

**A THEOLOGICAL-ETHICAL
FRAMEWORK FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
THE CASE OF ZAMBIA**

by

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submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in the

**FACULTY OF THEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

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AUGUST 2001

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DECLARATION

“I declare that the dissertation/thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another university.”

SIGNED

(by Musonda Bwalya)

DATE

PLACE *UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my great honour and privilege to acknowledge with a deep sense of appreciation those persons who were associated with the writing of this thesis during the academic period 1998 to 2001 at the University of Pretoria, Republic of South Africa. Without their moral, professional, and financial support, my doctoral research could not have been successful. I am, therefore, deeply and for ever indebted to them for all their kindness and objectivity in various ways. These persons who are too numerous are in Zambia, Canada, the USA, Switzerland, and South Africa. They include the following:

- *Managers of the Leadership Development Programme of the Presbyterian Church USA at Louisville who awarded me a merit scholarship to undertake doctoral study at Pretoria University;*
- *Fellow theological educators at the United Church of Zambia Theological College in Kitwe, Zambia, who together with the Rev Harris Silishebo Silishebo, general Secretary of the United Church of Zambia, facilitated my departure for studies;*
- *Prof Julio de Santa Ana, my theological mentor, formerly of Geneva University and Bossey Ecumenical Institute in Switzerland, who, during a conference on “religion and economics” in August, 1998, at Bossey, helped me to enhance my understanding of the interface between religious and economic issues;*
- *Ms Thea Heckroodt of the Academic Information Service, University of Pretoria, who was always willing to provide relevant searches on my topic;*
- *The Rev Father Ignatius Mwebe, general secretary of the Episcopal Conference of Zambia, for providing very valuable data on the participation of the Roman Catholic Church in the economic development of Zambia;*

- *The Rev Violet Sampa Bredt and Mr Fackson Banda, general secretary and head of communications and social justice of the Christian Council of Zambia, respectively, for providing also very valuable data on the churches' participation in the economic development of Zambia;*
- *Mr Pukuta N Mwanza, operations and projects manager with the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, who helped me to see clearly the gradual evangelical reform concerning spiritual and material matters among charismatic and pentecostal churches in Zambia;*
- *The honourable Godfrey Simasiku, MP, Mr James M Mtonga, Mr Gideon B Lintini, and Mr S S Banda, Deputy minister of Finance, permanent secretary (financial management and accounting division), chief economist (directorate of macroeconomic policy analysis), and chief economist (external resource mobilisation department) of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development in Lusaka, respectively, for the lively discussions I had with them about Zambia's economic revolution;*
- *Mr Abdul A Munshi, director of Corporate and Institutional Banking Division at Barclays Bank Head Office in Lusaka, for his in-depth analysis of Zambia's economic situation and for his encouragement about the relevance of a social project on political economy;*
- *Mr Fabiano C Lukashi, team leader at the Zambia Privatisation Agency headquarters in Lusaka, for his objectivity and honesty in discussing the success and failure of the privatisation programme in Zambia;*
- *Mr Oliver J M Chinganya, head of research and dissemination at the Central Statistical Office in Lusaka, for his help which enabled me to obtain current socio-economic literature on Zambia;*
- *Dr Susie Ubomba-Jaswa, social scientist in the department of sociology at the University of Pretoria, for her help in the preparation of structured interview sheets.*

- *Mr Patrick Mulenga and Mr Winston M Siwale, acting assistant director (monetary and economic analysis) and assistant director (management information system) of the Bank of Zambia, respectively, for their firm grasp of Zambia's political economy and for providing the way forward for Zambia's economic development;*
- *Mr Ngosa Chisupa, programme director of the National Social Safety Net, for his insights and concern about the huge problems associated with unemployment in the post privatisation era in Zambia;*
- *Miss Misozi Phiri, acting senior inspector (natural resources unit) with the Environmental Council of Zambia, for her clear view on what government should do to ensure environmental sustainability;*
- *Prof Conrad Wethmar, formerly dean of the faculty of theology (section B), and now head of the department of dogmatics and ethics, University of Pretoria, who, in the initial stages of my doctoral orientation, deeply grounded me in academic ecclesiology with a focus on the role of Christian churches in social transformation;*
- *Prof D Etienne de Villiers, my supervisor, for his critical scholarship, from which I have learnt so much, and for his friendly disposition in guiding me rigorously throughout my project and to professionally enable me see clearly the beginning, the development, and the conclusion of my thesis;*
- *Prof James N Blignaut, my co-supervisor, academic economist of the Department of Economics and Management Sciences, who, through his critical scholarship and accommodating spirit, provided an incisive entry point into the intricacies of the science of economics and helped me to construct a viable social project with economic relevance;*

- *Mrs Alet Grobler, my typist, for her valuable time, effort, encouragement and motherly love, in preparing my thesis which she did with a high sense of dedication to duty and professionalism;*
- *Mrs Rachel Morake, head of English Department at MEDUNSA, for her effort in editing my thesis;*
- *My dearest daughters, Mutale, Bwalya, Chongo Kapwamilundu, and my dearest son, Musonda, Jr, for their loving patience which they demonstrated during my long absence from home;*
- *My dearest wife, Maggie Mulenga, for her unfailing and faithful love shown to me during my period of study. In spite of the difficulties associated with study leave abroad, she was always willing to put on course the family ship and steer it to success;*
- *Once again, to you all and others not mentioned, I owe my eternal appreciation. May the Good Lord continue to pour blessings on you, now and until the end of time.*

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, Hastings Bwalya Camukongo Mpolokoso (1919-1979), headmaster, who, through his loving and disciplined guidance, taught me the value of education; and

To my dearest daughters, Mutale “Cāxton”, Bwalya “Nellie”, Chongo Kapwamilundu “Namfumu” and my dearest son, Musonda “Kwesele”, Jr., that they may work hard in their studies and become good citizens of this world and faithful followers of the living God.

ABSTRACT

***A THEOLOGICAL-ETHICAL FRAMEWORK FOR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF ZAMBIA***

by

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PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

This is a study of how Christian theology can contribute its insights and perspectives to the current debate on how economic development should be conducted.

It argues that the philosophy of economics is underpinned by the notion of scarcity as a point of departure for the solution of relative scarcity. This notion has guided the major economic systems – capitalism and socialism - around the world. In spite of unprecedented wealth in the last two hundred years, especially in developed countries, relative scarcity characterised by, inter alia, poverty, unemployment, and homelessness, continue in the modern world unabated. In addition, scarcity-guided economic systems have contributed to massive environmental degradation on a world-scale. With the fall of socialist command economies, the market economy as the surviving economic system has, in various ways, contributed to the disruption of the moral fibre of society due to its exclusive emphasis on market virtues.

The impact of the notion of scarcity can be illustrated in the specific case of Zambia with regard to its economic evolution and local ecclesial participation in this evolution.

Zambia's political economy, in all its phases in the period 1964 to 1999, was founded on the notion of scarcity. Apart from the well-known failures and weaknesses in the implementation of economic development programmes, the adherence to scarcity contributed to the compromisation of social and environmental imperatives.

During the period under review, Zambian churches did not provide an alternative basis for economic development. They were content to contribute their pastoral and social tasks to society and to the economic development of Zambia within a social environment which was defined by the ethos of scarcity.

In the light of the inadequacy of scarcity, this thesis argues that Christian theology needs to develop a new point of departure and model for economic development founded on stewardship. In order to do this well, Christian theology needs to spell out clearly relevant moral criteria. These moral criteria need to be expressed within the philosophy of stewardship as a feasible framework for economic development. Stewardship is not simply another moral criterion, but a workable Biblical metaphor and mechanism that calls on all humans to begin to manage well the resources of the earth for the sake of the human family and non-humans.

Even though there were certain aspects of stewardship in the implementation of economic development programmes in Zambia, too little was done to achieve a social context defined by the ethic of stewardship. In this regard, Zambian churches should re-assert themselves and promote new values for economic life by appropriating this framework within their ecclesial structures. This ecclesial appropriation ought to be extended to their local communities, local businesses and to the state as a whole.

This study humbly attempts to contribute to the emergence of stewardship-guided economic processes and systems which respect the interests of human communities and the environment as the basis of all life.

ABSTRAK

**‘N TEOLOGIES-ETIESE RAAMWERK VIR
EKONOMIESE ONTWIKKELING: DIE GEVAL VAN ZAMBIË**
deur

Musonda Bwalya

Promotor: Prof D Etienne de Villiers

Mede-promotor: Prof James N Blignaut

Departement Dogmatiek en Etiek

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Hierdie studie handel oor die manier waarop die Christelike teologie sy insigte en perspektiewe tot die huidige debat oor hoe ekonomiese ontwikkeling behoort te wees, kan bydra.

Dit redeneer dat die filosofie van ekonomie gestut word deur die gedagte van skaarsheid as die vertrekpunt vir die oplossing van relatiewe skaarsheid.. Hierdie gedagte het wêreldwyd die vernaamste ekonomiese sisteme, naamlik kapitalisme en sosialisme, gelei. Ten spyte van ongekende welvaart die afgelope twee honderd jaar, veral in ontwikkelde lande, duur relatiewe skaarsheid, gekarakteriseer deur onder andere armoede, werkloosheid en haweloosheid, onversteurd voort. Boonop het skaarsheid-geleide ekonomiese sisteme op ‘n wêreldwye skaal bygedra tot ‘n enorme omgewingsdegradasie.. Met die ineenstorting van sosialisties beheerde ekonomieë, het die mark-ekonomie as die oorblywende ekonomiese sisteem op verskeie maniere bygedra tot die ontwrigting van die morele karakter van die gemeenskap, veral as gevolg van die uitsluitlike beklemtoning van markwaardes.

Die trefkrag van die opvatting van skaarsheid kan geïllustreer word met spesifieke verwysing na Zambië se ekonomiese evolusie van die land en die deelname van plaaslike kerke in hierdie evolusie.

Zambië se politieke ekonomie, in al die fases daarvan gedurende die periode 1964 tot 1999, is gefundeer op die gedagte van skaarsheid. Ongeag die welbekende mislukkinge en swakhede in die implementering van ekonomiese ontwikkelingsprogramme, het die gehegtheid aan skaarsheid bygedra tot 'n kompromitering van sosiale en omgewings imperatiewe.

Gedurende die periode waaroor die studie handel, het die Zambiese kerke nie 'n alternatiewe basis vir ekonomiese ontwikkeling verskaf nie. Hulle was tevrede daarmee om hulle pastorale en sosiale bydraes tot aan die gemeenskap en aan die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van Zambië te lewer binne 'n sosiale omgewing wat deur die etos van skaarsheid gedefinieer is.

In die lig van die ontoereikendheid van die gedagte van skaarsheid, redeneer die proefskrif dat die Christelike teologie 'n nuwe vertrekpunt en model vir ekonomiese ontwikkeling, gefundeer op rentmeesterskap, moet ontwikkel. Ten einde hierdie taak goed te verrig, behoort die Christelike teologie duidelike, relevante morele kriteria uit te spel. Hierdie morele kriteria moet uitdrukking vind binne die filosofie van rentmeesterskap as 'n uitvoerbare raamwerk vir ekonomiese ontwikkeling. Rentmeesterskap is nie bloot net nog 'n ander morele kriterium nie, maar 'n werkbare Bybelse metafoor en meganisme wat 'n oproep doen aan alle menslike wesens om te begin om die hulpbronne van die aarde ter wille van die menslike en nie-menslike wesens te bestuur.

Alhoewel sekere aspekte van rentmeesterskap in die implementering van ekonomiese ontwikkelingsprogramme in Zambië neerslag gevind het, moet heelwat meer nog gedoen word om 'n sosiale konteks, wat deur die etiek van rentmeesterskap bepaal word, te bereik. In hierdie verband, behoort Zambiese kerke weer hul gesag te herstel en nuwe waardes vir die ekonomiese lewe te bevorder deur hierdie raamwerk binne hulle kerklike

strukture aan te pas. Hierdie kerklike aanpassing behoort uitgebrei te word na plaaslike gemeenskappe, plaaslike besighede en die staat as geheel.

Hierdie studie poog om nederig by te dra tot die totstandkoming van rentmeesterskap-gedrewe ekonomiese prosesse en sisteme wat die belange van menslike gemeenskappe en die omgewing as die basis van alle lewe respekteer.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANC</i>	<i>African National Congress</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>British South African Company</i>
<i>CCAP</i>	<i>Church of Central Africa Presbyterian</i>
<i>CCAR</i>	<i>Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia</i>
<i>CCZ</i>	<i>Christian Council of Zambia</i>
<i>CFCC</i>	<i>Copperbelt Free Church Council</i>
<i>DRCM</i>	<i>Dutch Reformed Church Mission</i>
<i>ECZ</i>	<i>Episcopal Conference of Zambia</i>
<i>ECZ</i>	<i>Environmental Council of Zambia</i>
<i>EFZ</i>	<i>Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia</i>
<i>GMC</i>	<i>General Missionary Council</i>
<i>INDECO</i>	<i>Industrial Development Corporation</i>
<i>LMS</i>	<i>London Missionary Society</i>
<i>NIV</i>	<i>New International Version</i>
<i>NMD</i>	<i>Movement for Multiparty Democracy</i>
<i>NPP</i>	<i>National Progress Party</i>
<i>NSSN</i>	<i>National Social Safety Net</i>
<i>RSV</i>	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
<i>SAP</i>	<i>Structural Adjustment Programme</i>
<i>UCCAR</i>	<i>United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia</i>
<i>UCZ</i>	<i>United Church of Zambia</i>
<i>UMCB</i>	<i>United Missions to the Copperbelt</i>
<i>UNIP</i>	<i>United National Independence Party</i>
<i>WCC</i>	<i>World Council of Churches</i>
<i>ZANC</i>	<i>Zambia African National Congress</i>
<i>ZCTU</i>	<i>Zambia Congress of Trade Unions</i>
<i>ZIA</i>	<i>Zambia Investment Agency</i>
<i>ZIMCO</i>	<i>Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation</i>
<i>ZPA</i>	<i>Zambia Privatisation Agency</i>

A LIST OF KEY TERMS

<i>Balance of payments</i>	<i>The difference between inflows into the country (exports, investments, repatriations etc) and its outflows (imports, remittances, debt service and repayments etc). If in deficit, the difference must be made good from foreign exchange reserves or borrowings.</i>
<i>Fiscal policy</i>	<i>The government's policy regarding public expenditure and the raising of revenues through taxation in order to finance it.</i>
<i>Gross Domestic Product (GDP)</i>	<i>A measure of economic activity in the country. Generally defined as private consumption and investment and government expenditure and \pm changes in stocks and exports-imports. Although the best measure of economic activity, it is not perfect; as well as the difficulty in measuring the above, it cannot take account of the "informal" economy or unpriced productivity such as housework or voluntary work.</i>
<i>Inflation</i>	<i>The rate at which general consumer prices are rising.</i>
<i>Macroeconomics</i>	<i>The study of the economy as a whole rather than its constituent parts (industries, companies, households etc). Macro issues usually involve government fiscal and monetary policy and focus on aggregates.</i>
<i>Monetary policy</i>	<i>The government's policy regarding its control of money in the economy. This can prove to be an extremely difficult policy to manage.</i>
<i>Microeconomics</i>	<i>That branch of economics which is concerned with individual decision units – firms and households – and the way in which</i>

their decisions interact to determine relative prices of goods and factors of production and how much of these will be bought and sold.

- Ethics*
- (1) *Rules of human behaviour.*
 - (2) *Norms of Christian conduct.*
 - (3) *The scholarly study of moral principles and moral behaviour with reference to concrete situations.*
- Theology*
- (1) *Systematic reflection on religion in general and on Christian religion in particular.*
 - (2) *The systematic description of (the main ideas in) the theological contents of a biblical author, a biblical book, a particular biblical tradition or a biblical community or period, e.g. the theology of Amos, Paul, the Corinthian congregation, post-exilic Judaism.*
- Ecclesia (Greek)*
- “(An assembly) called out (of the world)”, congregation. A term used both to refer to the church at large and to refer to a local congregation of any church.*

Sources: Deist (1984), Barclays Bank of Zambia Quarterly Economic Review 4th Quarter (1998c), Todaro (1977).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This introductory chapter seeks to show the general structure of the study “A Theological-Ethical Framework for Economic Development: The case of Zambia”. It is divided into the following sections namely: preliminary remarks, background and rationale, problem statement, main argument and point of departure, research objectives, methodology, structure of chapters, literature review, and study relevance.

Essentially, this study is a study of economics from the standpoint of theology. Differently stated, it is a theological and ethical reading of economics. By theological and ethical reading of economics is meant that, this study will attempt to bring Biblical and theological values to come to creatively bear on economic development in Zambia. This is in order to contribute to the positive influence on the social order which grows towards human, moral, and environmental wholeness. It is a social project which attempts to understand the meaning of human existence amidst gigantic difficulties in relation to the christological offer of abundant life as the ultimate concrete expression of God’s love.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The background and rationale for this study is the economic evolution in Zambia and how this has impacted on the most ordinary of Zambian citizens and on the Zambian physical environment in the period 1964 to 1999. The economic impact on Zambia, in general, and on ordinary Zambians, in particular, has, more often than not, significantly compromised the social imperatives. Environmentally, it has contributed to a gradual harm of environmental wholeness. The economic impact includes both internal and external forces which totalled

up to produce the current state of under-development¹ with potential for environmental destruction if corrective measures are not taken.

At the time of Zambia's independence from Britain in 1964, Zambia had the highest living standard in black Africa (see the magazine *Zambia: A Model for Africa* 1995:1). The situation did not change much in the early 1970s (Jones in Van der Geest, editor, 1994:25). The million-dollar question is: "How has Zambia fallen from "grace" to become by 1990, one of the poorest?" (*Zambia: A Model for Africa* 1995:1).

To put things in perspective, here is a brief survey of Zambia's economic history. Firstly, from the time of its independence, Zambia was very much dependent on a single commodity "copper" for its foreign exchange earnings (Jones in Van der Geest, editor, 1994:25). The situation did not change significantly up until 1999. This was partly due to the legacy of the British colonial masters who did not develop nor invest in other areas apart from copper mines (Cleary 1990:13). Part of the profits from the mines in Zambia were used to prop up large-scale infrastructural development in neighbouring Zimbabwe, seen by British colonial masters as an eternal settlement area. In this regard, Zimbabwe became a historical beneficiary of Zambia's mineral exploits by foreign political and industrial powers. Secondly, the economic crisis situation was due to government's negligence of a strong economic diversification programme of industry and agriculture (Kalyalya *et al.* 1988:50-53), but especially of agriculture. French agronomist, Rene Dumont, heavily criticised the government's agricultural programme (Cleary 1990:13). By 1999, intensive and extensive industrial and agricultural diversification had not yet taken root. Thirdly, the economic programmes pursued by government which were guided by the Zambian philosophy of humanism, a socialist collectivist project, especially between

¹ Under-development is defined as "a state of societal well-being which, in relation to other conditions, is far from satisfactory". See Mabogunje (1989). *The Development Process: A Spatial Perspective* (London: Unwin Hyman, p.50).

1968 to 1991, though designed for good social purposes, did not yield desired results over a long period of time (see Zambian Government document *Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in Zambia: Policy Framework, Basic facts and Realities* 1994). Even though they were mitigatory, designed to cushion the adverse impact of the economy on the common man and woman and to assist them in acquiring basic necessities of life, they did not yield economic fruits in real terms (Jones in Van der Geest, editor, 1994:25). Seshamani observes: “Zambia entered the 1980s in economic crisis” (in Cornia *et al.* editors, 1992:116-131). Fourthly, the subsequent economic programmes underpinned by a capitalist individualist philosophy, which were carried out by government between 1992 and 1999, though aimed at correcting perceived failures of the command economy, did not contribute to massive social upliftment. In other words, even though some of them tried to achieve positive results, *inter alia*, the revival of industrial activity, their total impact on the most ordinary of Zambians was significant human and social dislocation never known in the history of Zambia since independence. Fifthly, the falling price of copper, especially in the 1970s contributed to the economic crisis (Jones in Van der Geest, editor, 1994:26; Seshamani in Cornia *et al.* editors, 1992:116-117). Sixthly, “the oil crisis of 1973 made things worse” (*Structural Adjustment Programme in Zambia (SAP) in Zambia: Policy Framework, Basic Facts and Realities* 1994: 5-6). Zambia had to spend huge sums of foreign exchange reserves to import oil – thus depleting gradually its coffers for immediate use and for posterity. Seventhly, it is a well-known fact that from 1964 to 1991, Zambia as a frontline state, courageously and sacrificially supported the liberation struggle for independence in Southern Africa which saw the independence of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and later, South Africa. Even though the objective was good, it drained the country of its financial resources. Finally, Zambia had accumulated a huge debt between 1970 and 1999. This meant that foreign exchange earned was shared between debt-servicing and economic development.

The foregoing had a compound-effect on the lives of many Zambians, creating a situation of under-development with all its concomitants such as poverty, unemployment and inequality. As if this was not enough, the Zambian physical environment has been undergoing a slow,

but gradual disruption mainly due to environmental neglect in the execution of economic development programmes.

In the light of the above, Zambian churches have executed their pastoral and social responsibilities in the context of either a socialist collectivist system or a capitalist individualist system. They worked within the existing economic structures and sought to contribute to communal and social upliftment of the Zambian people.

Zambian churches should never underestimate the unfavourable economic reality and the deteriorating physical environment Zambians are faced with. Regarding this, speaking generally for the Christian community all over the world, Stott observes: “We should not underestimate the complexity of issues which confront humankind today” (1990:29). One such issue is the need for economic development. This is a clarion call to all Zambian churches to begin to get involved in the day to day lives of Zambians, especially when human suffering is experienced. It is in such a situation that the Zambian churches should spell out in very clear terms the meaning of the presence of God among people. They should not just sit and watch the situation of the people, especially the weakest and most vulnerable, deteriorate. To do nothing about the situation is a portrayal of utter ecclesial irresponsibility. Here one is reminded of that parable in Matthew’s gospel chapter 25 verses 42-43: “... for I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not invite me in, I needed clothes, and you did not clothe me, I was sick and in prison, and you did not look after me” (NIV). In as much as the church seeks the enhancement of the spiritual lives of believers and other humans unto salvation, so should it seek the enhancement of the material lives of all believers and other humans. As it does this, it should also seek the preservation, enhancement, and the fulfilment of all life. The prime objective is the realisation of human, moral, and environmental wholeness. In the nature of things, God, humankind, and the environment should be at peace. This is the cosmic vision which should motivate ecclesial reflection, concern and participation in social transformation.

This study seeks to contribute to the search for new values for church and society. What is at stake is the whole of life. Unless humans begin to re-examine their beliefs and practices, social and environmental harm will continue unabated. Economic development, therefore, is an issue which needs to be analysed and interpreted in the light of social and environmental imperatives such as the ones informed by theology and ethics. This study endeavours to contribute to this systematic analysis and interpretation of economic reality so that economics of inclusivity and responsibility may begin to take shape in society and may bring significant and substantial benefit to all humans and non-humans.

1.3 **PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Scarcity of resources is a reality of modern society. This is identified as the fundamental economic problem which economics seeks to solve. According to economics, scarcity is solved when choices are made from the standpoint of scarcity as a "point of departure". Subjected to a theological-ethical critique, making scarcity a "starting point" for economics brings about moral questions. Traditional economics does not usually see this. In fact, scarcity is simply viewed as a technical problem which needs to be solved. And that solution involves the technical allocation of scarce resources for productive, distributive, and consumptive use among competing wants and needs. In the long run, the notion helps to create a culture of materialism based on the production, distribution, and consumption of more and more calculated in price. Everything is done to produce economic goods which conform to the business idea of technical efficiency and which maximise profits. This process grows and creates a material superstructure which is responsible for today's material prosperity. As this process grows, that which does not have purchasing power, that which is technically inefficient, that which does not maximise profits, that which is incalculable, that which is immaterial, is relegated and expunged from economic life. This is extremely problematic because moral concerns in relation to social life and the environment are excluded from this process. That these are excluded becomes a theological and ethical concern.

This issue is illustrated within the specific context of Zambia. From independence, up until 1999, Zambia's political economy was in all its phases underpinned by the notion of scarcity. Apart from the failure to implement long-term self-sustaining economic development programmes, the lack of critical examination of scarcity played a major role in not achieving adequate economic development in Zambia. The result was a significant compromise of social objectives and a gradual destruction of the environment. Even though Zambian churches have, since independence, been participating in economic development through their small-scale social programmes, they neither undertook any significant critical examination of the notion of scarcity. They were content to carry out their pastoral duties and social tasks within an economic context which was defined by the ethos of scarcity.

The research problem addressed in this thesis is how the notion of scarcity as a "point of departure" for economic development and its impact on the Zambian economy should be evaluated from a theological-ethical perspective. The thesis will also address the question whether theological ethics cannot provide a socially-sensitive and environment-friendly "point of departure" and "model" for economic development as an alternative framework for the notion of scarcity.

1.4 MAIN ARGUMENT AND POINT OF DEPARTURE

This thesis argues that Christian theology (including ethics) does indeed have something to offer to the current debate and thinking about economic development, as a voice among many. Its contributions are in the form of Christian insights and perspectives which can positively influence the development process. This involves a clear presentation of moral criteria which is founded on the Biblical witness. And then, a broad framework needs to be constructed as an intellectual and practical matrix within which to explicate such moral criteria. In other words, there is an urgent and timeous need to present a normative basis which would capture Christian theological and ethical reflection on economic development.

In place of scarcity, this thesis proposes a new “point of departure” for economic development. The proposed new “point of departure” is stewardship. Apart from being seen as a new “point of departure”, it ought to be seen as a “model” as well. It is not simply another moral criterion, but it is that adequate “starting point” for economic development and that general model within which to explicate relevant moral criteria. As a Biblical metaphor, it immediately calls to mind human responsibility over God-given resources of the earth for the sake of mutual benefit of all humans and non-humans. Its focus is the promotion of economics of inclusivism, sustenance, contentment, responsibility, and accountability, which could arrest the fatal and significant compromisation of social and environmental imperatives.

If Zambian churches are to enhance their participation in the economic development of Zambia on a more fundamental level, the foregoing is what they should offer. They ought to be willing to move beyond mere intra-church stewardship of financial resources to extra-church stewardship with a focus to significantly effect positive changes within the country’s political economy and societal household. They can demonstrate their specific role in the political economy of Zambia by reclaiming and appropriating an adequate theological-ethical framework for economic development within their structures. And then, see how they can influence society with new values for economic life.

This thesis is a humble attempt to contribute to the search for a life-affirming, life-enhancing, and life-preserving framework for economic development and to the strengthening of the participative role of churches in the economic development of Zambia. The emphasis of this study will be principle-based, that is, relevant principles will be used to analyse, interpret, and evaluate the development phenomenon. Unless humans are challenged at the level of their beliefs, there will be no desired change in physical societal structures. There can be no better time to make a humble challenge and to act optimistically than now.

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.5.1 To formulate a comprehensive Christian concept of salvation

Rather than exclusively the spiritual emphasize salvation of human souls, this study will endeavour to situate the theme of salvation in concrete day to day circumstances. The salvation of God through Christ is a matter for the *now* and the *future* because even though the Kingdom of God has not yet fully come, it is a present reality. Relating the eschatological present to the eschatological future is an objective which this study would like to achieve.

1.5.2 To develop an adequate theology of economic development

This study will seek to provide “benchmarks” which can be used by the church as it seeks to contribute to adequate economic development. Rather than start from the notion of scarcity, this study will start from stewardship as the best general framework within which to argue moral criteria which have relevance for economic life.

1.5.3 To evaluate economic development programmes in Zambia: 1964-1999, from the standpoint of a theological-ethical framework

The philosophy of stewardship as a viable theological-ethical framework will be tested in the case of Zambia by means of an evaluation. This study will attempt to show that stewardship principles ensure that social and environmental imperatives are protected.

1.5.4 To develop guidelines for churches’ participation in the economic development of Zambia

This study will attempt to suggest how a theological-ethical framework for economic development in Zambia can be appropriated within ecclesial structures. Zambian churches should be a model to society in Zambia by embodying the ethos of stewardship within the

life of communities of faith. On that basis, they have every right to extend the appropriation process to their local communities, local businesses and the national household at large. They cannot call others to new values without setting a good example.

