge to transport their farm produce to the markets. It was the most available means of transport. As a result of the adoption of ox-plough practice, land under cultivation increased significantly. This was so with farmers on the schemes and a few independent farmers. These farmers were expected to master new techniques of agriculture, such as crop rotation, use of kraal and compost manure and the making of contour ridges for preventing soil erosion during rainy season. Dams were also constructed for irrigation purposes and as sources of water for people and livestock, since most of the rivers dried up during the dry season.

It can be said in general, that farmers on the schemes and the progressive farmers in the surrounding villages improved their agricultural equipment. In 1956, farmers at Phalaza were cultivating twelve acres each. In 1957, farmers at Luambwa in Chief Magodi were cultivating twelve acres each. This was the same case with farmers at Champheta and Kachule schemes in 1958 and 1959 respectively. Farmers at Chama Peasant Scheme extended their farms to only four acres each, even at the close of colonial administration because they used an ordinary hoe

for cultivation. In addition to this, land is limited at Chama scheme and it was not possible to increase the acreages. A tractor was used irregularly. It also depended on the resources of the farmers. S.K. Mudumuka said:

> Chama District is tsetsefly infested area. As a result, we cannot use cattle as they have not yet proven to live successfully. Even the oxen which were brought in on an experimental basis, found a lot of difficulties to plough virgin land in the scheme because they had to remove elephant grass and other tough weeds. The scheme has heavy clay soils. When rains come, the soils are too muddy for oxen to move and plough.[11]

Some of the independent farmers were able to compete successfully with farmers on the schemes. However, these were in minority, as the bulk of the community still lived at subsistence level. The retired workers were able to increase their acreages and income, because their pension benefits were invested in the land. In its short years of existence, the scheme had justified its aim of increasing food production on the farms. Its failure still lay in the exclusion of the villagers who were by-passed by the benefits of agricultural development as they had no access to financial and technical services

which the farmers on the schemes enjoyed. The financial and technical assistance rendered to farmers on the settlement schemes gave these farmers an edge over the peasants in the surrounding villages.

There was also socio-economic differentiation among the farmers themselves on the schemes arising from the disbursement of financial and technical assistance. Those farmers who were visited regularly by extension officers tended to do better than those who were rarely visited. This was usually reflected in their accumulation of capital from their produce and expansion of their land under cultivation. According to Wilson Ndabandaba who abandoned his farm at Phalaza, 'more advanced farmers were favoured when it came to credit and technical services. The same farmers went for short courses in new agricultural practices. This kind of open favouritism discouraged some of us to continue farming on the settlement schemes'.[12] This was one of the shortcomings of the scheme in that the extension workers placed on the schemes failed to give as much technical advice to less progressive farmers on the schemes as to the successful ones. Such kind of neglect made such farmers fail to expand their land under cultivation and their crop yields continued decreasing.

The Zambian government policy from 1964 to 1976 had stimulated agricultural development through settlement schemes, small-scale family farming schemes and farming

cooperatives. It discouraged discriminatory practices in the provision of financial and technical services in a bid to improve agricultural development in the district. Zinthonga Banda commented that:

> the Zambian government had made a plea for a change in the inequitable distribution of resources with a view to encouraging agriculture, unline the colonial administration which encouraged the rich-poor divide. It did this by favouring a few farmers when it came to technical and credit distribution. The colonial government resigned the less progressive farmer both on the scheme and in the surrounding villages to a life of perpetual poverty, during its administration.[13]

Land under cultivation had expanded more than during the colonial administration. A number of peasant farmers had turned commercial (see Table 17). They had improved their acreages under cultivation tremendously by the end of the study period.

The Zambian government encouraged peasants to form farming cooperatives in order to increase food production and create employment opportunities for the rural dwellers. The members of the coopeatives encountered problems in repaying loans they got from the Agricultural Finance Company. The first communal cooperative farm was Sambwa in Chief Mwase Lundazi. It was formed in 1966. In 1966/67 season from a ten acre farm, it sold eight bags of groundnuts, realizing K60. The initial number of membership

TABLE 17

COMMERCIAL FARMERS IN LUNDAZI DISTRICT, 1976

Commercial Farmers	Chief	Name of Farm	Hectares	Acres
Senior Chief Mwase	Mwase	Sambwa	50	123.50
Joe M. Kasende	Mwase	Sambwa	54	133.38
Satiel Banda	"	Phalaza	58	143.26
Ackson Nyirenda	"	Vilimbala	46	113.62
Jonas T. Nyirongo	"	Falls	100	247.00
Substone Mtonga	"	Phalaza	60	148.20
Pilmaton Ngulube	"	Sehani	70	172.90
Petro Mhlanga	Magodi	Petro Mhlanga Cooperative	60	148.20
Stephen B. Ndhlovu	"	Tengayumo	40	98.80
Hunga Banda	"	Hunga	44	108.68
Ephraim Phiri	Mphamba	Japhet Block	50	123.50
Yousuf Patel	"	Rockie Gandens	41	101.27
January Mwale	Kapichila	Changaliwa	150	470.50
Wilson Mwale	"	Themba	84	207.48
Rabson Sakala	"	Chidula	45	111.15
Raphael Phiri	Zumwanda	Luasila	60	148.20
Enesto M. Phiri	"	Kaweche	42	103.74

