

A HISTORY OF PUBLIC ROAD TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1889 - 1987

BY

LILIAN KASAMBA KAOMA NANCHENGWA

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS (HISTORY)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

1990

DECLARATION

I, Lillian Kasamba Kaoma Nanchengwa,
hereby declare that this dissertation
represents my own research work, and
that it has not been previously
submitted for a degree at this or
any other University.

Signed: ... *LKaoma*

Date: ... *15th December, 1988* ...

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A P P R O V A L

This dissertation of LILLIAN KASAMBA
KAOMA NANCHENGWA is approved as ful-
filling part of the requirements
of the award of Master of Arts
in History at the University of
Zambia.

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ABSTRACT:

This dissertation traces the development of road passenger public transport in Lusaka from the colonial to the post-colonial period. It examines interventionist measures taken by the state to deal with the persistent public transport crisis. The general belief has been that constraints of public transport are a result of failed policy and practice in the post-colonial era. It is my thesis that what appears out of control today has an explanation and can be traced back to its origins. The present-day situation originated from the manner in which Lusaka was created as a town. Lusaka was constructed to serve the interests of a colonial European settler community, in isolation from indigenous people. With the collapse of colonialism this pattern changed, resulting in a new orientation for the growth of Lusaka.

The first chapter covers the period 1889 to 1939. It shows the incorporation of Zambia into the European dominated colonial capitalist economy, the early development of Lusaka, the role of monopoly capital and its development, colonial urbanization and the birth of public transportation. Chapter two covers the period from 1939 down to 1959. It shows the impact of World War II, the Federation and African nationalism on Zambia's social development and the growth of Lusaka. It also looks at the introduction of franchise in public transport

and early organised public transport in Lusaka. Chapter three covers the 1960 to 1971 period. It examines the effect of political independence on public transport through the relaxation of urban settlement laws and state control of major industries. The last chapter covers the period from 1972 to 1980. This section looks at the impact of state control on public transport and examines how successful the state was in correcting the crisis.

My conclusion is that though today's crisis could be traced to the way Lusaka came into being, it has persisted because there has been no radical departure from the colonial pattern. Just as colonial transportation was fashioned to serve a small European settler community, the management of post-colonial transport has also been elitist, with little emphasis on mass modes of transport. With transport not in the hands of people who use it, decisions taken overlook people's needs. Thus any outside changes affect them most directly.

Finally, Lusaka has not changed fundamentally from the colonial set up. The hands of power have definitely changed but the social structure, as the dissertation attempts to demonstrate has remained much the same.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Last but not least at all, I must thank my husband, Spyke Kaoma and my daughters Chibemba, Musunga and Beene for their love and perseverance, even when my nerves were overstretched to the brink.

However, the responsibility of this work, in spite of the best advice I received, is mine alone.

DEDICATION

For my mother, Namoonga Nanchengwa
and in memory of my father, Gideon
Kayombwe Nanchengwa, for their love,
dedication and confidence.

ABBREVIATIONS

BSAC	: British South Africa Company
CARS	: Central African Road Services
Cap.	: Chapter
CBD	: Central Business District
DPU	: Development Planning Unit
IATA	: International Air Transport Association
ILO	: International Labour Office
INDECO	: Industrial Development Corporation
LDC	: Less Developed Country
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LCSU	: Lusaka City Services Unit
LUDC	: Lusaka Urban District Council
MPTC	: Ministry of Power, Transport and Communications
NAMBOARD	: National Agricultural and Marketing Board
NAZ	: National Archives of Zambia
NCDP	: National Commission For Development Planning
NTC	: National Transport Company
OPEC	: Oil Producing and Exporting Countries
PALGAD	: Provincial and Local Government Administration
TPU	: Transport Planning Unit
UBZ	: United Bus Company of Zambia
UDI	: Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNIP	: United National Independence Party
U.S.A.	: United States of America

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UNZA	: University of Zambia
UTH	: University Teaching Hospital
UTTA	: United Transport and Taxis Association
ZESCO	: Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation
ZCCM	: Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZIMCO	: Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation.

OLD AND NEW NAMES

OLD

Abercorn
Bancroft
Broken Hill
Congo
Counsell's Hotel
Fort Jameson
Fort Rosebery
King George Avenue
Lusaakas
Lusaka City Council
Northern Rhodesia
Nyasaland
Southern Rhodesia
Thatcher, Hosbon and Company

NEW

Mbala
Chililabombwe
Kabwe
Republic of Zaire
Lusaka Hotel
Chipata
Mansa
Independence Avenue
Lusaka
Lusaka Urban District Council
Republic of Zambia
Republic of Malawi
Republic of Zimbabwe
UBZ

OLD AND NEW CURRENCY

OLD

One Penny (1d)
Six Pence (6d)
Twelve Pence (12d)
Two Shillings and Sixpence
(2/-6d)
Ten Shillings (10/-)
One Pound (£1)

NEW

One Ngwee (1n)
Five Ngwee (5n)
Ten Ngwee (10n)
Twenty-Five Ngwee (25n)

One Kwacha (K1)
Two Kwacha (2)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS	PAGE
DECLARATION.....	(ii)
COPYRIGHT DECLARATION.....	(iii)
APPROVAL.....	(iv)
ABSTRACT.....	(v)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	(vi)
DEDICATION.....	(ix)
ABBREVIATIONS.....	(x)
OLD AND NEW NAMES AND CURRENCY.....	(xii)
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	(xiii)
FIGURES AND TABLES.....	(xv)
INTRODUCTION.....	1
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION.....	10
CHAPTERS	
ONE - COLONIAL LUSAKA AND TRANSPORTATION BEFORE 1939	11
- INTRODUCTION.....	11
- PRE-WORLD WAR I SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.....	18
- SEARCH FOR A COLONIAL CAPITAL.....	21
- IMPACT OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION.....	30
- COLONIAL URBAN POLICY AND THE COLONIAL CAPITAL...	32
- BEGINNING OF COLONIAL TRANSPORT.....	35
- NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.....	39
TWO - FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1939 - 1959.....	42
- INTRODUCTION.....	42
- THATCHER, HOBSON AND COMPANY.....	45
- EARLY BUS SERVICES IN LUSAKA.....	48

CONTENTS (Cont'd.)

CHAPTERS

TWO - MONOPOLY AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA.....54

- NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.....58

THREE - DECOLONIZATION AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA,
1960-1971.....59

- INTRODUCTION.....

- CHANGING PRIORITIES.....

- AFRICAN OWNERSHIP AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT.....68

- THE DOXIADIS PLAN.....74

- NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.....80

FOUR - STATE CONTROL AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT LUSAKA,
1972-1980.....83

- INTRODUCTION.....83

- RISE AND COLLAPSE OF ZAMCAB.....84

- PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.....87

- BEHIND THE COLLAPSE OF UBZ.....94

- LUSAKA COPEs WITH PROBLEMS.....97

- DECONTROL AND PRIVITATION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT.....109

- NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.....119

POSTSCRIPT121

- NOTES TO POSTSCRIPT.....127

APPENDIX.....128

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....141

LIST OF TABLES

- TABLE 1: White Settlers Population Increase 1931-1955.
- 2: Early Lusaka Bus Hours 1953.
- 3: Lusaka Bus Services 1953.
- 4: Estimated Number of Persons and Services.
- 5: Urban Population for Greater Lusaka Area.
- 6: Private Taxi Operators in Lusaka 1968-1974.
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- 9: Lusaka City Services Fleet Allocation 1975-1977.
- 10: Unscheduled Taxicabs: Fixed Route Fares.
- 11: Motor Omnibus Fares: Local Service.

LIST OF FIGURES

- FIGURE 1: Map of the Republic of Zambia.
- 2: Professor Adshead's Original Plan of the Capital.
- 3: Farm Boundaries.
- 4: Plan for the new Capital in 1933.
- 5: Basic Elements of new Capital layout in 1935.
- 6: Town Planning Scheme for Lusaka 1952.
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"Transportation is like the blood stream in the human body. Just as an improperly functioning blood-circulation system affects sooner or later the health of every part of the body, so an improperly functioning transportation system over time affects all aspects of society. A healthy body needs a healthy circulation system, and a healthy society requires a healthy transportation system, that is a transportation system which provides access to all."

K.H. Schaeffer and Elliot Sclar,
Access For All (Hammondsworth:
Penguin Books, 1975), p. 7.

INTRODUCTION:

Reviewing the prevailing conditions of Zambia's public transportation system in 1987, President Kaunda described it as being 'in pieces' and appointed an army General, Minister of Power, Transport and Communications, with specific instructions to revamp it.¹ The public transport sector was in such disarray that the General Secretary of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions also urged the Government to declare the transport crisis a national disaster, or else Zambia's economic recovery plan, which had recently been launched, would be adversely affected, since it demanded increased production, a result that could not be achieved with an inadequate public transport sector.²

Long and disorganised queues were commonplace at most bus stops where people struggled to board buses. This critical situation often forced commuters to pay n'gwan'gwazis (call boys) as much as K2.00 in order to jump queues and secure seats. Public transport in Zambia and Lusaka in particular had never been worse. The usually sporadic appearances of minibuses had dwindled to a trickle, resulting in long winding queues, not just at peak hours as one would expect, but throughout the day. The

state run United Bus Company of Zambia had been operating on only three routes for the past three months (Matero-Lilanda, Mtendere and Marrapodi). Most private buses stopped operations around 19.00 hours, leaving many commuters stranded. Those living in outlying areas like Avondale, Kabulonga and Makeni paid more than K30 for hiring a taxi. It, therefore, became a nightmare to start off for work and travelling back home for people who depended almost entirely on public transport.³

The crisis was attributed to several underlying causes among which was the haphazard growth of Lusaka which was allowed to take place without direction or regard to its capacity to provide services.

Some people maintained that Lusaka was the only big city with no operational transport policy, leaving commuters at the mercy of minibus and taxi operators.⁴ Others blamed the crisis on the escalating cost of fuel, spare parts, tyres, tubes and other vehicle accessories, which left private operators both frustrated and deflated.⁵ Most, however, attributed the crisis to the failure of UBZ to provide adequate transport services.

The persistent crisis prompted the Government to merge UBZ and Contract Haulage in an attempt to re-organize public transport. The Managing Director of Contract Haulage was appointed Chief Executive, chiefly because of his success in making Contract Haulage profit making.

It was hoped that he would do the same wonders with UBZ. The Government also took over all UBZ's debt burdens, paving the way for a more viable company.⁶

At the time of writing, UBZ was working on a restructuring programme which could have resulted from the Chettor Report of 1986, whose contents had not been made public, but one of the most likely recommendations was the reduction of the labour force to a more economic ratio of one to seven per bus rather than the prevailing one of 27 workers to one bus.⁷

This particular situation highlighted in 1987 is not new and could be viewed in a historical perspective. The crisis of public transport in Lusaka has deep historical roots; it is part and parcel of the country's development. Although Lusaka can be studied at a micro-level, its development, and in particular the transport crisis cannot be isolated from the history of the country, especially in the regional context. This is because its evolution as a town was initiated by outside forces, which continued to dictate the town's development. The planning and building of Lusaka was generated internally. It was planned by and built for the European settler community that did not envisage an emergent African population. Most important of these outside forces were the role of industrialization and monopoly capital, rooted in Europe. The external forces that influenced Lusaka's development

gc back to the nineteenth century.

The linkage of Southern Africa to Europe was part of the expansion of capitalism which penetrated Southern Africa during the nineteenth century through huge investments in the mines of South Africa. This made possible construction of roads and railways which in turn enabled the expansion of the 'miners' frontier' beyond the Limpopo into Central Africa. Zambia falls within this framework and as such her development is an integral part of the global capitalist political economy. Capitalism was deeply entrenched in the diamond and gold mines of South Africa and was the major contributing factor leading to the Anglo-Boer War and the expansion of the South African economic network to the north, in the hope of finding a 'second Rand'. Some of the earliest immigrants into Lusaka were Boers who wanted to escape the effect of the war, as well as employees of the railways and fortune hunters. Lusaka was established for European settlers most of whom were farmers. This new capitalist economy overtook the pre-capitalist economy and Lusaka was built as a centre whose function was to serve the new immigrants. The interests of the indigenous people were, therefore, neglected.

Lusaka's development was also affected by the outbreak of World War I which slowed development but led to the increase of the immigrant population. The period immediately after the war was followed by the

world depression, which further adversely affected the development of Lusaka. Events during this period are discussed in Chapter One. The idea of moving the capital from Livingstone to Lusaka was anticipated during the decade preceeding World War II but this did not upset the planning and building of the new capital. This was mainly because many Western countries were building up their armaments because of an imminent war that would require a lot of copper in the manufacture of weapons. The role of monopoly capital manifested itself in Zambia when mining cartels were established in Europe and the United States of America so as to get as much copper as possible for the world market. The profits realised from this world demand made it possible for Northern Rhodesia to survive the depression and it was during this period that Lusaka was built and the capital was moved from Livingstone.

The outbreak of World War II increased the demand for copper on the world market to the benefit of Northern Rhodesia's population in Lusaka. This economic boom also enabled the setting up of various projects in urban areas, which further attracted rural-urban migration. The increased urban settlement by the indigenous Africans meant that their interests could not continue to be ignored and these were now being given increasing attention. The formation of the nationalist movements

at the end of the 1940s increased focus on the interests of the indigenous peoples. This trend continued during the period of Federation when the Africans were opposed to its existence and fought for political independence. This period is very important because it was characterized by moves to find ways of deliberately promoting African interests. It was a period of competing interests between white settlers and blacks, with the result that African interests were increasingly getting attention. The formation of a nationalist political party, the United National Independence Party, made imminent the attainment of African majority rule, which would turn the balance of power.

At independence in 1964, Zambia enjoyed a period of prosperity which continued into the early 1970s. African interests came into the forefront and restrictions on movement and urban residence were relaxed. The colonial policy of concentrating development on the line of rail, coupled with the expansion of Lusaka as a result of independence, resulted in massive rural-urban migration as people searched for wage employment and better social facilities. The policy of deliberately promoting African interests in the post-independence era changed the outlook of urban life; this affected the demand for public transport as well as the government response to this demand.

The question of public transport reflects a changing socio-political environment. Independence saw its transition from a low priority issue in the colonial period to that of high priority, especially at the bureaucratic level. With independence came a complete re-orientation of objectives from profitability to providing a service for the people. These new objectives demanded a rapid expansionist programme that was made possible by foreign loans. Zambia's credibility for paying back these loans was strong because of the relatively high prices of copper on the world market. These commodity loans made it obligatory for Zambia to purchase buses from the supplying countries, resulting in a wide variety of bus makes which further complicated maintenance.

However, this trend changed in the late 1970s and 1980s when the world economic recession started affecting the public transport sector. It was during this time that the private sector came onto the scene and gradually became the main provider of public transport, instead of supplementing UBZ. Most Government and parastatal organisations faced serious economic constraints but it seems the larger part of the private sector escaped these problems mainly because of the relatively small size of their businesses. Perhaps the most important reason for this was that the cost of operating a nationalized urban public transport system was continually rising.

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Broken Hill	Kabwe
Congo	Republic of Zaire
Counsell's Hotel	Lusaka Hotel
Fort Jameson	Chipata
Fort Rosebery	Mansa
King George Avenue	Independence Avenue
Lusaakas	Lusaka
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS	PAGE
DECLARATION.....	(ii)
COPYRIGHT DECLARATION.....	(iii)
APPROVAL.....	(iv)
ABSTRACT.....	(v)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	(vi)
DEDICATION.....	(ix)
ABBREVIATIONS.....	(x)
OLD AND NEW NAMES AND CURRENCY.....	(xii)
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	(xiii)
FIGURES AND TABLES.....	(xv)
INTRODUCTION.....	1
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION.....	10
CHAPTERS	
ONE - COLONIAL LUSAKA AND TRANSPORTATION BEFORE 1939	11
- INTRODUCTION.....	11
- PRE-WORLD WAR I SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.....	18
- SEARCH FOR A COLONIAL CAPITAL.....	21
- IMPACT OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION.....	30
- COLONIAL URBAN POLICY AND THE COLONIAL CAPITAL...	32
- BEGINNING OF COLONIAL TRANSPORT.....	35
- NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.....	39
TWO - FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1939 - 1959.....	42
- INTRODUCTION.....	42
- THATCHER, HOBSON AND COMPANY.....	45
- EARLY BUS SERVICES IN LUSAKA.....	48

CONTENTS (Cont'd.)

CHAPTERS

TWO	- MONOPOLY AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA.....	54
	- NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.....	58
THREE	- DECOLONIZATION AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1960-1971.....	59
	- INTRODUCTION.....	
	- CHANGING PRIORITIES.....	
	- AFRICAN OWNERSHIP AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT.....	68
	- THE DOXIADIS PLAN.....	74
	- NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.....	80
FOUR	- STATE CONTROL AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT LUSAKA, 1972-1980.....	83
	- INTRODUCTION.....	83
	- RISE AND COLLAPSE OF ZAMCAB.....	84
	- PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.....	87
	- BEHIND THE COLLAPSE OF UBZ.....	94
	- LUSAKA COPES WITH PROBLEMS.....	97
	- DECONTROL AND PRIVITATION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT.....	109
	- NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.....	119
POSTSCRIPT		121
	- NOTES TO POSTSCRIPT.....	127
APPENDIX.....		128
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		141

LIST OF TABLES

- TABLE 1: White Settlers Population Increase 1931-1955.
- 2: Early Lusaka Bus Hours 1953.
- 3: Lusaka Bus Services 1953.
- 4: Estimated Number of Persons and Services.
- 5: Urban Population for Greater Lusaka Area.
- 6: Private Taxi Operators in Lusaka 1968-1974.
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- 9: Lusaka City Services Fleet Allocation 1975-1977.
- 10: Unscheduled Taxicabs: Fixed Route Fares.
- 11: Motor Omnibus Fares: Local Service.

LIST OF FIGURES

- FIGURE 1: Map of the Republic of Zambia.
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- 3: Farm Boundaries.
- 4: Plan for the new Capital in 1933.
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Penguin Books, 1975), p. 7.

INTRODUCTION:

Reviewing the prevailing conditions of Zambia's public transportation system in 1987, President Kaunda described it as being 'in pieces' and appointed an army General, Minister of Power, Transport and Communications, with specific instructions to revamp it.¹ The public transport sector was in such disarray that the General Secretary of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions also urged the Government to declare the transport crisis a national disaster, or else Zambia's economic recovery plan, which had recently been launched, would be adversely affected, since it demanded increased production, a result that could not be achieved with an inadequate public transport sector.²

Long and disorganised queues were commonplace at most bus stops where people struggled to board buses. This critical situation often forced commuters to pay n'gwan'gwazis (call boys) as much as K2.00 in order to jump queues and secure seats. Public transport in Zambia and Lusaka in particular had never been worse. The usually sporadic appearances of minibuses had dwindled to a trickle, resulting in long winding queues, not just at peak hours as one would expect, but throughout the day. The

state run United Bus Company of Zambia had been operating on only three routes for the past three months (Matero-Lilanda, Mtendere and Marrapodi). Most private buses stopped operations around 19.00 hours, leaving many commuters stranded. Those living in outlying areas like Avondale, Kabulonga and Makeni paid more than K30 for hiring a taxi. It, therefore, became a nightmare to start off for work and travelling back home for people who depended almost entirely on public transport.³

The crisis was attributed to several underlying causes among which was the haphazard growth of Lusaka which was allowed to take place without direction or regard to its capacity to provide services.

Some people maintained that Lusaka was the only big city with no operational transport policy, leaving commuters at the mercy of minibus and taxi operators.⁴ Others blamed the crisis on the escalating cost of fuel, spare parts, tyres, tubes and other vehicle accessories, which left private operators both frustrated and deflated.⁵ Most, however, attributed the crisis to the failure of UBZ to provide adequate transport services.

The persistent crisis prompted the Government to merge UBZ and Contract Haulage in an attempt to re-organize public transport. The Managing Director of Contract Haulage was appointed Chief Executive, chiefly because of his success in making Contract Haulage profit making.

It was hoped that he would do the same wonders with UBZ. The Government also took over all UBZ's debt burdens, paving the way for a more viable company.⁶ At the time of writing, UBZ was working on a restructuring programme which could have resulted from the Chettor Report of 1986, whose contents had not been made public, but one of the most likely recommendations was the reduction of the labour force to a more economic ratio of one to seven per bus rather than the prevailing one of 27 workers to one bus.⁷

This particular situation highlighted in 1987 is not new and could be viewed in a historical perspective. The crisis of public transport in Lusaka has deep historical roots; it is part and parcel of the country's development. Although Lusaka can be studied at a micro-level, its development, and in particular the transport crisis cannot be isolated from the history of the country, especially in the regional context. This is because its evolution as a town was initiated by outside forces, which continued to dictate the town's development. The planning and building of Lusaka was generated internally. It was planned by and built for the European settler community that did not envisage an emergent African population. Most important of these outside forces were the role of industrialization and monopoly capital, rooted in Europe. The external forces that influenced Lusaka's development

go back to the nineteenth century.

The linkage of Southern Africa to Europe was part of the expansion of capitalism which penetrated Southern Africa during the nineteenth century through huge investments in the mines of South Africa. This made possible construction of roads and railways which in turn enabled the expansion of the 'miners' frontier' beyond the Limpopo into Central Africa. Zambia falls within this framework and as such her development is an integral part of the global capitalist political economy. Capitalism was deeply entrenched in the diamond and gold mines of South Africa and was the major contributing factor leading to the Anglo-Boer War and the expansion of the South African economic network to the north, in the hope of finding a 'second Rand'. Some of the earliest immigrants into Lusaka were Boers who wanted to escape the effect of the war, as well as employees of the railways and fortune hunters. Lusaka was established for European settlers most of whom were farmers. This new capitalist economy overtook the pre-capitalist economy and Lusaka was built as a centre whose function was to serve the new immigrants. The interests of the indigenous people were, therefore, neglected.

Lusaka's development was also affected by the outbreak of World War I which slowed development but led to the increase of the immigrant population. The period immediately after the war was followed by the

world depression, which further adversely affected the development of Lusaka. Events during this period are discussed in Chapter One. The idea of moving the capital from Livingstone to Lusaka was anticipated during the decade preceeding World War II but this did not upset the planning and building of the new capital. This was mainly because many Western countries were building up their armaments because of an imminent war that would require a lot of copper in the manufacture of weapons. The role of monopoly capital manifested itself in Zambia when mining cartels were established in Europe and the United States of America so as to get as much copper as possible for the world market. The profits realised from this world demand made it possible for Northern Rhodesia to survive the depression and it was during this period that Lusaka was built and the capital was moved from Livingstone.