1.5.5 To find the right balance between modes of moral discourse as Zambian churches participate in economic development

This study will further endeavour to strengthen the participative role of Zambian churches in the economic development of Zambia through adequate moral approaches. This will be achieved by pointing to the need for balancing between the four major modes of moral discourse, namely: the prophetic, the narrative, the ethical, and the policy (see Gustafson 1988). Zambian churches cannot afford simply to be prophetic, to apply relevant Biblical stories, and to point out what is ethically wrong and right. They have to balance this with their critical engagement with policy issues. That is to say, it is not their task to prescribe policy, but that it is their task to understand policy and influence it through Christian insights and perspectives with a view to enable policy makers make decisions with a moral perspective. These insights and perspectives should be regarded as a voice among many which seeks to contribute to the positive and healthy change of the social order.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study will consist mainly of two main parts namely: literature study and qualitative empirical analysis.

Literature study of both primary and secondary sources will mainly focus on the following areas: ecclesiology, Christian social ethics, philosophy of economics, a historical survey of

the participation of the institutional church in the economic development of Zambia, and the economic history of Zambia.

Qualitative empirical analysis will mainly be done through structured interviews of church organisations, NGO's, international bodies, government institutions and prominent Zambians. This is in order to gather data on the development process in Zambia. Other persons with knowledge about the development process in Zambia will be consulted through unstructured interviews. The idea is to get first-hand information from as many people as possible which is so vital to a comprehensive articulation of economic reality.

It is hoped that, in the final analysis, this research methodology will “bear fruit”, thereby contributing to academic flourishing, ecclesial relevance and societal change.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF CHAPTERS

This study is divided into 7 chapters.

Chapter 1, Introduction, discusses the perimeters of the study. It mainly spells out the problem statement and the main argument. Chapter 2, Economics: a review of definitions and perspectives, is an attempt to show clearly the philosophy which lies behind the science of economics. An understanding of this philosophy is very vital to the analysis of the case of Zambia. Chapter 3, Historical overview of economic development in Zambia: 1964-1999, is a comprehensive illustration of relevant aspects of the economic philosophy in the context of Zambia. Chapter 4, The church as an institution: a historical survey of its response to economic development in Zambia, is also an illustration of how the church has responded to economic development in Zambia in the light of relevant aspects of the economic philosophy. Chapter 5, The normative basis of a theological-ethical framework, is a presentation of what ought to be the Christian theological and ethical contribution to the current debate and thinking on the economy. Chapter 6, An evaluation of economic development programmes and guidelines for churches participation in the economic

development in Zambia, attempts to test the framework constructed in chapter 5 in the context of Zambia and to suggest how Zambian churches can appropriate such a framework. Chapter 7, Summary, Conclusion, Recommendations and the Way Forward, summarises, concludes, and shows the way forward.

It is hoped that ideas in this study will be arranged critically, systematically, and scientifically for the mutual benefit of the academia, the church, and society at large.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to do a solid and successful study, a literature review of relevant works is conducted. The main objective is to establish whether anything has been written on the topic. The following are the main works which are reviewed. The intention is to give a general gist of each work in order to ascertain its importance to the study.

Küng (1995), in his book *The Church*, argues that the modern church does indeed have a task to do in the modern society. In order to do this successfully, it must “return to the place from which it proceeded; must return to its origins, to Jesus, to the gospel” (*Ibid*: xii). And this can “only mean forward to a new future, the future God has in mind for mankind” (*Ibid*:xii). This is a general work for the church at large. Nonetheless, it contributes to the strengthening of the role of Zambian churches in social transformation.

Stott (1990), in his work *Issues Facing Christians Today: New Perspectives on Social and Moral Dilemmas*, attempts to develop a Christian perspective on a wide range of social and moral issues, including economics. It is an essential general guide for the Zambian situation for Christian debate and action in a modern society.

Birch and Rasmussen (1989), in their work *Bible and Ethics in the Christian Life*, attempt to give critical guidelines as to how the Bible can be used in ethical decision-making. However, they argue that in all Christian ethical decision making and action, other non-

Biblical materials which contain ethical truth ought to be used as well. This approach is an impetus to the study to be as inclusive as possible in the quest for a viable framework for economic development.

Moltmann (1978), in his book *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, like Küng, argues that the church does have a specific mission in the modern world. Unlike Küng who tends to be historical in his exposition of ecclesiology, Moltmann feels that if the church should make any missiological in-roads in modern society, it must situate itself between “the already” and “the-yet-to-come”. That is to say the church should do its mission in the context of the Kingdom of God as a present reality and as a futurist event. This approach gives balance to the study in that not only should one emphasize life in the *now*, but life in the *future* when all things will be restored in full by means of the divine cosmic activity.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops (1986), in their classic work *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U S Economy*, examine moral dimensions and human consequences of American economic life. Even though their audience is the American public, their ideas, especially those about moral principles such as economic justice and human dignity, have a universal appeal. And such as, they touch on the very fundamental theological and ethical issues which this study would like to address and apply to the Zambian situation.

Gustafson (1988), in his book *Varieties of Moral Discourse: Prophetic, Narrative, Ethical, and Policy*, argues that there needs to be a right balance between the four major forms of moral discourse. This quest for balance is very relevant for this study which seeks to engage in solid issues of economic development.

Stackhouse *et al.* (1995b), in their book *Christian Social Ethics in a Global Era*, brainstorm on the question of how Christian ought to live in a market society. This is a collection of various approaches to the market era and gives some general opinions on how economic

problems of society can be solved. This study will be open to those ideas which speak specifically and relevantly to the Zambian situation.

Coetzee, editor (1987), in his work *Development is for people*, seeks to provide “a theoretical and empirical framework within which the holistic human purpose of the total development effort can be situated” (*Ibid:i*). That it contributes to the construction of social projects which aim at people and their needs makes it very relevant to this study.

Goudzwaard and De Lange (1995), in their work *Beyond poverty and affluence: toward an economy of care*, make an urgent appeal for a bold new economic practice in the world which cares for the earth and its people. They argue for the search for new values which are based on human and environmental sustainability for *now* and the *future*. In this regard, their ideas are very relevant to this study.

Atherton (1992), in his study *Christianity and the Market*, gives a critical survey of the three major Christian approaches to the market economy, namely: the conservative, represented by Brian Griffiths in the UK; the radical, represented by Ulrich Duchrow in Germany; and the liberal, represented by J Philip Wogaman in the USA.

He observes that each approach has its own demerits and merits to contribute to the development of Christian social thought. Even though he affirms the market economy as the least harmful way, he calls for continuous struggle between market reality and its challenges through what he calls the “interactive way” until societal problems are solved. This study intends to be open-minded to those approaches so that a feasible approach to economic reality can be worked out.

Nürnberg (1994), in his study *An Economic Vision for South Africa: The Task of the Church in the Post Apartheid Economy*, addresses the specific South African audience with the view to challenge it to redress economic and ecological imbalances. It calls on South African Christians to cultivate analytical, prophetic, and constructive competence if they are

to contribute to the redress of these imbalances. It is a simple and straightforward statement of ideas which can be related to the Zambian situation.

Nürnbergger (1988), in his work *Power and Beliefs in South Africa*, attempts to answer the question: How does economic power relate to beliefs of the people? He does this from the standpoint of Christian ethics for the South African audience. His major concern is how “asymmetrical interaction”, that is, marked differences in living standards between the rich and the poor, affluent neighbourhoods and poor neighbourhoods, and so on, can be solved. His theological-ethical critique is extremely solid and can be appropriated by this study, especially in understanding how systems of meaning and value affect human convictions and power structures.

Preston (1991), in his book *Religion and the Ambiguities of Capitalism, inter alia*, attempts to criticise and examine various Christian statements on current economic issues with a view to propose the basis for a more adequate social theology. For Preston, in all Biblical and doctrinal theologies, the analysis and interpretation of the concrete social context is extremely important. This study would like to take seriously the historical social context of the Zambian situation in order to understand it with a view to propose new ideas which can contribute to societal progress.

Daly and Cobb Jr. (1989), in their work *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Towards Community, the Environment and a Sustainable Future*, attempt to give a searching critique of “mainline” economics in order to show how the growth-oriented industrial economy has led to environmental disaster. Most importantly, they argue for the need to put the earth and its inhabitants at the center of the economic universe. Their trilogy of community, the environment and a sustainable future is one of the guiding pillars of this study.

Polanyi’s (1944) book *The Great transformation* is one of the greatest academic statements on human and social dislocation due to the adverse effects of the self-regulating market economy. It has every relevance for developing economies such as Zambia. To understand

firmly the economic well-being of a country or continent, one has to analyse critically the historical praxis of that country or continent. This is precisely what Polanyi has done. He has employed a philosophical-historical-critical approach to the rise of social and economic times on the continent of Europe in the 20th century. His approach provides that helpful intellectual framework for thinking about social, moral, and environmental problems of new nations.

Wogaman (1986), in his study *Economics and Ethics: A Christian Inquiry, inter alia*, seeks to show the interrelationships between economics and ethics. His chief concern is to propose how a “responsible state” can attend to five specific priorities, namely: productivity, equity and security, employment and educational opportunity, conservation, and a new world order. His approach which is backed by theological firmness and Biblical concreteness aims at the recovery of “a sense of priority about the things that really matter” (*Ibid*:130). And the things which really matter are for the benefit of members of the human community, locally and globally. Such an approach is very helpful to this study.

Meeks’ (1989) book *God the Economist: the Doctrine of God and Political Economy* is a clarion call to inclusive economics. Even though Meeks does not dwell much on the intricacies of the modern social context, his work is an excellent articulation of the constructive vision of God’s law of the household. As he says himself, in God’s household, every person finds sustenance, support and contributes his or her potential for the well-being of the household. This way of thinking is very cardinal to this study.

The foregoing are some of the important works which are reviewed to form a firm academic background for this study. As noted already, these are general works written mainly for other contexts. For this reason, there is a great necessity to research on a specific topic which tries to significantly address the relationship between Christian theology (including ethics) and economics in the specific context of Zambia. Up until 1999, there was no major work either on the proposed topic of this study or a related topic which was done about Zambia. This study attempts to fill up this academic gap. It is hoped that more researchers will, in future, be motivated to analyse further the issues which will be raised in this study.

When all is said and done, academic research should always be updated, refined, and enhanced for the service of humankind and to the glory of God.

1.9 **STUDY RELEVANCE**

Zambia is a country that is in dire need of economic development. Christian theology has a moral responsibility to address the specific context of the ailing Zambian economy and see if it can contribute its insights and perspectives to the solution of this crisis. A theological and moral contribution has the potential to supplement and complement the technical. Therefore, the study attempts to spell out a relevant theological-ethical framework for economic development for the specific context of Zambia. Hopefully, it can thus contribute to an adequate vision of economic life in Zambia and elsewhere.

CHAPTER 2

ECONOMICS: A REVIEW OF DEFINITIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Economics is founded on very specific principles which guide its formulation and implementation. This chapter reviews some of the definitions and perspectives of economics in order to highlight these principles which undergird what one may call “a philosophy of economics”. This chapter is not meant to just provide basic and relevant definitions, distinctions and information about economics. Its overall role and function in the framework of this dissertation is to critically review definitions and views on economics, economic development, economic systems and sustainable development. This is done in order to state clearly that “scarcity” is the root which runs through them and that it is a concept that is used as a “point of departure” for economic theory and practice. The assumption is that one cannot provide an “alternative point of departure” in the form of a theological-ethical framework unless and until one understands the root which defines “the rules of the economic game”. A better grasp of economic issues will help one to construct a viable theological-ethical framework for economic development. This chapter is divided into five major parts, namely: economics: etymological background and levels of meaning - towards an adequate definition of economics, economics and economic development, economics and scarcity, economics and economic systems, and economics and sustainable development.

2.2 **ECONOMICS: ETYMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND LEVELS OF MEANING – TOWARDS AN ADEQUATE DEFINITION OF ECONOMICS**

In seeking an adequate definition of economics, this study will consult both secular and Christian literature. The “secular” will mainly portray the understanding of economics by economists, economic historians and economic philosophers irrespective of their re-

ligious persuasions. The “Christian” will include mainly the Christian religious voices who have had some academic training in economics as well as those who have interest in economics, have researched and written on it.

Under this section, a number of definitions and views which are often similar will be highlighted in order to describe the comprehensive meaning of economics. The task that lies before this kind of dissertation requires an integrative, comparative, and analytical approach to the meaning of economics. In order to get to the root of the economic problem, one needs to consult as many definitions and views as possible. In addition to this, critical comments will be given. The basis of critical comments will not be undegirded by thorough argumentation, but by a simple and straight-forward critique which seeks to highlight pros and cons of various approaches to economics whose benchmarks will be thoroughly developed later. All of this is preceded by a presentation of general etymological perspectives.

2.2.1 General Etymological perspectives

It is not easy to spell out in clear terms what economics is and is not. Part of the problem is that economics as a discipline has evolved over a period of about 2400 years, stretching from Aristotle (384-322 BC) and the Romans to the era of the scholastics (Medieval schoolmen) and merchantilists, and then to the modern period of physiocrats (led by a Frenchman Francois Quesnay [1694-1774]), classicists and neo-classicists (*NEW CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA* Vol.5 1967: 64-75). This study will mainly focus on the last 200 years since the publication of the now famous *An Inquiry*

into the *Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith¹, which set the tone for classical economics (sometimes known as political economy) and neoclassical economics (or simply economics). The pre-smithian allusions to definitions of economics will only be used as reference points, background material and for etymological (root-meaning) purposes.

Before the presentation of the modern understanding of economics, one needs to allude to the etymology of the word “economics”. The *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol 5, observes that “The word economics belongs to the Greeks, and appeared in a treatise by Xenophon (c425-352 BC) and another by Aristotle” (1967:64)². Greeks understood economics in terms of household management (*Ibid*: 64). It is a word based on the Greek *oikonomia* (economy) which is rendered as management of *household* (*DICTIONARY OF THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT* 1991:320) or simply household-management as shown above. The Greek *oikonomia* is a compound word based on two Greek words namely: *oikos* (house) and *nomos* (law or rule) which when combined give us the word

¹ There is considerable consensus among economists and economic writers that Adam Smith’s treatise *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* was a masterpiece and foundational to the development of modern economics, for example: Bob Goudzwaard and Harry de Lange, *Beyond Poverty and Affluence: Toward an Economy of Care* (Geneva: WCC 1995), Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr., *For the Common Good: Redirecting the economy toward community, the environment and a sustainable future* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1989), Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York: Rinehart and Co., inc., 1944) and John Kenneth Galbraith, *A History of Economics: The Past as the Present* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987). Nonetheless, it must be noted that there are other persons in the pre-smithian era who contributed (positively or negatively) to the emergence of economic thought. These include: Aristotle with his understanding of household economics and satisfaction of wants within a household, the Romans with their development of *jus gentium* (law as applied to non-citizens of the Roman empire) which was used by merchants when it came to merchantile contracts, the scholastics with their support for commutative (relations between persons), distributive (relations between state and individuals) and social justice (relations between state and society) within an economic framework and their claim that “private property and division of labour were naturally given”, the merchantilists for laying down the economic “infrastructure” such as communications, the physiocrats for their opposition to state-controlled economies and their belief in the rule of nature through the processes of “agriculture as the source of all wealth”, and John Locke [1632-1704] with his theory of property rights which, *inter alia*, emphasize that we as individuals can mix our individual labour or energy and material resources from nature in order to create our own property and that nobody has the right to take it away from us (see *NEW CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA* Vol 5 1967b:64-75, Galbraith 1987:26-56 and Wogaman 1986:14-18)

² *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*, Vol 2, expresses a similar view (1987:58).

“economics” understood as household administration (*New Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol.5 1967: 61)³ or household-management as already hinted.

From this it is clear that both “economy” and “economics” have the same root-meaning. However, in modern usage, they have assumed different connotations and meanings. The word “economics” has maintained the same etymological background and understanding, but with a different modern understanding and application⁴. As for the word “economy”, in modern usage, it has come to mean a wide spectrum of things ranging from the small microcosm of a person to the wider universal community. For instance, one may talk of the economy of Southern Africa to refer to all what makes up the resources and the infrastructure of the Southern African economy such as communication and banking facilities and what goes into its management (*Webster’s Desk Dictionary of the English Language* 1983:285). But when the word “political” is combined with “economy” to give us the word “political economy”, it means something else. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* Vol.7, “political economy” “is a modern term” which was “introduced about the beginning of the 17th century to describe the study of the problems of the princely states which at the close of the middle ages in Europe replaced the feudal-ecclesiastical political order” (1968:937). It referred to “the economic affairs of the state or principality – the raising and use of revenue and the increase of resources – treating the state as the estate of the ruler” (*Ibid*:937). Strictly speaking, the term “political economy” cannot be applied before the arrival of liberalism in the last half of the 18th century which changed the intellectual perception of Europe, even though what the princely states did bordered on “political economy”. In other words, the term can only be applied after the late 18th century. The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol.7, observes

³ *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*, Vol 3, supports this etymological view (1987:141).

⁴ This is precisely the criticism leveled against modern economics by Herman E Daly and John B Cobb Jr. for diverting from the original focus of economics which was household management (*oikonomia*) to *chrematistics* (money-making or wealth creation) when they observe that: “It appears that in modern usage the academic discipline of economics is much more closer to *chrematistics* than to *oikonomia*” (1989:138). *Chrematistics* is based on a Greek word *chremata* (plural) meaning goods, property and other forms of material wealth. The word *chrematistics* denotes money-getting or making but “often with pejorative overtones” when applied to antiquity which was distrustful of trade (*The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics* Vol 3, 1987:421).

again: “After the nationalistic epoch gave way to individualism or liberalism at the time of the enlightenment in the late 18th century, political economy was adopted as the name of a science based on the new moral and political world view and the older state-oriented literature came to be designated as mercantilism” (1968:937). In fact, the first crop of modern economists such as Adam Smith, Malthus and David Ricardo understood themselves as political scientists because they dealt with a new science known as political economy. They belong to the great classical tradition (Galbraith 1987:89). In spite of attempts to distinguish political economy from economics prior to 1920, Alfred Marshall came to treat political economy and economics as synonyms when he wrote: “Political economy or economics is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and with the use of the material requisites of well-being” (quoted in *The New Palgrave: A dictionary of economics*, Vol 3 1987: 906)⁵. Marshall’s definition will be dealt with later. On the basis of the foregoing, “one view” is that as we draw near to the close of the 20th century and wait for the arrival of a new millenium, the terms “political economy” and “economics” should be regarded as synonyms (*Ibid*:906). The other view is that while it is appreciated that “political economy” was the older name for “economics”, one should be aware that, in recent times, “the term has reappeared in relation to economics (traditional economics)” (*Dictionary of Economic Terms* 1977: 175)⁶. This view is supported by Todaro⁷. One should not simply take “political economy” and “economics” as synonyms because each term, in modern use, emphasizes an aspect of the economic process and therefore, it is important that a clear distinction is made between political economy and traditional economics. It should be pointed out also that when To-

⁵ The partial text of Alfred Marshall’s main ideas concerning his understanding of political economy or economics (from his work *Principles of Economics* 8th edition, London: MacMillan & Co. 1920) is quoted by Arthur D. Gayer, *et al.*, in *Basic Economics: A Book of Readings* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951).

⁶ See also *the Mit Dictionary of Modern Economics* 4th edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT, 1992).

⁷ Michael Todaro advances the view that “Political Economy” which studies, *inter alia*, “the social and institutional processes through which certain groups of economic and political elites influence the allocation of scarce productive resources now and in the future, either exclusively for their own benefit or for that of the larger population as well”, should be distinguished from traditional economics and the more recent economic development (1997:7-8).

daró uses the term traditional economics, he refers to the historical economic process as seen and interpreted by modern economists or simply the “conventional” economic thought which has emerged over the last 200 years⁸.

This study will take the term “economics” as an all embracing term to refer to economic thought that has emerged over the last two centuries. When the terms “modern economics” or “traditional economics” occur in this study, they should be taken as simply synonyms of the term “economics”. The term “political economy” is used in its recent heightened meaning such as the one Todaro has elaborated⁹.

2.2.2 Economics: A definition – secular viewpoints

On the basis of the foregoing, the meaning of economics from a secular viewpoint can now be presented. The following writers are selected to give representative views on the nature and meaning of economics. In most cases, they give a materialist definition of economics. In this study, some of the pertinent critical comments about these definitions will be brought out.

Geyer and others base their definition on Alfred Marshall (1842-1924), the celebrated Cambridge economist and one of the architects of neo-classical economics (Geyer *et al.* eds 1951:1-10). Marshall’s definition of economics reads as follows: “Political Economy or economics is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life ...” (*Ibid*: 1). This is rather a general definition. “Political economy” and “economics” are not distinguished, but taken as interchangeable terms. In modern use, with the rise of feminism, his definition will be labeled as sexist due to the use of the term “mankind”. His definition is true to the extent that Marshall feels that every facet of life (ordinary business of life) has an economic aspect, but when subjected to the dogmatic understanding of economics which is mainly based on industrial capitalism and emphasize economic aspects such as scar-

⁸ *Ibid*: 1-8. It will be revealed that economists and economic writers consulted on the meaning of the term “economics” do not depart from that dogmatic stance with regards to the nature and meaning of economics.

⁹ *Ibid*: 7-8

city¹⁰, the Marshallian definition raises more questions than answers and is, therefore, insufficient. For example, is self-sacrifice part and parcel of the subject matter studied by economics? As we shall see later, the answer is “no”.

Fischer and Dornbusch define economics as “the study of how society decides what gets produced, how and for whom” (1983:1). Even though they do include economic aspects such as production which is regarded as a fundamental element of economics, their definition is rather general, especially when it comes to the question of: who decides? It is a plain truth that society does not decide. Business leaders (influential bureaucrats) in collaboration with political leaders of a particular society do decide¹¹.

McCormick and his compatriot give a “capsule definition” of what economists study. They state that they study: “how men and women obtain their livelihoods” (1974:19). This is an inclusive definition (men and women are included) as compared to Marshall’s.

Their use of the term “livelihoods” reflects, to some degree, Polanyi’s understanding of the economy as livelihood (1944:31-248). Their limitation is that by “livelihoods” they do only include economic and material aspects, but do not necessarily include non-economic aspects such as the political, cultural, social and the moral. When Polanyi uses the term livelihood, he refers to the human and physical substance, which includes, *inter*

¹⁰ The issue of “scarcity” is very controversial. It is a word which will feature in some of the definitions. Generally speaking, most of the economists see “scarcity” as the fundamental economic problem. For example: Richard G Lipsey and Peter O Steiner (*Economics*, 2nd edition, New York: Harper & Row, 1966:1-3), James D Gwartney (*Economics: Private and Public Choice*, New York, N Y: Academic Press, Inc., 1976:3-5), Richard G Lipsey, Paul N Courant, Douglas D Purvis, Peter O Steiner (*Economics*, London: Butterworths 1966:5-13) and Michael Todaro (by implication) (*Economic Development*, 6th edition, London: Longman, 1997:1-10). The general view is that productive resources which give us economic goods and services are not enough, and hence, choices have to be made as to how to efficiently allocate these scarce resources. Consequently not everybody will have all what they need and want satisfied. The problem comes in when it comes to basic human needs such as food and shelter. If these become scarce, then it raises a theological problem which this study would like to address. Contrary to the view that productive resources are scarce is the view that *there is enough to go around and for every human being* (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1997). American Theologian M Douglas Meeks echoes the same view when he says: “Scarcity may not be made the starting point of a system of economic justice ... for in general, biblical faith teaches that there is enough if the righteousness of God is present and acknowledged as the source of life” (1989:174).

¹¹ Todaro gives some brief comments on the question of economic and political influence when it comes to a particular economy. He associates this with political economy. See his book *Economic Development* 6th edition. (London: Longman 1997:1-15).

alia, human attributes such as community and friendship, and physical life realities such as vegetation and animals (*Ibid*: 31-248). So their definition is satisfactory in the light of dogmatic economics, but insufficient when one sees the whole picture.

Lipsey and Steiner identify Marshall's definition as "the best known" (1969(1963):3-20). It may be "best known", but more needs to be done to fulfil the requirements of dogmatic economics. For this reason they give their own dogmatic definition: "Economics broadly defined is a study of a society's use of its scarce resources with reference to (1) the extent to which they are used; (2) how efficiently they are used; (3) the choice between competing alternative uses; and (4) the nature and consequence of changes in productive power of the resources over time" (*Ibid*: 8). Their definition is highly technical and geared towards industrial capitalism. Nonetheless, one may level the same criticism leveled against Fischer and Dornbusch that to use the term "society's use" is too generalised. It is those with power who influence how society uses its scarce resources and therefore, the definition as it is, is to a certain extent naïve.

Lipsey, Courant, Purvis, and Steiner give what they call a "penetrating definition" when they say: "Economics is the study of the use of scarce resources to satisfy unlimited human wants" (1993:3). This definition largely reflects the economic problem of scarcity and the satisfaction of limitless human wants. It is in line with modern thinking on economics and not decisively different from the one which Lipsey and Steiner gave (1969[1963]:1-20).

Bach does not depart from traditional thinking when he says: "Economics is the study of how the goods and services we want get produced, and how they are distributed among us" (1954:1). The situation does not change significantly when he gives three other subordinate definitions as follows: (1) "Economics is also the study of how we can make the system of production and distribution work better" (*Ibid*: 1); (2) "... economics is the study of why we are rich while over 2 billion of the world's people are in bitter poverty" (*Ibid*:1); (3) "Economics is the study of big business of giant concerns that sometimes benefit the consumer through mass production and research, and sometimes act as mo-

nopolies raising prices to their customers” (*Ibid*: 1)¹². The foregoing definitions deal with issues such as efficiency, structural prosperity and poverty, multinationals and globalisation, which are at the core of economics.

Chisholm and McCarthy say that: “We study economics in order to understand the hows and whys of our efforts to make a living” (1978:3). Their definition is not different from the one given by McCormick and his compatriots four years before¹³. The only addition is the whys or simply the reasons why people make efforts to make a living or “obtain their livelihoods” (to use the phraseology of McCormick and his compatriots).

Case and Fair write that “Economics is the study of how human beings and societies choose to use the scarce resources that nature and previous generations have provided” (1989:4). Again the question of choice cannot be generalised: it is those with power (economic and political) who decide or “choose to use the scarce resources” (*Ibid*: 4).

Even one of the most recent general definitions by the reformist Todaro¹⁴ does not really depart from mainline economic thought when he says:

¹² Definition no.2 is related to Economic Development as a sub-section of the overall economics discipline because it raises the questions of the North-South Inequality, Asymmetrical Interaction and Dependencia. To explore these issues see John Stott: *Issues facing Christians today: New Perspective on Social and Moral Dilemmas* (London: Marshall Pickering 1990: chapter 7), Klaus Nürnberger: *Power and Beliefs in South Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa 1988: passim), Michael Todaro: *Economic Development*, 6th edition (London: Longman 1997:75-94), Jan H Vorster, “*Dependency*” in Jan K Coetzee, editor: *Development is for people* (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1987: chapter 3). Definition no.3 borders on political economy within a neo-classical environment because it emphasizes the power of privilege for either the betterment or dissatisfaction of the community: c.f Todaro (1997:1-10).

¹³ See their definition above.

¹⁴ Todaro seeks to reform economics from being an inward-looking discipline to one which is outward in nature, seeking to understand every aspect of human life. He does so through his articulation of Economic Development in his thought-provoking book *Economic Development* 6th edition (London: Longman, 1997).

Traditional economics is concerned primarily with the efficient, least-cost allocation of scarce productive resources and with the optimal growth of these resources over time so as to produce an ever-expanding range of goods and services ... By traditional economics we simply mean the classical and neoclassical economics taught in most American and British introductory textbooks (1997:8).

From this sampling of secular definitions, one would infer that in defining economics which meets the criteria of mainline economics the following elements, *inter alia*, should not be left out: production, distribution or exchange, consumption, choice, efficiency and the human factor or involvement – as matters which revolve around wealth-getting (*chrematistics*). According to this, a definition of economics ought to be materialist, economic and aspiritual. Above all, scarcity is the root which is in all secular definitions cited above.