Source: Quarterly Report, Department of Agriculture Eastern Province, December 1977.

was forty-nine.[14] In 1967/68 season twenty-one members left the cooperative. Mukomba Cooperative Farm was formed in 1967. In 1969/70 the two Cooperatives were given a tractor which was used communally. In 1972/73 season, there were only six members at Sambwa Communal farm. Since the legal minimum number to form a cooperative is ten, the farm was operating illegally. The government withdrew the tractor. The Cooperative farms had heavy debts with the Agricultural Finance Company.

Table 18 shows the performance of various cooperative farms in Lundazi District in 1973. The settlers had very low managerial ability. They also had low level ability of the peasants' farming techniques. There was no financial accountability since they had no records. The Agricultural Finance Company was disappointed with the agricultural cooperatives for failing to pay back their loans. The AFCo adopted a policy of giving loans to farmers who had paid back all their previous loans. This action affected the farming cooperatives greatly, and a number of them went into liquidation in 1973.

This was followed by a more widespread extension effort whose main objective was geared towards the establishment of small-scale family farms. Despite all this effort by the government, extension workers concentrated their activities on a small group of successful farmers.

TABLE 18

LUNDAZI DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES, LOANS TO SOCIETIES, 1973

Society	Total Membership	Total Paid Share Capital	Total Unpaid Loan
Manda Hill	2	2.00	613.99
Luzi	10	23.50	1091.14
Tayani	10	56.00	722.24
Mbingwa	9	36.00	2848.14
Luwerezi	18	40.00	2425.40
Mwase	12	40.00	9088.37
Lundazi	6	28.00	5761.05
Wadonda	7	n.a	1100.53
Sambwa	6	n.a.	3188.58
Mkomba	9	n.a	3007.90
Ziko	2	n.a	5087.91

Source: Quarterly Report, Department of Agriculture, June, 1973.

The extension workers expected these few farmers to disseminate the knowledge they learnt from them to the less successful farmers. They were expected to act as demonstrators to their fellow farmers.

The government encouraged the raising of cattle in the district because they continued to occupy an important role in the lives of the locals as draught power in plouphing and providing essential protein in the form of

milk and meat. It was also a source of an additional capital to farmers. Those who did not own cattle, played a minor role in the development of agriculture. Ox-drawn ploughs coupled with the introduction of hybrid seed and chemical fertilizer, added an improvement to land expansion under cultivation.

However, with the initiation of a number of settlement schemes, more and more people were drawn into agriculture, in this way, discouraging rural-urban migration and answering the call back to the land. The government encouraged farming practice concerned with 'preservation and restoration of soil fertility, mixed farming and improved methods' for high agricultural output in the district.[15] Van Donge commented:

> In the case of Zambia, which has ample arable farm land, of which only about 20 percent is under cultivation at any given time, the government has sought to encourage unemployed squatters to return to the land where most of their needs can be met without regular cash income, if they make an effort.[16]

Apart from dependence on government financial help, some farmers were able to use the money they brought with them after retirement from wage employment in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Tanzania, Malawi and within the country.

This enabled such farmers to have an edge over other farmers. They were able to expand their productive land more than those who only depended on the government to finance them. This contributed to social and economic differentiation between the farmers on the schemes and the village based farmers. In some cases, some individual farmers in the villages were better off than some of those on the schemes because they were also retired workers. Some of them were engaged in other economic production and distribution. They owned shops from where they realised cash to help them extend their land under cultivation.

The creation of financial institutions by the government provided credit services to both small and large scale farmers after independence and throughout the period under study. This contrasted sharply with colonial administration which denied village farmers access to credit and technical opportunities. The colonial government, believed in boosting food production through settlement schemes under fewer selected settlers who showed willingness to adopt new techniques of farming. They expected village based farmers to learn from the few selected farmers on the schemes. It created political discontent among the villagers who joined the African National Congress (ANC) and later the United National Independence Party (UNIP) which they expected to redress

their grievances. Some chiefs and civil servants supported political activities in their areas, leading to their deposition and dismissals from their positions. The colonial policy facilitated social and economic inequalities in the district. That this situation obtained, reflected the failure of the colonial administration to improve the conditions of the rural poor on one hand, and on other, the commitment of the colonial government to serve the interests of the few successful farmers on the settlement schemes.