The outbreak of World War II increased the demand for copper on the world market to the benefit of Northern Rhodesia's population in Lusaka. This economic boom also enabled the setting up of various projects in urban areas, which further attracted rural-urban migration. The increased urban settlement by the indigenous Africans meant that their interests could not continue to be ignored and these were now being given increasing attention. The formation of the nationalist movements

at the end of the 1940s increased focus on the interests of the indigenous peoples. This trend continued during the period of Federation when the Africans were opposed to its existence and fought for political independence. This period is very important because it was characterized by moves to find ways of deliberately promoting African interests. It was a period of competing interests between white settlers and blacks, with the result that African interests were increasingly getting attention. The formation of a nationalist political party, the United National Independence Party, made imminent the attainment of African majority rule, which would turn the balance of power.

At independence in 1964, Zambia enjoyed a period of prosperity which continued into the early 1970s. African interests came into the forefront and restrictions on movement and urban residence were relaxed. The colonial policy of concentrating development on the line of rail, coupled with the expansion of Lusaka as a result of independence, resulted in massive rural-urban migration as people searched for wage employment and better social facilities. The policy of deliberately promoting African interests in the post-independence era changed the outlook of urban life; this affected the demand for public transport as well as the government response to this demand.

The question of public transport reflects a changing socio-political environment. Independence saw its transition from a low priority issue in the colonial period to that of high priority, especially at the bureaucratic level. With independence came a complete re-orientation of objectives from profitability to providing a service for the people. These new objectives demanded a rapid expansionist programme that was made possible by foreign loans. Zambia's credibility for paying back these loans was strong because of the relatively high prices of copper on the world market. These commodity loans made it obligatory for Zambia to purchase buses from the supplying countries, resulting in a wide variety of bus makes which further complicated maintenance.

However, this trend changed in the late 1970s and 1980s when the world economic recession started affecting the public transport sector. It was during this time that the private sector came onto the scene and gradually became the main provider of public transport, instead of supplementing UBZ. Most Government and parastatal organisations faced serious economic constraints but it seems the larger part of the private sector escaped these problems mainly because of the relatively small size of their businesses. Perhaps the most important reason for this was that the cost of operating a nationalized urban public transport system was continually rising.

This had been due to increase in costs of such things as labour, maintenance and spare parts, productivity had remained constant or in some cases deteriorated. This did not seem to be the case with small-fleet private operators. Differences in running costs between small private fleets and state-run large fleets could be as high as between 20 and 50 per cent in favour of private operators. Some of the attributes of these differences had long been labour practices where state-run corporations were required implicitly to maintain a large labour force as a source of wage employment for the community. The most important difference, however, between state-owned public transport enterprises and private concerns were capital costs, which included interest on loans for fleet modernisation and depreciation charges. The private sector has had an edge over the nationalized operators because of the optimum size of a bus. While smaller vehicles were more expensive to run per seat kilometre, they became more profitable than large buses because fare concessions were fewer and, most important of all, their service could be easily tailored to fluctuations in demand. This has been an advantage enjoyed by minibus operators in Zambian cities.⁸

The main objective of this study, therefore, is to reconstruct a history of the development of public transport in the context of the growth of Lusaka. Viewed in this way, transport could be seen as a mirror of social changes from chartered rule, protectorate status, the Federation and to the present-day Republic of Zambia. This study shows the changing role of public transport from being a victim of benign neglect to becoming a matter of central concern to the rulers of Zambia.

NOTES

1. Times of Zambia, 14 May, 1987, p.1.
2. _____, 9 September, 1987, p2
3. Interview: M. Ngandu, Avondale, 22 December, 1986,
and Lusaka Local Services Daily Vehicle Availability
File.
4. Sunday Times Zambia, 31 May, 1987, p.1.
5. Interview: R. Mwansa, Operator, UTTA Chairman for
Lusaka Branch, 22 October, 1986.
6. Times of Zambia, 5 August, 1987, p.1.
7. Sunday Times of Zambia, 28 June, 1987, p.1.
8. Transport Planning Unit, Ministry of Power,
Transport and Communications, 'Issues in Public
Transport in Less Developed Countries'.
Lusaka, June 1986.

CHAPTER ONE

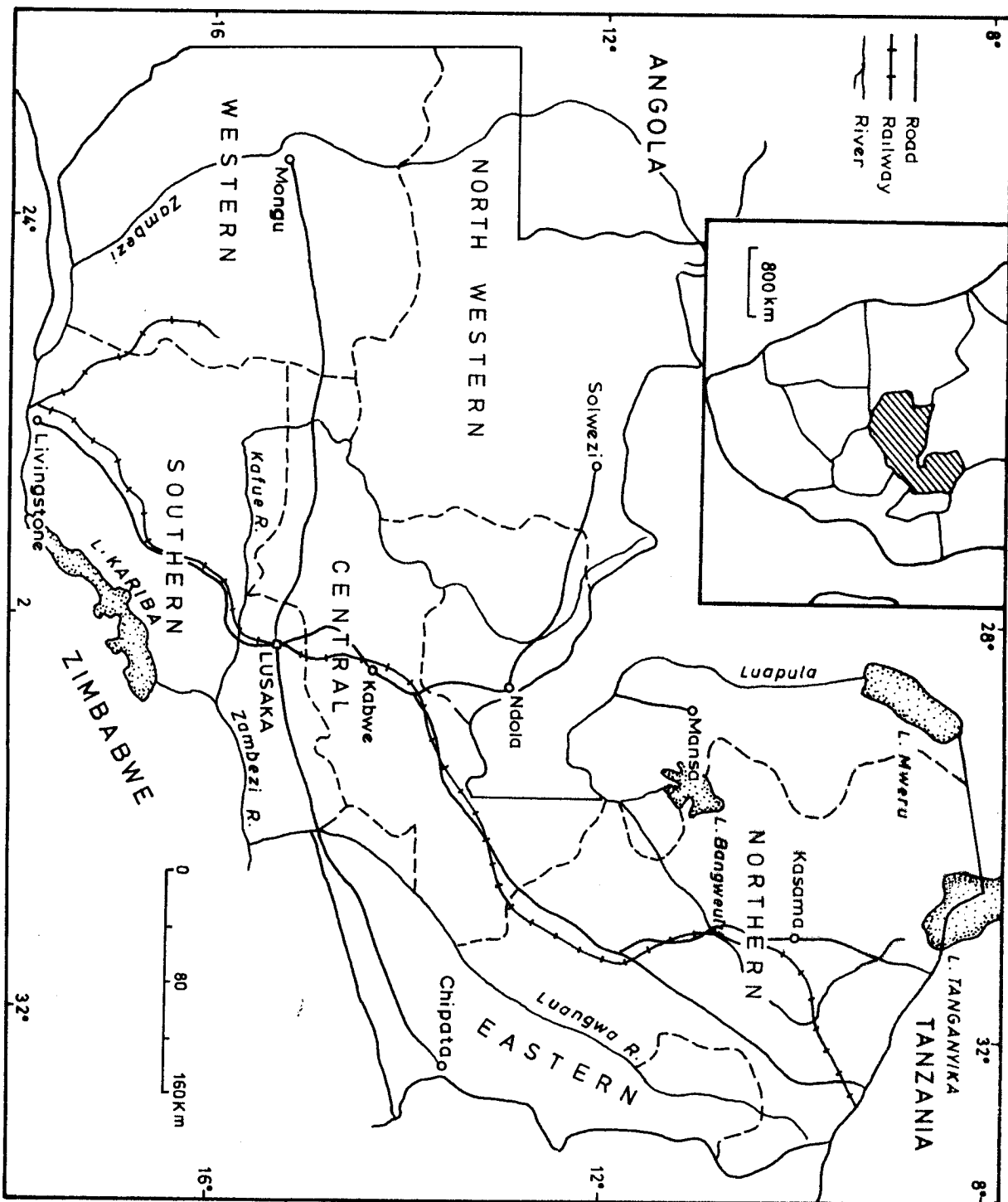
COLONIAL LUSAKA AND TRANSPORTATION BEFORE 1939

INTRODUCTION:

The incorporation of present-day Zambia into the European dominated capitalist economy brought to an end independent pre-capitalist existence. Before this African peoples' lives were bound up with the land by means of simple slash-and-burn agriculture and supplemented by hunting, fishing and cattle-keeping.¹ Gathering of wild plants and insects was another important branch of production. Land was used in common and no one owned the land on which today's cities now stand. The colonists, upon arrival, formed a separate social group whose life was based on capitalist ownership which was to dominate the Southern African region. The capitalism, which was introduced into pre-colonial Zambia, was characterized by the dividing up of land for private ownership, clearing it, building on it, farming it, trading it, digging up riches and accumulating wealth.²

Before the arrival of European and other settlers in Lusaka, the area appeared to them to be a sort of no-man's land, occupied by the Lenje to the north, the Soili to the east and to a much lesser extent, the Sala to the west.³ Oral traditions traced Lenje chieftainship to Mukuni from the Lunda empire of Mwata Yamvo in today's Zaire. Mukuni and his followers

Fig. 1 The Republic of Zambia



settled in the area between today's Chisamba and Chibombo. Mukuni is said to have sent emissaries to outlying areas to bring more land under his control or to ward off others. Wars were waged against the Soli and other Lenje groups in the neighbourhood of present Lusaka. The Sala, to the west of Lusaka, were similarly under attack from the Lozi who also wanted to expand their kingdom.⁴ Before colonialism people lived under independent chiefs. Subjects paid tribute to the king in recognition of his position as custodian of the land, and for protection and help from the chief in times of war and famine. The advent of colonialism, therefore, upset the traditional economy by imposing private capitalist relationships: wage labour and commodity production.⁵ The socio-political and economic life of the indigenous people was consequently irreversibly changed.

The settlement of Europeans in Lusaka was closely linked to the northward expansion of the capitalist economy coming from South Africa. This advance was accelerated when diamonds and gold were discovered in 1868 and 1886, respectively. Gold was earlier dug from shallow outcrop mines in South Africa but as mining operations became more complex, deep level mining was started. This required expensive machinery and afforded opportunities for big companies to invest in the mines. Finance capital

became a reality in 1887 when Gold Fields of South Africa was founded, and Cecil John Rhodes held a major interest. This company was later renamed Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa. It became a huge trust company with shares in many deep level mines on the Rand. Rhodes believed he would find a "Second Rand" north of the Limpopo and this influenced the granting by Britain of the Royal Charter in October 1889 to Rhodes' British South African Company⁶.

The development of mines north of the Zambezi was part of the 'miners frontier', which started with the discovery of minerals in South Africa. Mining required adequate transport that would replace carriers or oxwagons for transporting minerals to the coast. Railway building was necessary for the transportation of gold; capital was available from 1850 onwards with the formation of limited liability companies in Europe. Investors became more eager to invest money abroad in anticipation of better returns, and transport became a favourite overseas investment. In South Africa, mines were the magnets that drew the rail-lines across the continent and the Rhodesia railway was an extension of the South African network. In fact, the construction of a line to the Zambezi was one of the conditions of the Royal Charter.⁷ The railway

was started in 1893 at Vryburg in South Africa and reached Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia in 1897, crossing the Zambezi into Northern Rhodesia in 1904.⁸ The primary attraction for investment in Central and Southern Africa was the mineral wealth which was known or believed to exist. The copper mines of Katanga in Zaire were an added attraction because geographically and culturally Katanga was more closely linked to Northern Rhodesia than to the rest of the Congo. As a result, the original impetus and finance for their development came from British interests already operating in South Africa and Rhodesia. Rhodes and his agents wanted to link the Mashonaland railway to the southern boundary of Katanga because of known copper deposits there. King Leopold of Belgium did not succumb to the demands of Rhodes and Alfred Beit; it was not until 1908 that an agreement to connect the railway from Broken Hill (Kabwe) was signed.⁹

This single track of the Beira and Mashonaland railway being pushed north reached the present location of Lusaka in 1905.¹⁰ It was the practice of the contractors to create a siding every twenty miles or on the nearest flat or suitable site, and to name it after a nearby chief or headman. Lusaka was twenty miles from the last siding, Chipongwe, and it was chosen as a siding. The sidings were named by the

the Resident Engineer, S.F. Townsend, who gave this particular siding the name 'Lusaka', after a Lenje headman called Lusaka.

The construction of the railway required that transport riders or contractors with ox-drawn carts be employed primarily to transport materials necessary for the laying of rails. Most of these riders were Afrikaners from South Africa who also possessed a commercial agrarian background.¹¹ The new settler community comprised former members of the British South Africa Police, the armed forces who had fought in the Boer war, retired members of the Administration, the railway and traders who had built up a little capital dealing in cattle. These immigrants were attracted to the north by relatively cheap land, labour and cattle. Land in Lusaka was particularly cheap, especially after the failure by the Northern Copper Company to find minerals in the area. The company itself was very anxious to sell. Most of the newcomers came from the Transvaal and Orange Free State where Afrikaner distress was rife after the devastation of the 1899 Anglo-Boer War.¹²

Settlement of the district by Europeans started in 1906 when the Northern Copper Company sold off farms to ex-railway men, transport drivers and others. Most of these settlers were railway workers who had been laid off at Broken Hill when building of the railway stalled.¹³ In February, 1906,

Roman Catholic Missionaries built a mission station just north of the siding at Kasisi, to become one of the earliest permanent settlements.¹⁴ The settler farmers produced meat, hides, maize and a little wheat, most of which was sold at Broken Hill and Katanga. The number of farms gradually increased when the British South African Company, as the administrative body, surveyed farmland for alienation to Europeans, sometimes well in advance of demand. This led to the growth of a small commercial and agricultural marketing centre around the siding. By 1912 there were nine standholders in the new settlement, which included three grain mills, two primary schools, several shops and a small hotel.¹⁴

One common characteristic of the first settlements in Northern Rhodesia was that they were intended to serve specific functions.¹⁵ The function of Lusaka as a service centre for the surrounding farming community can be assessed from the range of trades listed for the town in the Rhodesia Directory of 1928:

Agents	- J.N. Macfadyean & N. Rosenfield;
Auctioneer	- S. Haslett;
Bootmaker	- J.N. Belaporte;
Bankers	- Standard Bank of South Africa;
Butchers	- A.G. Levell & S. Wolpowitz;
Bakers	- B. Glasser, I. Aberman;
General Dealers	- Kollenberg & Son, I. Aberman, Glasser, B. Baker & Co.,

- Creed & Co., Rosenfield,
J.N. Delaporte, D. Shapiro &
S. Fischer;
- Hotelier - A. Counsell;
- Limeworkers - Rosazza & Morton, G. Marrapodi;
- Millers - N.W. Rhodesia Farmers' Co-operative
Society, E. Kollenberg & Son;
- Motor Garage Services - H. Bain & V.S. Diamond.

Source: Geoffrey J. Williams, The Peugeot Guide to Lusaka, p. 21-23. This list clearly demonstrates how African interests were subordinated to those of settlers. Lusaka was designed to suit the newcomers' interests while those of the indigenous people were almost completely overlooked, except when the role of the 'natives' was to serve the settlers. Most Africans in Lusaka at the time were employed as casual labourers or house servants. The social structure of the 'natives' centred on clans and lineages and subsistence economy was now replaced by rail men, shopkeepers, administrators and others required to sustain the newly established colonial society. This marked the start of stratification that put the interests of the settler community well above those of the indigenous people.

PRE-WORLD WAR I SETTLEMENT PATTERNS:

Between 1912 and 1914 when World War I broke out, Lusaka enjoyed its first wave of capitalist prosperity.

At this time, there were about 500 settlers in Chilanga District, which included Lusaka. The number of newcomers was increasing steadily and as the population grew, many social and political institutions were formed. In July, 1912, a licence was obtained for Counsell's Hotel, today's Lusaka Hotel; also, the Lusaka Social and Sports Club was formed in September the same year. New buildings for stores were being constructed, auctions and sales were held, and it became common for all new businesses to hold dances when they opened. In 1913 the Lusaka Farmers' Association was formed, while a school for children of settlers had already been opened.¹⁶ At the time, the British South African Company local administrative centre was at Chilanga, ten miles to the south of Lusaka. An administrative framework was required for this fast growing settlement and on 31 July, 1931, the British South African Company Administration of Northern Rhodesia granted Lusaka the status of Village Management Board through the Government Gazette Notice, Number 48 of 1913. This was a small township laid out on a simple grid pattern of what today is the commercial centre of Lusaka.¹⁷

During this period of settler prosperity, a series of private townships were developed to the north and north-east on farms subdivided for the purpose.

Source: Williams G J (ed) 1986 *Lusaka and Its Environs* p.75

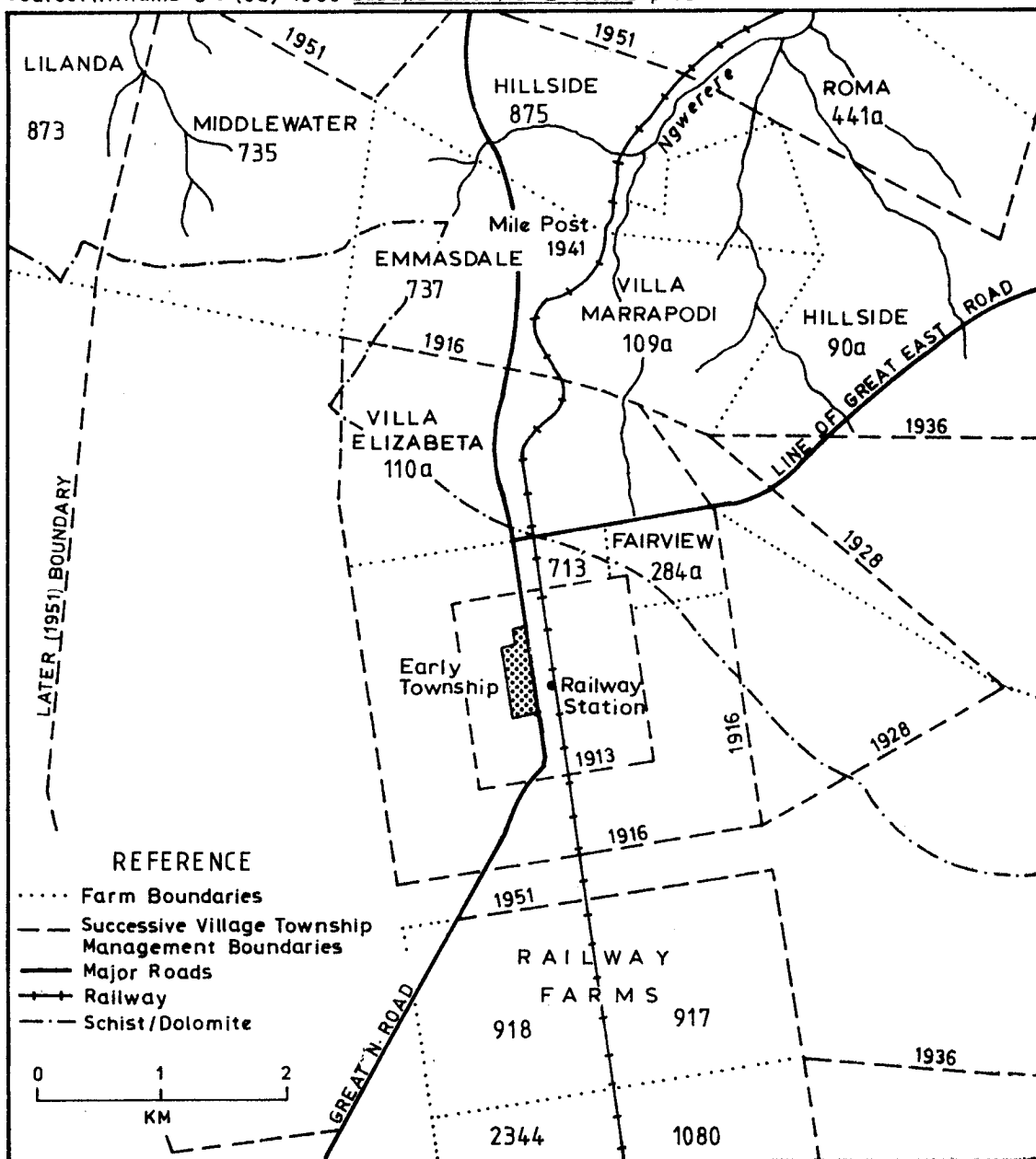


Fig. 3 Farm Boundaries, Successive Administrative Enlargements and Factors Controlling The Early Development of Lusaka.

These were Villa Elisabetta, Emmasdale, Villa Marrapodi and Fairview. These townships and the Village Management Board were all created before the first Town Planning Ordinance of 1929, so there developed a variety of plot sizes in the predominantly residential farm divisions. Together, these formed a small agricultural service centre, and there is no evidence that they were influenced by any particular concept of town planning.¹⁸ This was the main cause of problems in the provision of functional services, such as transport and sanitation in the city during its later stages of development.

Search For Colonial Capital:

Before 1911 when the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia was divided into two - North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia (under which Lusaka fell), there were two capitals: Fort Jameson (Chipata) for the eastern and Kalomo for the western half of the Protectorate. Kalomo was abandoned in 1907 because of its reputation for black water fever. Livingstone was made the capital of North-Western Rhodesia and retained its status after 1911 when the two territories were united to make Northern Rhodesia. The measure was intended to be temporary until a more convenient capital was selected. However, lack of funds, the effect of World War I and the attraction of the Victoria Falls

and the Zambezi River delayed the move to a new capital.

During the late 1920s, it became clear that Livingstone was inconvenient as the capital of the Protectorate. It was tucked away on the Zambezi in the southern most corner of the Territory. For an inland country so large, it was undesirable to have its capital clinging to its outer edge. The argument in favour of moving the capital was reinforced by the rapid development of the Copperbelt along the Congo border. There was a huge influx of Europeans on the Copperbelt and the rapid growth of the copper industry made it evidently clear that this would be the industrial centre of the country.¹⁹ Between 1929 and 1930, Bwana Mkubwa, Roan, Nkana, Mufulira, Chambeshi and Kansanshi mines were either producing copper or undergoing development; so there was promise of a magnificent future for the distant north. In 1929, Anglo-American, Rhodesia Selection Trust and three Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council reminded the Government that economic development would centre beyond the Kafue, so there was need to move the capital nearer to communities having permanent business with Government. Europeans also found local foodstuffs inadequate in Livingstone and the weather unsuitable.²⁰ At a lower altitude than by far the greater part of the country and built on sand on the slopes of the Zambezi Valley, it was hotter than the plateau to the north.

In 1930, the Northern Rhodesia Government commissioned Professor Stanley Davenport Adshead, a prominent town planner from London University, to select a site for the new capital.²¹ A firm of water engineers, Sir Alexander Binnie & Sons and Deacon, were chosen for the job.²² Several settlements that included Chilanga, Lusaka, Broken Hill, Bwana Mkubwa, and Ndola were considered. Professor Adshead chose Lusaka for several reasons. The most important was that the town was central to the limited transportation network of the territory. It lay at the intersection of the line of rail with other road routes to the east and west. Lusaka was, therefore, a useful link between Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt. The area also had large underground water resources which could be tapped with boreholes.²³ It was also felt that there was ample room for further expansion and the Government duly accepted Adshead's recommendations.