2.2.3 Economics: A definition – Christian Religious views

At this stage, “Christian religious views” can now be briefly presented. This is in order to avoid unnecessary repetitions because in many respects secular and Christian definitions are congruent. The religious literature consulted did not depart from a materialist, economic and aspiritual definition. Like in secular definitions, scarcity as the root problem is also in Christian definitions. The WCC Document, for example, mainly reflecting economic thinking within the Protestant, Reformed, Anglican and Orthodox tradition, gives a simplified definition of economics as follows: “Economics is about the daily lives of the people, it is about procuring food, clothes, shelter and seeking work”¹⁵. These issues reflect the root problem of scarcity. Also, De Santa Ana of the University of Geneva, Professor at the Ecumenical Institute in Geneva and consultant with the WCC records that: “Economics deals with the production, distribution and consumption of material goods and services”¹⁶. Again, Brown observes that: “It is the science that studies how, and how well, a society uses available resources to provide the material base for

¹⁵ The document is entitled *Christian faith and the world economy* (Geneva: WCC, 1992).

¹⁶ See his article: “Economics” in the *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: WCC 1991:313-314) edited by Nicholas Lossky, *et al.*

life and culture of its members”¹⁷. Also, the question of “available resources” hinges on scarcity.

Still, in giving a definition of economics, well-known Christian ethicist, Wogaman, observes that economic life is “the production and distribution of scarce goods” (1986:2). Again, the issue of scarcity is highlighted. He further observes that: “To say that economic goods are “scarce” is simply to acknowledge that the supply is limited” (*Ibid*: 2).

Further still, the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol.5, observes that economics “originally meant the administration of household resources ...” (1912:145). Its relative term “economy” is, however, “now used in a much wider sense, being applicable to the prudent management of all kinds of resources and possessions – the utilization of material goods, of time, of thought, or of labour, in such a manner as to avoid waste” (*Ibid*:145). Again this highlights the notion of efficient utilization of scarce resources. In addition, according to this text, economics:

Inquires how man (and woman) obtains the goods which satisfy his (or her) wants, explains the causes upon which the material well-being of mankind (humankind) depends, and treats of all activities by which goods are produced, exchanged, and distributed among the individuals and classes of which society is composed (Ibid:145, brackets included).

2.2.4 A short evaluation of secular and Christian definitions

What comes out clearly is that firstly there is no difference between secular and Christian definitions. Scarcity is the root problem which runs through both types of definition.

¹⁷ See his article: “Economics” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol V (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Col, 1967a: 61).

Secondly, economics should be seen in its broader context. Economics should not just be seen as a study (a branch of social sciences), but as a description¹⁸ as well. That is to say that economics should not be confined to the university classroom, but should be described and experienced in daily living. A somewhat similar view is expressed by Hart when he says that whether economics is studied or not is not an issue: "...an economic aspect of human society is a fact of life: a society has an economics as it has a politics or a demographics"¹⁹.

Thirdly, in formulating an adequate definition of economics, the following aspects need to be considered:

*Economics ought to be seen as a study, a description and a way of life which deals with how and why humans produce, distribute and consume material goods and services on one hand; and how and why they can and should reach their full potential in relation to their specific environment and God on the other hand*²⁰.

¹⁸ See the *Dictionary of Business and Management* by Jerry M Rosenberg (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978:146).

¹⁹ See his article in *Encyclopedia of Economics*. (New York: McGraw-Hill 1982:322) edited by Douglas Greenwald.

²⁰ This consideration underlines that one cannot talk of economics when issues of human potentiality such as human dignity and a sense of belonging, environmental realities and spiritual matters or religiosity are left out. Firstly, economics sees humans as *homo economicus* (economic man) - other non-economic aspects of humanity such as community (in which a sense of belonging is expressed) are unimportant. Secondly, environmental issues have not featured prominently in mainline economic thought and practice. Thirdly, classical and neo-classical economics, from the time of their birth, have tended to project the view that God is dead in economics and that it can do without God in its growth and development process – this is in spite of the Western Christian heritage. This study is advancing the view that issues of human potentiality, the environment and religiosity should be on the agenda of modern economics. As far as human potentiality is concerned, studies and presentations are being done which support this thesis, for example: Goulet quoted in Todaro (1997:17). As for the environment, Daly and Cobb, Jr., (1989), and Goudzwaard and De Lange (1995), have led the way among Christian scholars to raise environmental awareness viz-a-viz the world economy. In the area of religiosity, studies have been done and are being done that peoples of the world have a spiritual and religious dimension of life, for example, speaking for the African continent (especially Sub-Saharan Africa), Prof Mbiti of Kenya, now based in Switzerland, has done tremendous research on the question of African religiosity in his book: *Concepts of God in Africa*. The point is that a definition of economics should maintain balance between materiality and spirituality, and take into consideration the entire life potentiality of humanity in relation to the environment for the benefit of the present generation and their world and that of the future world and posterity. To exclude human potentiality, environmental concerns and spirituality from mainline economic thought and to treat them as non-essentials and externalities is an insult to humanity. A new holistic thinking should begin to emerge so that it can begin to influence economic thought patterns, thereby contribute to true human, social and cosmological growth and development.

Above all, economics whether studied or not, should be used as a tool (reflectively and practically) to solve problems of human existence, help humanity excel to higher levels of life and potential, and thereby attain material and spiritual wholeness. Therefore, the words of John Maynard Keynes are very fitting: “Economics is a method rather than a doctrine, an apparatus of the mind, a technique of thinking which helps its possessor to draw conclusions”²¹. As humans (both economists and non-economists) draw conclusions, their focus should be to *serve society*. This is the only way economics will fulfil its true historic mission.

2.3 ECONOMICS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Under this section, the meaning of economic development in relation to economics will be critically presented. In talking about economic development, it ought to be borne in mind that it is a concept that is related to other types of development in general which encompasses all dimensions of life such as social development, educational development, and cultural development. In the text of this section and elsewhere, its meaning will be presented in relation to other types of development in general. That is to say that in reviewing the meaning of economic development, one cannot just talk about advancement in material wealth and prosperity, but that in order for economic development to have a richer meaning and to be authentic, other aspects of life have to be included. As such, these other aspects of life are an integral part of its meaning. Economic development does indeed depend on other aspects of life in order to be adequate. Nonetheless, in the text of this section, the word “development” will be used to refer specifically to “economic development”. The point is that even though one cannot talk of economic development without due consideration for other aspects of life, the specific focus of this dis

²¹ Quoted by Groenewegen in *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics* Vol.3 (London: MacMillan, 1987:906) edited by John Eatwell *et al.*

sertation is the kind of development which is economic in nature. What then is development?

In economics, growth and development are interrelated.

Kindleberger makes a distinction between growth and development when he says: “Growth may well imply not only more output, but also more inputs and more efficiency, i.e. an increase in output per unit of input. Development goes beyond these to imply changes in the structure of outputs and in the allocation of inputs by sectors” (1958 [1965]:3). To make his distinction clear, he uses an analogy about the human being: “By analogy with the human being, to stress growth involves focussing on height or weight, while to emphasise development draws attention to the change in functional capacity – in physical coordination, for example, or learning capacity” (*Ibid*: 3). So “growth” is size, weight, height oriented, whereas “development” is function oriented. It is indeed useless for the size of anything to increase when there are no corresponding changes in its functional value. This distinction is also alluded to in the 3rd and 4th editions written with Herrick (1977:3 and 1983:21). What comes out clearly is that “growth” has to do with quantity of things and that “development” has to do with quality of things, especially the quality of human life.

In other words, “measures of growth and structural change must be complemented by measures of improvement in the quality of everyday life for most people”²². However, generally speaking, economic growth and economic development should go hand in hand (Kindleberger 1958[1965]:3).

Kindleberger and Herrick give a rather elaborate definition of economic development when they say:

²² See *A Lexicon of Economics* (London: Routledge 1988:102-103) by Phyllis Deane & Jessica Kuper.

Economic development is generally defined to include improvements in material welfare, especially for persons with the lowest incomes, the eradication of illiteracy, disease and early death, changes in the composition of inputs and outputs that generally include shifts in the underlying structure of production away from agricultural toward industrial activities; the organisation of the economy in such a way that productive employment is general among the working-age population rather than the situation of a privileged minority; and the correspondingly greater participation of broadly based groups in making decisions about the directions, economic and otherwise, in which they should move to improve their welfare (1977:1).

They see and conceive development in terms of:

- improvement in the material, physiological and psychological welfare of humanity especially for the poor;
- growth in productive forces from agriculture to industry;
- remunerative employment, especially for most of able-bodied people; and
- democracy – stretching far beyond the confines of economics to every facet of life.

This is quite a stimulating conception of economic development in that it is a definition which takes into consideration the unsatisfactory human and institutional realities and stands for large-scale improvements in human welfare. In their 4th edition, they give a rather short definition when they observe: “Economic development studies the causes and cures of mass poverty” (1983:1). On face value, it sounds acceptable, but when it is scrutinized, one discovers that it only deals with one aspect of the problem of under-development, namely: poverty. Questions of unemployment, inequality, release of productive energies latent in people and the like are not addressed. Although one would argue they are implied by the word “poverty”, one would still say that probably an all encompassing term like “under-development” could have been used to replace the word “poverty”.

It is Todaro who probably gives the most penetrating view on the nature and meaning of “Economic Development”. First of all, he categorically states that “Development Economics” is quite distinct from “Traditional Economics” and “Political Economy” (1997:1-10). Traditional economics is inclined to the “efficient, least-cost allocation of scarce resources” whereas political economy is interested in the “social and institutional processes through which certain groups of economic and political elites influence the allocation of scarce productive resources” (*Ibid*: 8). For Todaro, development economics has a special mandate:

*In addition to being concerned with the efficient allocation of existing scarce (or idle) productive resources and with their sustained growth over time, it must deal with the **economic, social, political and institutional** mechanisms, both public and private, necessary to bring about **rapid** (at least by historical standards) and **large-scale** improvements in levels of living for the masses of poverty-stricken, malnourished and illiterate peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (*Ibid*: 8).*

Thus:

*... development economics, to a greater extent than traditional neoclassical economics or even political economy, must be concerned with the economic, cultural and political requirements for affecting rapid structural and institutional transformations of entire societies in a manner that will most efficiently bring the fruits of economic progress to the broadest segments of their populations (*Ibid*: 8).*

As Todaro has observed, one of the things development economics should do is to spread wealth and a good standard of living for the majority. It does not mean that everybody will be financially equal, but that basic human needs for all will be met.

Seers poses penetrating questions with regard to development when he observes:

The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels – then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result “development” even if per capita income doubled.²³

The Seers' questions are as relevant today as they were when asked 30 years ago. It appears, some economists, have not taken heed of this advice: you cannot talk of development when the central issues of poverty, unemployment and inequality have grown worse “even if per capita income doubled”. We still have economic literature which ignores this advice. For example, Pearce would rather maintain that economic development is “the process of improving the standard of living and well being of the population of developing countries by raising per capita income”²⁴. There is a difference between economic growth and economic development, between figures and real lives of the people. As already noted, growth is quantity-oriented; whereas development is quality-oriented. This study would like to keep the distinction.

About this, Todaro observes that:

Development, in its essence, must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory toward a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better (1997:1-10).

²³ Quoted in Todaro:14. See Dudley Seers' paper: “The meaning of development”, *International Development Review* No.4:3, which was presented at the Eleventh Conference of the society for International Development in New Delhi, India, in 1969. Akin L Mabogunje observes that Seers has since added “self-reliance” as essential to development (1989:36). See Seers' paper “The meaning of development”, in *International Development Review*, 1977:p3.

²⁴ See *The Mit Dictionary of Modern Economics*, 4th edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: the Mit Press 1992:119).

Certainly, a particular level of complementality and equilibrium between materiality and spirituality in our quest for development should be maintained. This study will try to do just that.

Development should be able to fulfil certain objectives and values which have a direct bearing on economics and society. For this reason, Thirlwall observes that our world requires: “A concept of development which embraces the major economic and social objectives and values that societies strive for” (1983:8). He observes again that the best attempt has been that of D Goulet²⁵ who distinguishes “three basic components or core values in this wider meaning of development which he calls life-sustenance, self-esteem and freedom” (*Ibid*: 8). These need to be part and parcel of the development process. People’s lives need to be sustained; their self-esteem enhanced; and their freedom propped up. This view is supported by Todaro (1997:17). This study will uphold these values which are so central to development. They should serve as “a conceptual basis and practical guideline for understanding the inner meaning of development” (*Ibid*: 16). Without an entrenchment of these values, all talk about economic development is useless.

To crown it all, this study will support a holistic approach to development. About this Todaro observes:

...economics needs to be viewed in the much broader perspective of the overall social system of a country, which includes values, beliefs, attitudes to effort and risk taking, religion and the class system, if development mistakes are to be avoided which stem from implementing policy based on economic theory alone (1997:1-10).

²⁵ See D Goulet’s ideas on core values in his book: *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept on the Theory of Development* (New York: Atheneum, 1971).

Therefore, economic development ought to be oriented towards a materially and spiritually satisfactory life by seeking to release all human, social and institutional processes so that all our resources (moral, spiritual, physical, ecological and otherwise) are tapped and used responsibly to prop up our dignity and humanity. It ought to seek to support every effort not to negate the whole of human life, the totality of creation and a balanced sensitivity to the supernatural or the spiritual. Its historic mandate is to contribute to harmonious living between the human community, the environment and the creator-God who seeks to be involved in human history and affairs. It is not that economic development (conventionally inclined to progress in material wealth and prosperity) will be expected to bring about both a materially and spiritually satisfactory life, but that it will allow itself to be influenced by both the material and the spiritual aspects of human life. The influence will result in a materially and spiritually satisfactory life.

Even though economic development seeks a holistic approach to the satisfaction of life, it, nevertheless grapples with the root problem of scarcity. The question of “affecting rapid structural and institutional transformations of entire societies” (Todaro 1997:8) is premised on how political and economic authorities efficiently allocate scarce resources.

2.4 ECONOMICS AND SCARCITY

Having dealt with the etymological background and levels of meaning under the science of economics and having specified the objective of economic development, it is established, *inter alia*, that orthodox economics has to do with the material satisfaction of human needs and wants²⁶. In the real world, real needs and wants of countless humans are not fully met. This lack of full satisfaction of human needs and wants is a basic issue which economics wishes to address. It forms part of the notion of scarcity. It is seen both as a problem to be solved and as a mechanism by which it is solved. As shall be

²⁶ We have already argued that orthodox economics ought to go beyond material satisfaction to include spiritual satisfaction and ecological concerns.

seen later, when it is taken as a mechanism or “point of departure” for economic development, it raises **some moral concerns**.

Seen as a problem, scarcity is the fundamental economic problem which the science of economics seeks to solve. It is a “relative term” (Gilpin 1977:197) which is used to indicate shortage of goods and services in relation to demand for the same. It is linked to the supply and demand complexity.

Seen as a mechanism, it defines “rules of the game” for the science of economics. The majority of economists, if not all, use it as a “point of departure” for economic theory and practice. As Bannock *et al.* have observed: “Theoretically, in the absence of scarcity, no difficult choices would not have to be made, no prices would need to be attached to anything and the study of economics would be rendered entirely unnecessary” (1998:371).

What then is “scarcity” or “relative scarcity”? Pearce defines scarcity like this: “In economics, usually reserved for situations in which the resources available for producing output are insufficient to satisfy wants” (1992:385). That is to say that it is a term which describes and defines conditions where available resources for productive purposes are simply not enough to meet wants. Such situations of scarcity have become a real life experience in our world today which is characterised by massive income inequality between the haves and the have-nots globally and locally (Stott 1990). Some of the questions which this thesis would like to address later are: Is scarcity artificially created or genuine? Is scarcity a sufficient basis upon which to base the distribution of wealth and goods of the earth for all humankind? Is scarcity biased, that is, does it exist for some while it does not exist for others, especially when genuine human needs and wants are considered? Why is it that some have more than enough while others live under the poverty datum line? After 200 years of modern economic science, has humanity, through economists, failed to solve the problem of relative scarcity? Is relative scarcity a perpetual and eternal life-circle which will only be solved at the end of time (theologically speaking)?

As for Bannock *et al.* scarcity is “a situation in which needs and wants of an individual or group of individuals exceed the resources available to satisfy them” (1998:371). Their definition is not different from Pearce’s, except that they include both wants and needs. It is generally argued that wants are artificial human cravings such as a luxury car and a TV; whereas needs are usually basic necessities for survival and livelihood and may include food, shelter, clothing, basic education and self-esteem. One may do without wants; one may not do without needs, especially those essential for survival. Nonetheless, as we shall see later, in today’s world which is ruled by an ethic of scarcity as a “point of departure” for economic development, both wants and needs are not guaranteed to be met.

Steyn *et al.* agree that scarcity is indeed the business of economics (in Steyn editor 2000:2). They observe that the problem of scarcity (“the demand for goods and services [wants, needs] relative to the supply [availability] of goods and services”) is something that is experienced by all individuals, households, business firms and authorities (*Ibid*:2). They seem to suggest that scarcity is part and parcel of human experience. This is partly true, for example, at the individual level, one can only buy so many goods and services commensurate with available resources. It is the issue of “unlimited or multiple wants [or needs]” (*Ibid*:2) for that individual, household, business firm and that government authority. People cannot just get all they want and need due to the condition of limitedness of available resources.

They further observe that all people who participate in the economy need to make choices about how they go about the business of satisfying their needs and wants in the light of limited available resources (*Ibid*:2). No wonder orthodox economics is said to be “the study of how people use their scarce resources, which have alternative applications in order to meet their multiple needs (or wants) in the best possible way”! (*Ibid*:2).

Since scarcity is real, what should be the human mandate? The human mandate is to search for “ways and means” (which are usually defined by scarcity as a “point of departure”) to meet “multiple demands by resources that are scarce and have alternative use in an optimal manner” (*Ibid: 2*). In other words, this calls for wise decisions and choices which are coloured by the imperatives of the notion of scarcity on the part of that individual, that decision-maker in a firm and that policy maker in government so that “multiple demands” are met optimally – that is, to the highest degree possible. The quest for “ways and means” bring about three economic questions which need to be answered as a matter of economic choice viz (*Ibid: 3*):

- a) what to produce?
- b) how to produce it?
- c) for whom to produce it?

These are the three constituent parts of the problem of scarcity and its solution through the notion of scarcity as a “point of departure” in an economy. They are so inter-linked such that one may answer them simultaneously.

The first two questions deal with the issue of production and allocation; whereas the last one deals with the issue of distribution (*Ibid:3*). In short, relative scarcity has to do with production, allocation, and distribution. People, guided by the three constituent parts of scarcity, ought to solve the reality of relative scarcity for their specific situations.

The point is that this business about “the questions of what, how and for whom to produce” lies at the very heart of relative scarcity (*Ibid: 4*) on the one hand. On the other hand, it provides “material” for the field of economic science (economics) which delves into the complexities and intricacies of allocation, production and distribution in an economy in order to solve relative scarcity from the standpoint of a framework which is influenced by scarcity values . In short, scarcity is the essence of economics as a science. As Bannock *et al.* have observed, without relative scarcity, the study of economics is rendered irrelevant. That, according to conventional economic wisdom, the problem of

relative scarcity is very much alive, strengthens the position of economic science.

It follows, therefore, that the main presupposition of scarcity is “alternative use” (Goudzwaard 1980:2). That is to say, limited, productive means may be employed for a wide spectrum of uses, but due to their limitedness, only few of these can be realized. That is why the reality of limited means relative to human needs “forces choices on humanity with regard to which needs will be given priority and which and how much means will be allocated to satisfy these needs” (*Ibid*: 2). In this regard, economics which is underpinned by the notion of scarcity becomes the business of solving the tension between the subjective human preferences and the available productive means to satisfy them (cf *Ibid*). In fact, in this process, what is paramount is not so much the needs, wants, preferences, and choices of subjective humans, but the “manipulation of the implementation of means seen as the only option” (*Ibid*: 2). Broadly speaking, those who own these means have a large stake in the manipulative process.

We may conclude by saying that even though the ethic of scarcity has for many years defined rules of the economic game, it is not without blemish! While seen as a necessary term which has helped humanity to explain the functioning of the real world of economics oriented to the solution of relative scarcity, it is insufficient because, *inter alia*: it justifies the continuation of relative and absolute poverty by arguing that not all our wants and needs will be met due to limited means; it gives a partial picture of humanity that, as *homo economicus*,²⁷ they have unlimited needs and wants which cannot be satisfied due to limited means; and it limits accessibility to wealth and goods of the earth for all by stressing that the means to make this possible are simply limited. Because of the foregoing reasons and others, economists such as Goudzwaard and De Lange (1995) argue that scarcity is not an adequate “starting point” for economics. They argue that there is enough to go around for every person if new values which respect society and the environment are embraced (*Ibid*). In the following chapters, it will be argued that there is a need to “come up” with an adequate “point of departure” for economics

²⁷ Daly and Cobb, Jr., argue that “real human beings are not well imaged by the model of *homo economicus*” (1989:91) because, *inter alia*, it makes humanity to be acquisitive without limit and without due regard to the needs of others.

2.5 ECONOMICS AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

In economics, the problem of scarcity is solved by the employment of economic systems which vary from country to country, and from society to society. They are “vehicles” through which various countries and societies choose to allocate their scarce resources from the standpoint of scarcity as a “point of departure”.

According to Cramp, an economic system “is usually seen as a set of conventions and ideas embodying answers to certain interlocking problems that need to be solved in every human society, relating to the provision of goods and services needed by society’s members to preserve life, and desired by them to improve life” (1975:14). The stress is on specific strategies and conceptual frameworks which are used by humans in order to get goods and services. Society makes a “plan” as to how it meets its needs and wants through the provision of goods and services – thus improve the quality of life. Steyn *et al.* are not very different from Cramp when they observe that “an economic system encompasses all the mechanisms and institutions that have been established to facilitate the making and implementation of decisions concerning production, consumption, expenditure and income” (2000:5). Central to their understanding are decisions and choices related to the provision of goods and services.

Steyn *et al.* further observe that one can classify and identify various economic systems by using the institutional criteria namely (*Ibid*: 5 ff):

- decision-making
- information
- property rights
- incentives and
- the financial sector

Firstly, decision-making can either be on a centralised basis or a decentralised basis. Secondly, information is usually provided by two main information structures namely: the market, whereby all relevant information in terms of prices and consumer preferences is given by a network of markets and central planning, whereby relevant information is

collected and processed by a centralised mechanism. Thirdly, property rights, that is “the full rights of disposal of a certain object” (*Ibid*: 7), are premised on either private ownership or state ownership. Fourthly, incentive – usually understood as “motive forces” (*Ibid*: 7) – are either material or moral. Finally, the financial sector is characterised either by private control through ownership of financial institutions or by state control through the control of banking and financial transactions (for example through monetary and fiscal policies of central government).

The criteria refers more to the modern set-up of doing business. In traditional societies, for example, African traditional societies, such criteria could not apply in a very strict sense. In such societies, everything in the economy, including land, rivers, lakes and animals, belonged to the community and owned by the chief on behalf of his or her people. When it came to trade between societies, the economic system used was somewhat loose and flexible. For example, the market was neither price-oriented nor planned, but simply based on barter system (c.f. Polanyi 1944 and see Bolink 1967). Also, the “motive forces” were purely ethical; in most cases, people in antiquity ensured that the economy served society’s survival interests and that their households were protected against hunger, nakedness, and shelterlessness (*Ibid*). The rise of the market economy has altered this scenario. Society is now serving the interests of the modern economy (Heilbroner 1988) and thus, rendering traditional societies with their barter system ineffective. In this sense, the traditional way of doing business is no longer a desired option for many a modern country. Consequently, as already noted, this criteria cannot be strictly applied to tradition. Strictly speaking, this criteria can only apply to modern economic systems.

There are two main economic systems in the world, namely: the market economy popularly known as capitalism and the planned economy popularly known as socialism

(Cramp 1975; Steyn *et al.* 2000:6; Goudzwaard 1984). Broadly speaking, on the basis of the distinguishing criteria provided by Steyn *et al.*, in a market economy, decision-making is decentralised, information is market-supplied, property rights are usually private, incentives are usually material, and finance is controlled by a network of private

enterprises; whereas in a planned economy, decision-making is centralised, information is centrally controlled, property rights are usually owned by central government, incentives are usually a mixture of the moral and the material, and finance is controlled by government (*Ibid*: 8).

Nonetheless, it should be noted that none of them exist in a pure form; they are mixed and hence the term “mixed economy” (*Ibid*:9). In terms of how they are expressed in this mixture, it is worthwhile to note that it is not an equal partnership. That is to say that some mixed economies are capitalist-oriented; while others are socialist-oriented.

A presentation of the two specific economic systems can now be given in order to show their specific philosophies or principles which undergird them.

2.5.1 Capitalism

Broadly speaking, capitalism or the market economy is undergirded by an individualist philosophy. Proponents and exponents of this economic system believe – by convention and ideology – that the problem of scarcity can be solved when private individuals use their energy, their skill, their intellect and other means available to solve the problem of scarcity, first and foremost, for themselves and their immediate families. In such a system, an individual is rewarded when he or she profitably sells his or her products on the market which is ruled by the law of supply and demand (Smith quoted in Leatt *et al.* 1986). In this regard, the source of value for his or her products is determined by means of exchange value which is itself determined by supply and demand. An individual gains more from the system if his or her products or commodities have a high exchange value. If all individuals pursue their private material self-interest, good benefits will consequently accrue for the well-being of society (*Ibid*). This economic system seems to un-

derscore the point that the only way problems of the larger community (society) will be solved is through the pursuit of material self-interest. Under this system, individualism is “sanctified” in order to reach the objective of community wealth or prosperity. The individualist philosophy becomes a “saviour” to the community which is confronted with huge scarcity problems. It is “economic salvation” by individualism and not by collectivism. Collectivism or communalism find its salvation from economic ills through the pursuit of self-interested, trickle-down, individualism or privatism.

What, then, is capitalism? According to Pearce capitalism is “a political, social and economic system in which property, including capital assets, are owned and controlled for the most part by private persons” (1992:52). For Pearce, it is not just an economic system, but a system which has political and social dimensions. In short, it has to do with how the political process and social dynamics are organised within a particular context. The thread which runs through the *body political*, the *body social*, and the *body economic*, is the ownership and control of property – including capital assets – mostly by private persons.

For Bannock *et al.* capitalism is “a social and economic system in which individuals are free to own the means of production and maximize profits and in which resource allocation is determined by the price system” (1998:52). According to them, capitalism affects largely the social and economic dimensions of society; that is, they seem to suggest that capitalism is about people and business. It is not clear, according to this definition, if the political processes of a nation are part and parcel of an economy. It is generally argued that, even though Bannock *et al.* do not ascribe to the political, the political does have a prominent role, if not, the overarching role to shape the course of a modern market economy. The other things that capitalism has to do with, which their definition mention which Pearce does not mention, are: freedom to own means of production by private individuals; maximisation of profits by private individuals; and allocation of resources through the price system usually identified as the market. In this regard, private productive freedom, private profit maximisation, and the market, or a tri-lateral alliance, are

meant to solve the economic problem (scarcity) from the standpoint of the notion of scarcity.

Blaug argues that: “Capitalism is usually defined as an economic system in which the means of production are privately held” (1986:219). He further argues that “... private ownership of the means of production may involve a number of separate functions: the provision of financial capital, the employment and co-ordination of the factors of production, the management and administration of the entire enterprise, and the ultimate power of making strategic decisions about investment” (*Ibid*). For Blaug, capitalism is predominantly an economic system. He is very much in agreement with Bannock *et al.* when he stresses the idea of “private ownership of the means of production” as a fundamental part of the capitalist system.

The McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics sees the concept of the free enterprise system as a synonym for capitalism. Accordingly, it defines the free enterprise system as “an economic system characterised by private ownership and initiative” (1973:243). According to this definition, the main focus of a free enterprise system is economic, that is, it has to do with business. Again, it is generally argued that business without people is purposeless and that business without the political countervailing mechanism is anti-social and, therefore, brutal. The other point about this definition is that capitalism has to do with private initiative. That is to say that historical problems of scarcity will not be solved unless and until men, women, and children in their private capacity rise to the occasion and use all their natural talents, gifts, and capabilities and appropriate from nature what they need for their survival and livelihood. As noted already, the guiding starting point in this process is the notion of scarcity. This is the essence of private initiative. Scarcity will not be solved by a lack of private initiative – so goes the ethic of free enterprise!

A synthesis of these definitions ought, therefore, to include: political, social and economic dimensions; the ownership and control of property by private individuals; productive freedom; maximisation of profits; price system; and private initiative.

Heilbroner and Thurow argue that capitalism was a “volcanic event” which upset “every facet of daily life” (1981:10) partly because it broke suddenly and completely from the traditional way of allocating available resources. Its philosophical basis is firstly undergirded by private property: “That each individual is entitled to own and control his or her property including the very important property of his or her own labour” (*Ibid*:16). Such a philosophy would obviously need a practical mechanism by which to express itself concretely and hence the creation of a market society “as a means of mobilising and co-ordinating the activities by which society reproduced itself” (*Ibid*:10). This structural and radical shift from tradition and command greatly strengthened the position of private individuals over against society at large. In a market society, economic activities were left “to men and women responding to the opportunities or discouragement of the market place, not to the established routines of tradition or the dictates of someone’s command” (*Ibid*: 15).

Secondly, it was undergirded by *laissez-faire*²⁸, that is, “a policy of non-interference by the state in economic affairs” (Gilpin 1977:131) or “the doctrine that government should limit itself to the maintenance of law and order and remove all legal restraints on trade and prices” (*The McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics* 1973:22). The underlying philosophical bias of *laissez-faire* is that “man (and woman)²⁹ is moved predominantly by self-interest and that there exist certain immutable laws which produce a natural harmony” (Gilpin 1977:131). That is to say that “if everyone is left alone to pursue his (or her) own interests (to produce, buy and sell, borrow and lend) without outside interference, then the result will be to the mutual benefit of all” (*Ibid*: 131).

With regard to the first philosophical point, the crucial question is: Is it possible for all individuals in society to own means to factors of production (capital, land, and labour)

²⁸ The concept of *laissez-faire* has its origin from the French *laissez nous faire* – which means “leave us alone”. See the *McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics* (1973).

²⁹ Brackets added by author for the purpose of inclusive language.

and thus, qualify to be called capitalists? Empirical evidence, generally speaking, shows that very few people own and control factors of production in a capitalist society. The rest – including some economists – are dependants on other people's private property and may never own nor control the private productive power in order to be called capitalists in the strict sense of the term. It follows, therefore, that the philosophical basis of the first point is simply ideological. There is no such thing as capitalists *en masse*, that is, having almost all people in society to own and control the private productive forces. With regards to the second philosophical point, there is no such thing as no government interference in the economic arena. As long as human beings' natural condition is tainted by inclination to vice and manipulation, government interference is a sufficient corrective to human market abuses and misuse. Free enterprise must operate under the countervailing mechanism of government intervention, albeit responsibly, flexibly, and accountably. The failings of *laissez-faire* and the need for state intervention in both capitalist and socialist nations is a well known fact (*Ibid*:131). These questionings and others ought to be taken on board by those who live by the philosophy of individualism founded on the principle of private property and *laissez faire*.

Historically, this philosophy of individualism on which capitalism is based is attributed to Adam Smith (1723-1790), an economist, who, as already noted, is described as the father of capitalism who in 1776 published a ground-breaking work: *An inquiry into the origin and causes of the wealth of nations* (Steyn *et al.* 2000:9). The year 1776 marked "the beginning of modern economic science" (*Ibid*: 9). Among other things, Adam Smith wanted to investigate (*Ibid*: 9):

- "why economic welfare differs between one nation and another"
- that "welfare does not consist of gold and precious metals", but that it "is determined by the productive use of a country's economic resources".

Laissez faire which is related to the notion of private property³⁰ found its classical formulation in Smith's work³¹ (Leatt *et al.* 1986:8). His work was essentially an attack on merchantilism – a system which enhanced state power through regulation. In his wisdom, he felt that the role of the state was to maintain law and order in society and keep away from the economy (*Ibid:* 8). He tended to promote self-interest of an individual as a virtue whose moral *telos* was to advance the common good, that is society at large (cf *Ibid:* 8).

Laissez-faire, as a philosophical basis, helped Adam Smith and other fathers of capitalism to develop ideas about the free-enterprise system. Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger conveniently summarise the fundamental assumptions of this system as follows (*Ibid:* 8-9):

- private ownership of the means of production: that “each individual has the right and the obligation to look after himself (or herself), take his (or her) own economic decisions for better or for worse, work hard, and make use of all his (or her) resources to his (or her) best advantage”;
- the sovereignty of the consumer: that “the quantity and quality of the product ... are determined by the needs and wishes of those who want to make use of it”;
- free competition³²: that “producers have to compete with each other in a free market”; and
- the free play of the market³³: that “in a situation of free competition, the price of anything and everything is determined by the relative strength of supply and demand”.

³⁰ As already noted earlier in this chapter, John Locke (1632-1704) had already contributed his voice to the issue of private property through his “theory of property rights”.

³¹ Additional work on *laissez-faire* was done by people like J S Mill and Bentham (*Ibid:* 8).

³² This is related to the notion of disciplining of all actors – that is, nobody will dominate the market, but that every actor will compete freely on the basis of the strengths of their products. See Heilbroner and Thurow (1981:28-43).

³³ This is related to the concept of self-regulation of the market whereby prices, wages, and profits are balanced up (*Ibid:*28-43).

Thus the major contribution of Adam Smith to the field of economic science was his teaching about the role of the market in the allocation of production factors (Steyn *et al.* 2000:9). According to this teaching, only the market “can guarantee that these resources are allocated optimally between alternative productive uses” (*Ibid*:9). Adam Smith’s famous terminology was “the invisible hand” (the Market) through which society was allocated the goods and services it wanted and needed (Heilbroner & Thurow 1981:28-43).

What comes out clearly about this system is the centrality of a self-regulating market mechanism within which private individuals can advance their self-interest, maximise their profits, own and control private property, have private productive freedom, and execute private initiative – and thus contribute to the well-being of society. This is the wisdom behind the ethic of capitalism.

Today, it has become the reigning model for much of the world. Its achievements include the following (Leatt *et al.* 1986:9-10; Hay 1989: 154 ff):

- rapid development of science and technology;
- emergence of highly efficient methods of production and distribution, forms of organisation, management techniques and allocation of resources;
- large-scale accumulation of productive capital;
- provision of great private motivation “to do one’s very best, to improve one’s capabilities, to make use of one’s potential and time, to take rational decisions, to be goal-oriented ... and so on” (Leatt *et al.* 1986:10);
- economic growth (in some countries);
- improvement in the standard of life (in some countries) and
- prosperity (in some countries).

In spite of these grand achievements, it is a system which is riddled by inherent problems and undesirable side-effects (*Ibid*). It cannot be called a perfect system. The following are some of its imperfections which need to be addressed (*Ibid*):

- Economic freedom is mainly restricted to big business players in multinationals: voices of small players are simply not heard and therefore, economic freedom is a myth;
- The system is extremely exploitative: for example, many Third World nations have become victims of a new kind of colonialism known as *neocolonialism* because, in spite of their political independence, “they are, to a large extent, economically dependent on the developed industrial nations” (Leatt *et al.* 1986:11).
- It is a wasteful system which is characterised, for example, by the creation of artificial products;
- Its neglect of public needs in preference for private luxury goods which generate more profits;
- Its bias towards the rich elite who determine production trends on behalf of the larger society;
- Its encouragement of income inequality which has negative effects on households;
- Its victimisation of the powerless;
- Its encouragement of the concentration of too much power in the hands of a few;
- Its engendering of the centre-periphery structure of the world economy (asymmetrical interaction);
- Its division of humankind through its “achievement norm” whereby those who are privileged and gifted are rewarded and those who are handicapped are punished;
- Its justification of mass unemployment evidenced in Third World countries, in particular;
- Its vulnerability to manipulation by powerful firms;
- Its contribution to environmental degradation;
- Its lack of a moral basis (in many cases) through its view of the market as a mechanical and technical institution; and
- Above all, its inability or inappropriateness to address fully the problem of scarcity for millions of people around the world.

In conclusion, there is need for the individualist philosophy which undergirds capitalism to be reformed. The market, though a necessary mechanism by which to solve the problem of scarcity for society through individualism is insufficient. As shall be emphasized later, it ought to be subjected to higher social, moral and ecological goals such as social justice, environmental wholeness, and the countervailing legal and political framework. In addition, the system ought to re-look at its “point of departure” - scarcity – and see whether this can be replaced by a more just, fair, and reasonable “point of departure” sufficient for an equitable, realistic, and resilient production, allocation and distribution of wealth (c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1997; Meeks 1988) and goods of the earth for all.

There needs to be a paradigm shift from extreme individualism in the allocation of resources to an ethic of person-in-community. This will inevitably involve the kind of a person who: moves hand in hand with the community of other persons while growing up to his or her full potential; achieves private property and encourages others to excel as well; takes private initiative and encourages others to do the same; enjoys freedom of an individual and sees to it that others do the same; loves others as much as he or she loves himself or herself; and so on. This is the kind of creative tension which needs to exist between an individual and society. An individual cannot claim to solve society’s problems by leaving society behind. He or she does this in relation to the hopes and aspirations of others. In such a paradigm, it is not so much the quantity of resources to be allocated, but the quality of human relations (individually and corporately) in relationship to the quantity of resources. The failure to reform the individualist philosophy will see human manipulation, exploitation, and abuse continue unabated.

2.5.2 Socialism

Socialism was and is a historical response to the individualist philosophy which undergirds capitalism. The historical objective was and is to correct the defects of capitalism – in fact to eradicate it and its defects completely. Essentially, it is a collectivist philoso

phy which seeks to give all means of production (capital, land, and labour) in the hands of society through the state. The system says “no” to the private control and ownership of the means of production due to exploitation especially of the workers (the proletariat) by owners of private capital (the bourgeoisie). Followers of this system believe that justice will only be established when the means of production are held on behalf of the people by the state. A just and fair distribution of scarce resources can only be done by the state who knows exactly where they need to go and what is good for the people. In this regard, socialism is an ethic of collectivism which is intended to bring salvation from economic evils for all. Excessive individualism as presupposed by the market economy cannot be a vehicle for solving the economic problem. The solution to this can only be realized when the state harnesses all means available in order to produce, allocate, and distribute goods and services for all. Again, as noted already, this process is done from the standpoint of the notion of scarcity. Under this system, individualism is “swallowed up” by collectivism under the planned mechanism of the state which has full control over the productive forces.

It should be stated from the onset that socialist thinking as expounded by Karl Marx is founded on *the labour theory of value*. This theory is extremely fundamental to socialist thinking. According to this theory, “the value of an object is measured by the amount of labour embodied in it” (Leatt *et al.* 1986:211). This is in contrast with the capitalist view of value which measures value by means of exchange through the price system on the market (Blaugh 1986: xv, 128-133; Steyn *et al.* eds 2000:9; Heilbroner & Thurow 1981:33; Leatt *et al.* 1986:9). According to the Marxian analysis, it is human labour which accords value to an object or commodity (Leatt *et al.* 1986:211-212). The only measure of value is human labour (*Ibid*:211-212). Unfortunately, a human being who gives value to a commodity has been reduced to a commodity as well. In a market economy, this becomes a necessary step if a human being is to feed, clothe, educate, and shelter his or her family (*Ibid*:211-212). The non-recognition of human labour as a measure of value and the reduction of humanity to a mere market commodity to be sold is a fundamental contentious issue in Marxian thought. Connected to this theory is *the theory of surplus value*. According to this theory, “surplus value” is “the difference be-

tween the value of labour and what workers were actually paid for their labour in the production process” (Steyn *et al.* eds. 2000:10). As noted already, it is human labour which adds value to products during the process of production. Unfortunately, the workers who added value to products are paid less than they are really worth (*Ibid*). Surplus value in form of profit goes to a capitalist. This is partly “due to the unequal bargaining power that existed between the working class and the capitalist” (*Ibid*). In the words of Marx, “surplus value” is tantamount to “stolen value” which capitalists take away from the rightful owners – workers (*Ibid*). Marxian thought seeks to undo this kind of capitalist exploitation in order to establish justice and fairness in the economic realm (Leatt *et al.* 1986:212-213; McCormick *et al.* 1974:423-425; Steyn *et al.* eds 2000:10). In essence, socialist thinking seeks to expose the exploitation of human labour by capitalists and tries to show what the due rewards of workers are in relation to owners of capital.

Pearce defines socialism as “a term used to describe the general doctrine that the ownership and control of the means of production – capital and land – should be held by the community as a whole and administered in the interests of all” (1992:398). In theory, generally speaking, the ownership and control of the means of production is held by the community. In practice, this is not the case – they are owned, controlled and administered by the elite (the political command mechanism) who in most cases are dictated by their own human interests and who decide for whom to produce, how to produce, and what to produce. In other words, decision-making on matters of scarcity is not done by the masses, but by a few individuals, who claim to do it on behalf of the people. It is in very few cases that decision-making is decentralised so that masses decide their destiny with regard to matters of production, allocation, and distribution of available resources (cf Hay 1989:183ff).

Bannock *et al.* define socialism as “a social and economic system in which the means of production are collectively owned and equality is given a high priority” (1998:387). For Bannock *et al.* socialism, like capitalism, has social and economic dimensions. Again, it is not clear by their definition whether it is political. By common practice, socialism

flourishes well under the “political cover” through the state mechanism. It is questionable whether equality which is given a high priority is realized within the structures of society. As long as the socialist system is top-down in terms of the command structure, equality becomes a pipe-dream.

The McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics defines socialism as “an economic and political system the basis of which are the abolition of private property and the public ownership and operation of the means of production” (1973:943). As already noted, socialism involves not only the economic and the political, but the social as well. Ultimately, decisions which are made in the economic and political arenas have an impact on the social, for better or for worse. The other point is that socialism as an attempt to abolish of private property is probably one of the greatest blunders of human history. Understandably, not all of humanity will command private control and ownership of productive property, but all of us enjoy to own private property which is basic to life. This includes a car, a house, and a piece of land. Even though these may not reproduce goods and services for large-scale consumption, they, nevertheless, define who humans are, that they love to enjoy basic private property without hindrance. Therefore, abolition of private property – whether for reproductive purposes for society or private use is problematic. This abolitionist movement needs to be de-mystified.

In the light of the above definitions, socialism involves: social, economic and political realities; control and ownership of the productive forces by the state on behalf of the community; a movement towards high priority equality; and the abolition of private property.

Socialism exists in various forms. Hay distinguishes three forms namely: communism, neo-Marxist socialism, and the social democratic tradition (1989:176ff). In communism, the powerful state is seen to direct the economy through planning. Under neo-Marxist socialism, socialism is intended to be introduced through a “quiet revolution” mainly by means of takeover of giant companies, co-ordination of activities through limited planning, and a strict control of the financial sector. As for the social democratic tradition,

even though it tends to reject much of Marx's analysis of capitalism (to which we shall come later), it puts in place what can be called a "detailed regulation of a capitalist economy" without letting go of independent private firms (as basic productive units). The key thread which runs through all these types of socialism (and others) inherited from Marx is that: "the organisation of production is the key to understanding all relationships in society, not least the question of the focus of power and how that power is exercised" (*Ibid*:176-177).

Socialism has a cooperative society and the equality of all persons as its philosophical basis. About this Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger observe: "Common to all theories and movements of socialism is the commitment to a communal, cooperative society based on the equality of all people" (1986:194). To bring about such a society, economically there needs to be: complete nationalisation or socialisation of the means of production; selective nationalisation of key industries and controlled private ownership of others; centralised state direction with a main master plan of production and distribution; a market economy "directed by socialist planners within a broad framework of guidelines" (*Ibid*:194). Socially, there needs to be: centralised direction, usually by government; a certain level of decentralisation, "decisions being made by public boards, local governments or self-governing producers communities"; workers' control and government planning boards (*Ibid*: 195). As for the distribution of economic goods and services, there needs to be: distribution according to one's work (known as a stage of socialism); distribution according to one's needs (known as the stage of communism); and adequate income for all, "assuring a minimal level of housing, clothing and food, and free access to education, health and culture" (*Ibid*: 195). In terms of politics and government, there needs to be: equal political rights for all citizens; and leveling of differences of status, "entirely or with different degrees of decision-making powers" (*Ibid*: 195). These strategies will vary from country to country and will largely depend on the form of socialism espoused by a particular country (c.f. Hay 1989:176ff).

It is crystal clear from the foregoing that the philosophical bias is collectivist. The individual is assimilated in a communal, cooperative society. It is as if an individual dies

completely to himself or herself and rises up within a collectivist society, but this time without any individual self-expression, self-actualisation, and self-advancement. Generally speaking, we are not meant to die completely to who we are as individual persons. Humans are meant to grow to our full potential as we relate to other persons. Extreme collectivism and dissolution of individual social beings is something which need to be revisited by those who adhere to socialism as a system.

Essentially, socialism was a historical reaction to capitalism. The starting point for this philosophy was “a fundamental dislike of capitalism and its effects” (*Ibid*: 177). It is a response to the evil or immorality of capitalism (cf *Ibid*: 177).

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is identified as the father of socialism (Steyn *et al.* 2000:10), Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger call him “the central figure of socialism” (1986:195). Marx was largely influenced by three movements, namely: German idealist philosophy, French socialism and English classical economics.

The main influence under German idealist philosophy was Hegel with his dialectic style of philosophising. According to Hegel: “... all reality is a totality in process which leads from an initial identity to its alienation from itself, and back from alienation to its progressive liberation, culminating in a final reconciliation”(quoted in Leatt *et al.* :199). He saw this final stage as a recapitulation of the total wealth of all the phases. And the driving force of this movement was the “power of the negative” (*Ibid*:199). The power of the negative, inevitably, brought about internal opposition within each phase, resulting in new stages of consciousness known as conscientisation (*Ibid*:199). This can also be called a process of progressive freedom (*Ibid*:199). The subject of its process is spirit or idea “identified as the totality of the historical world spirit” that moves or evolves “from its deepest alienation in nature through the basic forms of its subjective and objective stages, into the freedom of total self-consciousness” (*Ibid*:199). Art, religion and philosophy being its three incarnations (*Ibid*:199). According to Hegel, it is in philosophy that “world spirit comes home to itself, into its full identity” (*Ibid*:199). Through Hegel, philosophy had reached its end and fulfillment. Generally speaking, even though Marx

believed in Hegel's notion of the dialectic view of history and alienation, he did not accept Hegel's view that the end of philosophy had come. It was Feuerbach before Marx who initiated a reversal of Hegel (*Ibid:199*). According to his teaching, nature was "the real essence of man". This was contrary to Hegel's teaching which saw nature as "the deepest alienation of the spirit" (*Ibid:199*). Feuerbach taught that "man is a natural being rather than a spiritual being" (quoted in Leatt *et al.* 1986:199). Marx went beyond Feuerbach's teaching in that "he did not speak about an abstract essence of man, but about man in his concrete conditions, about natural man, social man, and economic man" (*Ibid:199*). In Marx's teaching, "the subject of history is man, who by active transformation of nature progressively creates himself in the totality of his objectifications in history" (*Ibid:199-200*).

In short, according to Marx's thought, man or woman is not spirit (as in Hegel), not simply essentially natural (as in Feuerbach), but man or woman is concrete (to encompass the natural, the social, and the economic). Hegel's idealism or spiritualism tended to be escapist and sanctioned the *status quo* which was rife with exploitation of person by person. Feuerbach's naturalism was abstract and it tended to obstruct who man or woman really was. Marx' view of man or woman was concrete – seeing them as they really are in their material and concrete existence. For Marx, it is man who makes history (*Ibid:200*) and is, therefore, the subject of history.

Through French socialism, he came to see the need for radical socialism which was aimed at overturning society (*Ibid:201*). While in Paris, he came into contact with "the followers of Saint Simon and Fourier, whom, together with Owen³⁴, Marx called Utopian

³⁴ Henri de Saint Simon (1760-1825) believed that the future socialist society would be like an extremely big cooperative society, "where the rule of men over men would be replaced by a shared administration" (*Ibid:196*); Charles Fourier (1771-1837) saw the birth of model communities, "the germ cells of the future society, consisting of 1500 people each" which would "not be ruled by experts, as Saint-Simon had thought, but would be bound together in love in a harmonious non-coercive order, guided spontaneously according to temperaments and inclinations" (*Ibid:196*); Robert Owen (1771-1858) "known as a model employer and proprietor of a textile work in Scotland", castigated "the principle of competition and proposed 'villages of unity and cooperation' where settlers, in addition to raising crops, would improve their bodies and minds" (*Ibid:196*). They all believed that "they could, through enlightened legislation, create a centrally planned industrial society by reforming the evils of the capitalist system" (*Ibid:201*).

socialists” (*Ibid*:201). This is because Marx thought that their socialist ideas were not radical enough to overturn the fundamental structures of society. He was further inspired by on-the-hand investigations of the capitalist system when he visited Engels’ (his life-long companion) father’s textile firm in Manchester. Inspired by French socialism, though not radical enough, and “baptised” into the chaotic workings of capitalism, Marx weaved together ideas which came to be known as scientific socialism as opposed to utopian socialism.

As for English classical economics, he came to be influenced by Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Malthus and J S Mill, especially during his time in London (*Ibid*:201). The main influence was Adam Smith with his belief in a self-regulating market system³⁵, governed by two natural laws namely: “self-interest” whereby each person was allowed to be motivated by it and “competition” which “ensures that individuals are not exploited by others” (*Ibid*:201-202). They gave legitimatisation to the new capitalist class and made “workers to accept that their new conditions as part of a natural, fixed order of things” (*Ibid*:202). Through his penetrative mind, Marx saw the “exploitative nature of the capitalist system” (*Ibid*:202). Consequently, through his writings, he was now poised to undo the capitalist system and show that “these laws were not natural, but were created by man; their effect was to alienate him” (*Ibid*: 202).

Armed with the Hegelian dialectic view of history and concept of alienation, French socialism which was meant to be oriented to the overturning of society, and insight into the exploitive nature of English classical economics, Marx was on a “warpath” to fight for the birth of a new social, political, and economic order through communism *via* socialism. He was the first theorist to stress the instability of capitalism (Steyn *et al* 2000:38).

Marx’s main ideas are found in *Das Kapital* (capital) much of which was published after his death (Steyn *et al.* 2000:10; Van der Laan 1983:63). In it, he tried to highlight:

³⁵ See section on “capitalism” above.

a lack of efficiency in capitalism (*inter alia*, due to unnecessary competition) and an obvious failure “to bring about an equitable distribution of income” (Steyn *et al.* 2000:10). Essentially, his work is the criticism of the old capitalist social order and the heralding of the coming of the new communist social order in which humanity will contribute according to ability and receive according to need. It was a movement towards the necessary annihilation of capitalism in order to bring about communism in which humankind will reach full humanity. This is because “capitalism is an inherently unstable system” (*Ibid*:10).

Marx’s basic vision is ably and conveniently summarised by Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger (1986:202ff) as follows:

- utopia of the “whole man”: that one day, man (and woman) will understand their *essential* whole being when present defects are corrected or rectified; for now, reality will be understood in relative terms;
- creative labour: that it was a mechanism through which humans interacted with nature, thus bringing about their rich potentialities and discovering the richness of nature; and that when a communist society fully arrives “man will experience the fullness of the creativity of labour in the full satisfaction of human *needs* and the full exploration and exploitation of human powers”³⁶
- alienation: that in bourgeois capitalist society, humans’ condition was alienated and that this alienation was evidenced by alienation from the product of their labour by becoming an appendage to the machine, alienation from their productive activity by limited and repetitive work due to increased division of labour, alienation from their species due to labour being considered simply as “a means of staying alive” and not as part of their potential which needs to be enjoyed and developed, and by alienation from fellow humans due to change in relations (for example capitalist - worker relations);

³⁶ Marx’s language about the imminent new world order is similar to Biblical apocalypse and eschatology simply because, *inter alia*, it speaks about fullness of life (cf Book of Revelations).

- private property and the fetishism of commodities: that society was split into two parts as a result of private property and that commodities were made into ends in themselves;
- the materialist conception of history: that “man is not the product of material conditions, but that he creates himself in history on the basis of his material conditions”;
- classes and class struggle: that classes are “the product of alienated labour” and that competition was the distinguishing factor of the struggle between the classes;
- revolution and violence: that due to the radical imbalance between the forces of production (capital, land and labour) and the relations of production (between capitalists and workers), revolution, which is not necessarily violent, was unavoidable;
- ideology: that it is false consciousness because “it is unconscious of its real function, namely, to legitimise and sanction existing relationships of production”; and that since it reflected alienated reality, it was “a form of alienation in the realm of thought”;
- the state: that it was serving the interests of the few; and that when the classless society comes, the power of the state will disappear;
- religion: that it was simply an ideological embodiment of the alienation of humans; that it legitimises the position of the ruling class; that it was “opium of the people” which makes them passive and obedient; that in its institutionalised form, together with private personal faith, were “obstacles to social progress”; that it “will vanish of its own accord when its *raison d’être*, man’s alienation, is overcome”;
- critique of capitalism: that it was intended to lay bare the economic law in order to go beneath the surface of capitalist phenomena and expose it for what it was.
- the labour theory of value: that the value of an object (commodity) was measured by the amount of labour embodied in it;
- capital and exploitation: that a capitalist exploits labourers through “surplus value” (the difference between actual wages and labour value which in Marx’s thought is equivalent to unpaid labour because it is labour which creates value).
- the capitalist breakdown: that one day, due to the impoverishment of workers as a result of low wages and unemployment, workers will rise to change the system;

- post-revolutionary society: that the first stage will be the socialist phase which will not be fully equitable because people would still be attending to inequalities of the previous capitalist era; and the second stage – the communist phase – the final stage of history and its completion will have arrived which will mark the “solution to the riddle of history”; that in this society, all will share in ownership and labour; that “everyone will contribute according to his *ability*, but receive according to *his needs*”; and that “man will no longer be alienated”.

Marx's ideas were taken over by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung (Van der Laan 1983:21ff). They tried to put in motion Marx's ideas with a practical orientation in their specific societies. Apart from China, Russia, and Eastern Europe, Marx's ideas spread to other parts of Africa, especially post-colonial Africa (Leatt *et al.* 1986). As for much of post-colonial Africa, it should be noted that even though there was an interest in socialism in the form of Marxism among African founding fathers, the philosophy, nonetheless, did not receive a full-scale endorsement among them. *Inter alia*, most African founding fathers wanted to be true and authentic in their expression of African cultural ethos which, among other things, recognise the supremacy of the unseen God the creator of humankind and the entire world. For example, Kenneth David Kaunda of Zambia, the architect and main exponent and proponent of the philosophy of Zambian humanism, a socialist collectivist philosophy, used to refer constantly to religious ideas which are founded on the belief in God Almighty (see his book: *State of the nation: politics and government*, Vol.1, 1988). In most cases, European socialism was adapted to the African traditional life. Nevertheless, Marxist socialist ideas remained a source of inspiration for many African leaders, especially with its emphasis on the collectivist approach to life – a dimension which is at the very heart of African traditional cultural ethos.

Russia and its East European socialist countries followed a basic pattern for economic development developed by Lenin (Hay 1989:185). This was also propagated in post-colonial Africa (c.f. Leatt *et al.* 1986). This basic pattern had four basic elements (Hay 1989:185):

- the concentration of economic power in the hands of the party which “seeks to promote interests of the working classes”, provides “continuity in economic poli-cy”, and makes “basic value judgments about long-term objectives of society”;
- means of production are “socially owned, especially natural resources and capital equipment” and in such an arrangement, “small private or individual sectors may survive, but their activities are severely curtailed”;
- market processes are “replaced by or supplemented by economic planning”, macro-economic objectives being determined by the party;
- system seeks a “socially equitable distribution of the national income”.