The social and economic differentiation between farmers on the schemes and the surrounding villages can be seen through the style of life each of them led. The farmers on the schemes improved their material quality of life through the type of houses they owned, dress they wore, food they ate and general lifestyle. Before 1964, the policies of the government were largely responsible for such social and economic inequality which was demonstrated 'in the inability to increase productivity due to lack of more efficient factors of production: implements, inputs like seed and fertilizers and in indiscriminatory marketing practices'.[17] Some farmers on the schemes had accumulated enough capital and property such as cattle, goats, sheep and pigs. They established small retail businesses such as stores, groceries and tea rooms. They bought consumption goods such as cars, tractors, harrows, planters, shellers, grinding mills, radios, bicycles, scotch carts, engine water pumps for

irrigation and they built themselves reasonable houses comparable to those in low density areas in towns. The farmers interviewed said that all these items were acquired through their own sweat on the farms especially after independence. There were other farmers on the schemes who gained very little from the financial and technical services from both the colonial and Zambian governments. They were no better off than some of the village based farmers. Some other village farmers managed to acquire similar items acquired by successful farmers on the schemes.

The Zambian government had also initiated the establishment of free health and educational facilities on a number of settlement schemes and village schemes. It also tried hard to develop physical infrastructure in a form of roads, bridges and dams to accelerate agricultural development. It established a farm training centre at Lundazi in 1967. It also subsidized the costs of medical and educational care. This benefited the entire population on the settlements schemes and the adjacent villages. It had further constructed dipping tanks to eradicate diseases, such as East Coast Fever, Swine Fever and Foot and Mouth epidemic which attacked cattle and other livestock, though with little success in some cases.

There is no doubt that the peasant farming scheme in its years of operation had more than justified its objective

of increasing food production, creating employment and minimising rural-urban migration by the local people. This is shown by the number of individual recruits who had joined the scheme and engaged in agricultural crop production for sale by the end of study period.

CHAPTER THREE - FOOT NOTES

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3. G. Kay, Changing Patterns of Settlement and Land Use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia (Hull: University of Hull, 1965), p.42.
4. NAZ, SEC2/88, Provincial and District Organization, Eastern Province Annual Report, 1954-55.
5. Pletcher, 'Agricultural Policy', p.140.
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7. NAZ, Lundazi District Notebook, KST/1, vol. 4, p.3.
8. Hadfield, Peasant Farming Survey, p.22
9. NAZ, SEC2/729, Lundazi Tour Reports, 1958.
10. N.A.Z., SEC2/730, Lundazi Tour Reports, 1959.
11. Interview with Samson Kalende Mudumuka, Chama Peasant Scheme, Chief Kambombo, Chama, 9/6/87.
12. Interview with Wilson Ndabandaba, Ziko Village, Chief Zumwanda, Lundazi, 30/12/86.
13. Interview with Zinthonga Banda, Phalaza Peasant Scheme, Chief Mwase, Lundazi, 26/12/86.
14. A. Chilivumbo, 'Communal Agrarian Cooperative Societies: An Experiment in Rural Societies, Rural Studies Bureau, University of Zambia, (March, 1984), pp.48-57.

15. E. Coster, 'Back to the Land: The Campaign Against Unemployment in Dahomey', International Labour Review, Volume 93, Number 1, (1966), p.31.

16. J.K. Van Donge, 'Rural-Urban Migration and the Rural Alternative in Mwase Lundazi, Eastern Province, Zambia', African Studies Review, Volume 27, Number 1 (1984), p.94.

17. M.S. Muntemba, 'Regional and Social Differentiation in Broken Hill District, Northern Rhodesia, 1930-1964', M.A. Klein (ed.) Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives (London: Sage Publications, 1980), p.263.

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APPENDIX 26.

Sir, we do not want problems in Zambia. This is our Government we fought for, now where are those promises we made to people that after independence things will be all right, is this what we meant by better life? There are no mines in the villages, even on the Copperbelt, jobs are limited and population has grown to an alarming proportion. Where will villagers get assistance since producer price is low and cooperative societies do not give bonus to deserving people? When will producer price go up, although we hear rumours that it may be 14 shillings or say K1-40 next year; this is a lie; when we create troubles do not blame us, we simply want attractive producer price and better price for cattle. Some of the complaints will be channelled through the government about the deteriorating life in the villages. We should not say people are bad tomorrow, the leaders are to blame because we tell lies. We write false report purporting that people have accepted certain decisions, and yet we have not discussed issues with them. We do not want such things, since a lie does not build a nation, but it simply destroys it. Reply to my letter.

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