The bulk of the land around Lusaka belonged to the Crown and its value was expected to appreciate in future. But Adshead was pessimistic about Lusaka becoming a great city. He thought it would only be a Government centre and predicted that the settlement could, for economic reasons, never become an important town. On the map, the township was neatly zoned into administrative, commercial, residential, African, Indian, recreational and 'undetermined' areas, the whole scheme resting on the

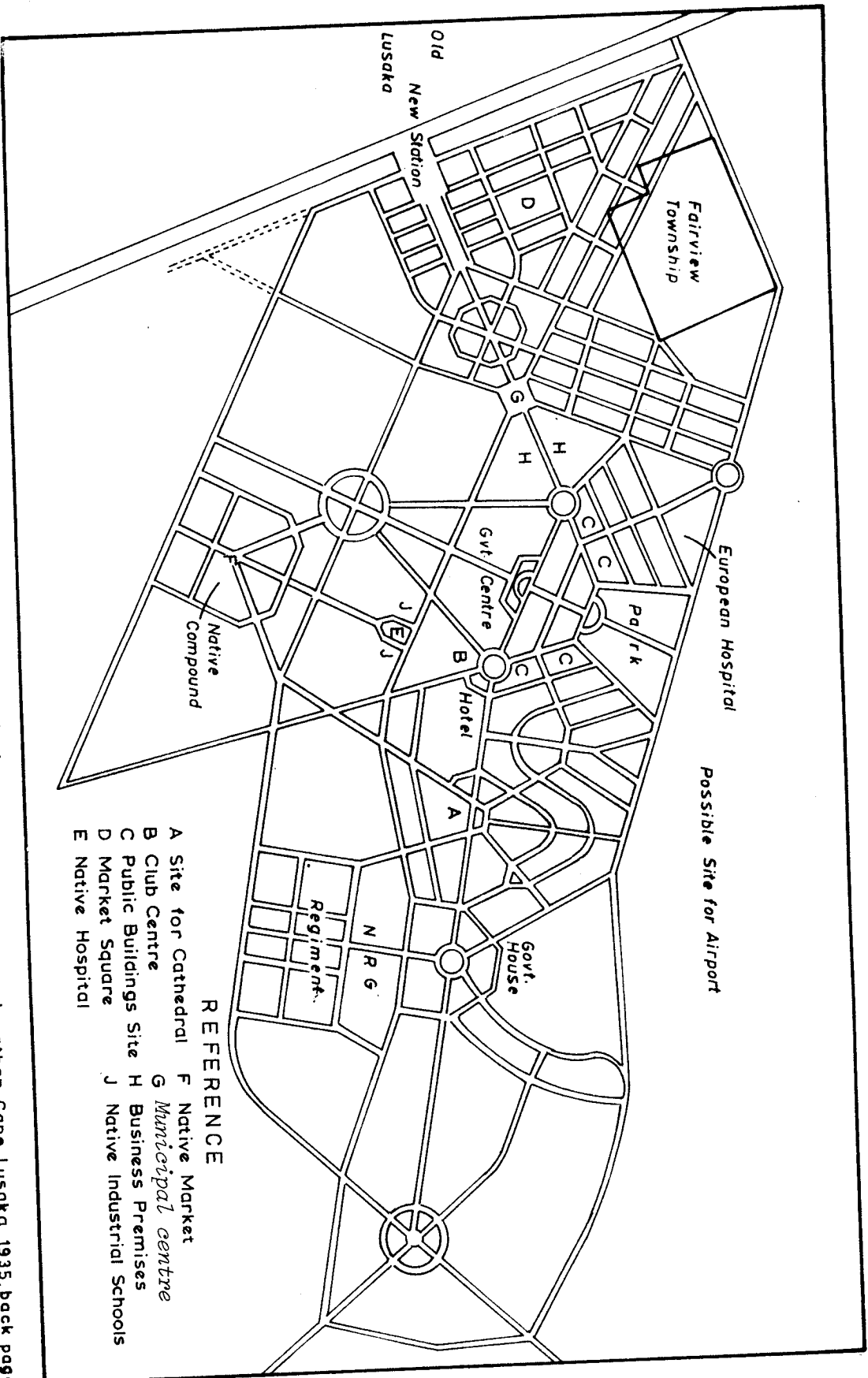
assumption that Lusaka would only be the country's governmental, social and cultural centre, where industrial development would remain strictly limited.²⁴

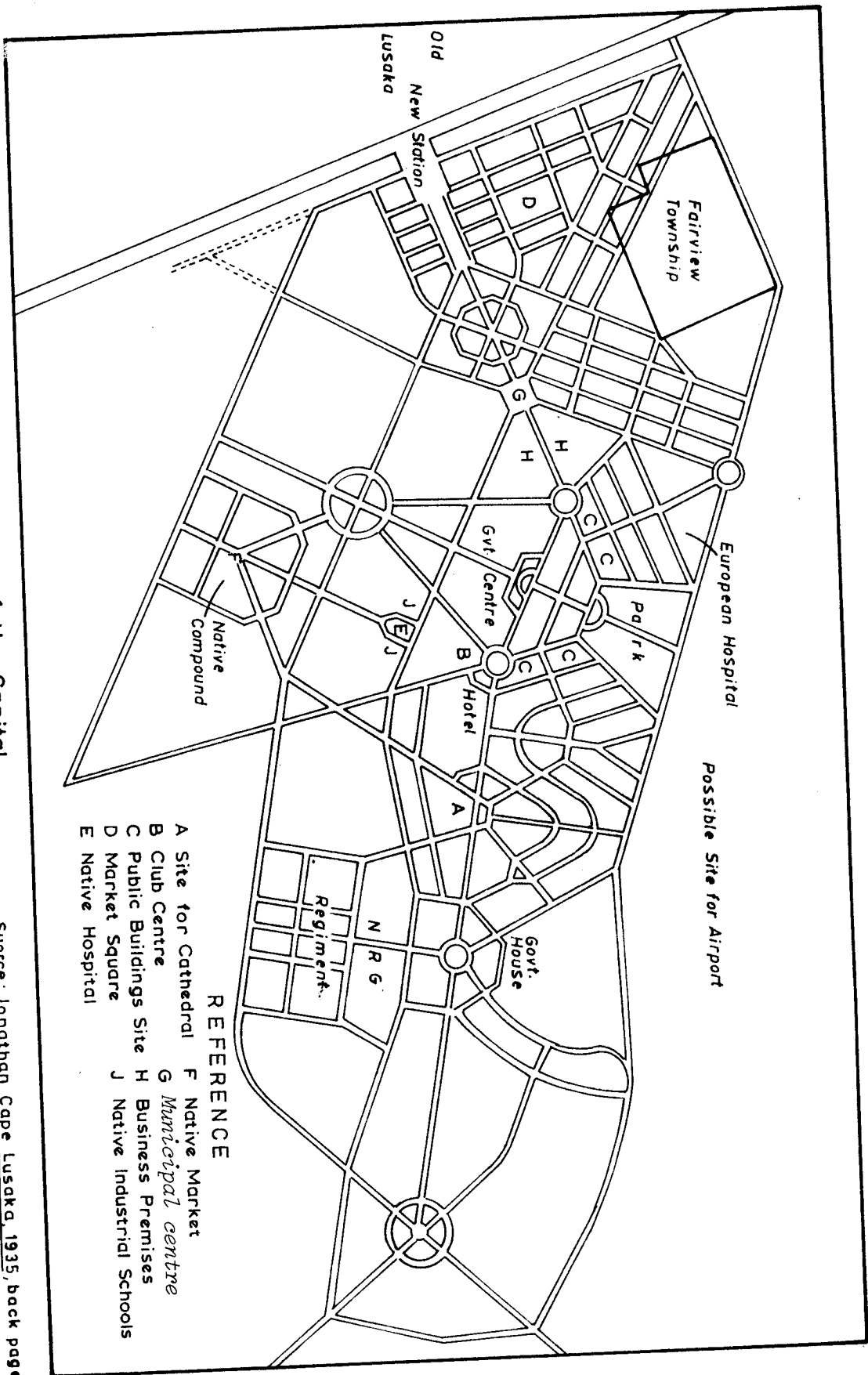
Apart from selecting the site of the new capital, Adshead prepared a plan for the capital city and Government centre based on a projected European population approximately 5,000 with a provision for an increase in the population of the existing town of Lusaka, which then was about 3,000. Provision was also made for a maximum number of 1,000 African Police. Others catered for in the plan were African domestic servants and their families who were projected to increase up to 4,000.²⁵

The Adshead Plan formed the basis on which the development of Lusaka started and this included basic functional services such as transport. Since Adshead had little local colonial experience, it was obvious that his plan for Lusaka would reflect aspects of dominant trends in his mother country, England. He was influenced by the Garden City Movement which had been popularized in Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities of Tomorrow, published in 1902. As an alternative to the continuous expansion of the existing industrial cities of England, with their social problems, Howard proposed small garden cities limited to 30,000 people, so that work and community services could be clustered around a central city of 58,000 to form a self-contained metropolis of 250,000. The component cities were to be separated by agricultural land and linked by rapid transport. The object was to combine town and country

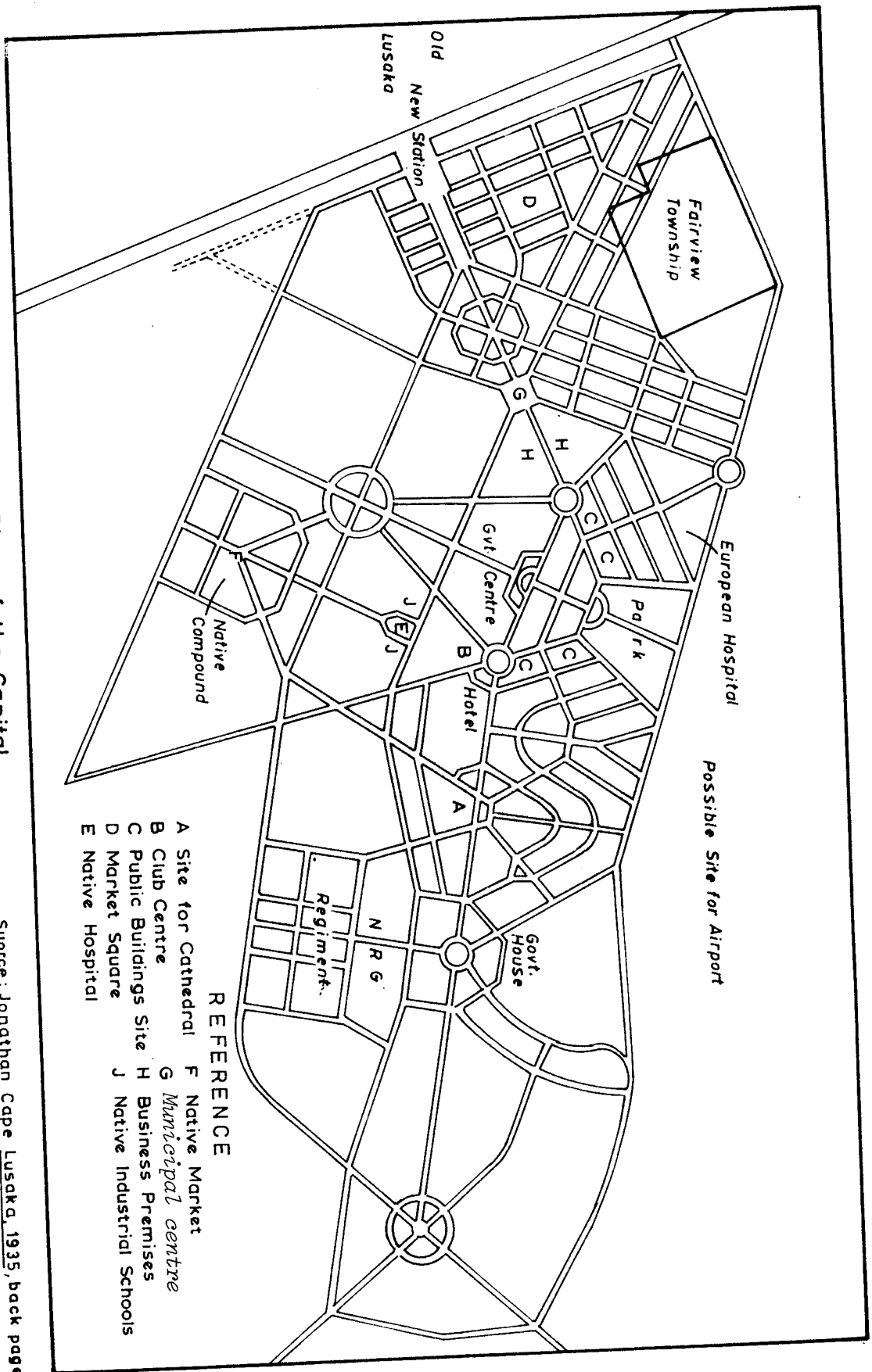
living even for the poorest workers, who would enjoy the advantages of a great city, as well as 'the fresh delights of the country-field, hedgerow and woodland'.²⁶ This system was first tried at Letchworth in England before World War I and was underway at Welwyn Garden City in the mid-1920s. Enthusiasm in England for the Garden City Movement was at its peak in the mid-1920s and it was perhaps inevitable that a new capital city of a British colony should be developed along the same lines.

Though not directly connected with the Garden City Movement, Adshead's thinking was in the same mould. He proposed a 'generous gracious city', the beauty of which would depend to an enormous extent, upon planting. He acknowledged the fact that the streets were too wide, the sizes of the open spaces too big and the distances between the points of interest too great, but did nothing to change the plan. He argued that it was wise to err on the side of houses being too widely spaced, rather than to have the buildings conveniently near with the possibility of there being overcrowding in the future. Influenced by the history of seasonal flooding, Adshead recommended the building of Government offices on higher land, today's Ridgeway area. This decision saw the separation of the seat of Government from Old Lusaka. At various points along the ridge, sites were suggested for all major buildings including Government (now State House) which it was assumed, would be conveniently





Historical Plan of the Capital

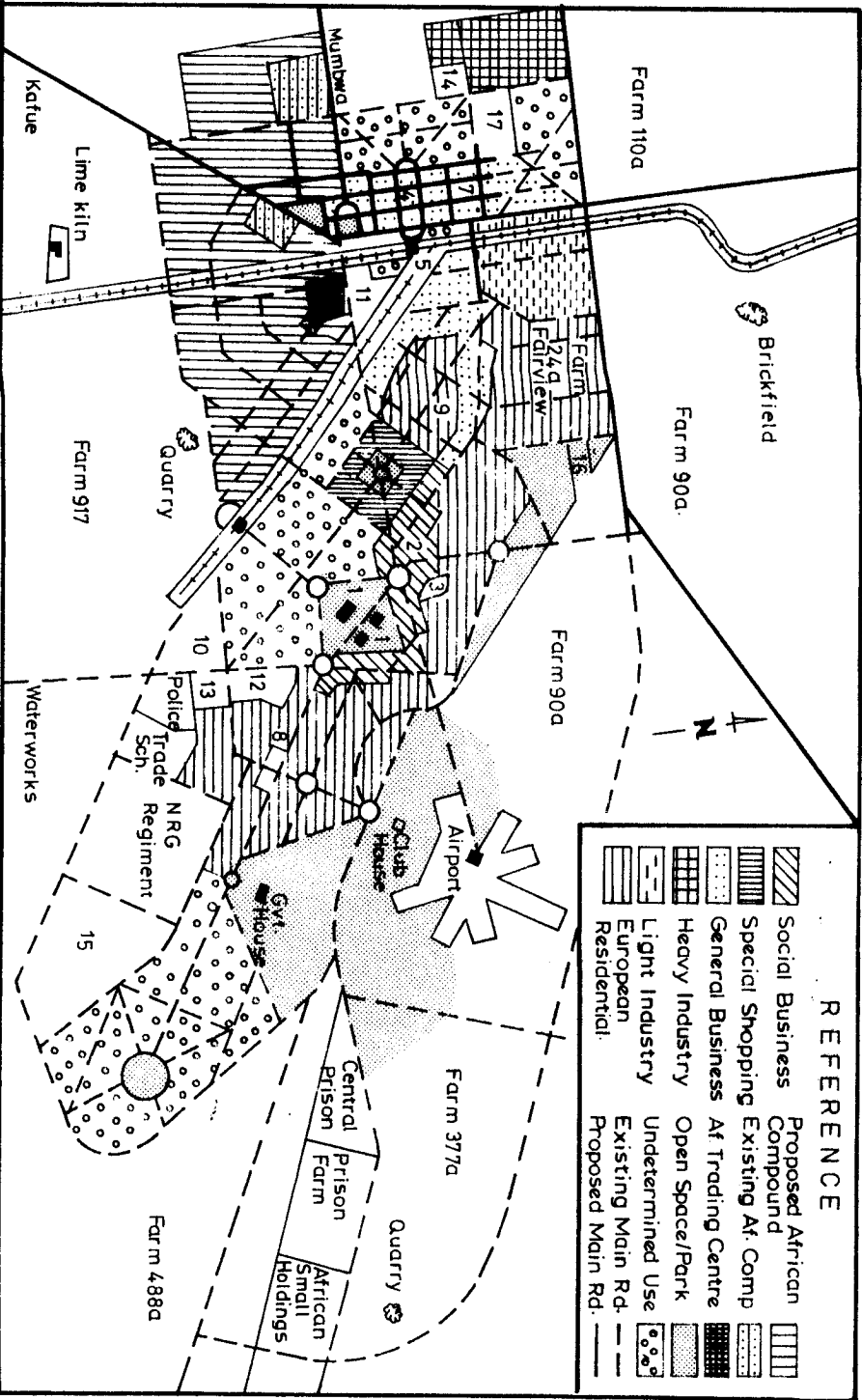


situated about one and a half to two miles from the Government Centre, and for the civil servants' houses. Adshead had accepted the colonial pattern of tacit residential separation of races. European residences were extended in a zone from the northeast of the Government area to the northern edge of the old Town, while Africans would be accommodated in the west and south.

Professor Adshead's plan was completed in April, 1931, after which it was passed to P.J. Bowling, the Government Town Planning Engineer, who studied it until June, 1933 when his report and plan were produced. Bowling, now planning for an ultimate European population of 20,000, became aware of the spatial extravagance of Adshead's plan. He tried to rectify this by arranging that the Light Industrial Zone, the Central Business Zone and the Retail Zone be placed geographically in this order, resulting in low traffic mileage, saving of business time, and cost of road maintenance. This proposal, which was aimed at reducing the sprawl and increasing the overall density, was not fully implemented as only the Light Industrial zone was incorporated in the plan.

Between 1929 and 1933 while Adshead and Bowling were working out their plans a number of laws were passed concerning Town Planning. One of these was the Town Planning Ordinance of 1929. Under this

Source: G J Williams (ed) 1986 Lusaka and its Environs p.103



ordinance, a Town Planning Board was appointed with power to prepare a town plan for any town referred to it by the Government. Lusaka was, however, never referred to the Board and it was not until 1936, a year after the capital had been moved from Livingstone to Lusaka, that it was discovered that the plan for the new capital was illegal in terms of the Town Planning Ordinance. Attempts to apply the Ordinance were abandoned in 1938 when the 'non-Statutory Development Plans' were introduced. These plans gave the provision that suitable clauses could be included in the leases. This position suited Lusaka because most of the land was owned by the Government. This meant that by-laws and regulations would be made to control the zoning, siting and conformity and construction of buildings. The most important effect of the 'non-Statutory Development Plans' was that Governors and their advisors were persuaded to change the plan in ways which reduced the overall density of the city still further. This piecemeal creation of peripheral low density suburbs with minimal planning controls and at the whims of private owners was primarily responsible for Lusaka's marked sprawl. In fact, the town became so spread out that it became inefficient even for the Europeans whose needs had always been given priority. The non-statutory plans were easily amended and by the late 1940s it had become increasingly clear that the loose development of Lusaka was permitted to the detriment of the town generally.²⁷ Lusaka, like most Rhodesian settlements, was characterised by this spread: land was

was cheap, time was no object; people liked privacy and built their houses far away from each other, a practice encouraged by the poor facilities for sanitation. This 'spread' gave white settlers plenty of elbow room but made the subsequent provision of municipal services more difficult than it might have been.²⁸ The 'spread', imposed upon a settlement initially planned on over-generous lines in accordance with garden city thinking, was the cause of lack of cohesion and today threatens functional disintegration, including that of transport.²⁹

IMPACT OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION:

That Northern Rhodesia was now incorporated into the world capitalist system was signalled by the world-wide depression of the 1920s and 1930s. In the early 1930s Southern and Northern Rhodesia were in the course of major programmes of building and construction, which required tremendous financial outlay. These colonies depended primarily on the export of natural wealth and they were vulnerable to fluctuations on the world market. During the depression there was a surplus of finished goods and prices of raw materials were forced down. However, the two Rhodesias overcame the depression crisis. The building of Lusaka started just when the depression started. Within a short period, hundreds of offices and shops were either opened or transferred to it from Livingstone, at an estimated expenditure of £2 million. Furthermore, airports were being built in Livingstone and Lusaka, radio broadcasting stations were being established and the railway

network in the northern part of the country to include the newly built town, Luanshya, was constructed.

This "boom" situation was based on the mineral wealth of Northern Rhodesia which was discovered in the decade preceding the world depression. In 1913, the value of minerals extracted in the territory was only £2,000 whereas the value of other goods produced by European entrepreneurs was £143,000. By 1929 Northern Rhodesia had shown a tenfold increase in the output of its mining industry, whereas agricultural production had no more than doubled. By 1935, the situation had become completely different. The value of minerals extracted, mainly copper, reached £4,492,000 while agricultural production was nearly as low as that of 1913. The outbreak of the world depression, therefore, found Northern Rhodesia in a whirlwind of mining development. A significant share of mining in the Copperbelt was controlled by American capital.³⁰

The backing of international capital on mining companies was the force behind the success of the mining industry, even during the depression. In 1931, American Metal Company transferred 32,000 of its 42,000 shares from Ontario Refining Company to Rhodesia Selection Trust, giving it majority control of Rhodesia Selection Trust. The collapse of the world market resulted in increased collaboration between hitherto antagonistic American and British owners of low-cost mines. Anglo-American Corporation, American Metal Company, Union

Miniere du Haut Katanga, Chile Copper Company and Cerro de Pasco Mining Company came together to form the International Copper Cartel, which specifically excluded American domestic products.

The involvement of monopoly capital was so great that the world economic depression was not felt until 1931. In fact, the huge increases in production occurred during 1931-34 when the world economic crisis was at its worst. Production rose from 5,465 long tons of copper in 1929 to 143,501 long tons in 1934. The steps taken at the international level to save the Copperbelt from the depression reveal the extent to which Northern Rhodesia became an important part of the capitalist system. By 1935, minerals accounted for more than 72 per cent of the total value of domestic exports. This percentage rose to 97 per cent in 1938, with copper exports alone accounting for as much as 90 per cent. Northern Rhodesian copper mines found guaranteed markets during 1935-1939, beginning with re-armament and throughout World War II.³¹ It was, therefore, the more favourable constellation of events in the world economy, including the self-isolation of American copper producers, the break-up of the world combine of copper companies, the increased demand for copper in Great Britain, Imperial preferences and other factors that made Northern Rhodesia withstand the depression and put its economy back on its feet soon after the depression had ended.³²

International finance capital, therefore, played a very important role in the building of Lusaka as a capital city from which the administration of the extended capitalist

political economy would conveniently be carried out.