It was hoped that the absence of a capitalist class and control of the instruments of production by the state would “remove the major source of class conflict” (*Ibid*:186). In this way, alienation of workers would partly be removed because capital is in the hands of the state. Surplus, previously in the hands of the bourgeoisie, would be used by the state for workers interests (*Ibid*:186). Central planning would be used for the purposes of removing market uncertainties (*Ibid*:186). In the long term, these measures would result in security of income and employment (*Ibid*:186).

In spite of these high-sounding socialist policy objectives and strategies, the crucial question is: Did they realise the vision of a communist state as prophesied by Karl Marx? Reality on the ground was quite different from what Marx predicted (*Ibid*: 185). Suffice to say that for a while, followers of Marx held together their socialist ideals with sanguine hope until their societies started to crumble down about 1989 due to, *inter alia*, the planned economy (cf Atherton 1992). This event exposed fundamental weaknesses within socialist societies. What was envisaged in the first stage (identified by Lenin as socialism) such as the abolition of property in land, a graduated income tax, central control of financial institutions and the means of transport and communication, extension of

state ownership of the means of production and free education³⁷, may have taken place, but could not be supported by the planned economy (Hay 1989:183; cf Atherton 1992:1ff). Consequently, the vision of the second phase (identified by Lenin as communism) to be characterised by new consciousness in humans, a new attitude to work, a new basis for production, and a new form of state became blurred (Hay 1989). Besides, the socialist system had other inherent operational problems including: a lack of democracy within socialist society; state triumphalism characterised by an attitude that the state was the “sole arbiter of what is good in society” (*Ibid*:183); class bias oriented to the working class only rather than all groups of society; abrogation of the rights of property; a lack of personal stewardship because virtually all property fell under state control and ownership; bureaucratic red tape; poor record on pollution and environmental protection; and parastatal financial losses, overmanning, low productivity, and poor consumer services (*Ibid*). In addition, the system lamentably failed to fully address scarcity.

Socialist society had collapsed, but socialistic thinking still lives on. It does not mark the end of an era, but the fresh beginning of the search for socialistic ideas which can contribute to the solution of human problems. A total abandonment of socialist ideas would be a mistake with disastrous consequences³⁸.

Finally, it should be stated that the socialist system aims at solving the economic problem by putting productive instruments or forces in the hands of the state. It is the state which can equitably distribute wealth and goods of the earth through its central planning mechanism. Unfortunately, as already noted, the command economy did not work for much of the socialist world. It is probably at this stage where central planning needs to be revisited so that it does not hinder economic development. The interventionist role of

³⁷ Some of them like free education to children can be considered as a benefit of socialism because it helped to educate children from poor backgrounds, who, in normal situations, would not have been otherwise educated.

³⁸ A person who reads Hay (1989) will agree that one of the ways to look at socialism is not to totally condemn socialism, but to point out some of the moral concerns which are deduced from it.

central government, as an expression of planning, should not be cut completely as others like Hayek seem to suggest (Hay 1989:209ff). Surely, government has a role to play in the economy, but this role ought to be done properly and responsibly. In addition, socialism should re-look at its “point of departure” in the distribution of goods and services. It ought to move from a point of insufficient resources to a “new point of departure” with the acknowledgement that humanity can manage all the resources of the earth responsibly and accountably, and share with all human persons (Goudzwaard & De Lange 1997; Meeks 1988). This matter will be discussed critically in the following chapters.

Therefore, society certainly needs a certain amount of socialist orientation in the management and distribution of goods and services. Its moral *telos* is to provide *inter alia*, public goods, equality of opportunity, and a flexible overall supervision of the market mechanism so that “the development process” is not subjected to human vice, manipulation, and abuse.

2.6 ECONOMICS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In economics, sustainable development is a strategy which seeks to correct the environmental chaos and degradation that have been caused both by the capitalist and socialist systems over the years. At the same time, the strategy aims at responsible human material progress through industrial development. The fundamental question is: How can humanity contribute to environmental sanity and well-being while pursuing their goal of economic growth? The system employed – individualist or collectivist is not an issue – but how these systems are employed in pursuit of material economic advancement viz-a-viz the environment. The strategy proposes an adequate balance between environmental objectives and economic objectives, the well-functioning of ecosystems and the material satisfaction of human needs and wants, and the natural basis of all life and human survival and livelihood. The sustainable model for development emphasizes that the wanton destruction of ecosystems and the irresponsible use of natural resources in the name of economic development has disastrous, if not fatalistic, effects, not only to human life, but

to all life and the entire earthly household. In spite of the good intentions of sustainable development, the core issue which it tries to solve is scarcity. The model contributes to the solution of scarcity, albeit, with a great sense of social and environmental responsibility as a key component of development

The Brundtland Commission³⁹ defines sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (quoted in Ismail Serageldin 1996:2). Sustainable development is a kind of development that considers the material needs of posterity as it tries to meet the material needs of the present generation. The model does not sacrifice the needs of posterity. Through this model, society is encouraged to cast its eyes into the future and ensure that there will be enough nutritious food, clean water, and clean air and so on for posterity, just like the present generation enjoys to eat enough nutritious food, to drink and use clean water and breath clean air. Serageldin calls this definition “philosophically attractive”, but argues that it is not without difficult operational questions (*Ibid*:2), for example, whose needs are sufficiently met? Is it the needs of all or just a few? Generally, a number of people in the Third World still have a number of their needs basic to life unmet. If the needs of the present citizens in the Third World are not met, how does “sustainable development” hope to meet the needs of their posterity? This is an issue which has to be taken on board when it comes to sufficient satisfaction of needs.

The 1991 joint report published by the World Conservation Union, World Wide Fund for Nature and the United Nations Environmental Programme entitled “Caring for the Earth: A guide to sustainable living”, defines sustainable development as “improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems” (quoted in Yeld 1997:14-15). Yeld argues that this has a double implication. Firstly, it means that “ecosystems will have to be protected as far as possible so that successive generations can also use them to improve their quality of life” (*Ibid*:15). The protection

³⁹ See also Brundtland World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) *Our Common Future* (New York: Oxford University Press).

of ecosystems is vital to sustainable development. However, as similarly observed by Serageldin, the improvement of the quality of life is biased towards the developed countries of the world. The pace at which life improves in the Third World for the majority is very slow, if not negligible. So one must be careful to define what is meant by “improving the quality of life”. Secondly, it means that “human population growth will have to be curbed” (*Ibid*:15). This is also equally vital to sustainable development. Humanity cannot be so naïve as to claim that things will take care of themselves even with uncontrolled population growth rates. Earth’s natural resources ought to be matched with population growth. Uncontrolled growth rates of populations will render the ethic of sustainable development meaningless. The earth’s capacity to carry human life is limited and hence the need for responsibility in reproduction rights.

Synthetically, sustainable development has to do with: meeting of the needs of the present; meeting of the needs of posterity; an improvement in the quality of life for present and future generations; living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems; and the preservation or protection of supporting ecosystems. The meeting of the material needs of present and future generations is a matter of scarcity. That is to say, from the standpoint of economics, it has everything to do with the allocation of scarce resources. All that the model stresses or adds is the notion of social and environmental responsibility which should go hand in hand with the development process.

Claude Martin, director general of World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), gives broad outlines of the philosophy of sustainable development in his preface to John Yeld’s book *Caring for the earth – South Africa: A guide to sustainable living* (1997:7). He observes that sustainable development is about “how the needs of development can be – indeed must be – reconciled with the necessity to properly conserve the environment” (*Ibid*:7). Development and environmental conservation need each other as each is “doomed by failure without the other” (*Ibid*:7). It follows that needs of development such as housing, education, health and employment need to be supported by the capacity of the natural environment both for now and for the future (*Ibid*:7). It is a kind of development process

which provides “real improvement in the quality of life and at the same time conserves the vitality and diversity of the natural world” (*Ibid*:7). That is to say that the development process ought to simultaneously improve the quality of life and conserve the natural world. Therefore, the philosophical basis of sustainable development is simple and straight forward (at least in theory): *reconcile simultaneously the needs of development with the necessity to properly conserve the environment*.

The environment should not wait until development needs are taken care of⁴⁰.

Following this philosophical bias, there is every need to care for the earth (our environment). *Inter alia*, human beings totally depend on the “earth’s capacity to sustain them with its natural life-support systems: air, water and soil” (Yeld 1997:11). The survival of humans depend on the guaranteeing of “the fertility and productivity of the planet” (*Ibid*:11). The same is true for other species.

Current statistics about the global environmental situation are very alarming. In spite of the United Nations Conference in human environment which took place in Stockholm in 1972 and tried to raise environmental awareness, the deterioration of the ecological health of the planet continued in the 1970s unabated, emanating from the 1960s (*Ibid*:13). Also between 1972 and 1992, there were a trail of environmental crises including: the shrinking of the world’s forests by 200 million hectares; the expansion of deserts by 120 million hectares; the loss of billions of tons of valuable topsoil; the extinction of hundreds of plants and animals; the steady increase and concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere; and the rapid depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer (*Ibid*:14). Further, between 1977 and 1997, human population increased by more than 1,6 billion humans, an occurrence which was followed by depletion of key natural resources (*Ibid*:14). It is for this reason that men and women of good will started to popularise the concept of

⁴⁰ See The World Bank document *Can the Environment Wait? Priorities for East Asia* (Washington D C: World Bank, 1997) which, *inter alia*, concludes that the environment should not wait because the cost of cleaning up the environment afterwards is very high. The so-called South East Asian miracle has left a trail of environmental chaos and degradation which have become costly to rectify.

sustainable development⁴¹ on an increased level beginning in the 1980s, in order to correct the situation. In fact, it was the World Commission on Environment and Development (The Brundtland Commission) of 1987, through their publication of the document “Our Common Future” which brought the term “sustainable development” into common use (Serageldin and Steer, editors, 1994:2). As already noted, the commission called for development that “meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of future generations” (*Ibid*:2). In spite of this environmental awareness campaign, global environmental deterioration went on unabated. There was need for action. Three of the bodies which responded were the World Conservation Union, the World Wide Fund for Nature and the United Nations Environment Programme who met in 1991 and produced a joint document “caring for the earth: a guide to sustainable living” (Yeld 1997:14). It was essentially a “blueprint for a new way of life to break the existing pattern that was causing environmental chaos throughout the world” (*Ibid*:14). The 1992 Earth summit which met at Rio de Janeiro further underscored a similar point when it “alerted the conscience of the world to the urgency of achieving sustainable development” (Serageldin and Steer, editors, 1994:1). Its main message was that “without better environmental stewardship, development will be undermined, and without accelerated development in poor countries, environmental policies will fail” (*Ibid*:1). At the threshold of a new beginning and a new millennium, environmental degradation is still an agenda item on both the local and global scale (cf Yeld 1997).

In search of rapid economic growth, humanity has created disastrous and fatalistic effects on life-supporting ecosystems of the world. Humanity is a victim as well as a perpetrator of environmental degradation. They have not executed their role in the ecosystem responsibly (Hugo *et al.* 1997:72ff). They have failed to live in “total harmony with nature” and to consider themselves “an integral part of the ecological system” as was the case in antiquity (*Ibid*:72). Their superior mental ability, in spite of its contribution to

⁴¹ “Sustainable development” as a term originates from German forest management practices in the 19th Century (*Ibid*: 12).

modernity, has been a cause of the destruction of the environment (*Ibid:73-77*).

Because of the foregoing, humanity has to rise to the occasion and arrest the deteriorating environmental situation. They can re-orient their intellectual capacity to begin to conserve the environment. The point is, as already noted, that in spite of technological advancement, humans depend on nature for their survival (*Ibid:103*). This is why “the conservation of the environment is of the utmost importance” (*Ibid:103*). The main issue here is not so much a shortage of resources or energy, but “that the technology to utilise the available resources without degrading the environment is inadequate” (*Ibid: 103-104*). In other words, there needs to be environment-friendly technology which does not contribute to the degradation of the environment. This requires a kind of change of the mindset. Humanity must begin to move away from the basic problem of human selfishness which “motivates them to only look after that which is their own” (*Ibid:104*) to a pragmatic approach which cares for that which is not their own and uses resources responsibly. It is this inner change of perception and attitude which will enable us to conserve both renewable (e.g. water) and non-renewable (e.g. minerals) natural resources (*Ibid:104ff*). The key issue here is conservation. According to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, conservation means:

the responsible management of (people's) use of the natural environment in such a way that it retains the largest, permanent, advantages for the present generation. At the same time it should retain the potential to supply the needs and gratify the expectations of future generations (Hugo et al. 1997:153).

There need not to be opposition “sustainable development” and “conservation”. They both stress “responsible utilisation of resources” (*Ibid:153*) for the sake of humans. The value of conservation is priceless and includes the following: economic, ecological, nutritional, medicinal, aesthetic-psychological, and educational benefits (*Ibid: 153ff*).

Conservation, apart from its emphasis on natural resources, also emphasises the need to recognise the value of biodiversity (*Ibid*:158). That is to say “the total habitat of the species” (*Ibid*:158). Hugo *et al.* warn that: “If, through human or any other external influence, there is a disturbance in the ecological balance, this could lead to the damage or even destruction of the ecosystem” (*Ibid*:158). Loss of biodiversity “could result in as yet unknown risks or damage to the quality of human life” (*Ibid*:158). The world “is an interdependent whole made up of natural and human communities” (*Ibid*:158). The point is that “the well-being of any one part depends on the well-being and health of all the other parts” (*Ibid*:158). Humanity cannot just use natural resources without restraint. They must work within specific ecological limits: “The ecological limits within which humans must work are not limits to human endeavour; instead they give direction and guidance as to how we can sustain environmental stability” (*Ibid*:158).

The ball is in the court of humans. There needs to be a broad-based approach to the issue of sustainable development. This approach should go beyond Serageldin’s suggestion that seem to say that only voices of economists, ecologists, and sociologists should be taken into consideration when it comes to the question of understanding sustainable development (Serageldin in Serageldin and Steer, editors, 1994:1-2). All humans – uneducated and educated, small and big, unprofessional and professional, poor and rich – ought to be included in the quest for sustainable development.

Society’s concerted efforts at sustainable development will help humanity realise a “sustainable economy” (Yeld 1997:15). It is a kind of economy which breaks away from “the old pattern of economic growth, through the ever-increasing consumption of natural resources” one which develops “through improvements in human knowledge, better organisation, less waste, improved technical efficiency and the application of wise investment decisions” (*Ibid*:15). Our economic vision ought to be: a movement from destruction to construction, from spoilage to preservation, from irresponsible development to responsible development. A “sustainable economy” is indeed a moral economy which sustains humanity within the carrying capacity of the life-supporting ecosystems.

The ultimate goal, therefore, of sustainable living is a sustainable society. The kind of society which “grows and prospers while living within the carrying capacity of its supporting systems and which is underpinned by the philosophy of caring for all living creatures” (*Ibid*: 1997:15). As Yeld has observed, following the tradition of the 1991 “Caring for the Earth” joint document, such a society can be achieved when human communities apply the following nine principles, namely: respecting and caring for the community of life; improving the quality of life; conserving Earth’s vitality and diversity; minimising the depletion of non-renewable resources; keeping within Earth’s carrying capacity; changing personal attitudes and practices, enabling communities to care for their own environments; providing a national framework for integrating development and conservation; and creating a global alliance (*Ibid*:15).

Society has to say “no” to irresponsible economic development by whatever system. Society has to reconcile the needs of development with the need to properly conserve society’s precious environment so that both the present and the future generations do not suffer from the ramifications of irresponsible utilisation of natural resources and destruction of biodiversity. Sustainable development is the way forward for the human quest for material progress and prosperity – including their quest for growth to full potential.

Nevertheless, it ought to be stated that in spite of the high sounding and grand objectives of sustainable development, the model underpinned by the notion of scarcity, does not fully solve the problem of scarcity. In this regard, due to the reasons alluded to in the previous sections, the model also needs to move away from scarcity as its “point of departure” to a new “point of departure”, which will be discussed later. By this recognition, sustainable development will proceed from a position of strength which recognises that natural resources and economic goods are enough to do around for every human being around the world (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1997; c.f. Meeks 1988). This is possible if only justice, fairness, responsibility, accountability, and other ethical values are allowed to permeate economic systems (*Ibid*). This paradigm shift will all the more

re-beautify and revitalise "sustainable development" which already thrives on internationally acclaimed values of social protection and environmental care.

2.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has critically reviewed some of the definitions and perspectives under the science of economics. It is these definitions and perspectives which have given a firmer grasp of the fundamental issues in economics.

Firstly, it has explored the etymological background of the word "economics" and has established that modern economics has departed from its original meaning – *oikonomia* (stewardship) – to money-making (*chrematistics*). In addition to this, it has shown that one needs to understand the various levels of meaning in which economics occurs: that "political economy" refers more to the involvement of political authorities in the economic process; and that "modern" or "traditional economics" refers more to economics as seen and interpreted by modern economists. At the core of these definitions is the problem of scarcity. Further, in seeking to draw on both secular and religious definitions of the term "economics", one has to take into consideration other important aspects such as the environment, the human community, and spirituality, other than the material and the mechanical only. This is in order to arrive at what one may call "an adequate definition of economics". There is no difference between secular and Christian definitions. In one way or the other, they deal with scarcity as a fundamental issue in economics.

Secondly, it has distinguished "economic development" from "political economy" and "traditional economics". It has hinted that economic development, just like its parent (economics) ought to seek balanced satisfaction of the material and the spiritual, and should be oriented towards harmonious living between the human community, the environment, and the supernatural. That is to say that "economic development" will be failing in its duty if it only aims at one aspect of humanity – that is, the material. It ought to be a movement towards the satisfaction of all human needs so that human beings can grow to

their full potential. Nonetheless, even though economic development aims at balanced improvement in the quality of life, it is founded on scarcity – an issue which needs to be addressed.

Thirdly, the chapter has pointed that, in economics, the fundamental economic problem is scarcity which is solved from the standpoint of the notion of scarcity. It is scarcity which sets rules of the economic game. It is its “point of departure”. Without scarcity, the science of economics becomes irrelevant. However, it has raised a challenge that in spite of the fact that scarcity is a necessary concept which has helped humanity to explain the allocation of resources, it is an insufficient “point of departure” mainly due to moral concerns which it raises (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1997). There is indeed enough to go around for every person (*Ibid*; c.f. Meeks 1988). In the following chapters, it will be argued that there is a need to replace scarcity with an adequate “point of departure”

Fourthly, this chapter has established that the problem of scarcity is traditionally solved by two economic systems namely: capitalism and socialism. Traditional systems, like the barter system, have been taken over by the two systems. Both of them have inherent operational difficulties which need to be rectified so that both *individual* and *collective* humanity can improve their life and grow to their highest potential. Further, as already observed, in both cases, the “point of departure” need not be scarcity, but a more sufficient one.

Fifthly, sustainable development underscores the point that needs of development – by whatever system – should be reconciled with the need for the preservation of ecosystems. Human life is wholly dependent on other life-systems which need to be preserved. This calls for sustainable living aimed at the creation of a sustainable society whose members are able to sustain and improve the quality of their lives within the earth’s capacity to support this. In spite of the high-sounding objectives of sustainable development, it too has scarcity as its fundamental “point of departure”. In fact as a model, it does not fully

solve the problem of scarcity. Consequently, there needs to be a new “point of departure” (*Ibid*).

In conclusion, it should be stated firstly that economics should move beyond the material satisfaction of human needs to include all other needs. Secondly, it has to employ an economic system that does not trample under foot humanity, does not destroy the environment, and does not make humanity aspiritual and irreligious. Thirdly and most crucially, there is an urgent and timely need to replace scarcity with a more sufficient “point of departure” (*Ibid*). From a theological-ethical standpoint, there is indeed every need to “come up” with a new point of departure which is rooted and grounded on what one may call “life-giving, life-affirming, and life-sustaining principles” which are in tune with the Biblical witness. In chapters five and six, this new “point of departure” will be developed and critically discussed.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA: 1964-1999

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has established beyond any reasonable doubt that scarcity is the root which runs through economics, economic development, modern economic systems and the quest for sustainable development. Formulated and refined by economic thinkers mainly of the industrial West, the concept was “exported” to conquered lands and colonies by Western Colonisers. There, the concept continued to define the practice of economics in those specific areas including Africa. Post-independent and decolonised Africa did not depart from the legacy of scarcity as the “point of departure” for her quest for rapid economic development.

In building the case of Zambia, it ought to be stated that she took scarcity as her “point of departure” for nation-building and economic development from the time of her independence in 1964. As a young nation, she had to choose between the capitalist individualist philosophy and the socialist collectivist philosophy as the major economic systems by which scarcity can be solved.

From 1964 to 1991, even though the Zambian economy was mixed in nature, it was the socialist collectivist philosophy that was prominent. Modest positive economic and social results were achieved during this period. Nevertheless, by 1991, the economy of Zambia reached a catastrophic decline with very serious social ramifications. Zambia had failed to solve her scarcity problems due to, *inter alia*, ineffective measures to fully combat scarcity.

It is crystal clear that Zambia has had problems to fully solve scarcity in her quest for economic development. Her economic problems are inextricably linked to her history and structures which were engendered and allowed to metamorphosise and consolidate (c.f.

Makan 1994: *passim*). In this regard, a historical perspective is very vital to an adequate understanding of Zambia's journey to economic development. In turn, this will help one construct a viable, resilient, and life-affirming theological-ethical framework for economic development.

With the change of government in 1991, the socialist collectivist philosophy was virtually replaced by the capitalist individualist philosophy as a way of solving Zambia's scarcity problems. On a purely economic front, from 1992 to 1999, Zambia scored some modest results, including the much talked about privatisation programme. Unfortunately, the social indicators for Zambia show a dismal decline in the living standards of the people (The World Bank 2000:323 f.f.). Yet again, Zambia had failed to solve her scarcity problems due to, *inter alia*, as noted for the period 1964 to 1999, ineffective measures to fully combat scarcity.

This chapter gives an overview of the historical process of economic development in Zambia in the period 1964 to 1999. By so doing, it illustrates how scarcity has been dealt with in the specific context of Zambia..

It is divided into six main parts, namely: visions of a reconstructed Zambia: a brief statement; political liberation, independence and decolonisation: setting the context for nation-building and economic development; economic development in the early post-independence era: 1964-1976; economic slide of the mid 1970s to 1979; structural adjustment in the 1980s: an overview; and structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation in the 1990s: a brief presentation.

3.2 VISIONS OF A RECONSTRUCTED ZAMBIA: A BRIEF STATEMENT

The visions of a reconstructed Zambia (then called Northern Rhodesia) are largely attributed to a crop of young freedom fighters and justice-seeking Zambians, among whom the first

President of Zambia, Kenneth David Kaunda, became an epitome of the hopes and aspirations of all Zambians across the board¹.

They saw the imminence of a better Zambia where people would be free, seek justice, have a better government, enjoy individual rights, experience peace, be happy and prosperous, and simply enjoy a good life². The struggle for nationhood and self-rule was a hard one characterised by indignities, colonial injustice and violence, racial discrimination and exclusion and, growing rivalries among the founding fathers and mothers (Makasa 1985:97-122 and Macpherson 1977:47-60). However, they all wanted to remain focused as Kaunda observed: “We are tired of foreign rule” (1988:1). This was a noble cry of liberation from not only political oppression, but from social inhibition and economic incapacitation.

Feelings of nationalism date back to 1912 when the first African Welfare Association was formed at Mwenzo Mission in the north by late Donald Siwale together with late Rev David Kaunda, father of the first president of Zambia (Chisala 1994:7 and Bolink 1967: 97). It was formed in the context of a Christian environment and teaching predominantly by missionaries of the Church of Scotland. Members were challenged to relate the biblical message of freedom and justice to colonial realities (Weller and Linden 1984:197). Soon, welfare societies became a country-wide feature culminating in “the first general meeting of the United African Welfare Association” held at Kafue, to the south of Lusaka, in 1933 (Chisala 1994:7). This organisation did not just debate and discuss social welfare issues, which were affecting the indigenous Northern Rhodesians (now Zambians), but also tried to analyse the colonial political dispensation of the day. In 1946, “Yamba, George Kaluwa and Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika now deceased, formed the Northern Rhodesia Federation of Welfare Societies” (*Ibid*:8). It was this organisation that was transformed in 1948 into a political

¹ Others included the likes of late Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika, the first president of Northern Rhodesia African Congress, late Dauti Yamba, Robinson Nabulyato, George Kaluwa, Mateyo Kakumbi, Safeli Chileshe, late Mungoni Liso, John Sokoni, late Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, late Robinson Puta, Dixon Konkola, late Lawrence Katilungu, late Reuben Chitandika Kamanga, late Jonathan Chivunga, late Justin Chimba, Frank Chitambala, Wittington Sikalumbi, Paul Kalichini, Kapasa Makasa, Raphael Kombe, Malama Sokoni, late Solomon Kalulu, Barry Banda, Alexander Grey Zulu, Mainza Chona, Gordon Chindele, late Munukayumbwa Sipalo, late Arthur Wina, Sikota Wina, Dingiswayo Banda, Peter Matoka, Elijah Mudenda and John Mwanakatwe. For detailed accounts of pre-independence events, see Macpherson (1974 and 1977), Makasa (1985) and Chisala (1994).

² See Kaunda (1988 and 1989). See also Kaunda’s prophetic book: *Zambia shall be free* (UK: Heinemann, 1962).

party, called the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, with late Goodwin Mbikusita Lewanika as the first elected president (*Ibid*:8).

The 1950s were difficult years for Zambian freedom fighters. Due to political differences, the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (interchangeably called ANC) suffered a break which saw the formation of Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) on 24 October 1958 (Macpherson 1977: 37-38, Chisala 1994:13-14; Makasa 1985:75-114). Leaders of this new political party accused the then President of the ANC, the late Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, of being slow, siding with the federation government, and not pushing hard for the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi)³. ZANC did not reach its full maturity because it was banned by colonial authorities on 11th March, 1959 and its leaders imprisoned⁴. Patriotic Zambians were determined to push ahead in spite of this sad development. Hence, to organise their political aspirations and agenda, a good number of those who were not imprisoned decided to organise themselves into smaller political parties which included: the Freedom Party led by Bary R Banda; the United National Congress Party led by Dixon Konkola; and the African National Independence Party led by Paul Kalichini and Frank Chitambala (Makasa 1985:115 and Chisala 1994:14-15). In order to strengthen the political onslaught on colonialism, the Freedom Party and the United National Congress Party merged to form the United Freedom Party (Makasa 1985:115). It was probably the second merger between the United Freedom Party and the African National Independence Party in August 1959 which proved the most important political development because it united and harnessed political energies country-

³ See also Kaunda (1988:4) and Macpherson (1977:38). Apart from the reasons cited above, Nkumbula was accused of accepting "a constitutional arrangement that provided for 8 African representatives in an Assembly of 30 members" (Kaunda 1988:4) when Governor Benson of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) presented constitutional proposals in March, 1958, which "divided the population into 'ordinary', 'special' and 'ungraded' persons as far as voting was concerned" (Macpherson 1977:38). The Benson Constitution was potentially racist, divisive and exclusivist. As for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it lasted from August, 1953 to June, 1963 and was essentially an imposition by her Majesty's British government in collaboration with the federal movement and territorial authorities (Macpherson 1974:80ff and Makasa 1985:75-87). The main architect of this period was Sir Roy Welensky who ruled as federation premier from 1956-1963 based in Salisbury (now Harare).

⁴ See Chisala (1994:13). ZANC was seen by colonial authorities as a party bent on disturbing 'law and order', especially because at one of its earlier rallies it had warned that chaos was bound to break out in the nation if demands for self-rule and dissolution of federation were not met. Federation was hated by Northern Rhodesians (now Zambians) because it economically disadvantaged the nation: Zambia was being milked of its resources (especially copper), its people were being used as cheap labour in the Southern African economies of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa, and it was being made into a 'dependent economy' which depended on the southern states for its basic necessities, goods and services (Makasa 1985:75-87 and Macpherson 1977:23 f.f.).

wide, which later resulted in the emancipation of Zambia from the shackles of colonialism and imperialism. The party which resulted from this merger came to be known as the United National Independence Party (UNIP) (Makasa 1985:115). The president was Dixon Konkola, who was shortly replaced by Paul Kalichini due to political and personal differences (*Ibid*:115).

