The year 1968 was a remarkably quiet year for independent Africa. With the exception of the Nigerian civil war and some clashes at the Zambian-Rhodesian frontier there were hardly any major incidents and most of the African leaders seemed to spend their time on solving domestic problems. The traditional trouble spots, e.g. the Congo, are evidently on their way to economic recovery and stabilisation, and in the East the East African Community (EAC) has paved the way to economic cooperation. The "EAC" which has just completed its first year of existence, may soon include more African states such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Burundi and perhaps even Zambia.

Yet this calm is deceiving. In the first place there were upheavals in some of the former French territories which up to now were quiet and peaceful, such as Mali, Chad, Cameroun, Dahomey, the Central African Republic and Congo-Brazzaville. These upheavals had to do a lot with the enormous poverty of the population and are without any political background. Besides this the small French-speaking territories are definitely the most insignificant on the African Continent. Far more important is the fact that none of the problems facing the developing new Africa has yet been solved and that these problems must be solved, if independent Africa is to have a future.

**Strong Tribalism a Serious Handicap**

The Nigerian civil war as well as the elections in Zambia have unveiled one of the grave African problems to the whole world, namely the strength of tribalism. This problem, which is a direct result of the colonial past of the present independent states, constitutes perhaps the most serious threat to future development. The Natives of former colonial Africa are used to be ruled by tribal chiefs each of them commanding the power of a little king. They do not consider themselves Zambians, Congolese, Nigerians, etc., but members of their tribes. The recent Zambian elections, for instance, were conducted exclusively on tribal lines. As a result of these elections Zambia is now divided between tribes which support the Government and those which support the Opposition, just the situation which President Kaunda has worked tirelessly to avoid. Voting almost as a solid block, the tribes from the south, the "Ila" and "Tonga", rejected President Kaunda's "United National Independence Party" and gave their support to Mr Harry Nkumbula's "African National Congress". In addition the powerful "Lozi" tribe from the Barotse Province in the west who previously supported the Government, voted this time overwhelmingly for the opposition.

President Kaunda is—of course—very embittered and tries at present to make things "tough for any opposition" thus moving more and more in the direction of totalitarianism. Already he is called publically "another African dictator" and his unpopularity is growing from day to day. Yet he was one of the first African leaders to see clearly the dangers of tribalism. He has continually warned against the dangers of tribal conflict and rivalry, drawing parallels of what has happened in Nigeria to what could happen in Zambia.

Being an old relic of the past, tribalism cannot be eradicated within a couple of years. Any African leader trying to achieve a lightning success in fighting tribalism is doomed to failure. First condition is time. The process of implanting love of the homeland into the hearts of people who never knew another homeland than the seat of their tribe, is not a matter of years, but of decades. Furthermore, the fight against poverty is strongly linked up with the fight against tribalism. The former tribesmen must be taught modern methods of agriculture thus developing slowly into proper farmers. They must see, that they have to thank everything they are and possess to the Central Government, they must recognise that tribalism means backwardness and support the Central Government progress.

**The "Young Pioneers" of Malawi**

It was again Africa's sample-country Malawi which has made a start with a development like this. It is the "Young Pioneers" movement set up in
1963 as a youth wing of the ruling Malawi Congress Party. The first Young Pioneer bases were set up at Nasawa, near Zomba, and in Amalika, in the tea-producing district of Cholo, both in Southern Malawi. Israel supplied instructors and a national adviser. The bases were built by the Pioneer trainees themselves. Training lasts ten months. Girls as well as boys join. They are taught the theory and practice of agriculture, simple carpentry and building, animal husbandry and poultry farming first, and more formal subjects like English and arithmetic later. Sports and physical training form a large part of the course. The whole set-up equals the one of an Israeli kibutz. At some bases “Young Pioneers Clubs” have been formed to cooperate with local people, thus enabling the trainees to go out and demonstrate the new farming methods they have learnt.

This has been continued with the setting up of model villages—agricultural showpieces, where people from the surrounding countryside can learn the new methods. Since the movement began its activities, 3,000 “Pioneers” have been trained. A further 1,600 are being trained at present, including ten from Lesotho who will start a similar movement in their own country, and very soon other groups may arrive from Swaziland and Botswana.

**The Road to Industrialisation**

As the economies of most of the former colonies are still basically agricultural, this rather revolutionary movement may prove of enormous importance for the whole of Africa. Essentially conservative rural farmers may modify their traditional and often wasteful farming methods and turn to modern ways of farming. This will bring them closer to modern ways of living and thinking, and to their Central Governments.

But modern agricultural training—as important as it may be—is only part of great change the former colonial Africans have to undergo before they can become citizens of their new states. There are enormous tasks ahead for the leaders of the African countries, tasks which require energy, tenacity and a good deal of patience. It is about training and encouraging Africans to develop skills in commerce and industry to take over the middle level and senior jobs now almost exclusively held by foreigners. From this stepping-stone it is only a comparatively short way to a figure hitherto unknown: the African industrial leader.

It cannot be denied that African industrialisation has made enormous headways in the last two decades, and that all over the continent new factories and retail-businesses are being established. But it is always foreign concerns who take the initiative, and African participation is confined to financial partnership with the industrial development corporations of the countries concerned. Otherwise the only benefits Africans derive from the industrialisation and commercialisation of their countries consist of regular work, stable income and a useful training. This state of affairs could be called a kind of “Neo-Colonialism”, as the only difference between yesterday’s and today’s conditions is the financial participation of the state, while the status of the particular African is still the same as before.

**President Kaunda’s ill-advised Measures**

President Kaunda has tried to change this by not renewing the trading licences of 850 foreigners and encouraging Zambian Natives to take over

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