COLONIAL URBAN POLICY AND THE COLONIAL CAPITAL

During the pre-colonial era, present-day Zambia was almost entirely agrarian. Industrial urbanization started with European colonialists who built towns as European settlements for purposes related to their own interest; mainly trade, mining and administration. As a result, colonial authorities dictated the terms on which the African population was to participate in the urbanization process. The growth of urban settlements of Zambia was, therefore, guided by policies which had an institutional bias, aimed at protecting European interests. The newly established communities were surrounded by the pre-capitalist societies and there developed a relationship of dependency between the two. On one hand Europeans depended on African labour and on the other hand restricted the development of African societies to that of serving basic European interests. This trend, which started during the early colonial period, perpetuated underdevelopment.

The most important feature of urban settlements during the colonial era was the policy of African migrant labour.³³ Towns in Northern Rhodesia, like those of her neighbours in the South, were established as European areas in which African male labourers were not considered as

permanent residents. This circulatory migration - the alternation of periods of urban employment and rural residence - was the characteristic feature of urbanization. Housing provided by European employers and local authorities was designed for labour migrants unaccompanied by wives. Circulatory migration was, therefore, a response to the conditions created by Europeans for African migrants within the Northern Rhodesian political economy.³⁴ Rent-free housing, tied to employment, was provided for men only, while their families were expected to remain in rural areas, and on retirement, the men had to go back to their families. Movement into urban areas was restricted and there was no specific requirement that local authorities should provide housing for renting before the urban African Housing Act of 1948.³⁵ To curb the flow of unnecessary urban migration, government agencies relied on penal constraints of the South African type: identification certificates (citupa), tax receipts, visitors' permits, night passes, police raids and the repatriation under court order of women and children and unemployed males. The layout and design of major urban settlements followed the colonial pattern of racial segregation. This visible difference accentuated the social gap between expatriates and the indigenous people and, after independence, between high and low income groups.³⁶

This legacy had far reaching consequences on the transport system. Low density areas, even at this early

stage , were associated with affluence and car ownership while high density areas were associated with impoverished pedestrians. It was commonly assumed that low density areas did not require public transport and this led to even more neglect.

BEGINNING OF COLONIAL TRANSPORT:

The evolution of transport in a particular society can be said to be as old as man. Modes of transport have been known to develop in response to various factors, such as the ecological environment and the level of technological advancement attained by that society. During the pre-colonial era, African people had developed a transport system that corresponded with their needs and environment. The earliest of these was human portage along paths connecting villages, fields and other centres of activity. Later, forks of trees were pulled by oxen for the carriage of large quantities over short distances. Cattle-drawn wagons, locomotive trains and motor vehicles were forms of transport that were introduced into the African subcontinent with the coming of European settlement.

Lusaka, as a town settlement, was built along the line of an already existing road network that comprised the Great North and the Great East Roads. These were unpaved roads that had been established by missionaries and traders in the late nineteenth century. The rail line was not originally meant to pass through the area that was to become Lusaka but economic factors, mainly the discovery of minerals at Wankie (Southern Rhodesia), copper on the

Kafue Hook and Kansanshi and lead at Broken Hill, were the main factors behind the railway passing through Lusaka. This pre-conditioned the pattern of the later road network. Cairo Road, which passed through the 'Old Town', now the centre of the CBD, was part of the Great North Road. King George Avenue (now Independence Avenue) which was opened by Prince George when he visited Lusaka in 1934, started from a point on the Great North Road just south of the old Town (now Kafue Roundabout) and ran straight, to the top of the capital ridge.³⁷ The Great East Road also started from the northend of Cairo Road at today's Kabwe Roundabout.

In the 1920s the Europeans in the territory of Northern Rhodesia mainly travelled by motor cycle or on foot. The first organised motor transport in the territory began in 1925 when L.F. Moore 'Mopani' Clarke and Micklen, delegates from Northern Rhodesia, were taken by Major E.C. Dunn to Lord Delamere's first unofficial East African Conference at Rungwe Mission in Tanganyika. Later in the same year, Wickwar of Livingstone was granted a contract to provide transport for the District Commissioner, H.C.N. Hill, from Broken Hill to Livingstone. In November, 1926, Major Dunn's Northern Rhodesia Motors conveyed Captain Castle of the Northern Rhodesia Police to Kasama. The following year, Major Dunn introduced a regular service between Broken Hill and Abercorn (Mbala).³⁸

The history of today's United Bus Company of Zambia, UBZ, goes back to 1929 when a partnership was made between

two local settlers: Andrew Thatcher and Peter Hobson. One of their first transport runs was the carriage of mail from Broken Hill to Chambeshi River where another firm, Smith and Kitchen took over all the way to Abercorn, some 560 miles away. Lionel Smith and his brother Ronald had started their transport business in 1912, running ox-wagons from the Lake Tanganyika port of Kituta to Abercorn and Kasama. They were joined by Jim Kitchen in 1924 and a year later they invested in their first mechanised transport. During the Second World War, these two firms ran military convoys from Lusaka to Mbeya and on to Zomba, Nyasaland.³⁹

Large scale road traffic passenger services were started on November 26, 1936 when Thatcher, Hobson and Company Limited was incorporated under the Companies Ordinance, Chapter 26 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia, to provide an omnibus services in the Protectorate.⁴⁰ From the time of its incorporation up to 1945, the Company had a nominal capital of £10,000, divided into 10,000 shares of £1 each.⁴¹ The policy of the Protectorate on transportation was one of controlled competition under the Motor Traffic Ordinance which was based on the Road Traffic Acts, 1930-37, and the Road and Rail Traffic Act of 1933, in force in the United Kingdom.⁴²

To sum up, the development and growth of Lusaka as a town led to far-reaching consequences in the planning and running of a logical and efficient public transport

network. From the onset, the town was meant to be a sprawling garden city primarily meant to serve European settler interests. Another important element of Lusaka's history was its unplanned development which necessitated ad hoc or piecemeal work. During the early years of settlement the city satisfied the demands of the private owners as well as the Government. The 'garden city' concept concentrated many activities in the city centre, creating strain on the basic facilities.

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CHAPTER TWO

FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1939 - 1959

INTRODUCTION:

When World War II broke out in 1939, Northern Rhodesia, together with its capital Lusaka, came to occupy a prominent role in Britain's war effort. During World War II the combustion engine and other highly specialised equipment were used. This made copper more important as a vital raw material than ever before. Almost half the copper production for military purposes went into shells and cartridges. The other half was used for making electrical equipment and mechanical parts capable for resisting corrosion. The high demand for copper increased tremendously the demand made on the mines; these demands provided a secure market and sheltered prices for their products. Soon after the outbreak of the war, prices rose considerably. By 1942, copper producers operated at a cost not much higher than half the prices they received. This meant that mining companies could further expand production.¹

Considerable extensions were made to the military establishment and cantonment areas in Lusaka which were needed to accommodate the nine battalions of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, passing steadily through the capital on their way to East Africa and Burma. The war contributed

to the increase of the population of the town, though this was to a large extent temporary. Some Italian prisoners of war, captured in Ethiopia and Somalia, were camped in Lusaka for a short period. There was also a large number of Polish Jews who had fled from Nazi Europe. Obviously the Government could not foresee this unprecedented influx of population.

Whereas the years after the First World War saw little or no growth in Lusaka, the town experienced a boom after World War II. Copper prices were relatively high, thus stimulating general growth in the economy.² Prices went up from an average of £62 per ton between 1941 and 1954 to a peak of £352 in 1955. The high copper output and profits between 1946 and 1955 made that period the most prosperous decade in the mining industry. This copper prosperity increased the demand for labour, not only for the mines but also in other sectors stimulated by copper production; and this inevitably attracted more people to urban settlements.³ European migrants from war devastated Britain and some from South Africa flocked into the so-called new lands. The Northern Rhodesia Government itself recruited more Europeans to administer the rapidly expanding agricultural, labour, social and economic services. The increase in the population of the white community in the greater Lusaka areas is demonstrated by the following figures:

Table 1: White Settler population increase: 1931-1955.

1931	-	470
1946	-	2,615
1951	-	4,615
1955	-	8,000

Source: Richard Sampson, So This Was Lusaakas, p. 68.

In 1951, there was a total population of 5,104 Asians, Coloured and others (excluding Africans and Europeans) in Lusaka. In the same year, 13,238 Africans were recorded in employment in Lusaka (early censuses were confined to European, Asian and 'coloured' populations).⁴ The increase in population fuelled the demand for buildings. Municipal rating valuation figure went up from £392,469 in 1946 to over 14 million in 1954. Building plans passed by the Council in April 1952 alone were worth £107,726.⁵ Until 1952, such developemnts continued without taking into account the uncontrollable sprawl that accompanied it. The Town Planning Scheme for Lusaka was passed in 1952 but even this did not make enough provision for Africans. According to this scheme, the optimum African population was set at 133,000. The plan, however, provided for only 52,640. Of these, 11,060 were domestic servants, housed on European stands. The 52,640 Africans would be accommodated on 1,709 acres, which meant that 3,751 acres were required to provide accommodation for the remaining 80,000 Africans. This clearly shows that Europeans would have their garden suburbs at the expense of the remaining 60 per cent of the African population.⁶

The introduction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953, which in theory was meant to eliminate racial discrimination and encourage racial equality, in practice, ensured a dominant position for European settlers over Africans. Federation allowed for concerted efforts on the part of the local white communities to promote their own interests. This was reflected in the promotion of various projects including the subordination of Lusaka to Salisbury. For instance, the mining companies which had recently moved offices from London to Lusaka now moved to Salisbury. Another impact of the Federation was the abandoning of the Kafue Power Scheme in preference to the Kariba Project. These two big losses did not augur well for confidence in the future of Lusaka. The city, however, grew steadily and in April 1953, Lusaka moved from Management Board to Municipal Board status. In April 1954, it was elevated to full Municipal Council status and the first mayor of Lusaka was elected. The Council now started pressing for city status but it was not until the Anglican Cathedral was completed in 1960 that the Royal Charter for city status was granted.⁷

THATCHER, HOBSON AND COMPANY:

The services of Thatcher and Hobson mushroomed during the late 1930s. Services between Ndola and the Northern Province were introduced. Mail service contracts were also started between Lusaka and Fort Jameson and Mwinilunga in the North-Western Province. However, the company was not spared by the effect of World War II and had to borrow money for its expansion from the British

South Africa Company.⁸ In 1951, there were 217 operators in Northern Rhodesia who owned a total number of 601 vehicles. At that time Messrs Thatcher, Hobson and Company held 55.2 per cent of the road service permits for passenger vehicles, 14 per cent service permits for goods service and 38.3 per cent of the permits for dual purposes (passenger and goods) vehicles. Their total holding of permits was 23.6 per cent of the whole. The company provided passenger and goods services, and held Government contracts for the carriage of goods and passengers. It also held a contract from the Postmaster General for the carriage of mail. Following the losses incurred during World War II, the Elliot report of 1949 had recommended to the company that sufficient capital should be provided to permit the provision of fully equipped workshops and maintenance facilities as well as the recruitment of qualified and experienced staff to operate the services. These recommendations were not implemented in full or in their proper sequence. Considerable sums of money were expended but not in accordance with the overall plan. Experienced and fully qualified staff were recruited towards the end of 1950 from the United Kingdom but these lacked the tools with which to do the job properly because fully equipped workshops and adequate maintenance facilities were not provided. The result was that the financial position of the company and mechanical conditions of their

fleet deteriorated.

Thatcher, Hobson and Company attributed their difficulties to unfair and uneconomic competition from small operators and the inefficient working of the system of permit issue and transport control on the basis of competition. They, therefore, wanted a franchise or partial monopoly of services which they believed would lead to an efficient and reliable transport service in the territory. Though both the Government and Thatcher, Hobson and Company at first accepted the recommendations the Government was unhappy with the implementation. The idea of giving the company a partial monopoly was rejected by Government on four grounds. Firstly, it was argued that some form of competition was desirable in order to ensure efficient services. Secondly, an exclusive licence would tend to destroy incentive on the part of the operating company. Thirdly, the Government feared that such a licence would put any private operator in a very powerful position that would enable the company to dictate its own terms because of the elimination of competition. Lastly, the Government saw no evidence that an exclusive licence would improve the services already in existence and maintained that the services provided by the larger operators were inadequate.

The Motor Transport Commission of 1951, which was appointed to examine the state of public transport

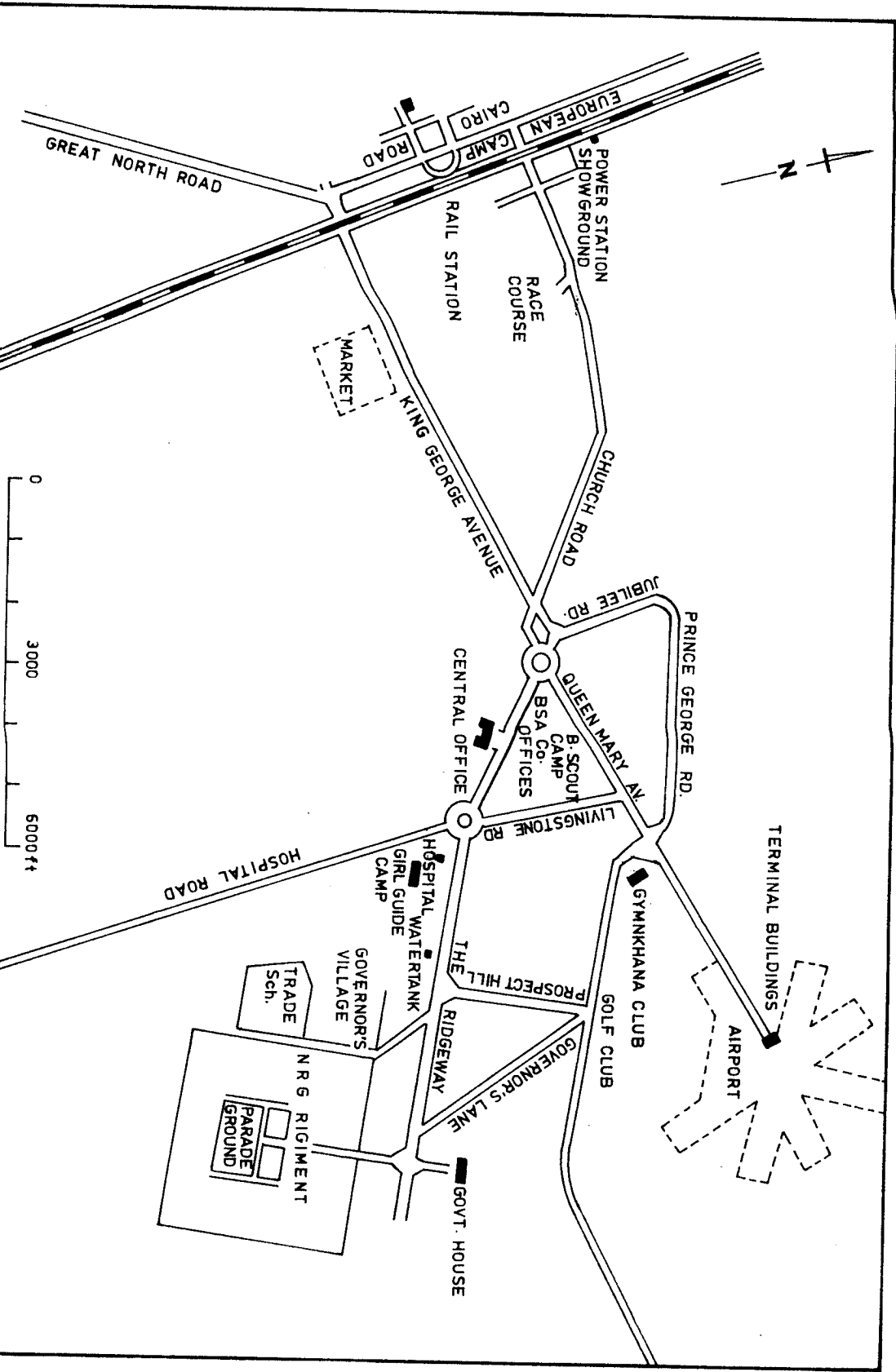
operations in Northern Rhodesia made several important revelations. It observed that passenger transport was almost entirely confined to the carriage of Africans, the number of Europeans who travelled by bus being negligible. The African passenger traffic was of a casual nature. There did not appear to be a regular or steady flow of passengers who used buses from day to day, week to week or even month to month. Evidence was heard that the African passenger was not catered for adequately, being subjected to discomfort and hardship, owing to numerous vehicle breakdowns and over-loading. It was also noted that the bus passenger had no choice in the matter of the grant or refusal of service permits and was, therefore, at the mercy of drivers and conductors, with little or no chance of obtaining redress. In short, the commission concluded that public interest had been neglected.⁹ The operational problems faced by Thatcher and Hobson led to the take-over of equity shares by the Government in 1952 but the company continued to be run on a commercial basis.¹⁰

EARLY BUS SERVICES IN LUSAKA:

The question of providing public transportation for both Africans and Europeans had not been discussed seriously until 1947 when the African Civil Servants Association asked their employers for the grant of a

commuter's bicycle allowance for Africans living two miles from their working places. This eventually brought to light the importance of establishing a public bus service in Lusaka. The service was not introduced but a bicycle allowance of 3s.6d per month was granted.¹¹ The possibility of providing a bus service between the African suburb of Chilenje, Government offices and town was discussed in the Legislative Council on September 20, 1949. Most residents of Chilenje were civil servants, so Thatcher, Hobson and Company agreed to start a service after purchase of better passenger carriers. Feasibility studies showed that only five per cent of Africans could afford the fare, which was two pence for any length of journey, so services had to be subsidized at the rate of two shillings four pence per running mile to a maximum of £500p.a. Two buses were suggested for experimental services that would run for three months. However, the territory experienced petrol shortage and the service was not inaugurated in 1949.¹²

On 14 March 1950, the Lusaka District Commissioner called a meeting whose purpose was to consider measures to improve the local bus services, based on a memorandum submitted by Thatcher, Hobson and Company, incorporating their suggestions for amplifying the existing services. Also considered at the meeting were various causes of dissatisfaction expressed by parents of school-going children and the public. Various remedies were suggested



by operators. As a follow up to this meeting, on 16 August the same year, the commissioner for Local Government submitted to the Lusaka Management Board copies of a schedule for a proposed regular bus service for Lusaka. This would provide a regular daily service initially for Europeans but capable of expansion to cover African services within the environs of the town at considerably less cost per mile operated, as approximately £2,400 of the standing charges would be non-recurring on expansion. Two routes were proposed and both passed through the European residential area:

Route 1: Cairo Road (Station) - Secretariat - Woodlands

Via: Church Road, Zomba Road, Beit Road, Cecil Rhodes Street, Park Road, Jubilee Road, Bird Cage Walk, Princess Elisabeth Avenue, Queen Mary Avenue, Prince George Road, Council Crescent, Charter Lane and Maybin Road.

Route 2: Cairo Road (Station) - Secretariat - Woodlands

Via: King George Avenue, Cecil Rhodes Street, Church Road, King George Avenue and the Ridgeway.

Lusaka Bus Services were introduced in early 1951. Services were provided between Monday and Saturday, with none on Sunday. The fare was three pence irrespective of the distance travelled. The European Bus Service report for 1951 indicated little profit. The above routing system

proved unsatisfactory and as early as March 1952, a decision was taken to divert Thatcher and Hobson buses through Longacres in the mornings, lunch times and afternoons but this was discontinued because there were too few passengers on this route.

Thatcher, Hobson and Company allocated six Leyland buses to the local and school services of Lusaka for the conveyance of (European) children to and from school and personnel to and from central offices. One bus was allocated for African Civil Servants to and from government offices. The early Lusaka bus service was one which transported school children to the two government schools and the Catholic Dominican Convent. This service was limited, serving Woodlands and the Secretariat, and the African suburb of Chilenje, prompting Mr. A.A. Davies, member of the Legislative Committee, to call for the expansion of the service so that it could be utilised by a larger number of people and not only civil servants and European school children. Responding, on 29 October 1952, the Lusaka Urban District Commissioner wrote the Provincial Commissioner suggesting the introduction of Sunday bus services in Lusaka.

During 1952 it was agreed that provision for the three services (European, African and Indian) be included in one subhead and accordingly £20,000 was approved under the Head 18/203 in the 1953 Estimates. It was later ascertained that owing to an under estimate, and improved services, this sum was inadequate. The expenditure from 1st January to 31st December amounted to £30,400. There, therefore was a

shortfall of £10,400. This was due to an oversight in which the original estimate of £3,500 for the African Bus Service was not included in the estimate submitted. There was also an under estimate for the European public and School Services. The mileage run had increased from approximately 150,000 in 1952 to 190,000 in 1953.

The existing service in 1953 comprised seven buses for Europeans and Indians and two for Africans. Two additional buses would be acquired in 1954 in order to start services to Rhodes Park and the new European Secondary School in Kabulonga.¹³

Table 2: Summary Daily Mileage, 1953

A. IN SCHOOL TERM

1. European Service

(a) School Service	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat
	511	511	511	511	511	-
(b) Public Service	60	75	60	60	75	65
2. African Service	163	163	163	163	163	118
3. Indian Service	34	34	34	34	34	-
TOTAL	768	783	768	768	783	183

B. OUT OF SCHOOL TERM

1. European Service	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat
(b) Public Service	77	92	77	77	92	65
2. African Service	163	163	163	163	163	118
TOTAL	240	255	240	240	255	183

Source: NAZ, NR6/337, 1950-1954; Local Government Townships Lusaka Bus Services.

By December 11, 1953, the Lusaka Bus Services provided the following services:

Table 3: Lusaka Bus Service, 1953:

	Service	Annual Mileage
1	European Services (a) School Services (b) Public Service	102,200 22,580
2	African Service	48,516
3	Indian School Service	6,800

Source: NAZ, NR6/337, 1950-1954, Local Government Township - LUsaka Bus Service.

MONOPOLY AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA:

The introduction of controlled monopolies operated by joint stock companies in the transport business was proposed towards the end of 1954 by the Chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Motor Transport Commission. The controlling interest in these companies would be held by private companies which would be given exclusive licences for road passenger operations on certain routes areas, a move that would end the uneconomic competition which prevailed at the time.

This system would be advantageous because the new companies would be large enough to be economic units and therefore provide a reliable and inexpensive transport service to the public. The Road Traffic Commissioner agreed with the Chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Motor Traffic Commission on the grounds that a large operator with a monopoly would be in a better position to provide economic services than a large number of small operators struggling for existence and competing with one another. The other advantage of joint stock companies was that during peak periods, a large operator would be in a better position than the small operator to cope with numerous breakdowns. Thatcher, Hobson and Company already provided such a service and it was perhaps inevitable that they would be granted the franchise.¹⁴

In 1955 Thatcher, Hobson and Company returned to private enterprise because Government policy was to encourage private enterprise in the Territory and because it wanted to husband its resources for its own development schemes.