Meanwhile, ANC suffered another split which saw the departure of dynamic leaders, among whom a young lawyer, Mainza Chona, was the most prominent who joined UNIP (*Ibid*:115). This necessitated party re-organisation in UNIP leading to new elections in which Mainza Chona emerged as party president (*Ibid*:116). When Kenneth David Kaunda⁵ and others were released from prison in January, 1960. Mainza Chona stepped down in order to allow for new elections and Kaunda was duly elected as national party president on 31st January, 1960 (*Ibid*: 116).

In the 1960s, UNIP became the most powerful political organisation in the land. It is this political organisation that galvanised national feelings of self-rule and nationhood as Kaunda observes: “The United National Independence Party which is the most powerful political party at present remains solid, alert and human in its approach to our serious problems” (1988:9). Their quest was the quest for power (*Ibid*: 9):

We want power not for the sake of power but because we want it as a tool in the noble service of mankind. We do want power because only then can we carry out our programmes of equipping our people to fight poverty, ignorance, disease and other evils.

⁵ Kenneth David Kaunda of Zambia could rightly be called as the most important official spokesman of Zambian politics and political economy. He led the most powerful political party in the land in his capacity as party president from 1960 up until change of government in 1991, and presided over the affairs of the nation in his capacity as republican president from 1964 to 1991. During this period, he made a number of speeches, addresses and conducted press conferences. Some of them have now been compiled and included in two of his books namely: *State of the Nation: Politics and Government*, Vol.1 (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation 1988) and *State of the Nation: National Economy*, Vol II (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation 1989). This study has extensively made use of these two sources simply because they provide valuable insights into the political and economical philosophy of government in the early post-independence era and beyond. The point is that one cannot interpret the political economy of Zambia, let alone its politics and government, prior to 1991, without making due reference to Kenneth David Kaunda’s economical and political thought.

The early 1960s were particularly difficult for the nation. There were more reports of colonial violence and repression against patriotic nationalists, especially in the UNIP camp⁶. Nonetheless, Kaunda continued to preach non-violence: “The mention of ‘Hindu’ must remind us of Mahatma Gandhi, we must pursue his policy of non-violence” (1988:3). His non-violence strategy simply meant that he was not for loss of life, especially of whites who were waging a war of repression against blacks (Macpherson 1977:44-45). Meanwhile, it remained the task of UNIP leaders to encourage their people to stand for ‘non-violent positive action’ in the wake of isolated cases of destruction of schools by UNIP loyalists in order to underscore their disapproval of colonial rule, especially in Luapula province (*Ibid*:45) as the people pressed for self-government and independence.

To attend to African demands, the British government, in collaboration with federal authorities, set up the “Monckton Commission” in April, 1960 and tasked it to “prepare the ground for a Constitutional Review Conference in London as laid down in the Federal Constitution” (Makasa 1985:85). It was boycotted by patriotic nationalists who felt that it only came to serve the interests of colonial masters and was, therefore, a waste of time (Makasa 1985:85-86 and Macpherson 1974:292). People demonstrated and protested against the Monckton Commission – an indication that people were not in favour of federation. This led the British government to call for constitutional talks to discuss the future of Northern Rhodesia in February, 1961, held at Lancaster House in London (Makasa 1985:86). In the words of Makasa, “the delegation (from the United National Independence Party) went to fight for immediate self-government and independence for the Republic of Zambia” (*Ibid*: 86). Unfortunately, this conference was a failure due to lack of consensus between patriotic nationalists who wanted majority rule on one hand and federalists who wanted to maintain the federation on the other hand (Macpherson 1974:329-330). It was now left up to the then British Colonial Secretary, Ian Macleod, to find a scheme that would end the impasse and hopefully satisfy both parties. On 20th February, 1961 he presented the famous 15-15-15

⁶ Some of these atrocities, which included stories of murder, rape of women and physical violence, especially from Luapula and Northern provinces, were reported in UNIP’s publication of *A Grim Peep into the North*, edited by late Nalumino Mundia and Emmanuel Chalabesa, in October, 1961 (Makasa 1985:84 and Macpherson 1977:50). UNIP was also accused of violence when a British woman, Mrs Lilian Burton was brutally murdered by UNIP loyalists in Ndola in early 1960 (Macpherson 1977:43-44 and Chisala 1994:16). This was rather an isolated incidence and cannot be generalised.

scheme to the House of Commons which, *inter alia*: “called for a Legislative Council of forty-five elected members, up to six official members and such nominated members as the Governor might appoint on instructions from the British Government. Among the elected constituencies, fifteen would be returned from single-member constituencies, by upper roll voters, fifteen from single-member constituencies by lower roll voters and fifteen from national constituencies by both rolls voting together. Candidates in National Constituencies would be required to qualify for election by obtaining the same prescribed minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll; their overall support would be expressed as a percentage figure, calculated by averaging together their respective proportions of votes on the upper and lower rolls. Each of the three sets of constituencies was to extend over the entire territory; upper roll constituencies concentrated predominantly in urban areas, lower roll constituencies centred mainly in rural areas” (Mulford quoted in Macpherson 1974:330-331)⁷.

This division of constituencies and voters was too complicated for an ordinary person to understand. Besides, it did not guarantee “majority rule” (Macpherson 1977:46-47). Kaunda and his leadership were angered by this colonial foot-dragging. So, on 9 July, 1961, UNIP called a huge conference at Mulungushi Rock in Kabwe where Kaunda announced a five-point master plan which included, *inter alia*, a commitment to the effect that “We (UNIP) will step up our (UNIP’s) anti-federation campaign to clip Welensky’s wings so that he can fly at ordinary level” (Macpherson 19974:334-335 and 1977: 46-47). It was here that Kaunda launched *Cha-Cha-Cha*⁸. In spite of calls for ‘non-violent positive action’, *Cha-Cha-Cha* turned out to be destructive and fierce, especially in Northern and Luapula provinces (Macpherson 1977:49-52). People went on popular sprees to destroy schools, block roads, damage infrastructure, burn identification cards and marriage certificates and frustrated ‘law and order’ country-wide (Makasa 1985:118-127 and Macpherson

⁷ Meanwhile, Welensky had worked hard to persuade the British government to change some details of the Macleod’s constitutional plan, but unfortunately, they did not go deep enough to satisfy patriotic Zambians – they were more or less like the original Macleod’s proposal (Macpherson 1974:336; 1977:46).

⁸ The word *Cha-Cha-Cha*, according to Kaunda, meant “real dancing” (quoted in Macpherson 1977:48). Its etymology is unclear, but suffice to say that it was a coined *bantu* word which was originally associated with open protest and civil disobedience by patriotic Zambians against federal and territorial rule. Also, according to Kaunda, *Cha-Cha-Cha* was not aimed at physical violence against white people (*Ibid*: 52).

1977:50-52). The colonial government responded by sending the police and the army country-wide, especially in rural areas. A number of indigenous Zambians were imprisoned and killed and had their property destroyed as a result of this action (Makasa 1985:118-127 and Macpherson 1977: 50-52). In October, 1961, Ian Macleod was replaced as Colonial Secretary by Reginald Maudling (Macpherson 1977:52)⁹. New hope, amidst bitterness, for Zambian freedom fighters was rekindled. In February, 1962, Maudling “announced a further change in the ‘15-15-15’ Constitution” (*Ibid*: 52). This change worked to the advantage of black people¹⁰. Macpherson observes:

No one praised the new plan, but UNIP was going to take part in a general election. 1962 therefore, became the year in which the first electoral battle between Africans and Europeans took place. That battle opened the way to black government. It was also the signal for the death of the Central African Federation (Ibid: 52).

On October 30, 1962, the nation went to the polls (*Ibid*: 56). UNIP got 14 seats, the United Federal Party (the colonial party) got 15 seats and the ANC got 5 seats (Makasa 1985: 148 and Macpherson 1977:56). Kaunda and Nkumbula agreed to form a coalition government which was going to work with the colonial government. What appeared to be the first African government was installed in Lusaka on December 16, 1962 (Makasa 1985: 149)¹¹. The road to full independence was yet to be completed. None-the-less, this development assured the Zambians that their visions of a reconstructed Zambia were about to be actualised. While this was happening, an indigenous religio-political movement called “The Lenshina Movement” started to fan trouble especially in the Northern province from 1963 (Macpherson 1977:59 and Makasa 1985:153-158)¹². This did not detract the people of Zambia. They

⁹ Relative calm was restored by November, 1961. However, the territorial government of Northern had to contend with inter-party clashes in the *Cha-Cha-Cha* aftermath between UNIP and ANC supporters which became fierce on the Copperbelt especially in 1962 (*Ibid*:54).

¹⁰ It leveled the playing field for all participating parties when it came to election of candidates for national seats in the Legislative Council (*Ibid*: 52).

¹¹ The coalition government was led by Sir Evelyn Horne as governor with four colonial ministers, three UNIP ministers and three ANC ministers – Kaunda was given the portfolio of Minister for Local Government and Social Welfare (Makasa, 1985: 149).

¹² The Lenshina Movement or Lumpa Church was founded by late Alice Mulenga Lenshina about 1952 in Chinsali (Makasa 1985:1952). It broke off from the Church of Scotland Lubwa mission to form an independent church which embodied African religious experiences and practices, some of which were reasonably good (Lwiche 1984:passim). As the independence struggle went on, it started to espouse political objectives which proved to be radical. It is argued that it started to be anti-UNIP and encour-

looked forward to the dawning of the era of self-rule and government, especially with the dissolution of the federation in June, 1963, at Victoria Falls in Livingstone.

Zambia was now poised to see the fulfillment of her desired hopes and aspirations. It was about to be emancipated and begin to chart her destiny – a destiny which would finally enable her to truly reconstruct her society for the better, for the good life of the people, for respect of human dignity, for liberal democracy and for peaceful co-existence, and above all, for prosperity, well-being of the people and societal orderliness.

3.3 **POLITICAL LIBERATION, INDEPENDENCE AND DECOLONISATION: SETTING THE CONTEXT FOR NATION-BUILDING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The year 1964 was the year of full political liberation, independence and decolonisation for a young, but dynamic nation of Zambia. On January 3, 1964, “an Order in Council, signed by Queen Elizabeth in London, formally granted self-rule to Northern Rhodesia” (Macpherson 1977:60). Towards the end of that month, UNIP, ANC and the National Progress Party (formerly United Federal Party) went to the polls (*Ibid*:60). UNIP came out triumphant with 55 seats – ANC got 10 seats and NPP got 10 seats as well (*Ibid*:60). On 23rd January, 1964, “Party president Kenneth Kaunda was appointed Prime Minister ...” (Makasa 1985:159)¹³. Thereafter, a motion which demanded the formal withdrawal of Northern Rhodesia from the federation was carried in the Legislative Assembly (*Ibid*:159). Makasa reminisces: “The swearing in of Kenneth Kaunda as Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia at the head of a UNIP government in self-governing Zambia was the happiest moment of my life. It was the beginning of the end of our long and tortuous struggle against imperialist humiliation and colonial subjugation” (1985:160). On May 2, 1964, the London Constitu-

aged the boycott of elections among its followers in the early 1960s (Makasa 1985:153ff and Macpherson 1977:59). Between June, 1963 and July, 1964, a number of repressive atrocities were committed against its followers, and these include: murders, attacks on members’ houses, churches, grain bins, and physical injury, especially in Northern and Luapula Provinces (Makasa 1985:153-154). Even though it was claimed that Lumpa inflicted atrocities on others, the main perpetrators of atrocities were UNIP supporters and colonial police and army (*Ibid*:153-154). It was banned in 1964 and its members went underground (Macpherson 1977:59).

¹³ This marked the end of the coalition government and the beginning of a new era of self-government (Chisala 1994:17).

tional Conference on Zambia's Independence began (Macpherson 1974:437). At this conference, it was agreed that "Zambia's independence would come at the same time as the *republican status* so that on 24th October, 1964, Zambia would be an independent sovereign republic within the Commonwealth" (Makasa 1985:162). On 25th August, 1964, "the Legislative Assembly Meeting in Lusaka elected Kaunda unopposed as Executive President ..." (*Ibid*:162). Accordingly, he was formally declared on the same day by the Chief Justice as "President-elect of the soon-to-be-born Republic of Zambia" (Macpherson 1974:447). Kaunda announced his new cabinet on 24th September, 1964 (*Ibid*:452)¹⁴.

The great day was 24th October, 1964, when Zambia finally attained her full independence from British colonial rule (Chisala 1994:17; Makasa 1985:163-164; and Macpherson 1977:64). The stage was the Independence Stadium in Lusaka where a 30 000-some people were gathered and the British Queen was duly represented by the Princess Royal who handed over the "Instrument of Government" (Macpherson 1974:453 f.f.). Then Kaunda took the vow of office:

I, Kenneth David Kaunda, swear that I will faithfully and diligently discharge my duties and perform my functions in the high office of President of the Republic of Zambia; that I will maintain the Constitution of Zambia and uphold the laws and welfare of the people of Zambia without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. So help me God (Ibid:454).

This vow had far-reaching political and economical implications. Politically, it bound the president to discharge his office according to the constitution and laws of Zambia. Economically, it called on the president to promote the welfare, that is, the well being of the people of Zambia – and this, in the long run, was going to prove the most difficult presidential duty and function. His economic responsibility had to do very much with solving scar-

¹⁴ Macpherson observes: "The Zambian Cabinet, which held office at the celebration of Independence, was as follows: late Reuben Kamanga, Vice-President; Mainza Chona, Minister of Home Affairs; late Simon Kapwepwe, Foreign Affairs; late Arthur Wina, Finance; John Mwanakatwe, Education; Elijah Mudenda, Agriculture; Dingiswayo Banda, Housing and Social Development; Sikota Wina, Local Government; Alexander Grey Zulu, Transport and Works; late Munukayumbwa Sipalo, Health; late Nalumino Mundia, Commerce and Industry; James Skinner, Justice; late Justin Chimba, Labour and Mines; late Solomon Kalulu, Natural Resources; and Peter Matoka, Information" (1977:64). About

city. Then he gave a milestone speech, in his capacity as first president of the newly born republic – a speech that was intended to provide political and economical direction to the nation:

It is my intention to defend the Constitution of Zambia. I pledge myself to be guided by the noble principle that Man is one and indivisible wherever he may be found. I promise to suffer with every Zambian and, likewise, to rejoice with every Zambian. In promising to uphold the cherished freedom embodied in our Constitution, I am aware of the many forces at work, some of them will be tribal, religious and political, when we try to fight hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease. Thus the task before us is formidable if we are to build the nation. I shall need the support of you, the people of Zambia.

Furthermore, I promise progress and advancement to every law-abiding and hard-working Zambian. Let it not be said that in Zambia a citizen rose to the highest position on any grounds other than merit. Let our motto be “One Zambia, One Nation” (Kaunda 1988:23).

In brief, it was a compassionate presidential appeal to all Zambians to rise above all divisions in order to truly build the nation and thus attain social and material progress and advancement. Zambians were truly free, at least, politically. They were no longer going to endure “the inhumanity of the colour bar”, face “the greed that made conquerors want to keep Zambia’s wealth for themselves” and experience colonial refusal to “recognise Zambians as citizens in their own country” (Macpherson 1977:82-83).

Thus the goal of the struggle for independence was reached. Zambia, a free nation, was about to take on the challenges of modernity, especially the force of industrial capitalism which had the potential to determine her economic destiny.

3.3.1 Towards a Humanist State

this, Mulford observed that Kaunda “formed a well-balanced and extremely capable Government” (1967:330-331, 342-343).

From independence, Zambia wanted to adopt a philosophy that would be applied to her national politics, government, national economy and foreign policy. It did not need to needed not to have borrow from the international community, but found “building blocks” within the Zambian traditional heritage for a philosophy that would be sensitive to the values of the Zambian people. This philosophy came to be known as the *Zambian philosophy of humanism*, a sociallist collectivist philosophy, and its main proponent and exponent was no other than the first president of Zambia, Kenneth David Kaunda¹⁵. This philosophy had deep-seated effects on the political thinking of leaders and on Zambia’s economy as the country evolved into a modern nation. The intention was to create a humanist society. What then were the “highlights” of humanism in its local and global contexts? This study takes this question seriously in order to understand the complexities of Zambia’s road to economic development.

3.3.1.1 Within the frontiers of Zambia

The philosophy of Zambian humanism was accepted as *a way of life* by the National Council of UNIP at its meeting on 26 April, 1967 (Kaunda 1989:23). According to Kaunda, “humanism” meant “much more than mere words and the guide is not meant merely to be read and put aside, nor to be parallel as a political gimmick ... humanism is our way of life; it is not a new concept, but a re-affirmation of what our better nature tells us is right” (1988:40).

It had a positive view of man: “ ... MAN is the culmination of God’s creation, and this high valuation of MAN and respect for human dignity, which is a legacy of our Zambian traditions, must not be lost in the face of rapid development” (*Ibid*:40). According to this view:

¹⁵ The philosophy of Zambian humanism is fully explained in President Kaunda’s two volumes: *Humanism in Zambia* and *A guide to its implementation (1967 and 1974)*. The main teaching is that “MAN must come first” (Macpherson 1977:82). Respect for human dignity was (and is) the highest *telos* (goal – English equivalent of Greek *telos*) of all political leadership and consequently, of all economic planning, programmes and implementation. In short, whatever Zambians did, “MAN must come first”. By “MAN”, Kaunda meant: “MAN the peasant ... the soldier ... the railway worker ... the civil servant ... the policeman ... in any corner of Zambia ... the world over ... the minister ... the President of the Republic of Zambia – all of us human beings” (Kaunda 1988:45). Kaunda would sometimes use the term “common man” to refer to “man” in general (1988:47).

“Whatsoever God created, He made so that it would serve the interests of man. The major problem has been, is and will continue to be man’s failure to appreciate the very important position God gave him on this earth” (*Ibid*:43). Here, Kaunda sounded like Polanyi when he emphasised that society should “serve the interests of man” (c.f. Polanyi 1944: passim). Polanyi was of the opinion that the emergence of industrial capitalism changed the order of affairs: *society started to serve the interests of the economy*¹⁶.

It was inclined towards care for the less fortunate:

*If a man is poor, society has a responsibility to see that his talents are developed so that he can look after himself properly with the help, of course, of the state where this is necessary. If a man is mentally ill, he is a challenge to society in the sense that society must provide for him. First of all, he must be helped to recover and once he recovers, rehabilitated. The old society, from which we have come, took care of the people, and humanism in Zambia is saying that we should not distort too much this human approach to life (Ibid: 43)*¹⁷.

In essence, it encouraged “a human approach to life” which was a simple and straightforward call: “be human” (*Ibid*:42). Zambia’s development was going to be based on twin humanist cornerstones namely: importance of man (and woman) and service to fellow men (and women) (*Ibid*: 30 and 44).

Kaunda, in his presentation of his ideas on humanism, tended to be utopian, for example, when he observed: “I am looking forward to the time when there will be no need for a po-

¹⁶ c.f. Robert Heilbroner (1988:35ff) who talks about the controlling power of the economy in society.

¹⁷ c.f. *The preferential option for the poor* as articulated by Latin American liberation theologians, especially Gustavo Gutierrez (*The power of the poor in history*). According to this teaching, God is unequivocally on the side of those who suffer, are poor and weak. This teaching is very much in agreement with Kaunda’s political doctrine of care as explained under humanism. However, theologically and socially speaking, the notion of *the preferential option for the poor* should not be ‘overly’ pushed: it should not make interpreters of this notion appear to be hypocritical. That is to say that while this view is being advanced, they should not appear as if they do not love to be secure, comfortable and strong. The point is that nobody wants to suffer, to be poor and weak. Therefore, the emancipation of the suffering, the poor and weak should be premised on the point that those who are better placed, secure, comfortable and strong should desire that the former should be like them.

liceman anywhere in the world” (*Ibid*: 49)¹⁸. He could, however, also be realistic, for example, when he recognised a possible clash between modernity and Zambian humanism:

Let me, once again, take this opportunity to recite what is the creed of our revolutionary philosophy of humanism. The high valuation of MAN and respect for human dignity, which is a legacy of our tradition, should not be lost in Zambia. However “modern” and “advanced” in a western sense this young nation may become, we are fiercely determined that humanism will not be obscured. For it is in this that what might be described as African civilisation is embodied (Ibid: 49).

As for the relationship between humanism and socialism (as practised mainly by the eastern block of the east-west political divide), Kaunda would say: “We are humanists first and foremost, and socialists in consequence” (*Ibid*: 52). He believed in a socialist interventionist approach which looked at problems of distribution of wealth, which cared for the infirm and which guaranteed equal opportunities for all (*Ibid*: 52).

In summary, Zambian humanism was a philosophy which was national; emphasized ideas of justice, freedom and the importance of man; emphasised the principle that all humans are equal; preached that all should be afforded equal opportunities; was pro-traditional communalism and mutual aid; supported the doctrine of egalitarianism supported by built-in social mechanisms; strove for the creation of constitutions which provided for a full life, a decent life, enhancement of personal worth, thereby contributing to greater societal happiness; encouraged the principle of reciprocity (influenced by the christological saying: *Do to others as you would have them do to you*¹⁹); against individualism; committed to modernisation, thereby ensuring prosperity and the elimination of poverty; desired to promote the affluence of the majority rather than that of the few; committed to wealth sharing and not poverty

¹⁸ This was highly exaggerated. In an imperfect society such as ours, we need law making and enforcement organs.

¹⁹ This saying which was familiar in Kaunda’s political speeches is found in Luke 6 v 31. See also Kaunda (1988:56).

sharing; was willing to uphold the principle of self-reliance; was sceptical of a free enterprise economy and capitalism²⁰ (*Ibid*: 55-57).

From the foregoing, one would say that the philosophy of Zambian humanism was first and foremost an “intellectual exercise” which needed time to germinate and take root in the minds of Zambians so that they could be fully prepared to contribute towards the creation of a humanist society in Zambia. Secondly, the articulation of humanism did not have a concrete economic base. For example, globalisation and the effects of a global market were not critically analysed under humanism. This is to say, questions of how humanism was going to alter economic reality in Zambia and make it *an alternative* to compete favourably with capitalism and socialism, were not addressed.

Humanism was rather a political statement of faith, a case of intellectual and philosophical determinism, and a tool to attempt to re-organise socio-economic reality, thereby create a true humanist state in which humans would be at the very centre of all activity – whether religious, cultural, political, economic and otherwise. As a philosophy, it influenced the making of Zambia politically and economically, for better and for worse.

In its practical implementation, it was highly socialist. That is to say that it followed socialist programmes and features of major socialist countries, albeit, it wanted to remain truthful to Zambian traditional ethos (Kaunda 1988:24-70). The leadership hoped that through its socialist approach, a humanist society would eventually be created (*Ibid*:81). The creation of a humanist society within the frontiers of Zambia was going to be probably one of the greatest test cases of the Kaunda regime.

3.3.1.2 Implications of humanism beyond the Zambian border: Support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa

The creation of a humanist state in Zambia had particular implications beyond the Zambian border. One of these implications was the unflinching support which Zambia gave to libera-

²⁰ By being sceptical of free enterprise economy and capitalism, Kaunda went against his earlier pre-independence speech: “Economically, we intend to create a society in which private enterprise will

tion movements in Southern Africa (Chisala 1994:131-148) – and this remained part of its foreign policy throughout the Kaunda regime. Firstly, this was a noble cause, but it made the nation divide its energies between economic development and the liberation struggle – and thus, unavoidably, wasted time in attaining the desired rapid development. Instead of worrying about teething problems of development in its domestic policy, Zambia had to worry about liberation movements' programmes and issues of security and defence should the “enemy” of resident foreign liberation movements strike²¹. Secondly, by supporting liberation movements Zambia had to incur both material and financial cost – and to a certain degree - loss of Zambian lives. This was through support to “guests”, repair to infrastructure when the “enemy” struck militarily, and attacks on Zambians²².

Chisala observes:

With his policy of humanism, Dr Kaunda and Zambia provided a home for thousands of exiles of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the Front for the liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). An insignificant assistance was also rendered to liberation movements like the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLOZ) of James Chikerema and the United African National Congress (UANC) of Revd Abel Muzorewa of Zimbabwe (1994:131)²³.

play an important role in the development of the country” (1988:12).

²¹ It is very difficult to quantify how much Zambia lost in terms of time just by concentrating partly on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Where would Zambia be if it concentrated fully on nation-building and economic development from 1964 to 1991? Zambia would probably have advanced in some way.

²² It is equally very difficult to know exactly how much Zambia spent in supporting liberation movements. This may have been minimal. In fact, it is generally argued that liberation movements raised their own money, for example, through the Organisation of African Unity (Chisala 1994:133). Certainly, what is correct is that the nation had to bear the cost when its infrastructure was destroyed by racist regimes of Southern Africa (Apartheid South Africa, Smith's Rhodesia and the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique) in order to punish the host country and inflict harm on liberation movements, and had to contain the loss of life and injury to its people.

²³ See also Macpherson (1977:75-83).

The fight for liberation by foreign liberation movements was seen as a just struggle by Kaunda and his government. It is for this reason that from the 1960s, he encouraged them to intensify the liberation war²⁴. Because of this support for liberation movements, Kaunda earned himself international and regional acclaim. For example, the former President of Tanzania, late Kambarage Mwalimu Julius Nyerere would say:

... the policies of Zambia under the leadership of President Kaunda and UNIP, have meant that instead of our being a somewhat lonely front-line state, much of the real pressure has been taken from us. It is Zambia with its much longer and more exposed borders with Mozambique, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Namibia, and Angola, which has borne the first brunt of the colonialist's anger, intrigue and attack. It is Zambia and not Tanzania, which is now the real front-line state (quoted in Macpherson 1974:xi).

While Zambia was praised for being a front-line state by the international and regional community, Kaunda's policy of supporting liberation movements was being criticised at home as Chisala observes: “ ... most Zambians were bitter with Kaunda. They felt that their president was spending and wasting too much time and money on foreign issues, talking about the independence struggle for other countries while neglecting local social problems” (1994:132).

The cost to the nation, in terms of loss of life, physical injury, infra-structural destruction and the related, is very difficult to quantify as already noted (for example in Chisala 1994:131-148). The plain truth is that Zambia had to pay “dearly” by being host to liberation movements.

The late Nyerere observes again: “History will be a more objective judge of President Kaunda than I can be” (quoted in Macpherson 1994: xii). On the one hand, Kaunda and his

²⁴ This view was supported by the World Council of Churches which established a Programme to Combat Racism (Lossky, *et al*, editors 1991:825-827). A good number of liberation movements were beneficiaries of this programme. For Dr Kaunda, a firm believer in the principle of non-violence,

government will be judged favourably for providing a home to liberation movements and this kind gesture of goodwill contributed to the full independence of Mozambique and Angola in 1975, of Zimbabwe in 1980, of Namibia in 1990 and of South Africa in 1994 (Chisala 1994:131-148). On the other hand, Kaunda and his government will be judged harshly especially by the “enlightened” Zambians who felt that he spent too much time and money on foreign liberation movements at the expense of the cost to the nation (The majority of ordinary Zambians in the townships and suburbs were extremely hospitable to foreign freedom fighters).

Although Zambia’s unflinching support to the liberation struggles in Southern Africa was probably unavoidable, two intriguing questions remain: Firstly, what could have happened to the economy of Zambia, and that of its neighbours if issues of independence for Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola were resolved through peaceful means as early as the 1960s?²⁵; Secondly, what could have happened to the domestic economy of Zambia if Zambia had to devote all her energies and mind to economic development? The obvious answer is that things would have been far better regionally and locally for the economies of the Southern African countries²⁶. For Zambia and the region, it was a “wasted time and opportunity” in terms of the desired rapid economic development and growth.