In order to attract outside capital into the road transport business, it was necessary to offer security.¹⁵ Legislation was, therefore, passed through which the Northern Rhodesia Executive Council granted Messrs Thatcher, Hobson and Company the passenger transport concession on 22nd December 1954. The concession was with

effect from 1st January 1955, for a period of 21 years, expiring on 31st December 1975.¹⁶ This offer was accepted by United Transport Company Limited in association with British Electric Traction Limited, who formed a finance and holding company for the Federal area. This meant that financial control had to move to London and was held by United Transport Overseas Limited.¹⁷ The company's regional registered office was at Broken Hill in the Central Province. Under the concession, Thatcher, Hobson and Company was to provide transport on all roads from time to time connecting all or any of the following Municipalities, townships and mine townships: Ndola, Luanshya, Roan Antelope, Kitwe - Nkana, Chibuluma, Kalulushi, Mufulira, Chingola - Nchanga and Bancroft (Chililabombwe). The company was also given the concession to operate on routes connecting parts of the eastern half of the country as well as the Lusaka - Kafue - Chirundu and the Lusaka - Choma - Livingstone routes. Finally, Thatcher, Hobson and Company was to operate within the boundaries of the following municipalities, townships and mine townships: Abercorn, Bancroft, Broken Hill, Chibuluma, Kalulushi, Chingola - Nchanga, Fort Jameson (Chipata), Fort Rosebery (Mansa), Kasama, Kitwe - Nkana, Luanshya - Roan Antelope, Lusaka, Mufulira and Ndola.

Earlier, on the 10th of December 1954, the name Thatcher, Hobson and Company had been changed to Central African Road Services, CARS, by a special Resolution of a General Meeting of Members. The Company's share capital was now £600,000 having risen from £10,000, to £100,000 and £250,000 in 1936, 1947 and 1952 respectively.

Meanwhile, negotiations between the Government of Northern Rhodesia and United Transport Limited, based in Southern Rhodesia, in Salisbury, for the acquisition of CARS by the latter were completed. On 24th December 1954, the same day the 21 year concession was granted to Thatcher, Hobson and Company, the Government of Northern Rhodesia and United Transport signed an Indenture of Agreement in which United Transport acquired CARS. In January 1955, the share capital of the company rose from 600,000 to 1,000,000.¹⁸

The question of organised public transport in Northern Rhodesia gained momentum during the period when African Nationalist movements were fighting for independence. The outcome of the independence struggle would, therefore, determine the social objectives of the territory whose balance was then on the side of the European settler community against the indigenous population.

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15. NAZ, NR6/328, Proposals by United Transport Company Limited, to Take Over Thatcher and Hobson and Company Limited.
16. Buckland, 'Training for Transport Operators', p. 16.
17. NAZ, NR6/328, Proposal to Take Over Thatcher and Hobson.
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CHAPTER THREE

DECOLONIZATION AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1960 - 1

INTRODUCTION:

With the attainment of independence in 1964, the indigenous people were brought into Government and the first all-African cabinet was formed.¹ At independence Zambia was already second to South Africa as the most urbanised country south of the Sahara. Before independence there were strict controls on urban settlements fostering the circulatory labour migration policy.² Thus independence triggered a whole series of activities affecting all urban areas, most of all, the capital city, Lusaka. It marked a watershed in the character of urban life and urban development. This was primarily because Zambian towns were built by and designed for a European expatriate minority.³ Henceforth, they were likely to develop, not along their original lines, but within the new and evolving national ethos of Zambian Humanism, with its emphasis on such matters as broadly based economic expansion and the minimising of class distinction.

To the Africans, independence meant the end of certain restrictions imposed on them by European colonialists. The constitution of UNIP, which was adopted at the UNIP National Council on 18 June 1966, called for the abolition of all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race, ethnicity or other distinctions.⁴ Article 24 of the Zambian Constitution

states that 'no person shall be deprived of his freedom of movement'. 'Freedom' is described as the right to move freely throughout Zambia, the right to reside in any part of Zambia, the right to enter Zambia and immunity from expulsion from Zambia.⁵ Gone were the colonial pass laws, citupa, police raids and harassment of 'squatters'. Urban migrants after independence were only exercising their constitutional rights. In so doing, however, they placed heavy burdens on local authorities.⁶ At independence, Zambia inherited a distorted demographic pattern which concentrated the population on the line of rail. This imbalance continued after independence and was made worse by the removal of restrictions of movement. The new African Government relaxed the prevailing restrictions on urban settlement so that some of the immediate post-independence migration can be attributed to the women and children who now joined the male adults already working in urban area. People moved into urban areas in search of job opportunities better living conditions and educational facilities.⁷ This rapid rural-urban migration led to the increase of short distance travel within towns, further increasing the demand for public transport.

Labour demand also played a very important role in the growth of Lusaka during this period. The uncertainty of the territory's future during the Federation had slowed the demand for labour. The movement of the territory towards self-Government gave a certain stimulus to industria

activity in general and to the building up of civil engineering trades in particular. The impending dissolution of Federation led to a number of firms in Southern Rhodesia opening up new factories or premises in Northern Rhodesia. This resulted in increased demand for semi-skilled and unskilled labour, such as bricklayers and carpenters.

In Lusaka, Ndola and Kitwe, the total value of building plans passed by local authorities in 1963, was almost double that of 1962. Also, jobs previously performed by Europeans were now taken over by Africans.⁸ With the certainty that independence was at hand, uncertainty over the political future of the country disappeared. This had a beneficial effect on economic activity. A number of new factories engaged in light industry opened and there was a considerable upsurge in work in civil engineering and building. The announcement by the Government of its intention to institute a Transitional Development Plan from the beginning of 1965 and its forewarning of what would be required of the construction industries also created an atmosphere of confidence for the future.⁹ This upsurge in economic activity continued after independence. The transitional Development Plan considerably increased the demand for all kinds of labour. New enterprises started operations and this was a good indication that the private sector had confidence in the future.¹⁰

INDUSTRIAL GROUP	SEPTEMBER 1961 (a)		TOTAL	AFRICANS	NON-AFRICANS	TOTAL	AFRICANS	NON-AFRICANS	TOTAL
	AFRICANS	NON-AFRICANS							
Agriculture, Forestry	38,041	638	38,679	29,760	700	30,460			
Mining and Quarrying	38,465	6,960	45,425	45,540	7,490	53,030			
Manufacturing	21,221	3,437	24,658	28,170	4,330	32,500			
Construction	29,342	2,383	31,724	44,070	2,030	46,100			
Electricity, Water & Sanitation Service	2,809	535	3,344	1,760	440	2,200			
Commerce and Finance	15,158	6,215	21,373	16,440	6,420	22,860			
Transport and Communication	10,419	2,862	13,281	14,370	3,750	18,120			
Domestic Services	37,724	679	38,403	35,000	(c)	35,000			
Other Services	43,243	7,118	50,361	53,790	10,370	64,160			
TOTAL	236,422	30,826	267,248	268,900	35,530	304,430			

- NOTES: (a) Labour force census, September 1961, which is known to have excluded about 30,000 Africans working for African employers.
- (b) Estimate for regular quarterly labour enquiry which also excludes African employees working for African employers outside towns.
- (c) Included in other services.

CHANGING PRIORITIES:

The new Zambian Government initiated an ambitious development programme that saw the putting up of many buildings such as the National Assembly, the International Airport, the University of Zambia and many others. Lusaka continued to be the focal point of the nation's activities and foreign Governments established their embassies there. This growth stimulated the private sector so there was a boom in new office buildings, factories and hotels. The new buildings were the physical manifestation of a growth in Lusaka-based activities generated by independence. All these activities needed labour and as a result, the number of African employees in Lusaka more than doubled between 1961 and 1969 from 23,700 to 56,134. The rapid growth rate of Lusaka after independence was, therefore, more than the 'drift from the rural areas'. It was also employment-led. Moreover, at independence, Lusaka took over the administrative and commercial functions previously performed in London and Salisbury, the colonial and Federal capitals respectively.¹¹

Table 5: Urban Population for Greater Lusaka Area

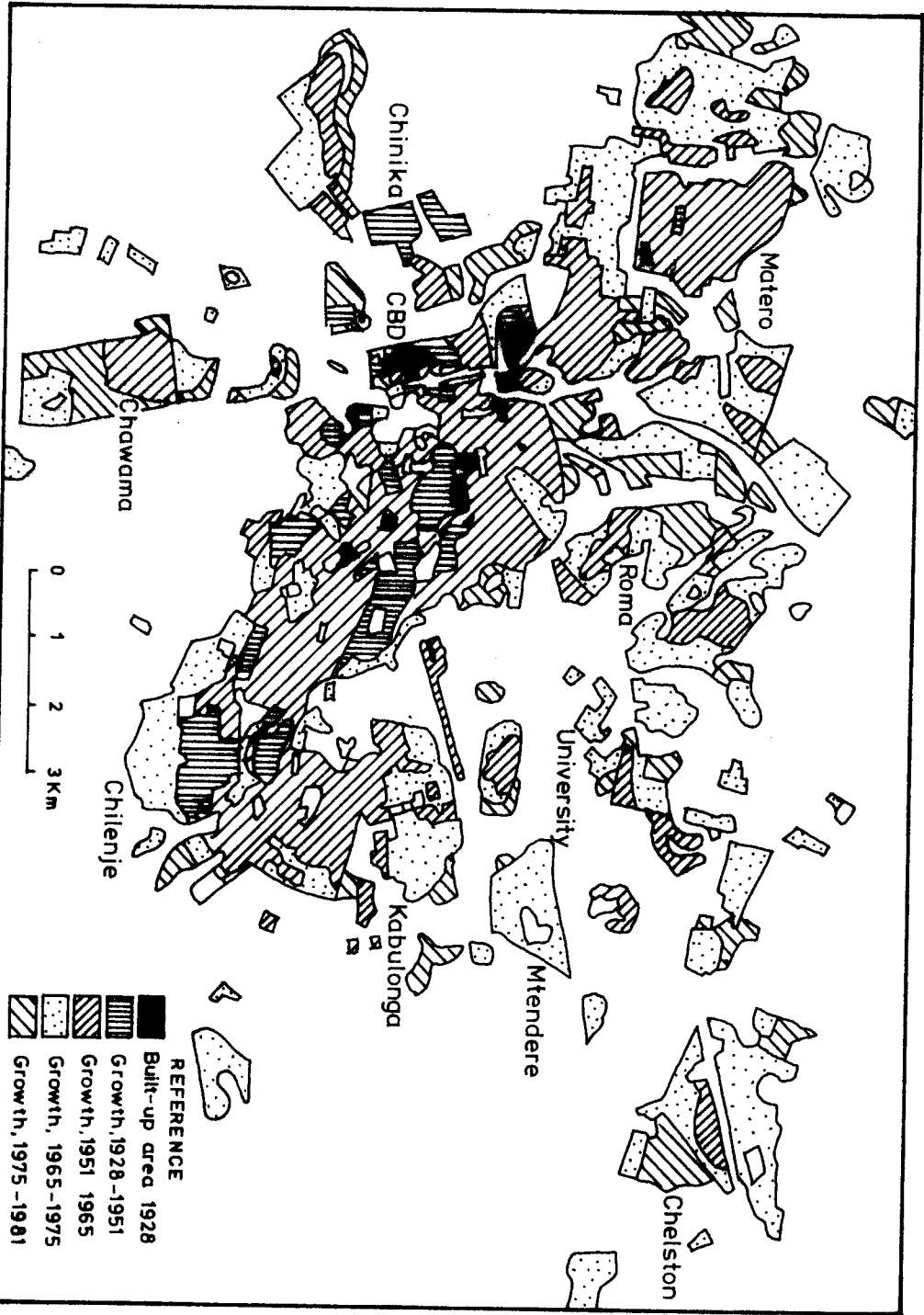
Year	Population	Average Annual Growth
1953 (1)	58,000	5.3 %
1958 (1)	75,000	10.9 %
1963 (2)	126,000	11.8 %
1968 (3)	220,000	-

- Notes:
1. Roberts, Mullins & Purnett (Consulting Engineers): Report on the Augmentation and Development of Lusaka Municipal Water Supply, August 1963.
 2. Office of National Development Planning: Report on Population Estimates for the Future, December, 1967.
 3. Doxiadis Associates Household Sample Survey, 1968.

Source: The City of Lusaka Planning Authority, The City of Lusaka Development Plan, p. 17.

The growth of the city required considerable growth of the existing facilities such as water resources, sewage treatment plants, and above all the expansion of public transport in keeping with the basic infrastructure associated with urban growth.¹²

At independence, the new Government was handed over a capital city that had been planned with the 'garden city' thinking that saw Lusaka as a spacious and greenery town with large building plots. The main activity centres remained the same: The Central Business District (CBD) which was made up of the city centre and



which was made up of the city centre and Light Industrial Area, the Ridgeway (comprising the Lusaka Urban District offices, Government offices, including the University Teaching Hospital) and the Heavy Industrial Area northwest of the CBD. These are the centres that provided work, business, educational, medical, shopping and social facilities. The city, which was planned on the 'generous side', has been growing by a process of infilling of the unbuilt spaces and by an extension of the built up area. The old council housing areas, Kabwata, Kamwala and Libala, were built fairly near the main activity centres. The same applies to earlier site and service schemes and unrecognised settlements. Residential areas that developed afterwards were, however, located far from the main activity centres or minor employment centres. This pattern of growth was the main contributing factor to the increasingly longer distances to the focal points in Lusaka, making the public transport question more complex.¹³

The existing plan for Lusaka and the immediate consequences of independence that saw the relaxation of urban migration and increase in labour demand, brought into more prominence the question of public transport earlier than would have been the case. The first post independence Annual Report of the Ministry of Transport and Works reported an increase of public service operators in Northern Rhodesia from 146 to 165 with a total of 1,725 vehicles. During the same period, the number of persons

travelling by public transport also increased to the extent that there was need for a larger number of passenger vehicles to cope with demand. With the rise in wages and salaries of many employees, there was need for more frequent services in the line of rail towns where high density housing areas were some distance from the town centres.¹⁴ The apparent inadequacy of public transport made the Lusaka City Council anticipate taking over the running of buses in the city. The Council was dissatisfied with the performance of CARS. The number of buses was inadequate and there were no waiting facilities at bus tops. The Government supported this move and discussions were started between the Lusaka City Council and the Ministry of Local Government.¹⁵ CARS expressed willingness and speculated on pulling out of the passenger bus service to concentrate on goods haulage, but this did not happen.¹⁶

Another contributing factor which exacerbated public transportation problems was Zambia's disengagement from the Southern African transportation network with which it was intertwined. This political decision was made as a response to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia in 1966, which the Zambian leadership opposed. As a result, the southern route, on which Zambia solely depended for her exports and imports, was closed. This grossly affected Zambia's economy, including the transport sector. The impact was more severe for Zambia because of her geographic location as a landlocked country. Zambia depended on the Southern

route which passed through Rhodesia, so exports and imports had to be re-routed. This was at a time when Zambia was experiencing a rapid growth of low-income population in urban areas while bus services were not expanding to correspond with population increase in towns. Shortly after the commencement of petrol rationing following UDI the first additions to the Matero - Chilenje bus route were made. These services were introduced largely as a measure to encourage car owners to use public transport instead of driving their vehicles, thereby saving petrol. Services to Kabulonga and Chelstone were also introduced.¹⁷ CARS' fleet of buses was getting smaller because spare parts had to be re-routed. It took a long time for spare parts to arrive in the country, leading to a shortage of buses since broken down buses could not be repaired quickly.¹⁸

AFRICAN OWNERSHIP AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT:

The attainment of independence did not only mean freedom from colonial rule but it also enabled the Government to advance African national interests. African interests, which had been underplayed during the colonial era, would henceforth, be in the forefront. Various reforms were made but the most important were the Economic Reforms announced by President Kaunda at the National Council of UNIP at Mulungushi in Kabwe on 19th April, 1968. This can be seen as the watershed of Zambia's private sector because it marked the beginning of state intervention and the take over of private enterprise.

Several measures were taken in order to put business in the hands of the indigenous people and the most important of these was the Government directive to many companies to sell at least 51 per cent of their shares to the Government. Many companies in the transport, building, brewing, retail and wholesale sector were involved. In the transport sector, CARS Ltd., and Smith and Youngson were directed to sell 51 per cent of their shares to the Government. A direct result of the new measure was the separation of passenger and freight transport from one monopoly company. The Government alleged that CARS had in the past failed to live up to the responsibility of its monopoly position to serve all sections of the community because by engaging in both passenger and freight transport, it had failed to run both services effectively. Henceforth, Smith and Youngson would be confined to freight distribution and CARS to passenger services. All the companies taken over by the Government would be run by the Industrial Development Corporation, INDECO, which was given the responsibility of negotiating values and terms of payment.¹⁹ The implication of the 51 per cent control of CARS by Government and the separation of pure passenger services from other transportation was that both would be run better than during the preceding period, when companies were allowed to operate 'mixed' transport services.

When the Government announced majority control of transport companies, it was recognised that the existing structures were inadequate and measures were taken almost immediately to try and improve the situation. A new holding company, Transport Holdings of Zambia Ltd., was formed, with two subsidiaries, CARS Ltd and Freight Holdings Limited. CARS would have two divisions, North, based on the Copperbelt and South in Lusaka. Soon after the announcement of Government control of CARS was made, the company expanded its operations. It is, however difficult to assess whether the Government foresaw any structural bottlenecks that would arise as a result of this massive expansion.

Expansion of CARS started even before the 1968 Reforms. In 1965 CARS carried a total of 10.1 million passengers in Zambia. This figure rose steadily from 13.8 million in 1966, 20.8 million in 1967, to 24 million in 1968 and an estimated 30 million by the end of 1969. The bus fleet also rose from 186 in 1966 to about 300 in 1969. Despite this increase in the fleet, there was the problem of equating demand with the need to operate economically in view of the escalating repair bills and poor road conditions on which buses operated.²⁰ As a result of Government criticism of the company's services, CARS announced that it would buy 79 new single decker buses worth K1 million from Britain and Italy. Out of these 56 would be assigned to the northern region and 23 to the

southern.²¹ Within the city of Lusaka itself, the number of buses rose from seven in 1957 to 12 in 1963 and 21 in 1969. In 1966 alone, CARS carried 5 million passengers within Lusaka.²²

Government majority shareholding did not achieve overall success. There was a critical shortage of public transport, particularly during peak working hours, resulting in heavy congestion especially along overcrowded routes. The main routes at the time were from the town centre to Chilenje through Old and New Kamwala and Kabwata, Libala to Chilenje on the eastern side, and Matero, Old and New Kanyama to Lilanda on the western side. The fares were fixed at 10 ngwee irrespective of the distance and this made drivers opt to pick up passengers for nearby townships, leaving commuters to destinations far from town stranded. Licenced taxis ceased operations early in the evening, leaving commuters at the mercy of pirate taxis that roamed the streets. Dangerous as this was, commuters had no choice as pirate taxis had become an indispensable supplement to a transport system with such inflexible laws.²³ It was not uncommon for taxis to carry as many as 10 passengers instead of the licenced six. It was at this stage that the United Transport and Taxis Association, UTTA, was formed in Lusaka with a membership of 68. The primary aims of UTTA were to help in the take over of all expatriate-run public transport organisations in Zambia and make an effort to reduce accidents and overloading.²⁴

The United Transport Services Overseas, the holding company of CARS had in 1968 planned to start negotiations with the Zambian Government for a partnership based on the broad 'economic revolution' but this did not take place.²⁵

The Mulungushi Reforms seem to have had an adverse effect on the operations of CARS. Though the company had a monopoly concession for providing public transport in Lusaka, there was an element of uncertainty about a possible complete take over by the Government. Also, the company's fleet was old and the management was not dynamic. These factors combined to ensure that services did not keep pace with demand, although new buses had been purchased and the frequency of existing routes increased.²⁶ Efforts to remove control of the transport sector from non-indigenous people were completed on November 10, 1970 when the Government announced its 100 per cent control of CARS, which had been trading under the name of United Bus Company for some time. This was necessitated because the Government alleged that the 49 per cent shareholders of CARS were involved in a major contract in the Cabora Bassa Scheme and as such were considered enemies of Zambia.²⁷

To facilitate the smooth running of transport companies, the National Transport Corporation of Zambia Limited was registered as a private company on July 8, 1971. N.T.C. held 100 per cent shares of CARS and Contract Haulage (formerly Smith and Youngson). At the time CARS had

K3 million authorised capital.²⁸ Following this, the name CARS was changed to United Bus Company of Zambia Limited (UBZ) by a Special Resolution at a General Meeting of the Company held on March 17, 1972.²⁹

The total control of UBZ by the Government marked a landmark in the history of public transport in Zambia. It saw a complete re-orientation of objectives. During the period of the private operator, the bus service provided was based on the principle of profitability but this was changed radically after the Government take over. UBZ was supposed not only to be profitable, not requiring any Government subsidy; but also to provide affordable transport to the people.³⁰ It was seen as a means of fostering development, especially in rural areas.³¹

This objective put UBZ in a very difficult position from the onset because of its ambiguity. The policy of profitability by its predecessors made operations relatively easy to plan and effect. It remained to be seen how UBZ would provide reliable and regular services at affordable fares without a Government subsidy, in a constantly changing economic environment. At the time of the Government take over, the hope was that operations of public transport would be improved.

The prevailing public transport system was best described by President Kaunda when he opened the UNIP Sixth General Conference in May, 1971. He said passengers waited

indefinitely in the cold, under the blazing sun or in pouring rain for transport that would not come. When the bus came, passengers had to fight to gain entrance, only to find crowding and discomfort inside, with the possibility of not finding a seat and remaining standing throughout the journey. Seats were filthy and the drivers, conductors and even fellow passengers were rude. Buses were manned by drivers and conductors who had little value for time and punctuality, causing workers to be constantly late for work. Bus stations were filthy and there was constant fear of pick-pockets, especially for women, children and old people. Taxi travel was so inhuman and dangerous that it was inconceivable that any Zambians continued patronising public transport. The President ordered the rectification of the situation in the national interest.³²

With this general framework of public transport, in Zambia, by 1971 Lusaka had 132 operators with a total of 259 licenced taxis. There were 112 UBZ buses on nine routes within the town. The routes ran from the town centre to Kaunda Square, Chilenje South, Matero, Chelston, Kanyama, Chawama, Marrapodi, Lilanda and Mtendere. During 1971 an average of 163,000 kilometres per route were covered and 11,347,000 passengers were carried. The population of Lusaka was then estimated at 316,000.³³

THE DOXIADIS PLAN:

As early as 1968 the Government had recognised urban problems and urgent needs that had arisen in Lusaka because

of its rapid growth. It assigned Doxiadis Associates International Company Limited, Consultants on development and ekistics, to carry out a study on the Development Plan of Greater Lusaka Area, but the report was not submitted until 1979, ten years after the contract was signed.

Constantino Doxiadis was a Greek architect who at one time was Director of Town Planning Studies for Athens. From 1951 he had worked on problems of human settlement ranging from architecture to national programmes and plans in many continents. He himself admitted that in several cases he had failed and in others he had succeeded.³⁴ His credibility, therefore, for the Lusaka assignment was suspect.

One of the areas assigned to Doxiadis was that of the transport network. The company conducted a traffic survey between June and September 1968 and important revelations were made. In 1968, residents of Lusaka made 238,330 daily vehicular trips, out of which 227,830 were within Greater Lusaka Area. This gave an average number of 1.3 daily trips per inhabitant. Trips starting or ending at home constituted 88 per cent of all trips. Of these, 30.6 per cent were trips for work. Passenger car was the most dominant mode of travel; auto-driver and auto-passenger trips amounted to two-thirds of all vehicular trips. Trip making was expected to increase at a very fast rate. Doxiadis attributed the increase of trips to increase in income and motor vehicle ownership. This conclusion was obviously elitist and would greatly influence

Source: Williams G J (ed) 1986 Lusaka and Its Environs p. 151

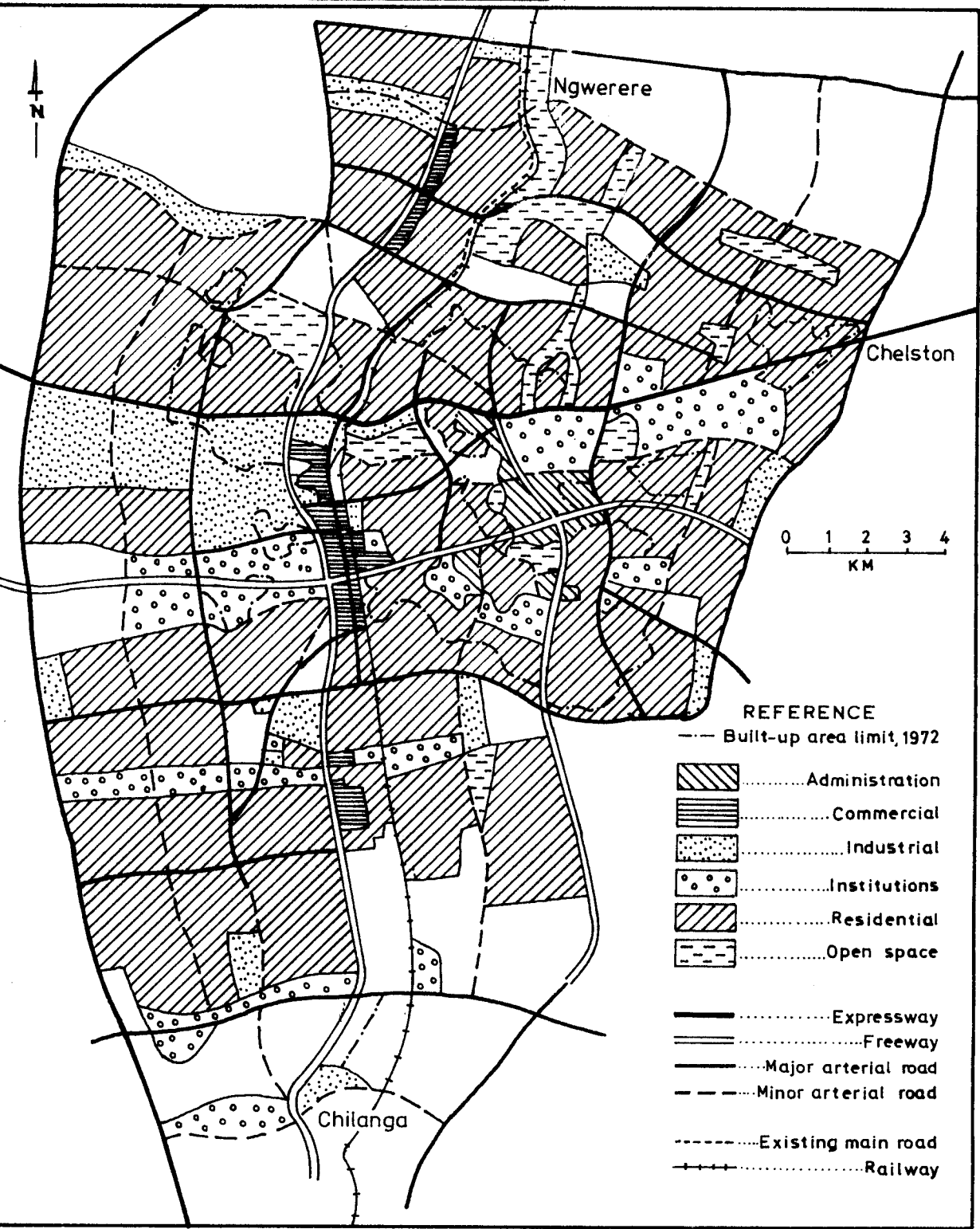


fig.8 The Doxiadis Plan for Greater Lusaka

the nature of recommendations made to the government.

The survey revealed that public transportation in Lusaka was still very low as only about 7 per cent of all vehicular movement was made by public transport. This was well below actual demand and was a reflection of the low quality of the urban bus services. Only six routes were serviced at the time of the study and these provided connections between the CBD and residential areas, especially those of low cost. A large part of the city, including the administrative sector, was not served by public transport. The most heavily travelled line was the Matero-Chilenje one which served the high density areas in the northwest and northeast of the city. The study also recognised the fact that the importance of urban public transportation in Lusaka was continually increasing both in terms of mileage covered and passengers carried. The improvement and extension of public transport services was therefore one of the most urgent needs of the city. This was because the low car ownership obliged a high percentage of inhabitants to depend on the use of public transport. According to the survey, these captive riders were badly served or not served at all as was reflected in the very low percentage of vehicular movement served by public transport that was characterised by long delays and overloading.

Doxiadis Associates recognised the fact that the purpose of a road network was to offer accessibility to all the various

land uses within a city and to its entrance and exit points, to provide fast transportation within minimum possible delays to the drivers and safety to users. To achieve these general principles, the network should have a well defined hierarchy (classification), a proper pattern (configuration) and a balance hierarchical distribution (spacing). In view of this, the Basic Map of the City of Lusaka Development Plan was adopted with five broad classes. The first were freeways which were intended to serve high speed, long distance through trips. These would have no intersection, thereby reducing travel time by high cruising vehicles on non-stop operations. Expressways with limited partial control of access were also recommended. These were intended to serve large volume of high speed urban trips that could only be regulated at traffic lights. The third class was arterial roads whose facilities were designed to carry large volumes of medium and long distance urban trips expeditiously. This would have less emphasis on direct services than freeways and expressways. Fourthly were distributor roads intended for short urban trips and for direct access to abutting properties. They would collect the flows from the local streets and distribute them to the road system for the movement described above and vice versa. Lastly were local roads which were intended exclusively for access to abutting properties and for very short trips at low speeds.³⁵

Several criticisms can be made of the Doxiadis report. Firstly, the report was made in 1979, ten years after the study had started. The study began soon after

independence when Zambia enjoyed a period of prosperity. The picture painted in 1968 was definitely different from that of 1979 when the country's economy was showing a downward trend. The plan therefore, can be said to have been over-ambitious for the capital city of a developing country. Perhaps one of the most important shortfalls of the plan was the failure, despite having emphasised the urgency of expanding public transport, to take into account the needs of the majority of the city's population - cyclists, and pedestrians. Instead, private car ownership was assumed, leading to the proposal for a tremendous network of freeways and expressways.³⁶

The developments leading to state intervention and control of the transport sector is a good example of how foreign economists advised the less developed countries (LDCs) to nationalise enterprises soon after independence. These misguided policies resulted in an inefficient public sector that was like a milestone around the necks of the LDCs since Government involvement led to economic disaster.³⁷

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CHAPTER FOUR

STATE CONTROL AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN LUSAKA, 1972-1980

INTRODUCTION:

State control of the United Bus Company of Zambia was a decision that was to change the course of the history of public transport in Zambia. The price of copper, Zambia's main foreign exchange earner, on the world market was relatively high and the promises and aspirations of an independent Zambia were still fresh, both among the leaders and the rest of the population. The task of UBZ now became that of servicing the passenger needs of the nation and it was hoped that a reasonable financial return on capital would be made without recourse to Government assistance.¹

The take over was accompanied by rapid Zambianization at management levels, including the appointment of a Zambian General Manager. A new sense of purpose raised high expectation in the company for the extension of the existing services and development of new ones. Loans from foreign donors were raised to purchase more buses. Under this expansionist programme, a contract for the purchase of 100 buses from Yugoslavia was signed on October 20, 1971, and these were delivered in January 1972. Orders were also placed in the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy. As a result of this, the total fleet more than doubled from 316 in 1971 to 646 at the end of 1972. When the new buses arrived, Lusaka, as capital city, was favoured with an allocation of 79 of the newly acquired buses. Of these,

64 were scheduled daily with 54 operating within the boundaries of the town. The additional fleet meant that informal areas, which had been ignored hitherto, were now catered for. Thus by 1973, the city of Lusaka was serviced by 50 buses operating on 19 routes.

RISE AND COLLAPSE OF ZAMCAB

In its efforts to diversify its operations, UBZ introduced a service for the working people. Luxury Coach Services to provincial centres and towns along the line of rail were introduced. Also, 200 prestigious Australian-made Holden Belmont taxis were imported and public taxi operations within UBZ started in January 1973. ZAMCAB was licenced to operate in Zambia's major towns - Lusaka, Kabwe and Livingstone in the southern half of the country, and Ndola, Luanshya, Kitwe, Mufulira and Chingola in the northern half. The Government defended the introduction of the taxi wing of UBZ saying it would replace the inadequate service provided by private-owned taxis which were often involved in traffic accidents.

The taxi wing was the first of its kind in Zambia and it was hoped that sophisticated services would now be offered. The taxis had no fixed routes and operated 24 hours a day. Some of the taxis were radio-controlled so they could pick up passengers anywhere within the

town on demand at the rate of 10 ngwee per kilometre and this was widely debated. Private operators claimed that the taxi service was for the rich since very few people could afford the fares, which were considered too high. Others felt that the rate was too low. At the time of its inception, UBZ was assured of large quantities of spare parts and longevity of the Belmonts because they were considered to be the most suitable for Zambian conditions. The introduction of ZAMCAB was opposed by the UTTA, its main competitor. UBZ was attacked for introducing the ZAMCAB while there were plenty of private taxis. The move was considered to be a contravention of Government policy of encouraging the participation of Zambian businessmen in the country's economy.² The services offered by ZAMCAB proved to be elitist because only a handful of the urban population could afford the fares. Service was limited to high income people while the rest of the population depended on buses and private taxis. ZAMCAB, therefore, did not serve the purpose it was originally designed for.

UTTA's opposition to ZAMCAB became intense in the next two years of ZAMCAB's life. Despite ZAMCAB, transport problems were not eased, especially during peak hours. Private operators were allowed to use station wagons, squeezing commuters into boots. Within the first nine months of ZAMCAB operation, UBZ reported huge losses. The company was spending between K18,000 and K20,000 monthly for maintenance. During the same

period, out of a total of 450 drivers, 222 had been fired for offences ranging from drunken driving, theft, absenteeism, accidents and meter-rigging. It cost the company at least K3,000 to replace the sacked drivers.³ By March 1974, 18 of the original fleet were off the road.⁴

Because of these losses, ZAMCAB was scrapped as a division and absorbed by the management.⁵ Many of the taxis were increasingly being grounded because of the spare parts shortage, despite earlier assurance by the dealers of Holden Belmont, Modern Auto Services.⁶ By January 1975 nearly 100 ZAMCABs were off the road. Some of the spare parts ordered at high cost were wrong specification and could not be used. This led to the 'cannibalisation' of some broken-down taxis in order to provide spares for those still on the road. Worse, the business turn over did not match maintenance costs. Efforts to increase the patronage of ZAMCABs failed because fares were considered too high by the majority of the people. Furthermore, there was a shortage of experienced mechanics capable of maintaining the fleet and efforts to recruit expert Holden mechanics were fruitless.⁷ The ZAMCAB taxi service was finally scrapped in September 1975. During the 1974-75 financial year income from ZAMCAB was K1,476,833, compared to expenses of K2,457,688.⁸

The failure of ZAMCAB points to a very important aspect of most nationalised industries: the lack of adequate feasibility studies. Since State take-over

of UBZ, the company did not work out a plan to meet the new expectations of the public. Instead, management tried to pursue the same old policy of the previous shareholders who had been operating under a completely different environment. Now, as public demands grew, decision making became oriented towards short term goals that were dictated by the pressures of the moment. UBZ for example introduced a large fleet of ZAMCABs without clear plans on how to operate and maintain them economically. It seems the party that gained from ZAMCABs was Modern Auto Services Limited which charged UBZ K3,875 for one cab while the cost at Beira was only K2,510 each.⁹ Other factors that cut short the life of ZAMCAB were lack of maintenance facilities and skilled labour, weak control by management, careless drivers, poor performance as a result of the high rate of dead kilometres and the high rate of breakdowns, compounded by a spare parts shortage, all of which were beyond UBZ's remedy.¹⁰ The few 'surviving' Belmonts were sold to the Police Force and private individuals while a few were left for airport services in Lusaka, Ndola and Livingstone.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP:

The emergence of organised private-owned taxis and minibuses goes back to the 1968 Mulungushi Economic Reforms when Government urged Zambian businessmen to start operating buses, taxis and lorries in a bid to assist the state controlled companies.¹¹ In 1969 the Government

reiterated its stand when it announced that it would never allow a monopolistic approach in any field of economic life but would encourage joint participation of the state and the private sector.¹² The UBZ still enjoyed the same privileged concession status that had been enjoyed by its predecessors. This concession was due to expire in December 1975 and the Government would decide whether or not to renew it. In 1972 the Government decided to review the near monopoly enjoyed by UBZ so as to give Zambian operators an opportunity to offer competition in the transport sector. Adequate protection would, however, be given to the large-scale capital investment of UBZ from any unfair competition.¹³ The Second National Development Plan (January 1972 - December 1976) recognised that public transport was inadequate and projected that within the period, there would be a 110 per cent increase in passenger transport demand. The plan recommended adequate provision of public transport.¹⁴ As a result, by 1973 a few private minibuses had started operating in Lusaka.¹⁵

Between 1968 and 1974, 49 private taxi operators were registered and among them operated a total of 123 taxis within the city of Lusaka. Most of the taxis were station wagons which could carry at least six passengers. The quality of service rendered was inadequate because of overloading and uncomfortable

TABLE 6: PRIVATE TAXI OPERATORS IN LUSAKA: 1968 - 1974

NAME/FIRM	YEAR REGISTERED	NUMBER OF VEHICLES OPERATED	TOTAL SEATING CAPACITY
S.N. MALITELA	1974	1	1 X 4 seater
W. MPONDELA	1972	3	3 X 4 seater
KASEMPA	1972	2	2 X 6 seater
P.I. CHILABWE	1972	2	2 X 6 seater
LANGSON TEMBO	1972	2	2 X 6 seater
T. MWALE AND LUKELE	1972	1	1 X 6 seater
PEOPLES TAXIS LTS.	1971	30	30 X 4 seater
SIAME	1971	1	1 X 6 seater
K. DHLIWAYO	1973	3	3 X 6 seater
I.M. MULENGA	1973	4	4 X 4 seater
DIXON MUBANGA	1973	1	1 X 6 seater
L. MANDA	1970	1	1 X 5 seater
PETER C. MELEKI	1973	2	2 X 4 seater
M. SICHISYA	1972	2	2 X 4 seater
C.T.B. MWILA	1972	1	1 X 6 seater
KENYA LAMECK	1970	1	1 X 5 seater
R.K. MUSAMBA	1970	3	3 X 6 seater
RAMADHANI	1970	1	1 X 6 seater
E. ANTONIO	1973	2	2 X 4 seater
BENSON MOTOMOTO	1971	3	2 X 6 and 1 X 4 seater
EVARISTO MAKUBE	1972	3	3 X 4 seater

NAME/FIRM	YEAR REGISTERED	NUMBER OF VEHICLES OPERATED	TOTAL CAPACITY
JUSTIN P. NKATA	1971	1	1 X 6 seater
FRED T. SIKAZWE	1974	7	7 X 4 seater
WILSON PHIRI	1974	2	2 X 4 seater
N.M. NKONDE	1972	1	1 X 6 seater
B.H. MWAMBA	1970	3	3 X 6 seater
J. CHINYEMBA	1972	2	2 X 6 seater
J.W. NYALUBILO	1972	2	2 X 6 seater
A.A. NYIRENDA	1971	1	1 X 6 seater
W.C. CHAKULUNTA	1970	3	3 X 6 seater
P. MWINGA	1973	2	2 X 4 seater
B. CHIKONKA	1971	3	3 X 6 seater
L. NJENJE	1971	2	2 X 6 seater
P. SINKALA	1974	3	3 X 4 seater
R. MLISWA	1973	1	1 X 4 seater
V. NGOME ZULU	1973	2	2 X 4 seater
P. SHONIWA	1974	2	2 X 4 seater
F. MUSHIPI	1970	1	1 X 5 seater
M.L. SAKALA	1970	1	1 X 6 seater
S. MWALUKANGA	1973	2	1 X 4 seater
S. MITI	1972	1	1 X 5 seater
FELIX E. NKUWA	1973	2	2 X 4 seater
ZAMBEZI BROTHERS	1972	4	4 X 6 seater
B. DAKA	1974	1	1 X 4 seater
S.A. MPASII	1970	2	2 X 6 seater

NAME/FIRM	YEAR REGISTERED	NUMBER OF VEHICLES OPERATED	TOTAL SEATING CAPACITY
TITI NGULUBE	1973	1	1 X 4 seater
LUFEYO BANDA	1972	1	1 X 6 seater
SIMON PANDWE	1972	1	1 X 5 seater
A. MSATELO	1972	2	2 X 6 seater

TOTAL OPERATORS	TOTAL NO. OF TAXIS
49	123

Source: Ministry of Power, Transport and Works, Transport
Planning Unit, Transport Inventory Series (1)

seats, which were roughly fixed at the back. Impoundment of private taxis was frequent and during the last weekend of April 1972, 32 taxis were impounded in Lusaka by the Road Traffic Commission. Complicating the matter was the fact that the majority of operators were non-Zambians from Rhodesia. About 50 Rhodesians demanded the release of the impounded taxis from the Road Traffic Commission, prompting the Minister of Power, Transport and Works to warn that, "If those fat, shaggy, rough, bearded residents of Mandevu compound think they can violate the traffic laws of this country, they are free to cross the Zambezi and fight for their freedom."¹⁶ After this incident Police tightened their control of unsafe and pirate taxis. Road Traffic Inspectors, nicknamed 'cowboys' because of their uniforms, were attacked by taxi drivers in Mandevu and Marrapodi compounds during patrols. Inspectors were considered overzealous in their duties by most operators and drivers.¹⁷

In February, 1973, the Government banned the use of station wagons as taxis, referring to them as 'flying coffins' because they were driven at very high speeds and were a danger to the passengers. Operators defended their use of station wagons on the grounds that their primary concern was to provide more

services to the commuters and not to make profits. They were so infuriated that they even attempted hiring a lawyer to fight for compensation from the Government as a result of loss of business.¹⁸

Public transport in Lusaka was given a boost when in 1972, out of the 100 Yugoslav made Dubrava D-10 buses ordered 95 were allocated to Lusaka. This additional fleet did not last long because of frequent breakdowns. Between April 1973 and March 1974, an average of 73 buses operated in Lusaka, with a minimum of 67 and a maximum of 79 buses.¹⁹ On July 19, 1974, UBZ introduced a new route between the town centre and Kamwala township. This service catered for people in Sikanze Police Camp, Luburma Market and the 'Second Class' trading area.²⁰

The increasing demand of public transport in Lusaka was so high that in 1975, the Road Traffic Commission invited members of the public with saloon cars and minibuses to apply for short term service licences. This was aimed at reducing congestion at bus stops, especially at peak hours, resulting in commuters reporting late for work and arriving home late. These short term licences would only cover

routes from the town centre to Matero, Chunga, Kafue, Chilanga, Chelston Kanyama, Chilenje and the 16 kilometre peg on the Great North Road. As a result of this appeal, 74 operators were issued with licences for services in Lusaka for an initial period of 13 weeks.²¹

BEHIND THE COLLAPSE OF UBZ:

The sudden expansion of UBZ after state control resulted in various strains for the company during the period 1975 - 1978. The fleet more than doubled from 300 in 1972 to 612 in 1974 and by December 1978 the total fleet operating in rural and urban areas stood at 706, with a labour force of 4,000. When the Government acquired 51 per cent shares of CARS, Lusaka had only 21 buses, carrying an average of 16,000 passengers a day and operating on five routes. By 1978 this number rose to 112 buses, running on 35 routes and carrying an average of 40,000 passengers daily. This rapid expansion required matching increase of the labour force. The company embarked on crash recruitment programmes and by so doing ended up recruiting personnel who were not qualified for certain jobs. Many people in management positions knew very little about their work and consequently found it difficult to direct those under them. One of the effects of this was over-staffing. Approximately 5,000 people were employed by the company, giving an uneconomic ratio of staff per revenue-

earning bus of one to ten people.

Perhaps one of the most important operational problems was the lack of a standard fleet. This was primarily caused by the policy adopted by Government in the acquisition of buses. Because the company did not have enough money to sustain the rapid expansion programme, the Government signed commodity loans which obliged UBZ to buy modes of buses from donor countries.²² The company ended up with the following vehicle makes:- Ashok Leyland (India), Belmont (taxi from Australia), British Leyland, South African Leyland, Dubrava (Yugoslavia), Tata Series D, E and M (India), Benz Neoplan and Daimler Benz from West Germany, Renault: PGC 191, Healiex, PGC Amniof, PGC 60, PSM 8 and PSG 4 from France, Fiat (Italy), AVM (Zimbabwe) and Colt Galant taxis producer (Japan). The multiplicity of vehicle modes made training costly and planning a complex task, especially in the field of engineering. Without an effective cost control system, it became very difficult to cost operations and therefore ensure that passenger fares at least reflected operational costs.²³ Lack of a standard fleet cost the company a lot of money for the training of mechanics. As a result, workshop output and efficiency decreased because mechanics were unable to maintain various types of vehicles. This would have far reaching consequences on the accessibility and safety of public transport not only in Lusaka but the whole country.