3.3.2 The “masked” role of the opposition: Creation of a one-party participatory democracy

From the time of Zambia’s independence, the opposition was not given a chance to grow and mature in order to influence policy issues, especially those of an economic nature which were decisive to the very survival of the Zambian nation. As we shall see later, during the important period of economic re-organisation beginning in 1968, the opposition voice was sidelined. The situation became extremely complicated when Zambia became a one-party participatory democracy as from December, 1972. Thereafter, the opposition was perma-

which he tried to exemplify during Zambia’s struggle for independence, his support for armed struggle, which is a clear violation of the non-violence principle was a contradiction in terms.

²⁵ An exception may be made in the case of South Africa, as a distant neighbour, which in spite of declining real GDP growth between 1965 and 1990 (Fallon and De Silva 1994) still performed much better than other countries in Southern Africa in the period under review.

²⁶ The situation was made worse for the region with civil wars breaking out in Mozambique and Angola from 1975. Mozambique ended its civil war in 1992. Angola is still deep in civil strife between forces of Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA and Eduardo dos Santos’ MPLA.

nently “killed” until the new era of multipartism in 1990. From 1964 to 1972, the role of the opposition in Zambia’s democratic politics was “masked”, that is, it could not perform as well as expected, partly due to “politics of imbalance” whereby the majority party used its power in parliament to set the national agenda and influence the socio-politico-economic processes of the nation without taking account of the opposition, whose number of seats in parliament were often insignificant.

The first parliament in the soon-to-be-independent Zambia had 55 elected seats for UNIP, 10 seats each for ANC and NPP (Macpherson 1977:60). The situation did not change by February 1965 – UNIP still had 55 seats and the opposition had 20 seats in total (Kaunda 1988:82 f.f.).

From the start, Kaunda and his government found it difficult to accommodate opposition politics. He was prepared to promote either a *de facto* or *de jure* one-party system of government. From the early days, for example – Kaunda would say:

We have said that a One-Party system is going to come here anyway whether we like it or not. This does not mean my party (UNIP) is going to take fright and start legislating against opposition political parties ... If my Party elects me again, I am going to ensure that I support all my candidates and out of all the 75 seats the other Parties are going to get zero seats (1988:84).

Due to the scenario whereby UNIP had a lot of parliamentary power and authority, the Kaunda regime was criticised for being dictatorial (Kaunda 1988:89). However, Kaunda maintained that: “There is no dictatorship in Zambia. The One-Party system is going to come through the ballot box. We do not want to legislate against the formation of other parties on principle. This is the freedom we talk about” (*Ibid*: 85). The plain truth is that in a one-party system of government, *de facto* or *de jure*, there is no real opposition to push things back into line.

The Kaunda regime was more satisfied with the role of UNIP backbenchers than the opposition:

... *I am satisfied that from the experience which we have had, our Opposition Party has demonstrated its incapacity to provide any meaningful and constructive Opposition in Parliament. The result is that the representatives of the people in the United National Independence Party, the backbenchers have taken over what is basically the role of the opposition* (1988:82-89)²⁷.

This was totally against his earlier commitment to constitutional or liberal democracy which, *inter alia*, emphasised rule by the majority and the role of the opposition (*Ibid*: 17-21).

The situation was made more complicated when in 1969, the referendum clause was removed from the constitution in order to give power to the elected Parliament to amend the constitution with “a two-thirds majority of the House” – this in spite of objections from the opposition (*Ibid*: 85-93).

The final crunch came when Zambia became a One-Party Participatory Democracy by law as from December 13, 1972. This announced the birth of the second republic (*Ibid*: 120). The implications of this were: firstly, the ANC, the opposition party ceased to exist; secondly, there was no legal opposition party in the land anymore; thirdly, UNIP from then on directed the country according to its wishes.

In spite of the fact that the celebrated goal of the One-Party Participatory Democracy was “to unify people; to further the aims and objectives of our (Zambian) independence; and to further the cause of justice for all without distinction” (*Ibid*: 121), the new political dispensation, inevitably, produced the following developments:

- Absence of an opposing voice made the nation vulnerable to human excesses and inherent failures with far-reaching socio-economic ramifications;

²⁷

By this time the main opposition party was ANC – the first general election since independence took place in December 1968. See Macpherson (1977:90) and Kaunda (1988:82-128).

- Politics of Appeasement according to which those who tolled the Party (UNIP) line were rewarded and those who had dissenting or radical views were sidelined and punished²⁸.

Wogaman argues that the opposition is an integral part of the management of the socio-politico-economic affairs of a nation in what he calls *a responsible state* (1986: 27ff)²⁹. The question is: *Could Zambia have done much better, economically, if there was a strong and good opposition?* The answer to this question is “certainly”. Some of the economic programmes implemented during the Kaunda regime which were costly to the nation might have been revised, and probably, done away with. For example, large-scale nationalisation might have been revised to suit changing times (c.f. Seshamani 1992; Jones 1994).

Opposing voices within an economy are *non-negotiables*. Among other things, they do the following: they act as a mechanism for checks and balances; they put the ruling party on its toes to deliver goods and services; and they help to balance public opinion on major economic issues and other matters.

An opposition-free Zambia for almost 27 years was highly detrimental to the economy: *a corrective mechanism to challenge failed economic plans and policies was non-existent*. Things were left to the optimism of the ruling party that things will improve one day. Unfortunately, they never improved. If Zambia had allowed the emergence of mature and strong opposition politics, the economy would probably have been far better.

3.4 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA: 1964-1976

The early post-independence period, especially the first twelve years of Zambia’s life, 1964 to 1976, was extremely crucial in determining the economic destiny of Zambia. It is in this period that “the economic seeds were sown” and “the economic foundation was laid”. Thereafter, it was a time of reaping “economic fruits” (good or bad or both) and building

²⁸ See also Chisala (1994: passim), an insider during the Kaunda regime, who gives examples of how this was carried out.

structures (strong or weak). They could rightly be called the “glory” or “boom” years of Zambia’s economic life, especially 1964 to 1973. An understanding of this period is very important for a correct interpretation of Zambia’s economy over the years. This segment is divided into four main categories namely: Foundational economic planning; the economic development process: The humanist and socialist agenda; A re-organised economy: From private capital to state capital; and The mining industry, agricultural development and the diversification policy.

3.4.1 Foundational economic planning

From the time the UNIP government was elected into power, they did not want to proceed with executing development programmes without doing economic planning. Their prime concern or priority was service to humanity. The centrality of man (and woman), to use Kaunda’s terminology was, therefore, a guiding principle in all party (UNIP) and government planning. In the words of Dr Kaunda:

If we want independence to have meaning in whatever we do, MAN must come first ... Whatever we do now and in the future will be judged a success or failure by the extent to which it helps man lead a better life to improve his or her own conditions, to move forward with confidence, ready to fight and beat off so many of the rough tides that come in his or her way (1989:1-2).

In order to proceed systematically, the government of the day had to put in place three foundational development plans, namely³⁰ (*Ibid*: 1-15):

- The Emergency Development Plan: from early 1964 to the end of 1964;
- The Transitional Development Plan: from 1st January 1965 to 30th June 1966; and
- The four-year First National Development Plan: from 1st July 1966 to 30th June 1970.

²⁹ This view is supported by Preston (1991: passim).

³⁰ These plans and other subsequent development plans are housed at the Government of the Republic of Zambia National Archives offices in Lusaka. The first three, as shown above, are very foundational

The emergency development plan was the independence year plan which was meant to address urgent issues of national development, especially those which affected the socio-economic livelihood of the majority Zambians who were disadvantaged after almost 60 years of British colonial rule. It included the following features (*Ibid*: 6): Spending an initial 5 million British Sterling on: educational development (including expansion of secondary schools and the building of the University of Zambia), development of health services (especially for rural areas), urban housing (which was considerably pathetic at the time), as well as rural housing, improvement of the Great East Road (from Lusaka to Chipata) and other roads, improvement of army barracks, improvement of agricultural services and development, and expanding the village improvement scheme. By the end of March, 1964, the government was intending to extend the emergency plan by 10 million British Sterling, partly due to a mountain of “unsatisfied reasonable needs”. This plan had a bias towards rural areas. Kaunda observes:

I must remind you that our rural areas which contain 3 million out of our 3½ million people constitute the main source of our manpower potential and I want to ensure that they receive a fair share of our expenditure on hospitals and health services (1989:6).

The transitional development plan was an expansion of the emergency development. Its main focus was to look at infrastructural, social services and support systems expenditure which included: education, defence, housing, agriculture, health, roads, provision of electricity, transport and construction (*Ibid*:9). This time, the government planned to spend more than it did in the first plan. Similarly, the four-year first national development plan was an expansion of the first two plans (*Ibid*: 16-21). It concentrated more on social services and infrastructural expenditure.

Millions of British Sterling, amounting to well over 50 million, were planned to be spent between 1964 to the end of the four-year first national development plan in 1970³¹ (*Ibid* 1-

³¹ to Zambia’s journey to economic prosperity and stability. This study would like to refer to them briefly in order to unlock early post-independence government thinking on the economy. Estimates and Actual Expenditures between 1964 and 1970 can be obtained from the Ministry of Finance, Republic of Zambia. It is not the intention of this study to engage in an analytical and com-

16). These foundational plans were highly socialist, influenced by humanist ideas. They were aimed at improving rapidly the socio-economic conditions of the majority of Zambians who before independence were excluded from the benefits of colonial industrial capitalism built on copper mining. The government of the day, full of early post-independence energy, excitement and resolve, were determined to plan for the household of Zambia so that the living and the yet to be born might find some material, social and physical improvements.

Sooner than later, the government was going to begin to feel the burden of sustaining broad-based socialist plans and programmes, especially with the on-set of economic woes of the mid-70s, emanating from the commodity and oil crises, and virtual absence of a diversified economy.

3.4.2 The economic development process: the humanist and socialist agenda

Chisala observes that: “At independence, the British government handed over one billion pounds in foreign reserves” (1994:97). Again Macpherson states: “In 1964, Zambia was said to have ‘the highest export value per head in Africa’. This meant that her copper exports gave her a very healthy flow of money into the country” (1977:72). The balance of payments surplus on current account in 1964 was estimated to exceed 30 million British Sterling (Kaunda 1989:12)³². Government’s budget surplus on recurrent account was estimated to be about 18 million British Sterling by June 1965 (*Ibid*: 12). Net public debt was low and investments were relatively higher than government’s indebtedness (*Ibid*:12) GDP³³ was growing at an average rate of 2.4% between 1965 and 1973 (Gulhati: 1989). In this way, Zambia started on a very sound financial footing in as far as the economic development process was concerned.

parative presentation of the figures during this period. This study is interested in the overall social commitments and obligations of government in enhancing the welfare of Zambians in the early post-independence period.

³² This was expanded to 96 million British Sterling by the middle of 1966 (Macpherson 1977:72)

³³ GDP – Gross Domestic Product – is “a measure of economic activity. Generally defined as private consumption and investment and government expenditure ± changes in stocks and exports – imports” [Barclays Bank of Zambia *Quarterly Economic Review (2nd Quarter 1998)* 1998b:24]. Because it leaves out aspects of “informal” economy or unpriced productivity, it is not perfect (*Ibid*:24).

From independence, it was faced with two major obstacles to desired rapid economic growth and development, namely: what Kaunda called the “absorptive capacity” and the rebellious regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The former was by far the most crucial.

By “absorptive capacity” of the economy, Kaunda meant a “shortage of real resources, particularly manpower and domestic capacity for capital construction” resulting in “holding back the rate of investment” (1989:12). The point is that the economy at the time, in spite of a favourable financial base, could not absorb efficiently and effectively economic factors such as rapid investments simply because its ability to do that, in terms, for example, of readily available industrial skills and infra-structure, were terribly inadequate.

Kaunda put it succinctly: “It is the shortage of prepared projects, the absence of knowledge of the technical qualities of our soils and waters, and the limited capacity of our transport system which prevents us from increasing the rate of investment“ (1989:12). At the root of this problem, Kaunda observes, was: “the desperate shortage of educated and skilled people” (*Ibid*: 12). It is plain truth that “the neglect of education of our (Zambian) people was the greatest crime committed during the years of federation (1953-1963)” (*Ibid*: 12)³⁴. Zambia simply did not have a wide spectrum of sufficient, well-prepared and well-tutored Zambian business bureaucrats, technologists, industrial experts, scientific officers, and the like, to run a modern Zambian economy from independence; that is, to transform it rapidly from a backward phase into an advanced stage of mass consumption³⁵.

The education statistics for a population of about four million people, prior and at independence in 1964, reveal the extremely pathetic educational situation (Makasa 1985:82 and 126)³⁶:

- In 1963, there were 110,200 standard IV certificate holders, 32,400 standard VI certificate holders, 4,420 form II certificate holders and 961 Cambridge School Certificate holders.

³⁴ Even missionary education was somewhat limited: Zambians could go only up to standard VI as a highest form of education between 1883 and 1945. See Peter Snelson (1977).

³⁵ See Walt W. Rostow’s five stages of development in Todaro (1997).

³⁶ See also Kaunda (1989:13) and Macpherson (1977:74).

- To the time of Independence, there were less than 100 University degree holders in the country, there was no university in the country, there was no full-fledged institute of technology and there were only three secondary schools for Africans, namely: Munali, Chipembi (for girls) and Chikuni with form VI facilities.
- During the 1960-61 academic year, there were only sixty students from Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) studying at UK colleges compared with 1,321 students from Kenya, 6,800 from Nigeria, 1,900 from Ghana and 857 from Sierra Leone.
- Between 1890-1961, the British managed to produce only one Zambian engineer and only one lawyer (who was disallowed from practising actively).

As for the rebellious regime of Smith, it mainly cut the lifeblood of Zambia's economy. For a long time, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) was dependant on the Southern economies like Rhodesia for its exports and imports. Now that Smith rebelliously declared UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) as from November, 1965 (Macpherson 1977:70ff), Zambia's situation was made extremely difficult. Zambia had to spend a lot of money to find new supply routes by developing the Great North Road, planning for a new oil pipeline (connecting Zambia with Tanzania on the east coast) and later on, developing the railway line from Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia to the port of Dar-es-salam in Tanzania. Even though these development projects were desirable, they cost the nation millions of British pounds in terms of initial oil and goods (and materials) transportation from and to the east coast. Even the 14 million British Sterling grant given to Zambia by the UK after UDI, to be used for one and half years to maintain economic and industrial life was simply not enough (*Ibid*: 72)³⁷.

Macpherson sums up very well the situation of Zambia after UDI that, "All the plans for economic development and the revival of agriculture were thus hindered by the problems created by the rebellion of Smith and his followers in Rhodesia" (*Ibid*: 72).

In spite of these two problems, the government was determined to go ahead with the implementation of the economic development process. It is probably the second³⁸ United Nations Commission visit in December, 1964, which set the context for this process. After their

³⁷ In addition to this, the British Royal Air Force had, for a few months, "carried out an oil air lift to keep Zambia's transport and industries moving" (*Ibid*: 72).

visit, they observed that: “the great majority of the people in Zambia are poor, under-educated (if not illiterate) and unhealthy” (Macpherson 1974:450). This was in spite of the good financial account handed over to the Zambian government at independence – that is, the nation had the money, but its four million people were poor, under-educated and unhealthy.

The task of the government, and the people of Zambia, was to enable Zambia to make a transition from a colonial state of under-development, characterised by high incidences of poverty, ignorance and disease, to a modern developed state as Macpherson observes: “The Zambian government had a huge task ahead of it, and the country needed ‘new thought and new action’ as Kaunda said ... It was the task of the people together to replace poverty, ignorance and disease by health and prosperity” (*Ibid*: 64).

From the early days, government opted for interventionist socialist policies whose main primary objective was “to distribute wealth evenly amongst the people” (Kaunda 1989:15) and ensure that it is “both created and accumulated” (*Ibid*:15). In other words, government simply wanted to implement “the humanist and socialist agenda”.

It essentially pursued a mixed economy which allowed for the participation of the public sector, private sector and co-operatives in the economic development process (*Ibid*: 15). But most importantly, it was the participation of the people which was the focal point of the process. The intention was to move towards “a co-operative approach” which was embodied in African tradition, with a view to fit this approach in what was called “the new complicated economic set-up of modern times” (*Ibid*: 15)³⁹.

³⁸ The first one was done early in 1964 (Kaunda 1989:5).

³⁹ It is probably this anticipated fusion between “a co-operative approach”, as embodied in both humanism and African tradition, and “the new complicated economic set-up of modern times”, dominated by capitalist America and socialist Russia, which was decisive in determining Zambia’s economic performance. It raised unanswered questions like: Was the premature fusion to be blamed for the collapse of the economy in the 1970? Was the fusion based on well-developed economic theory tuned to a humanist society, as an alternative to either a capitalist society or socialist society? The emergency of humanism as a political and economic alternative to capitalism and socialism (or communism), as shall be seen later, became extremely difficult down the years.

The intentions of government were that the philosophy of Zambian humanism was going to permeate all efforts to fulfil peoples' needs such as food, shelter and clothing. If it fell short of these "benchmarks", in the words of Kaunda, they as Zambians "may as well discard it as worthless" (*Ibid*: 23).

Their dream was to achieve simultaneous development involving all sectors of the economy and ensure that economic activity spread to all corners of Zambia (urban and rural) – with people as vehicles and objects of development (*Ibid*:19 f.f.).

For this reason, government went out of its way to provide: universal free education from primary school to university, free medical services, food subsidies, good infrastructure, social services and other support systems, to enable Zambians to lead a better life (Kaunda 1988:2ff and 1989:1ff; Jones 1994:25-26; Kalyalya 1988:50). Jones observes: "... steady economic growth since independence in 1964 had funded an ambitious welfare state ... This relative prosperity was, however, entirely dependent on income from the mining sector" (1994:25).

Their greatest challenge was to match theory with practice, rhetoric with practical commitment, and philosophy with reality, as the nation developed into boyhood (and girlhood) and eventual manhood (and womanhood).

3.4.3 A re-organised economy: from private capital to state capital

To ensure that "the humanist and socialist agenda" was successfully implemented, government had to re-organise the economy from private capital to state capital. In March, 1967, Kaunda presented to the press what he called a "socialist blueprint" for economic changes (Macpherson 1977:74). Details of these changes only came in the following year. The far-reaching economic reforms popularly known as the *Mulungushi Economic Reforms* were announced by President Kaunda in April, 1968 (Kaunda 1989:35ff; Macpherson 1977:74; Chisala 1994:102-103). These had very serious socio-economic implications for a young and developing nation. These economic reforms can be divided into three major parts namely: Zambianisation and the promotion of the Zambian private sector entrepre-

neurship; early industrialization and the nationalisation programme; and foreign-controlled enterprises in the context of nationalisation.

3.4.3.1 **Zambianisation and the promotion of the Zambian private sector entrepreneurship**

To Zambianise, in general terms, means to put Zambian citizens in positions of decision making and authority in business, government and in other domestic bodies and institutions⁴⁰. In this context, Zambianisation was a programme which described the process of putting Zambians into what can be called positions of leadership on various levels. This programme was equally applied to economic activity in Zambia. It is true that for many years, economic activity was dominated by resident expatriate European and Asian business people (Kaunda 1989:38). Since independence, government called on these resident expatriate business people to Zambianise. Unfortunately, only a very small number responded by taking up Zambian citizenship (*Ibid*: 38).

Meanwhile, resident expatriate business was a beneficiary of government support through credit from banks and other financial bodies – a necessity for business expansion. Government saw unfairness on the part of resident expatriate business people in that, in spite of the ‘economic boom’ of the early post-independence era, the majority business houses neither cared to promote Zambians to positions of authority nor identified with the nation by becoming Zambian nationals (*Ibid*:38ff). To correct this, government intended to restrict business credit (loans) to Zambians: all banks and financial institutions were called upon to ascertain that those companies, partnerships and individuals who applied for business loans were truly Zambian by making sure that shareholders, partners and persons were green National Registration Card or Zambian passport carrying people⁴¹ (*Ibid*: 39).

⁴⁰ It can also mean to be a Zambian by taking up Zambian citizenship and be a leader at any level of human endeavour (Kaunda 1989:38).

⁴¹ Expatriates should not be coerced to become citizens. If they do, it should be out of their own volition. The test case is the United States of America which allowed expatriates, not only in business, but in other fields, to contribute to the American dream – a good number became citizens of the United States out of their own free choice.

This was one of the firmest and drastic steps ever taken by the Kaunda regime. Firstly, it

cut off the “lifeline” of resident expatriate businesses which depended on credit from financial houses; secondly, it threatened the continued existence of resident expatriate business which is very necessary for economic growth and development, because a certain percentage of “expatriate blending” through skills and certain specialties with the local people is needed in a developing country.

This kind of control was intended for the good of local people as Kaunda observes: “Time is now that we must take urgent and vigorous steps to put Zambian business firmly in the hands of the people (Zambian) themselves just as political power is in their hands” (*Ibid*: 39). It was meant to build up Zambian private sector entrepreneurship so that it could be at par with resident expatriate entrepreneurship⁴².

Loan or overdraft applications by resident expatriate business people, were subjected to stringent measures:

If the application for a loan, or for an overdraft, comes from people who are not Zambian citizens, then it must be referred to the Exchange Control Authorities who will approve it or reject it using the same criteria as they use now in order to approve or reject applications for loans from foreign-controlled companies (Ibid: 40).

The point was that whereas Zambians would go straight to financial houses, resident expatriates and foreign companies would pass through the Exchange Control Authorities, when it came to business credit.

⁴² This created two problems: firstly, was the Zambian business community ready enough to take over the reigns of business and steer it to the next century?; secondly, didn't Zambia need experienced expatriate business people to contribute to growth and stabilisation of the economy for a little more time (not withstanding their excesses, failures and weaknesses)? These two problem-questions dogged the nation throughout its economic life. It is a well-known fact that Zambian business people of the pre-independence and early post-independence era could be described as “informal business people” who were involved in mainly informal trade and services such as transport, fish-mongering and beer hall business, mainly in townships (Kaunda 1989:39). Their contribution was peripheral to the emerging industrial economy. They had not yet reached business maturity – having come from a restrictive colonial era which was biased against Africans. It was necessary that resident expatriate business people stayed on, encouraged through the provision of credit, while Zambians were initiated into the ‘hustle and bustle’ of formal economic life.

Further, expatriate local borrowing was made dependent on the amount they brought into the country and their type of business (*Ibid*: 40). They were not allowed to borrow more than their initial investment. If they did so by the time of the reforms, the Minister responsible for Finance was duly instructed to give them a period of grace and ensure that they pay back the debts, from loans and overdrafts according to their size of business and monthly capacity (*Ibid*: 39-40)⁴³.

Having dealt with the question of loans in order to Zambianise the economic activity, the government turned to the question of “knocking out” expatriate competition in business by restricting geographical and business areas in favour of Zambians (*Ibid*: 41ff). All resident expatriate businesses were now restricted to centres of big towns, popularly known as “first class” trading areas (*Ibid*: 41). This meant that Zambians were now free to develop businesses in townships and other areas.

As for trading and bar licences, they were to be restricted to Zambians:

Trading and bar licences from now on, must only be granted or renewed in all other areas of the country if the applications came from a company or co-operative whose members or shareholders are Zambians, a partnership whose partners are all Zambians or individual who is a Zambian (Ibid: 41).

Granting or renewal of trading and bar licences for non-Zambians was strictly forbidden (*Ibid*: 41).

Expatriates were only allowed to operate their retail business in 10 towns, namely: Chingola, Mufulira, Kitwe, Luanshya, Ndola, Kabwe, Lusaka, Mazabuka, Choma and Livingstone (*Ibid*: 41). Other towns were prohibited. If they had businesses in “prohibited” areas,

⁴³ It was not unexpected, therefore, to see a lack of support for government on the part of resident expatriate business people. It certainly steered feelings of not being wanted, and the only alternative was to vacate or relocate to another country or one’s own country, as it happened among certain farmers (*Ibid*: 152-225).

they were given two options: either to sell their businesses or apply to become Zambian citizens (*Ibid: 42*)⁴⁴.

To encourage further the emergence of the Zambian private sector entrepreneurship, government intended to lay down additional restrictive measures in favour of Zambians. These included restrictions in transportation and contracting (*Ibid: 44 .f.f*).

In transportation, it was the intention of government to ensure that road service licences were only given to companies or co-operatives or partnerships whose members or shareholders had at least 75% of Zambians (*Ibid: 43*). In addition, all expatriate transport business people were only to be allowed to operate in this field until such time when their licences expired, and when this happened, no renewal would be entertained (*Ibid: 43-44*). They were simply told “to sell their businesses to Zambian co-operatives” (*Ibid:44*).

In contracting, it was emphasised:

From now on, I must direct my Minister of Lands and Mines not to give a building mineral permit to anybody except to a co-operative or company whose members or shareholders are Zambians, or to a partnership whose partners are Zambians or to Zambian individuals (Ibid: 44).

The intention was to ensure that all businesses for the excavation and transportation of sand, soil and stone, all quarries and brickfields, were owned and operated by Zambians (*Ibid: 44*). Expatriates in this field were permitted to run their businesses until expiry dates of their permits (*Ibid: 44*). If they did not become Zambians by the end of their permits, they were simply told to “sell them (their enterprises) to Zambians” (*Ibid: 44*).

As for sub-contracting, the mining industry as a major industry, was instructed to “look into the question of how they are to Zambianise their sub-contractors” (*Ibid:45*). To set an ex-

⁴⁴ This was quite harsh on the part of government, for example: pain might have been experienced in the event that one was asked to sell one’s business and relocate after getting to know local people and “falling in love” with the locality. It is clear that the biblical principle of sensitivity to strangers was not upheld – see, for example, Exodus, chapter 22 verse 21.

ample to all large companies, including the mining companies, whose sub-contracting activities were dominated by resident expatriates, government decided that, through its Public Works Department, it would be awarding contracts which were worth less than K100,000 to Zambians only (*Ibid: 45*).

It was government's view that those measures would "create very favourable conditions for the People's business to develop" (*Ibid: 45*). The government, through the president, stressed strong business values which should be cherished and enhanced:

If it (Zambian Private Sector Entrepreneurship) takes any unfair advantage of the privileged position in which we are putting it; if I see that the prices in Zambia retail shops are higher than those in the expatriate shops; if I hear that Zambian workers are not paid proper wages, if they are not provided with housing; if the contributions to the National Provident Fund and Workman's Compensation Board are not paid regularly; if I hear that the Zambian businessmen are in any way dishonest with our Tax Department, then the Zambian businessmen will be dealt with very firmly whether they are co-operatives, companies, partnerships or individuals (Ibid: 45).

The government wanted to see the emergency of a honest, disciplined, fair, sincere and hardworking Zambian business community, which would eventually contribute to the growth of the Zambian economy.

Also, government did not want the emerging Zambian business community to fall into the trap of the exploitation of fellow human beings, nor get rich at the expense of others. Kaunda observes:

... I do not want them to get rich at the expense of the rest of the nation. Exploitation, whether it is done by people of one race against their own kith and kin, is wrong. We will not glorify it here in Zambia by allowing it a place. We are fiercely determined to fight it wherever it shows its ugly head (Ibid: 46).

While government appreciated the expansion and prospering of Zambian business, they did not want to see the emergence of Zambian capitalism: "... for goodness sake, I do not propose to create Zambian capitalism here. This is incompatible with my conception of humanism" (*Ibid*: 46)⁴⁵. For this reason, government was willing to set limits to private economic expansion:

*When the time comes, I shall see that responsible ministers set the limits of the Zambian enterprise that can remain a purely private enterprise. These limits will be based on the amount of capital employed, on turnover and on the number of employees. When an enterprise grows beyond these limits, then it must become a public company. When it grows even further, it will be taken over by the State. We do not propose to make of Zambians business barons now or in future. Everybody's contribution must ultimately be for the benefit of MAN through the state (*Ibid*: 46)⁴⁶.*

Even though the government claimed that they did not want to discourage the spirit of private business (*Ibid*: 47), their clearly stated intentions cast "a shadow of insecurity and fear" on the part of those who wanted to grow into powerful business people⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Kaunda's counter proposal to capitalism was going to be extremely difficult to implement by the Zambian private sector business. The problem is that private sector business is one of the main pillars of orthodox capitalism which promotes, *inter alia*, private profit and self-interested acquisitiveness at the expense of communal gain: How did the government intend to transform the Zambian private sector business into something which was not capitalist in orientation? This was a question without easy answers. The truth is that private sector business belongs to the notion of free enterprise – an important principle of Western capitalism.