The company also failed to generate enough money to meet its commitments. Interest on loans was high, forcing the company to rely on bank overdrafts and short term loans from Government. But there were other problems. Firstly, there was no clear cut organisation plan. It was not clear whether UBZ would ultimately be the sole operator for the whole country and more important, the question whether the company was to operate a social or profitable service had not been resolved. Secondly, there was no clear policy on purchase of equipment. Numerous vehicles were purchased without preliminary and thorough feasibility studies to ascertain their suitability for Zambian conditions, market potential and economic viability. Thirdly, there was no consistent operations policy. New routes were opened in response to public demand, irrespective of their economic viability. Fourthly, the initial rapid expansion of the fleet and diversification of services was not met with matching expansion of maintenance facilities and trained mechanical staff for the upkeep of vehicles. There also was the problem of indifference towards work and company property on the part of many employees. Finally, the company was undercapitalised. Since 1972 the company's share capital remained static at K2,677,054. The rapid expansion was, therefore, not matched with the necessary increase in share capital. It was financed out of various loans at high interest

which became a burden for the company.²⁴ This situation was not unique to UBZ but was common in many parastatals and other Government run organisations, such as Zambia Railways and the National Agricultural and Marketing Board (NAMBOARD). Both employees and people served by such organisations adopted the laissez-faire attitude to anything not personal, resulting in massive damage and loss of property which put an added burden on companies.

LUSAKA COPES WITH PROBLEMS: 1975 - 78

Despite serious operational problems encountered by UBZ during this period, efforts were made to improve the quality of service in Lusaka. As capital city, Lusaka was allocated more buses than other towns at the beginning of the expansion programme, making possible the introduction of services to areas such as Kaunda Square, Chunga, Chainda, Bauleni, Mtendere, Kalingalinga, Mwaziona, John Howard and Chipata Compound. In fact, bus services in Lusaka were one of the most successful public provisions up to 1973.²⁵ The allocation of 95 new Dubrava buses, by Fap Famos of Yugoslavia in 1972 was however, a blessing in disguise. When the buses arrived, UBZ applied for an import licence of K292,000 for the purchase of spare parts for the buses but only K50,000 was allocated. This consignment was particularly important because it was comprised of spare parts essential for the first major docking exercise for the Dubravas. The

TABLE 7: UBZ GENERAL OPERATIONS STATISTICS: 1965 - 1979

PERIOD	NUMBER OF BUSES	KILOMETRE COVERED	PASSENGERS CARRIED
1964 - 65	170	6,910,518	-
1965 - 66	175	7,347,000	-
1966 - 67	175	7,299,929	16,445,942
1967 - 68	235	8,450,886	24,477,515
1968 - 69	232	8,724,467	26,743,916
1969 - 70	298	10,471,973	34,149,795
1970 - 71	316	13,852,875	44,505,571
1971 - 72	392	14,657,762	53,486,657
1972 - 73	447	16,457,826	65,456,124
1973 - 74	612	38,237,992	81,118,724
1974 - 75	508	38,275,350	66,266,503
1975 - 76 XX	584	38,651,934	70,611,070
1976 - 77	672	35,421,861	62,616,668
1977 - 78	587	32,526,616	51,957,753
1978 - 79 XXX	707	22,647,974	33,108,222

XX - Mini buses introduced in 1976 carried fewer passengers

XXX - 1978 - 79 Operating statistics for nine months from April to December only.

Source: UBZ Management Problems, 1975 - 78, p. 10

exercise was scheduled to start in 1973 but by 1975 no spare parts had arrived in the country. This delay led to many breakdowns in the Lusaka City Services Unit. a further K171,000 worth of foreign exchange was released for the above purpose and Fap Famos was directed to airfreight 20 per cent of every part of the fast moving spare parts and another 20 per cent of each part required for the docking exercise. This exercise was not done until after April 1976 when the spare parts finally arrived.²⁶

The plight of the Dubrava did not end here. Between 1975 and 1976 UBZ lost thousands of Kwacha as a result of Dubrava buses catching fire with passengers aboard. Most of the buses which burnt belonged to Lusaka City Services Unit with the Seventeenth bus catching fire on the Chelston Airport route on September 28, 1976. The manufacturers of the buses attributed the fires to various maintenance and repair faults on certain installations, which were not carried out properly. This prompted the Government to summon Fap Famos officials to Lusaka within a week so that they could present a factual report on why their buses were catching fire. As a result of the fires, 53 Dubrava buses, which were old and likely to catch fire, were withdrawn from the fleet, leaving only 59 Dubravas operating in Lusaka.

TABLE 8: LUSAKA CITY SERVICES: TARGET AND BUS AVAILABILITY29 JUNE, 1976

ROUTE	DESTINATION	NUMBER OF BUSES PEAK/ OFF PEAK PER DAY	PLANNED PASSENGERS PER MONTH
5-01	Chilenje South via Hospital	6/4	113,400
5-02	Chilenje South via Chilimbulu Road	6/4	108,000
5-03	Kafue - Lusaka	2/2	27,000
5-04	Chipapa via Chilanga	1/1	14,400
5-05	Kafue Local - Chingangauka	1/1	24,000
5-07	Chashinama via Katuba	1/1	14,000
5-08	Kaunda Square Stage I	6/4	108,000
5-09	Chelston via UNZA	4/3	108,000
5-11	Chainda via Chelston	1/1	14,400
5-12	Kaunda Square Stage 2	1/1	19,800
5-13	Chief Mungule	1/1	11,700
5-14	Kanyama Old and New	5/3	108,000
5-15	Lilanda via Matero	8/5	234,000
5-16	Lilanda via Mwaziona	2/2	57,600
5-17	Chunga via Matero	4/3	117,000
5-18	Woodlands via Burma Road	5/4	108,000
5-19	Bauleni via U.T.H. and Long Acres	2/2	37,000
5-20	Woodlands via Chilimbulu Road	2/1	63,000
5-21	Jack Compound Via Lumumba Road	5/3	108,000

This shortfall led to the transfer of 30 Tata buses from the Copperbelt to ease the situation in Lusaka. In order to alleviate congestion in most urban areas, UBZ ordered 150 Leyland Mercedes Benz buses. The Mercedes were specifically ordered to replace the depleted Lusaka fleet and bring to 190 the number of buses operating in Lusaka.²⁷

From December 1, 1975, the quality of services improved somewhat with the introduction of express services involving nine buses initially during peak hours. UBZ started operating special services on four routes on all weekdays except on statutory holidays. This was primarily meant for people working at the secretariat area in the Ridgeway area. The routes were:-

a. Lilanda via Matero to Secretariat

Lilanda	0710 hours	1750 hours
Matero	0715	1745
City	0725	1735
Secretariat	0745	1715

b. Kaunda Square to Secretariat

Kaunda Square	0720 hours	1745 hours
Munali	0725	1735
University	0730	1725
Secretariat	0745	1715

c. Chilenje South via Woodlands to Secretariat

Chilenje South	0710 hours	1745 hours
Woodlands	0725	1730
Libala Filling Station	0735	1720
Secretariat	0745	1715

d. Mtendere to Secretariat

Mtendere	0730 hours	1745 hours
Kabulonga	0735	1730
Long Acres	0740	1720
Secretariat	0745	1715

This additional service operated simultaneously with those on 34 routes. UBZ also had buses for contract hire and casual charter.

Further measures to reduce congestion at peak hours were introduced in March 1976. UBZ and Ministry of Power, Transport and Communications decided to redeploy buses spending nights away from the depot on long arm routes to local routes during the early morning peak between 06.00 hours and 08.00 hours. These buses were released for long arm duties after the peak period, with the last bus departing not later than 12.00 hours so that the buses could be given enough time to return to Lusaka in readiness for the following morning operations. These buses catered for the following turning points:

ROUTE	DESTINATION	NUMBER OF BUSES PEAK/OFF PEAK PER DAY	PLANNED PASSENGERS PER MONTH
5-22	Chipata via Mutambe	5/3	108,000
5-23	Mtendere	6/4	144,000
5-24	Kabile School via Situmbeko	1/1	7,200
5-25	Kabanana	1/1	19,800
5-26	Makeni	1/1	12,600
5-27	Mount Makulu	1/1	12,600
5-28	Lwimba	1/1	10,800
5-29	Kalingalinga	1/1	12,600
5-30	Garden	1/1	18,000
5-31	Chisamba	1/1	15,000
5-32	Kalubwe	1/1	10,500
5-33	Shibuyunji	1/1	12,600
5-34	Kafue Gorge	1/1	7,200
5-35	Kasumpe Mission	1/1	15,000

Source: Lusaka City Services Unit Files.

Regiment Filling Station and Banda Grocery in Chilenje, Kabulonga Supermarket, Kangwa Grocery, Chainama Hills, Munali, Chawama Market, Matero Market, Lilanda Bridge, Chaisa and the Hospital. Furthermore, the company operations manager advised his counterpart at Lusaka City Services to reduce time spent on loading and unloading of passengers both at the city terminal and township terminals so as to increase revenue and carry more passengers.

UBZ had gradually adopted a policy of providing services on routes that were not serviced, at the request of the areas' councillors or other spokesmen. At the requests of the institutions' spokesmen, buses were allocated to the following schools in 1977 for the conveyance of pupils from town:- Silver Rest School, Roma Girls Secondary School, Hindu Hall School, Makeni Ecumenical Centre and Munali Secondary School were allocated one bus each while Kabulonga Girls and Kabulonga Boys Secondary Schools were given two buses each.

During this period, several factors combined to hamper the improvement of services in Lusaka, the most important of which was the continually declining number of buses, which was made worse by frequent breakdowns and shortage of spare parts. At the end of 1977 the company faced a serious shortage of engine and steering rod oils which could not be obtained in any of the garages in Lusaka, causing delays in the release of buses.

TABLE 9: LUSAKA CITY SERVICES FLEET ALLOCATION 1975 - 1977

1975			
MONTH	TOTAL NO. OF FAP D. 10 & FAP 10.5 - PL	ACTUAL BUSES IN OPERATION	VEHICLES OFF THE ROAD
January	92	-	-
March	88	-	-
August	102	-	-
1976			
January	-	-	-
February	118	109	9
March	67	-	-
April	121	112	9
May*			
June	-	-	-
July	-	-	-
August	112	102	10
September	-	97	-
October	112	97	15
November	-	-	-
December	112	72	40

*25 buses were scrapped and written off from fleet lists.

9 were destroyed by fire. 9 cannibalised and 7 involved
in accidents.

. 1977

MONTH	TOTAL NO. OF FAP D. 10 & FAP 10.5 - PL	ACTUAL BUSES IN OPERATION	VEHICLES OFF THE ROAD
January	112	77	35
February	112	83	29
March	-	-	-
April	-	-	-
May	--	-	-
June	112	77	35
July	112	77	35
August	-	-	-
September	-	-	-
October	121	108	13
November	-	-	-
December	121	113	8

Source: Lusaka City Services Unit Files

This, together with inadequate supervision of employees, combined to reduce revenue earned between October and November 1977 from K126,000 to K104,000. During November only between 17 and 20 buses were actually on the road per shift daily. There was a tremendous drop in vehicle availability as out of the scheduled 3,120 bus days, only 580 days were realised, with 2,540 days lost. Although 285,345 kilometres were covered and 604,036 passengers carried, this represented only 18.8 per cent of the scheduled days.

These perennial problems prompted the Group Inspectorate to introduce vigorous measures. The Inspectorate outlined three bottlenecks faced by the unit. Firstly, ticket machines were inadequate, causing delays in the handover of buses at the city terminal and turn round of buses. This in turn led to buses operating behind schedule on most routes. Inspectors on routes lacked vigilance in their vehicle checks causing delays and other operational problems. Lastly, it was discovered that LCSU was at the mercy of the Southern Division workshop. Preference was given to long distance buses, causing delays in the maintenance of local buses buses. The inspectorate therefore, recommended that the appointment of mechanics, tyremen, electricians and storemen should be transferred to LCSU. This would stop the dependence of the unit on Southern Division managers who did not assign personnel to work on local buses. The move would also enable LCSU

management to discipline workshop staff because they now fell directly under the unit. This inspection could have been responsible for the slight improvement in November 1978 when LCSU operated an average of 55 buses daily, realising K354,430 against a budgeted revenue of K376,892. During this month, 676,338 kilometres were covered by the unit.

Most of the above operational problems continued in the 1979 - 80 period with more coming to light. Malpractices were rife among the crews. Running times were not according to those stipulated and crew members reported late for work. Perhaps the most important flaw was that mid-route passengers were often bypassed as buses loaded to full capacity from end points. The low turn out of buses from the workshop made it difficult to set aside buses that would cater for mid-route passengers.²⁸ All these problems greatly reduced accessibility of public transport to a growing population that was increasingly dependent on it.

The seeming failure of UBZ to meet the demand of public transport not only in Lusaka but the whole country could have been the reason for the dissolution of NTC by a Presidential Decree of December 1978, making UBZ a direct subsidiary of ZIMCO.²⁹

STATE DECONTROL AND PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT:

The expansion of UBZ during the first decade after independence was rapid but this came to a standstill in the second half of the 1970s. Between 1973 and 1980 the population of Lusaka increased by nearly 50 per cent but UBZ was expected to cater for the public with an even smaller number of buses. In 1980 for example, there were 65 buses scheduled to operate in Lusaka but only between 30 and 50 were actually on the road. With such a poor availability of buses, it became difficult for UBZ to cope with the ever-growing demand with a fleet that was continually dwindling. It was during this period that the role of the private operators became important in the provision of public transport. Because of the too evident demand, public transport proved to be a profitable undertaking and more and more operators invested in the business.³⁰

The further deteriorating of UBZ services provided an opportunity for the development of private operators. Their increased importance in the provision of public transport in urban areas made it difficult for the Government to ignore them. It soon became Government policy to increase fares of both the parastatal run UBZ and UTTA services. Fares had remained static for a long time despite increases in the prices of fuel and spare parts. In November 1976, when the Government increased the price of premium petrol from 30 ngwee to 40 ngwee and regular from 27 ngwee to 29.3 ngwee per

litre, private operators demanded an increase of fares but this was not given, so many operators increased fares illegally. Meanwhile, UBZ, which had been negotiating for higher fares was allowed to increase them by 29 per cent and 25 per cent, for long distance and local services respectively. UBZ and UTTA were given fare rises simultaneously and these were gazetted in the statutory instrument of March 17, 1978. Government policy mandated that fares could only be effected after 30 days of being gazetted so these particular fares would be effective from April 17, 1978.

TABLE 10: UNSCHEDULED TAXICABS: FIXED ROUTE FARES

COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K	COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K
1.5	0.05	11	0.55
2	0.10	12	0.6
2.5	0.12	13	0.65
3	0.15	14	0.70
4	0.20	15	0.75
5	0.25	16	0.80
6	0.30	17	0.85
7	0.35	18	0.90
8	0.40	19	0.95
9	0.45	20	1.00
10.	0.50	-	-

NOTE: Unscheduled taxicabs - for journeys in excess of twenty kilometres, operators had the right either to refuse a fare-paying passenger or to charge an agreed fare.

MINIBUS FARES: LOCAL SERVICES

COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K	COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K
2	0.05	11	0.15
2.5	0.06	12	0.20
3	0.06	13	0.20
4	0.08	14	0.25
5	0.08	15	0.25
6	0.10	16	0.30
7	0.10	17	0.30
8	0.12	18	0.45
9	0.12	19	0.45
10	0.15	20	0.50

Source: Government of Zambia Statutory Instrument No. 55
1978

The announcement of these fares was received with mixed feelings especially by operators of taxis who felt that the increase of between 100 and 133 per cent was too high. Passengers from the town centre to Kabulonga, Lilayi, Lilanda and Chilenje would now have to pay 50 ngwee, Chelston-bound passengers would pay 70 ngwee while those going to Mtendere and Kaunda Square would pay 60 ngwee. The new fares were considered too high and operators feared that they would be forced out of business but the Government refused to reduce them. As a result, commuters in Lusaka boycotted taxis in preference to minibuses whose fares had been reduced from 20 ngwee to 18 and in some cases to 15 ngwee. A consultative meeting was held between Government and UTTA, which resulted in the revocation of the new fares on April 18, a day after their implementation. The old fares remained in force until acceptable ones could be worked out. It was discovered that the disagreement over the fares had arisen because UTTA had requested a 10 ngwee increase all round while the Government decided to fix new fares according to distance. This led to new negotiations being held between UTTA and the Government.³¹

The negotiations took more than a year and the new fares were gazetted on August 24, 1979 in the Government of Zambia Statutory Instrument No. 1447 of 1979. The fares were increased by between 50 and 75 per cent and were to be effected on September 24. The new fares might have been agreed on after OPEC had increased prices of crude oil by about 25 per cent. The Government in turn

increased petrol prices from the existing price to 75 and 65 ngwee per litre for premium and regular petrol respectively.

The September 1979 fare increases were an important departure from the practice of charging uniform fares irrespective of distance to that of charging passengers according to the distance covered. As a result of the new structure, passengers from the city terminal to Luburma market travelling by taxi would pay 25 ngwee while those going to Chelston, Chainda and the airport would be paying 40, 50 and 60 ngwee respectively. Those travelling by minibuses to Northmead, Chelston and Chainda would be required to 20, 35 and 40 ngwee respectively.³²

By 1980, the private sector had started playing a more important role in public transportation mainly due to operational problems of UBZ. The new fare system might have contributed to the increased number of private operators. Lusaka alone had 135 minibus operators, owning an average of 2.6 minibuses per operator. This gave a total of 225 minibuses and 130 buses (some of the buses were registered for long distance routes). By 1980, there were 182 registered taxi operators, with a total of 538 taxis. There was also a large number of unlicensed taxis popularly known as 'pirate taxis' ferrying passengers

on the main routes. (Their number is difficult to estimate because of the nature of their operation). There were very few large public transport companies, the majority owning not more than three minibuses or taxis.³³

TABLE 11: MOTOR OMNIBUS FARES: LOCAL SERVICE

COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K	COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K
2.5	0.05	16.0	0.35
3.5	0.08	19.0	0.40
4.5	0.10	22.0	0.45
5.5	0.12	25.0	0.50
7.0	0.15	28.0	0.55
8.5	0.15	31.0	0.60
9.5	0.20	34.0	0.65
10.5	0.25	37.0	0.70
12.5	0.30	40.0	0.75

NOTE: In any case where the distance to be travelled falls between two consecutive distances shown in the schedule, the fare to be charged shall be the one of the greater distance.

UNSCHEDULED TAXICABS: FIXED ROUTES FARES

COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K
1.3	0.20
4.7	0.25
8.10	0.30
11.14	0.40
15.17	0.50
18.20	0.60

For journeys in excess of twenty kilometres the operator shall have the right either to refuse a fare-paying passenger or to charge an agreed fare.

SCHEDULED TAXICABS: PRESCRIBED FARES

For the first kilometre thereof.....K0.30.

For each succeeding one-fourth of kilometre or portion thereof.....K0.10.

For journey in excess of fifteen kilometre the operator shall have the right either to refuse a fare-paying passenger or to charge an agreed fare.

Waiting time for each period of three minutes or part thereof during which the hirer will keep the taxicab waiting.....K0.12.

MINIBUS FARES: LOCAL SERVICE

COLUMN 1 DISTANCE KM	COLUMN 2 FARE K
1.6	0.20
5.6	0.20
7.9	0.25
10.12	0.30
13.15	0.35
16.18	0.40
19.20	0.45

- NOTES: (1) For the conveyance of passengers by minibus operated by any person for a distance in excess twenty kilometres, the fare to be charged shall be the one of the greater distance.
- (2) Babies - Free. Children under the age of 8 years half fare.

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30. Blankhart, 'Urban Transport', pp. 262-263.
31. Times of Zambia, March 21, and April 17-20, 1978.
32. Ibid., August 25, 1979.
33. Blankhart, 'Urban Transport', pp. 262-263.

POSTSCRIPT

Over the past decade the public transportation crisis in Lusaka and other parts of the country has been aggravated, reaching a point of near-collapse. Much of this could be attributed to the deepening general structural crisis of the Zambian economy: high debts, high unemployment rate, high inflation, high costs of imports, low prices of exports, high prices, low incomes, low productivity, etc. Dependent as it has been, on exports, the transport industry could barely survive the onslaught.

In August, 1980, the 58 UBZ buses that operated in Lusaka were more often than not off the road because of lack of spare parts ranging from gaskets, cylinder heads, springs, pistons, sleeves, wipers, extinguishers and many others. Turn over of vehicles from workshops and turn round of buses were slow. Also, fuel consumption was high because of aged engines that had less combustion. There were more people waiting at bus stops and the existence of LCSU was threatened.¹

The transport sector also suffered as a result of its dependence on imported material because fluctuating prices by the producer countries affected the domestic market. In 1981 when the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries, OPEC, increased the price of crude oil from 32 to 34 United States dollars a barrel, Zambia increased fuel prices which hasled to ever increasing fares. Efforts to check the deterioration of public transport were hampered by the scarcity of essential

items. Dunlop, the sole tyre and tube manufacturer in the country also relied on imported raw materials, making any shortfall in its production a disaster for the transport industry.

Besides external factors it is clear that Lusaka and the country as a whole could not come up with a sound long term transport policy. One example of this was the appointment of Fragoinvest of Czechoslovakia to carry out feasibility studies for a tram or trolley system in Lusaka. The proposals were discussed in April 1985 after discussions had been submitted by the Provincial and Local Government Administration, Lusaka Urban District Council, and the Ministry of Power, Transport and Communications. The participants of this symposium failed to make recommendations because the report had not included a comprehensive study of the existing transport system. A technical advisory sub-committee comprising representatives from the Lusaka Urban District Council, the University of Zambia, UBZ, Town and Country Planning Unit, National Commission for Development Planning, Zambia Electricity Supply Company, and the Ministry of Power, Transport and Communications, was appointed to make a more comprehensive study. The committee concluded that the consultants had not adequately assessed the short and long term requirements of public transport in Lusaka. It was also resolved that there was insufficient data on operators, the demand for UBZ buses and minibuses, and the movement of pedestrians. Technical aspects such as transport engineering

track construction, crossings and bridges, maintenance, repair workshops and others had also been inadequately examined. The committee recommended a more detailed study of the prevailing transport system by the University of Zambia, after which the two studies would be compared so as to provide a more useful guide to a policy decision.²

By the end of 1985, the modal split for Lusaka was 50 per cent for mini buses, five for UBZ, 20 for private motor car and 20 per cent for walking. Cycling was negligible. The estimated trip purpose split was 70 per cent, 20 per cent and 10 per cent for journeys to work, school trips and personal leisure respectively.² By 1987 there were no plans for effecting the tram proposals because of Zambia's economic decline.

Faced with these difficulties the Government resorted to cosmetic changes. It legalized the use of lorries, panel vans and trucks for public transport. These vehicles had to be transformed into passenger vehicles, registered and owners had to acquire licences. They had to be road worthy, fitted with canopies, provide reasonable seat as well as have adequate ventilation.³

The most important factor that affected public transportation in Zambia was the currency auctioning system which was introduced in October 1985. At the first auction the rate of the Kwacha to the United States dollar fell by almost 100 per cent from K2.50 to K5.01 per U.S. dolla

In May 1987 when the Government suspended the auction system, one U.S. dollar was worth about K21.00.⁴

The auction system produced a chain reaction. After the first auction ZIMCO announced 100 per cent increase of fuel prices and private operators increased fares similarly. In Lusaka public transport was brought to a virtual standstill as irate youths forced people out of minibuses in sympathy with operators who were demanding immediate fare increases ratified by Government. The youths blocked all roads leading to the town centre and stoned Government and bus company vehicles. Many commuters walked long distances to their destinations. After an emergency consultative meeting the Government awarded 70 per cent fare increase to all operators, leading to a significant drop in the number of commuters as fares were considered too high.⁵

Another impact of the auction was on prices of vehicles, fuel and spare parts which sky-rocketed. In 1986 a new minibus cost about K185,000 while a new cab was between K70,000 and K100,000. The problem was made worse because most private operators had no maintenance workshops and depended on others who fixed costs arbitrarily.⁶ The main contributing factor to the near-collapse of public transportation system was that operators could neither repair nor replace their depleted fleet because of non-availability of spares and new buses, and prices which were beyond their reach.

One of the most recent attempts to save the public transport sector from total collapse was Government decision to merge UBZ with the well-run freight company, Contract Haulage and cancel all UBZ debts. At the time of Government control of CARS, freight and passenger services were separated because it was assumed that services would improve. Therefore it remained to be seen whether merging the two companies again would produce the desired results in the prevailing climate.

Public transportation problems in Lusaka can be traced to the manner in which Lusaka was born. The settlement was established as a service centre for the white settler farming community and as such the interests of the indigenous Africans were neglected. The town was planned and built with the same purpose because a permanent African urban settlement was not envisaged. Early public transport served Europeans but this was later extended to the African civil servants. The question of public transportation for Africans was controlled by the colonial administrators who underplayed it mainly because Europeans either lived near their places of work or had cars.

Independence changed the balance in favour of Africans whose aim was to remove the colonial pattern of racial segregation and give equal opportunities to all. The removal of restrictions on movement and settlement led to increased

rural-urban migration which further created strain on the functional services of Lusaka, a town that had been planned to cater for a small European population. Soon after independence Government acquired majority shareholding of CARS and later had total control. This move was seen as vital because of the reorientation of objectives from profitability to that of providing service to the public at affordable fares. It is important here to note that despite this change of policy, no radical departure was made from the colonial policy. Decision making was done by a small elite without involving the masses of people who used public transport, resulting in solutions which were cosmetic and unworkable. Because the commuters had no say in the transportation system, it meant that their needs were not served adequately.

One of the most important aspects of the transportation crisis was that Lusaka, and indeed Zambia, did not make a radical departure from the colonial pattern. Though Government was in the hands of the indigenous people, the social pattern set by Colonial rulers was retained with the white ruling elite replaced by the apamwambas (top people) while the African majority remained the poor. Transport policy decisions were dictated on the commuters and were essentially elitist. The same elitist garden city views were allowed to continue to shape the development of public transportation and it is to this that the present day crisis could be traced.

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APPENDIX

Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, The Companies Act (Cap 686 of the Laws of Zambia, Section 47).

Capital Analysis of Thatcher & Hobson, CARS, UBZ, 1937-1982.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Nominal Capital</u>	<u>No. of shares Divided into</u>	<u>Cost of each Share</u>
31-12-37	£10,000	£10,000	£1
31-12-38	"	"	"
21-12-40	"	"	"
15-12-42	"	"	"
27-10-43	"	"	"
29-10-44	"	"	"
18-09-45	"	"	"
13-12-46	£100,000	£100,000	£1
31-12-47	"	"	"
04-01-49	"	"	"
28-12-50	"	"	"
27-12-51	"	"	"
01-12-52	£250,000	£250,000	£1
26-09-53	£600,000	£600,000	"
17-02-54	"	"	"
31-12-54	£1,000,000	£413,808	£1

Ordinary Shares

-55	£1,000,000	£413,808	£1
-56	"	"	"
26-04-57	"	"	"
-58	"	"	"

Date	Nominal Capital	No. of shares Divided into	Cost of each Shares
17-04-59	£1,000,000	413,808	£1
08-04-60	"	"	"
18-04-61	"	"	"
19-04-62	"	"	"
19-04-63	"	Divided into 586,192 5 % non-cumulative and redeemable preference	"
17-04-64	"	"	"
16-04-65	£1,500,000	Redeemable preference and ordinary	"
27-06-66	"	"	"
31-05-67	"	"	"
28-08-68	K3,000,000	Preference and ordinary	K2.00
26-06-69	"	"	"
05-06-70	"	"	"
03-01-73	"	1,500,000	"
07-07-75	"	"	"
07-04-77	K8,000,000	4,000,000	"
16-04-82	K16,000,000	8,000,000	"

UBZ STAFF, OCTOBER, 1972Lusaka Depot

POST	NUMBER
Drivers	276
Conductors	192
Traffic Supervisors	11
Loaders	7
Clerk/Cashiers	54
Bus Depot Cleaners	46
Fuel Issuers	6
Others	5
Engineering Skilled - Expatriates	18
- Zambians	19
Engineering Unskilled	130
Administration & Supervisory	7
Clerical	6
Stores	13
Cleaners & General Labourers	15
Inspectors	54
Regulators	229
Security Guards	53
TOTAL	751

LUSAKA CITY SERVICESDecember, 1972 - Traffic Revenue - Local

	ROUTE	REVENUE	KILOMETRE
<u>No.</u>	<u>Description</u>	K	
46	Chilenje South via Hospital	5,461	28,490
47	Lusaka-Chilanga-Kafue	16,192	71,068
48	Chilenje South	5,565	15,715
49	Kaunda Square	4,067	20,905
50	Lilanda Via Kapwepwe	4,814	12,748
51	Matero-Chingwere	9,976	28,701
52	Chilenje	6,410	37,323
53	Katuba	4,125	25,302
54	Chelston	6,970	28,880
55	Kanyama	7,120	18,940
56	Chawama	7,303	23,517
57	Marrapodi	8,641	25,379
58	Lilanda	4,926	17,867
59	Mtendere	7,044	22,942
60	Night Services	1,058	19,351
51A	Bauleni	6,218	18,760
53A	Mungule	4,300	22,920
54A	Independence Avenue	3,770	17,725
58A	Chunga	8,524	20,879
59A	Kalingalinga	696	2,740
61	Kabanana	2,420	9,998
TOTAL LUSAKA CITY		125,000	490,150

UBZ LTD - LUSAKA CITY SERVICES TARGET KM/ROUTE - 29 JUNE 1976

(FROM the Traffic Controller to Operations Manager)

Route	Destination	No. of Buses peak/off peak per day	Planned passenger per month
5-01	Chilenje South via Hospital	6/4	113,400
5-02	Chilenje South via Chilimbulu	6/4	108,000
5-03	Kafue - Lusaka	2/2	27,000
5-04	Chipapa via Chilanga	1/1	14,400
5-05	Kafue local - Chingangauka	1/1	24,000
5-07	Chashinama via Katuba	1/1	14,000
5-08	Kaunda Square Stage I	6/4	108,000
5-09	Chelston via UNZA	4/3	108,000
5-11	Chainda via Chelston	1/1	14,400
5-12	Kaunda Square Stage 2	1/1	19,800
5-13	Chief Mungule	1/1	11,700
5-14	Kanyama Old and New	5/3	108,000
5-15	Lilanda via Matero	8/5	234,000
5-16	Lilanda via Mwaziona	2/2	57,600
5-17	Chunga via Matero	4/3	117,000
5-18	Woodlands via Burma Road	5/4	108,000
5-19	Bauleni via U.T.H. - Long Acres	2/2	37,000
5-20	Woodlands via Chilimbulu Road	2/1	63,000
5-21	Jack Compound via Lumumba	5/3	108,000
5-22	Chipata via Mutambe	5/3	108,000
5-23	Mtendere	6/4	144,000
5-24	Kabile via Situmbeko	1/1	7,200
5-25	Kabanana	1/1	19,800

LUSAKA CITY SERVICES
FLEET ALLOCATION 1976

Month	Total No. of Fap. D. 10 & Fap. 10.5 - p. 1.	Actual buses in operation	Vehicles off the road
January	-	-	-
February	118	109	9
March	67	-	-
April	121	112	9
May	29 buses written of and scrapped from fleet lists; 9 were destroyed by fire; 9 cannibalised and 7 were involved in accidents.		
June	-	-	-
July	-	-	-
August	112	102	10
September	-	97	-
October	112	-	15
November	-	-	-
December	112	72	40

- (i) 9, 14, 17, 18, 29 June and July 2 - diesel shortage
- (ii) 4th July - Shift A 2/11, Shift B 13/1.
- (iii) No record of buses hired between 20 February 21

Source: Daily Terminal Progress Reports.

2 May.

(iii) no record of buses hired between 20 February

Source: Daily Terminal Progress Reports.

Special
City

[illegible]

100

- (i) November and December 4 Diesel shortage
- (ii) Fleet strength (total) 67 buses

Source: Daily Terminal Progress Reports.

Special
hire

Source: Williams G J (ed) 1986 Lusaka and its Environs p.263

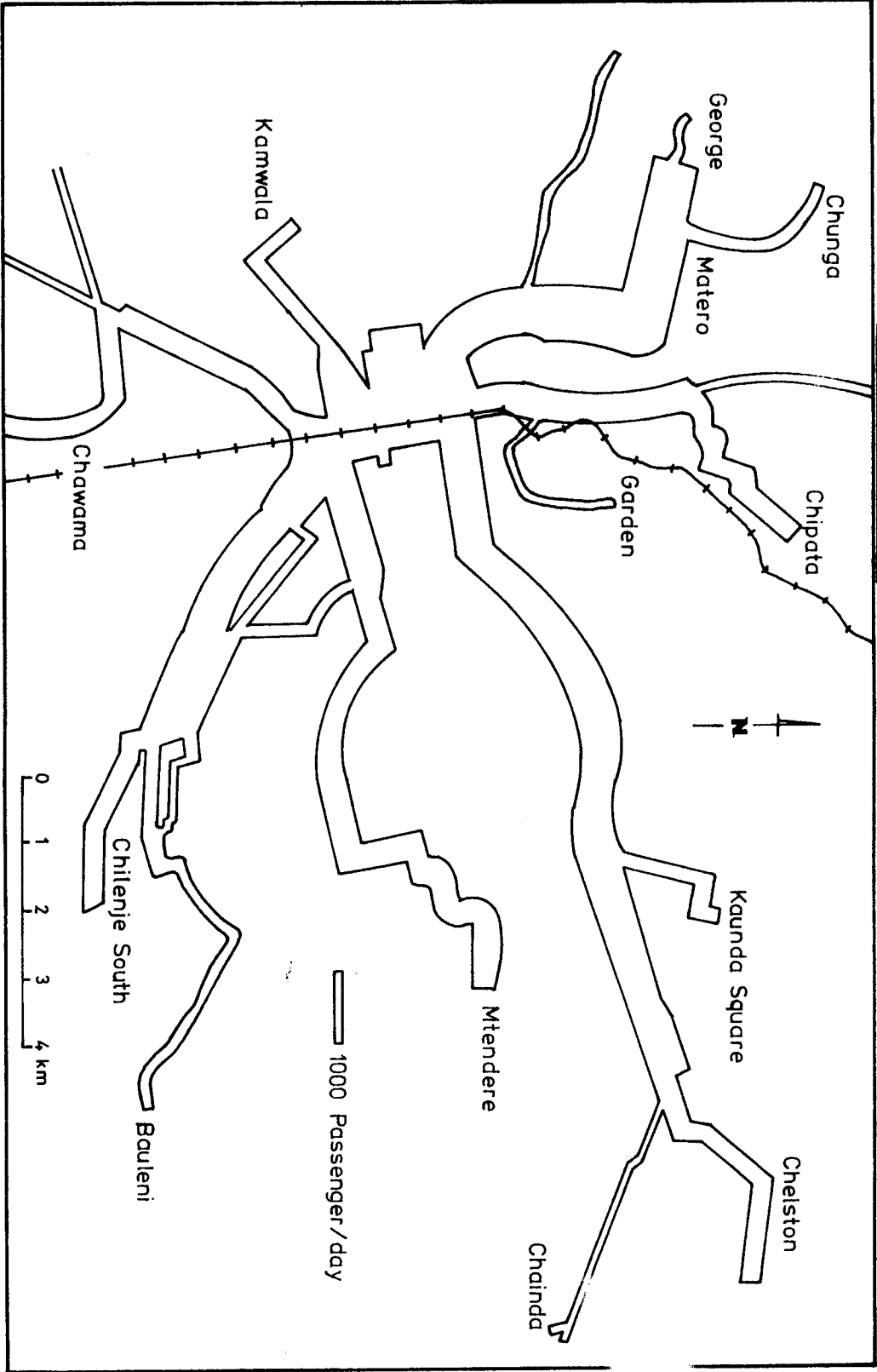


Fig. 9 UBZ Routes and Number of Passengers Carried (1981)

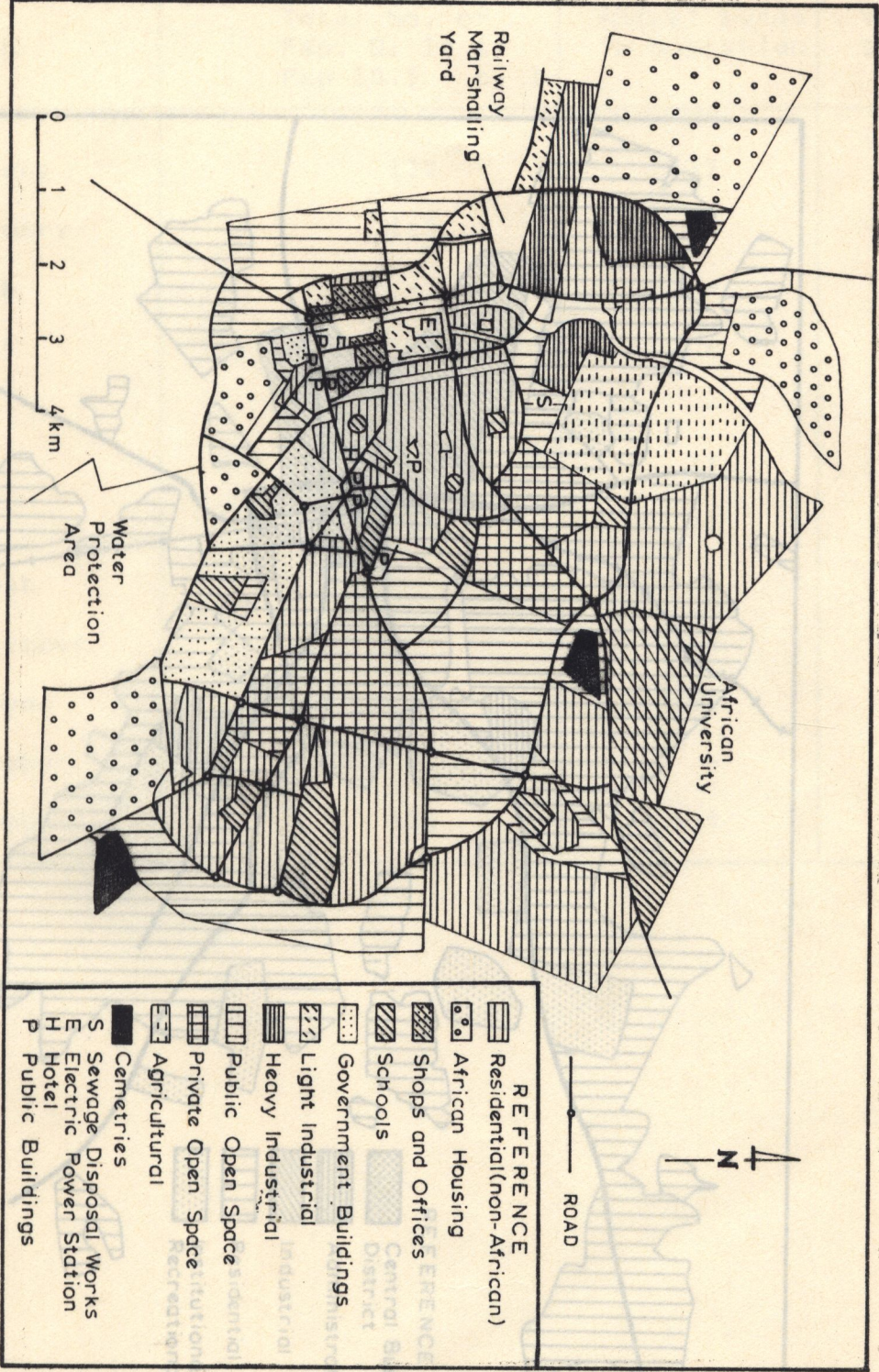


Fig.6 Town Planning Scheme for Lusaka,1952

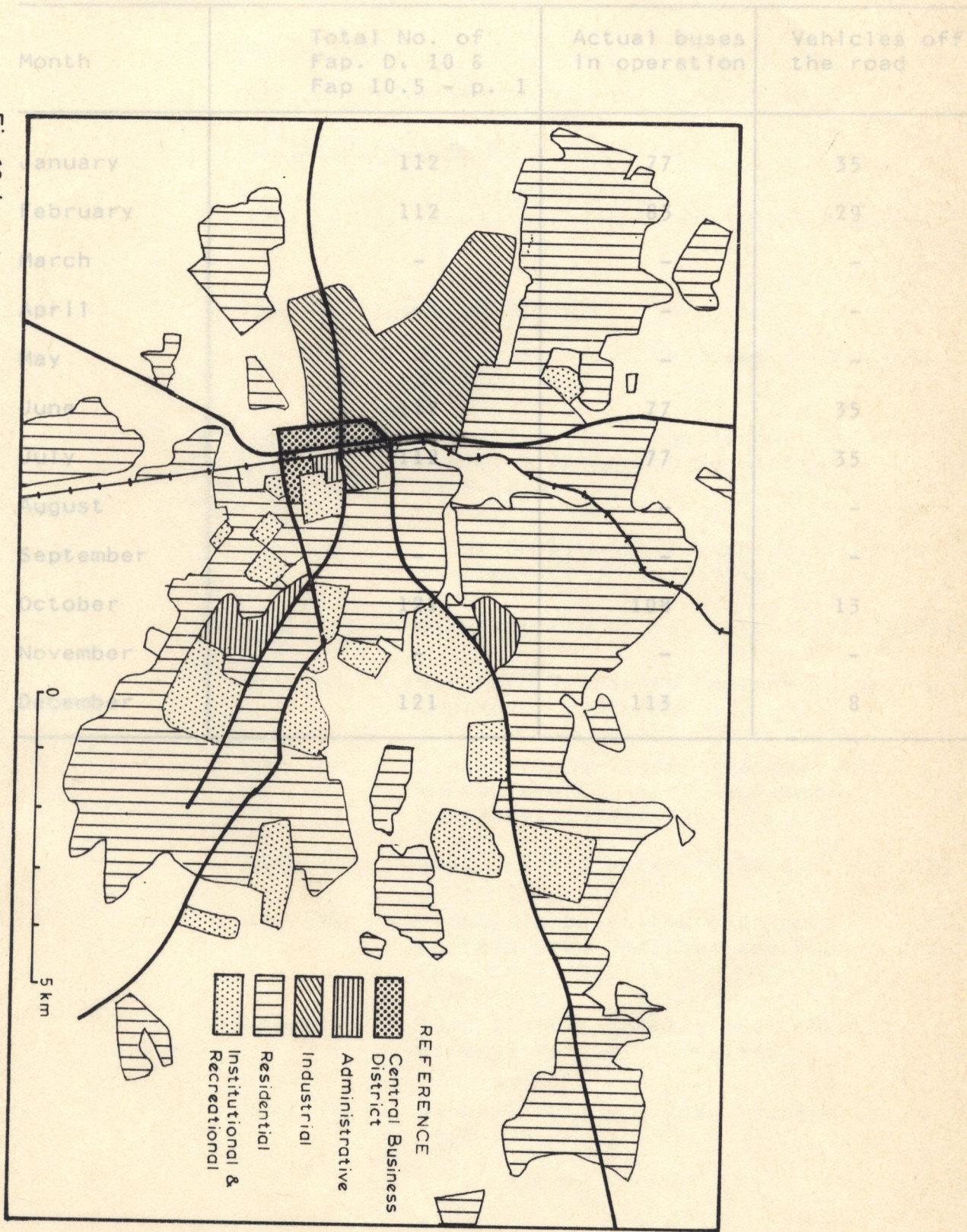
Williams G J (ed) 1986 Lusaka and Environs p.115

Fig.10 Lusaka Land Use, 1986

Source: Williams G J(ed) 1986 Lusaka and its Environs p.103

Fig.10 Lusaka Land Use, 1986

Source : Williams G J (ed) 1986 Lusaka and its Environs p.103



FLEET ALLOCATION, 1977

Month	Total No. of Fap. D. 10 & Fap 10.5 - p. 1	Actual buses in operation	Vehicles off the road
January	112	77	35
February	112	83	29
March	-	-	-
April	-	-	-
May	-	-	-
June	112	77	35
July	112	77	35
August	-	-	-
September	-	-	-
October	121	108	13
November	-	-	-
December	121	113	8

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Kalumba, J.,	Businessman, Chelston, 5 December, 1986.
Kapinda, P.,	Secretary, Libala Stage 3, 10 November, 1986.
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Mutumba, A.,	Secretary, Rhodespark, 20 December, 1986.
Muyunda, G.L.,	Banker, Chawama, 12 December, 1986.
Mvula, E.,	Clerical Officer, Matero Chingwele, 10 January, 1987.
Mwango, P.J.,	Driver, Town Centre, 18 January, 1987.

Mwansa, R.,	Operator and UTTA Chairman, Lusaka Town Centre 22 October, 1986.
Mwanza, B.,	River, Town Centre, 18 January, 1987.
Mwenda, M.,	Assistant Dean of Students, UNZA, 20 December, 1986.
Namanwe, J.,	Secretary, Long Acres, 22nd December, 1986.
Nanchengwa, R.K.,	Assistant Claims Officer Rhodes Park, 21 December, 1986.
Ngandu, M.,	Public Relations Officer, Avondale, 22 December, 1986.
Nyangu, B.,	Junior Clerical Officer, Mungule, 10 January, 1987.
Nyirenda, C.B.,	Personnel Officer, Woodlands, 21 December, 1986.
Simbaye, P.,	Operator, Chilenje South, 22nd December, 1986.
Simwinga, N.,	Teacher, Woodlands, 8 December, 1986.
Simukonda, S.,	Traffic Manager, Southern Division, 29 October, 1986.
Sinazongwe, E.,	Secretary, Chilenje South, 20 December, 1986.
Tembo, G.T.,	Clerical Officer, Kabwata, 15 December, 1986.
Tembo, M.K.,	Director, Town Centre, 20 December, 1986.
Tembo, T.,	Driver, Town Centre, 18 January, 1987.

Pasi, D.L.,	Administrator, Long Acres, 5 January, 1987.
Phiri, A.,	Typist, Kaunda Square Stage I, 15 December, 1986.
Wood, A.M.,	Advocate, Rhodes Park, 5 January, 1987.
Wood, M.,	Fitter, ZAF Base, 5 January, 1987.
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