⁴⁶ These are some of the Zambian companies which fell victim to state take-over after the Mulungushi reforms: K M Katai, Ntingila Fisheries, P C Sichivula and E C Milling (Zambia Privatisation Agency *Status Report* 1999).

⁴⁷ Probably, the difficult question which should have been addressed was: To what extent could private business people bring benefit to citizens through the principle of fairness and justice? In Jesus' day, especially when one looks at his ethics, he did not condemn rich people *per se*, for example, the rich young ruler (Luke chapter 18, verses 30-78). He was more concerned with a *person's attitude* to wealth, fellow human beings and God. Exegetically, the rich young ruler was condemned for putting *first* his money and possessions (*chremata* – Greek) rather than his God and for caring less for others, especially the poor. To be wealthy (in modern use, to be a prosperous capitalist) is not an issue. What is an issue is a wealthy person's attitude to other persons, especially the vulnerable, and ecologically and theologically, to the entire environment and to God. This world can be a better place if the rich and powerful, including developed industrial nations like the United States of America, Germany, Japan, Canada, Great Britain and Australia, transnationals like MacDonald's, IBM and General Motors, and influential financial houses like IMF and the World Bank, can begin to put poverty reduction as a priority item on their agendas, to treat the entire environment with respect and a sanctimonious attitude, and to a large degree, to take cognisance of the fact that, in this complex universe, there exists an unfathomable and most powerful supreme being, whatever this being is called in various regions, who remains part and parcel of the cosmic economy and yet is above all else and every-

It is crystal clear that these measures, though meant to stimulate and promote the *Zambian Private Sector Entrepreneurship*, were highly commandist, prescriptive and restrictive. They were announced with the hope that one day something positive within *Zambian business* might break out. Zambia was yet to see the birth of *Zambian private sector entrepreneurship* which could contribute to sustained economic growth and development, especially in the early post-independence period.

3.4.3.2 **Early industrialisation and the nationalisation programme**

Early industrialisation provided the context and background within which nationalisation could be implemented in order to sustain “the humanist and socialist agenda”. It is generally argued that a humanist government was not going to implement socialist economic programmes without the industrialisation anchorage, let alone a nationalised economy. The two, early industrialisation and nationalisation, went side by side to assist a humanist government in reaching its objectives.

Early industrialisation was the attempt of government to diversify by creating new industries which would take over from the copper mining industry which was considered both exhaustible and unstable (the ores would finish and prices would change one day). Soon after independence, government set up a parent controlling parastatal organisation, INDECO (Industrial Development Corporation), to look into this matter (Macpherson 1977:72; Kaunda 1989:52).

Government investment was largely concentrated on what were called “import-substituting industries” whereby Zambia encouraged the birth of local industries which would utilise local raw materials and labour, in order to have affordable local manufactures rather than expensive imported ones (Kaunda 1989:72ff). Some of them attracted foreign investment for a while, bringing about business partnerships between the state and foreign companies (Kalyalya 1988:50). By creating “import-substituting industries”, the Kaunda regime in-

thing we can ever imagine, and holds the best plans and purposes for humanity – see also the story of the Rich man and Lazarus (Luke chapter 16 verses 19ff) and Bwalya (1998).

tended to reduce the dependence of Zambia's economy on the rebellious and illegal regime of Ian Smith and consequently cut off trade⁴⁸ (Jones 1994:25; Kalyalya *et al.* 1988:50). The result was the creation of a protected domestic market, heavily supported by the state through subsidies (Kalyalya *et al.* 1988:50).

The formative years of state enterprise were not easy as Kaunda admits: "So far, we have tried to promote State Enterprise the hard way" (1989:47). To do this, government had to establish criteria which would warrant state control of and investment in business. These criteria included, *inter alia*: *strategic necessity to the economy*, for example, Tazama pipelines; *risk-factor considerations*, whereby, risks in business became "too great to provide capital" and hence need for government investment in such projects; *huge capital requirement*, whereby "too much capital was needed and private enterprise was unable or unwilling to provide it"; *national interest*, whereby "the returns appeared too low for private enterprise, but the project was, nevertheless, necessary in the national interest" (*Ibid*: 47).

By the time of the announcement of economic reforms in April, 1968, INDECO⁴⁹ was controlling and participating in a wide spectrum business portfolio of an initial twenty companies, namely: Country Hotels limited; Indeco Milling limited; Kabwe Industrial Fabrics limited; Kafue Estate limited; Mukonchi Tobacco limited; Nitrogen Chemicals of Zambia limited; Rucom Industries limited; Tazama Pipelines Limited, Zambia Clay Industries Limited; Zambian Hotels Properties Limited; Zambia National Wholesale Corporation Limited; Zambia Steel and Building Supplies Limited; Chilanga Cement Limited; Duncan, Gilbey and Matheson (Zambia) limited, Dunlop (Zambia) Limited, Kafironda Limited; Kafue Textiles of Zambia Limited; Zambia-Tanzania Road Services Limited; Zambia Sugar Company Limited; and Lakes Fisheries of Zambia Limited (*Ibid*: 54-55). Some of these were new partnerships, for example Dunlop (Zambia) Limited (with twenty three per cent government shareholding, fifty five per cent UK-based Dunlop Company shareholding, fourteen per cent others) and Nitrogen Chemicals of Zambia in Kafue (with ninety per cent state shareholding

⁴⁸ Trade between Zambia and Rhodesia continued until Smith decided to close the border with Zambia in 1973 (Macpherson 1977:75).

⁴⁹ Later re-organisation of parastatal companies made INDECO to fall under ZIMCO (the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation) an umbrella parastatal organisation, created by government in 1970, to administer government interests in mining, industrial, commercial transport and energy, communi-

and ten percent Kobe Steel Limited shareholding) (*Ibid.* 72 f.f.). These were huge and costly projects which brought a lot of pride to the nation.

As state business moved on, the government felt that its efforts of business fairness and of Zambianising economic activity were being frustrated by resident expatriate business people who were accused, yet again, of double standards:

*All along we were painfully aware that while we were entering into all the most difficult fields, resident expatriate business was taking advantage of the economic boom and making excessive profits. We tried to admonish them, even pleaded with them, but the major faults of these businesses are still not corrected. They operate price rings with similar companies and create a false monopoly position because of buoyant demand and the difficult supply position. They do not make enough efforts to move away from unacceptable sources of supply and outdated management philosophies. They still maintain personnel and training policies which are not in accord with the Nation's present needs. They are failing to re-invest a sufficient portion of their profits for general expansion and development. We cannot remain passive observers to these practices. We have to safeguard the national economy and prevent unfair exploitation of the present boom conditions (*Ibid.*: 47-48).*

The government saw economic reforms as a corrective to the so-called double-standards of resident expatriate business people⁵⁰. Government's dissatisfaction with the performance of resident expatriate business and its desire to have "a controlling stake" in the national economy provided the background for *the politics of nationalisation*.

The nationalisation programme was government's way of bringing the bulk of business under state control and thus make a transition from private capital to state capital. Private capitalism, that is, a system of private capital formation and accumulation, was abhorred by the Zambian philosophy of humanism (*Ibid.*:35). According to Kaunda, capitalism, in its

cations, hotels and land, financial and agrarian enterprises (Chisala 1994:103; *The Europa World Year Book* (1992) Vol.II 1992: 3247)

⁵⁰ It would be interesting to see to what extent government gave them a chance to exculpate themselves.

global and local manifestations, was bent on “exploitation of man by man” (*Ibid*: 35)⁵¹. Nationalisation, according to the wisdom of government, was going to firmly safeguard the national economy and counteract exploitation.

Nationalisation of resident expatriate businesses was usually done on “51% state and 49% private” equity basis in order to give the state a majority vote and increased control. Initially, government targeted five main areas of economic activity, namely: Construction Industry; Brewing Industry; Transport Industry; Retail Trade; and Wholesale Trade (*Ibid*: 48ff).

In the field of construction, government intended to, firstly, nationalise Anros Industries Limited, Monarch (Zambia) Limited, Crittal-Hope (Zambia) Limited, who were dominant in window and door frame manufacturing. Secondly, government intended to nationalise Anglo-African Glass Company Limited, P C Timbers, Baldwins Limited, Steel Supplies of Zambia Limited, Zambimba Limited, May and Hassel (Zambia) Limited, and Johnson and Fletcher, who were leaders as building material merchants. Thirdly, it intended to take over three Lusaka-based quarries which supplied crushed stone, namely: Nicholas Quarries, Geery’s Quarries and Greystone Quarry. By taking this action, government felt that the price of metal windows, building materials and crushed stone would be lower for the benefit of the citizens (*Ibid*: 48-49).

In the field of brewing, the government intended to take over Northern Breweries Limited and its Lusaka subsidiary, Heinrich’s Syndicate Limited who were accused of “making excessive profits despite excessive expenditure on sales promotion” (*Ibid*: 49). Government felt that they were using these profits improperly and hence the need to re-direct them: “Their large profits will then be made partly for the nation, which will put them to proper use” (*Ibid*: 49).

⁵¹ The exploitative nature of capitalism is well developed in his book: *State of the nation: Politics and Government* Vol.1 (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation 1988). Kaunda appeared to advance the view that *there is nothing good in capitalism* which, according to him, was exploitative. What he forgot was that there was something good in the capitalist system – however, exploitative tendencies within it needed to be corrected – c.f. Atherton (1992), Preston (1992) and J Philip Wogaman (1986).

In the field of transport, the government intended to nationalise the two major transport organisations, namely: Central African Road Services Limited and Smith and Youngson Limited who were leaders in passenger and freight transport. After take-over, it was government's intention to confine Central African Road Services to passenger transport and Smith and Youngson Limited to freight business (*Ibid: 49-50*).

As for retail and wholesale distribution, the government intended to nationalise the following companies: CBC stores and shops, OK Bazaars, Standard Trading, Solanki Brothers Limited, and Mwaiseni Stores Limited (*Ibid: 50-55*).

Other companies lined up for nationalisation included: Zambezi Sawmills Limited, Mining Timber Limited, Irvin Johnson Limited (connected to the hotel industry), and Zambia Newspapers limited which owned two papers, namely a daily and a Sunday newspaper (*Ibid: 50-55*).

All these companies intended for nationalisation were going to fall under INDECO. It was incumbent upon INDECO to put in place a re-organisation programme so that they could begin to adapt to the changing business environment (*Ibid: 55*).

On compensation, government's stand was very clear: "It must be clear that everybody is going to get fair compensation" (*Ibid: 52*). INDECO was charged with the task of negotiating values and terms of payment (*Ibid: 55*). This stand cleared government of any accusations of broad day light robbery.

But then, other questions were not clear: Was nationalisation in the best interest of the nation? In which ways did it stifle expatriate business and investor confidence? Did parastatals function as well as expected? These questions could not be answered at the time – for government had the vision, the resolve and the determination to ensure that nationalised companies, now parastatals, contributed to the growth of industry and the economy. Thirty five years after Zambia's independence, these questions have become a challenge to Zambia's re-shaping and re-focussing of her economic direction.

3.4.3.3 Foreign-controlled enterprises in the context of nationalisation

The Kaunda regime tried to make a distinction between resident expatriate businesses and foreign-controlled enterprises by geographic considerations: resident expatriate business was one whose base and control was within Zambia; whereas a foreign-controlled business is one which was usually controlled from outside Zambia (Kaunda:38 ff). As shall be seen later, lines of distinction were extremely unclear.

Inevitably, the so-called foreign-controlled businesses were affected indirectly by Mulungushi reforms. Government felt that in spite of nationalisation, foreign companies were very much welcome to do business in Zambia (*Ibid*: 556-59). Government said: “The economic reforms outlined today are not aimed at foreign investors” (*Ibid*: 56). Its intentions, by announcing economic reforms, were clearly spelt out:

They are designed to implement, in the business world, the philosophy of Humanism. First, they give the Zambian people a chance to make their way against resident expatriates who have refused to become Zambians. Second, they give the state control of the activities of certain types of large-scale business and share in their rewards (Ibid: 56).

Critically speaking, what government failed to understand was that resident expatriate business people, who were mostly European and Asian, in many respects shared business and background characteristics with business people in foreign-controlled companies. Any action against resident expatriates would naturally be perceived as acts of “indirect harassment” of business people within foreign-controlled companies, most of whom came from the West, for example, business executives in two major copper mining companies controlled by Roan Selection Trust and the Anglo-American Corporation (*Ibid*:133 f.f.). Government action cast, yet again, “a shadow of insecurity and fear” on already established and prospective foreign-controlled companies. It raised a number of questions: Were they going to be nationalised at some foreseeable future when their business fortunes expanded? Were they going to be controlled by government to stifle perceived economic expansion in both

the domestic and global economies? These and other questions were cardinal to the growth of industry.

Even if government tried to issue certificates to encourage and protect foreign-controlled businesses, the possibility of being nationalised was there (*Ibid*: 56). In fact, as we shall see later, soon after the Mulungushi reforms, some of these foreign-controlled businesses became victims of nationalisation.

Nationalisation, therefore, altered the face of foreign-controlled businesses and re-shaped their future role in the economic activities of the land to the barest minimum. It was government, and government alone, which was going to dictate the dynamics of the economy soon after the Mulungushi reforms and beyond.

3.4.3.4 The post-mulungushi business scenario

After the Mulungushi Economic Reforms, the business scenario in Zambia significantly changed. Business was now in the hands of the state and it hoped that this scenario would work for all Zambians as Kaunda observed:

State control is completely meaningless without the basic understanding that this is designed to help hasten the day when each and every Zambian has plenty to eat, decent clothes to wear and a decent shelter to live in. If we understand the depth of this matter, every Zambian must decide what he is to play in realising this goal (Ibid: 58)⁵².

⁵²

The *telos* of economic development is the improvement in the standard and quality of life of human beings and their surroundings. To use Michael Todaro's words, it is to move to something that is materially and spiritually better (1997:1-10). The main problem lies in the means which are employed to attain this. Kaunda's government felt that the state control mechanism and concerted action of the Zambian citizenry, stimulated by the ideals of humanism, would bring about prosperity and economic development. One of the reasons which led Kaunda's government to be voted out of power was non-delivery of its economic programmes (Chisala 1994:339ff). The questions are: Was the state control mechanism the best option or model? Could the economy have performed better if it was based on a liberal, flexible and progressive partnership between the public sector (represented mainly by parastatals) and the private sector (represented mainly by private Zambian business people, private resident expatriate business people and private foreign-controlled companies)? These are some of the questions which should not to be buried, but be addressed by the main architects of Zambia's political economy.

By October, 1968, the Mulungushi reforms were in full gear: “We acted and we are carrying them (economic reforms) with a firm determination to succeed” (*Ibid*: 59). However, these reforms were met by criticism⁵³ from certain quarters as Kaunda observes:

I still find it most surprising, in spite of the experience we have had of this in other fields, that even the most ardent supporters of Zambian political independence express alarm and despondency at measures we have taken ourselves fully independent in the economic sphere (Ibid: 60).

In November, 1970, further economic reforms were announced by government ((bid: 65-71). These were seen as additions to the Mulungushi reforms. They mainly defined additional restrictions on resident expatriate business, affecting nationalisation and revocation of trading licences. Additional restrictions on resident expatriate business affected trading and wholesale business, transport and construction. Other nationalisation measures affected additional large-scale business entities which were potentially profitable and which would consequently help government reach its aims.

In trading, government intended to “liquidate” completely expatriate participation: “From the first day of January 1972, therefore, no expatriate, under any circumstances, will be allowed to obtain a retail trading licence. All retail trading throughout Zambia will be done by Zambians: Co-operatives, State companies, Zambian public and private companies” (*Ibid*:66). Similar actions were to affect wholesale trading: “From the same date, wholesale trading will also be confined to Zambian business and State companies” (*Ibid*: 66). Trade in goods was also to be restricted to Zambians and Zambian companies:

⁵³ It was not surprising that Kaunda’s government was criticised by the industrial capitalist West for taking, in their wisdom, what could be considered “retrogressive measures”. The West saw these measures as denigrating free enterprise economics which was responsible for development of much of Western countries. As for Kaunda’s government, they acted out of sheer simplicity, naivety and honesty, intending to transform the sixty-year old colonial capitalist system in Zambia, which tried to exclude Zambians, into a humanist system where everybody would be welcome. This was a stupendous attempt whose main difficulty, retrospectively speaking, was located in its implementation over the years. It simply lacked a productive self-sustaining economic and industrial base.

Again, as from the first day of January 1972, they should be excluded and confined to Zambians or state companies. No expatriate will be allowed to trade in any of the following ten categories of goods: (a) Builder's hardware; tools; (b) Ammunition, arms; (c) Bakery products; (d) Furniture and household fittings; (e) Curios and antiques; (f) Meat, fish and fish products; (g) Carpets and linoleum; (h) Agricultural supplies and fertilisers; (i) Jewelry and watches; and (j) Coal and Coke (Ibid: 66).

The expatriate business community was asked to expedite the process of receiving any outstanding orders and of disposing off their goods and stores within the grace period of 12 to 14 months (*Ibid:67*).

In the field of transport, expatriate business people were to be “liquidated” as well: “The time has now come to direct that as from the first day of January, 1972, only State companies and entirely Zambian controlled companies can operate transport services” (*Ibid: 67*). In addition, it intended to completely nationalise the United Bus Company of Zambia (the successor to Central African Road Services) by asking INDECO to take over one hundred per cent control mainly due to political reasons: the other shareholders who held 49% shares were involved in the Cabora Bassa project under the auspices of the Portuguese colonisers in Mozambique, the perceived enemies of Kaunda’s government (*Ibid: 69*).

In the field of brickmaking and stone-crushing, expatriate involvement was to be knocked out as well:

... as from the first day of January, 1972, no expatriate will be allowed to operate. In this field ..., there may be expatriates who will still be having valid licences at that time. I want my Minister(s) responsible for these licences to ensure that legislation is enacted in time to cancel ... any building mineral permits held by expatriates, if they are valid after the first day of January, 1972 (Ibid: 68).

In the field of contracting, mining companies were directed to “stop using expatriate sub-contractors in transport and building as from the first day of January, 1972, for all works and contracts below one hundred thousand Kwacha” (*Ibid: 68*).

Government hoped that expatriate people would move “from distribution to production and/or from commerce to industry and agriculture” (*Ibid*: 68)⁵⁴. Once again, the commandist, prescriptive, restrictive and exclusivist hand of government was demonstrated.

As for additional nationalisation, government intended to nationalise the following major companies on “51% State and 49% private” equity basis: Lever Brothers Limited, Refined Oil Products, National Milling Company limited, Supa Bakeries Limited, and Duncan Gilbey and Matheson (Zambia) Limited (bottlers of spirits). Some of them were foreign-controlled companies like Lever Brothers Limited, and Duncan Gilbey and Matheson (Zambia) Limited. Nationalisation was now threatening the very existence of foreign-controlled companies.

The following companies had their trading licences revoked: Avida Trading Company Limited, Monis Wineries Limited, Coombe and Dewar Limited, Wholesale Radio Supplies Limited, Everglo Electric Limited, Harrison and Hughson Limited, Central African Bag Company Limited, Miller and Nixley Limited, Sagers Motors Limited and Truck and Car Spares Limited (*Ibid*: 70)⁵⁵. These were Ndola-based, Lusaka-based and Kitwe-based wholesalers and motor dealers (*Ibid*: 70). In addition, a firm of shippers and confirming agents, and a mining enterprise, called J Gerber and Company Limited and Mika Limited (the only emerald mine in Zambia by 1970), respectively, were ordered to close down (*Ibid*: 70-71). In all these cases, no specific reasons were given, except for the reason they did this in the name of “national interest” (*Ibid*: 70-71). Government action was the main reason that resident expatriate companies no longer felt safe. It was left up to the state to decide which of the companies of resident expatriates would be part of the emerging political economy of Zambia. These revocations spelt out the “thinning down”

⁵⁴ The question is: Didn't they have the right to participate in distribution and commerce? The standard practice all over the world, especially the democratic world, is that with legal business documents, any person, irrespective of origin, can participate in these sectors.

of expatriate contribution to the national economy.

By 1970, Zambia was “a parastatal economy” with the state commanding 80 percent of companies in the total domestic economy (Mwanza in Tyrok 1989). The emerging business scenario was clear, but the effects, in terms of reaching intended goals of Zambia’s economic growth and development were yet to be seen. There was no point of return: Zambia had now decided to have a nationalised economy, at least for years to come. Zambian private sector business, resident expatriate business and foreign-controlled business were now going to be in tune with state control of business regulation, direction and implementation. To use Chisala’s words, placing the economy under the rule of the state, simply meant “putting the physical life of Zambia at the mercy of the state” (1994:103). The material progress, social advancement, and well-being of Zambians depended on how successful the government implemented “a parastatal economy”. The people of Zambia were either going to “sink” or “swim” with and under the auspices of “a parastatal economy”.

3.4.4 The mining industry, agricultural development, and the diversification programme

From independence, the mining industry was the mainstay of the country’s economy. It was clear to government that the mining industry was not going to be buoyant forever due to the exhaustibility of copper ores and possible copper price fluctuations on the market.

Even though it tried to create new industries, as a way to diversify, real diversification was going to come through the development of agriculture as a primary industry. And consequently, it was only in this way that secondary industries such as cloth and textile manufacturing, and tertiary industries such as retail and wholesale trade would contribute to sustained growth and development of a diversified economy. The simple economical formula was clear and straightforward: primary industries (especially agricultural) plus secondary industries (especially agro-based) plus tertiary industries (distribution of economic goods such as tinned fruits and vegetables) equal agriculture-led diversified economy for both the

⁵⁵

Again a similar question could be asked: Were they given a chance to exculpate themselves to ensure fairness or were they given a second chance?

domestic and global economies, leading to mass consumption, prosperous local business and increase in foreign reserves. As we shall see later, it is the implementation of this formula which proved to be one of the most difficult parts of Zambia's economic journey. This is in spite of the well known age-old song about Zambia's potentiality: *Zambia is endowed with good vegetation, good rivers and lakes, good soils, rich mineral deposits, good weather patterns and an abundance of other natural resources.*

Zambia had from 1964 inherited a one-sided economic base partly because of the colonial legacy of the British who were more interested in the exploitation of the mining industry, especially that of copper (c.f. Gorringe 1994). Chisupa observes: "When Zambia attained political independence in 1964, it inherited a booming mineral economy that was mainly dominated by copper and zinc exports. The mining industry formed the backbone of the economy with 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings from this sector" (1999:17). Because of this the institutions, the infrastructure and social services were imbalanced between rural and urban areas. Colonial development was centred around Copperbelt towns and Lusaka. This led to neglect of other areas of development. When the independence government came, it was determined to use the benefits from the mining industry in order, firstly, to spread development to all corners of Zambia; secondly, to lay down the necessary institutional and infrastructural base which was necessary for a diversified economy; thirdly, to support and subsidize basic social services; and fourthly, to create and prop up new industries and to develop the country's agriculture as a vehicle for diversification.

By 1968, through earnings from mining as well as its inherited foreign reserves, government had scored a number of development successes which, *inter alia*, included (Chisala 1994:97ff; Kaunda 1989 : 140 f.f. and 1988:20; Macpherson 1977:72 f.f.):

- better medical facilities (almost in every part of Zambia)
- free primary education (in every part of Zambia)
- numerous secondary schools (almost in every district of Zambia)
- more colleges and institutions for specialised training

- a full-fledged, independent and flourishing University of Zambia with well-established schools, namely: Humanities and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Education, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Agriculture (Mining was developed later)
- a new international airport (Lusaka International Airport)
- a national airline (Zambia Airways)
- a national railway system with diesel locomotives (Zambia Railways)
- a pipeline (Tazama pipelines) which was nearing completion
- new state industries under INDECO
- electrification of almost every corner of Zambia with the establishment of Kafue hydro-electricity project
- and the road network linking all the provincial headquarters.

These developments, supported by the success of the mining industry, instilled confidence on the part of the leadership and sanguine hope on the part of the Zambians. Zambia was being steered in the right direction, at least on face value – the first national development plan was bearing “development fruits”.

Many Zambians – past, present, and future – agree that this period was the most important period in Zambia’s economic revolution: firstly, it laid down a firm foundation for human and institutional capacity building which is a prerequisite for the emergence of a scientific, technical, artistic, skillful, knowledgeable and stimulated public which is able to take on the “horns” of a modern economy and steer it to growth and development; secondly, it laid down a solid foundation for the country’s infrastructure which is necessary for enhancing distributive, communicative, circulative and mechanical aspects for a modern economy.

This is a period of nostalgia, a period of great achievement, and a period of progress: from backwardness to civilisation, from darkness to enlightenment, from colonial neglect to pragmatic care. For this reason, Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, the first president of the Republic of Zambia, in spite of all his subsequent failures and excesses, will go down in the annals of Zambia’s history not only as a freedom fighter who won Zambia’s independence,

but as a national strategist, patriot, and pragmatist, who was very interested in the development of his people⁵⁶.

When the government announced the Mulungushi reforms in April of 1968, the mining companies were not immediately nationalised. However, government's stand on mines then was clearly and categorically stated: "... the Government intends to take on the mining companies" (Kaunda 1989:57). Their nationalisation was only announced in August, 1969 (Macpherson 1977:72ff and Kaunda 1989:144). The two major mining companies which were nationalised on "51% state and 49% private" equity basis were: Roan Consolidated Mines (owned by Roan Selection Trust (RST) and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (owned by Anglo-American Corporation) [Kaunda 1989:89 and 144; *Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in Zambia: Policy Framework, Basic Facts and Realities* 1994: passim].

This meant that the government was fully involved in the future development of the copper mining industry as the mainstay of the country's economy. Coal from Maamba Collieries⁵⁷, a company formed in 1967 and placed under management contract of the French National Coal Board and later in 1969 given to the National Coal Board of Zambia (Kaunda 1989: 148-151), was not used for export purposes in the initial stage. It was mainly used to keep the "industrial wheel" of industry moving, especially that of mining.

Government calls for diversification were made early before the state nationalised the mines. Even though the Kaunda regime created new "import-substituting industries"

⁵⁶ Most of the current government officials, including the second and incumbent president of the Republic of Zambia, Mr Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba, are beneficiaries and products of the Kaunda regime's early post-independence period of high and distinguished achievements.

⁵⁷ Maamba Collieries was formed as a result of difficulties in obtaining coal from Wankie Coal Mines in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Problems started when Ian Smith illegally and rebelliously declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965.

which came to fall under INDECO and in which it participated with other partners, real diversification was to come with agriculture as a basis for national development. The diversification programme, therefore, was government's way of making the nation not to over depend on the mining industry and of developing agriculture so that it can generate sufficient foreign reserves for the sustainable economic development of the nation.

In his address to the Royal Agricultural Show in Lusaka on 1 August, 1964, Kaunda, in his capacity as Prime Minister, presented clearly "the diversification agenda" to the nation:

Although the copper industry does much for us, it is important that we should all realise the necessity to develop the agricultural industry as the keystone of our economy. We are fortunate that there is abundance of good land and labour and if one factor, capital, can be added in sufficient proportion, the fruits of the agricultural industry and of the secondary industries that will be generated will provide a tremendously increased and stable contribution to the national income (1989: 152)⁵⁸.

To realise this intention, the government decided to put in place agricultural infrastructure, credit, subsidies and other support facilities. They wanted to see a rapid expansion of both commercial agriculture and peasant farming.

A number of achievements were recorded in the early post-independence period (*Ibid*: 154ff). By 1966, *inter alia*, in the field of agriculture, the country had the following:

- its first Tobacco Auction Floor for the marketing of Virginia flue-cured tobacco and other brands
- regional planning and research units geared towards agricultural expansion
- a well outlined extension services department running courses at farm institutes and farmer training centres throughout the country

⁵⁸ If only the nation had actualised these intentions into large-scale, mechanical, intensive, extensive and high foreign exchange earning agriculture, the nation would not be as poor as it is today. Instead the nation choose to begin slowly on a small-scale, especially beginning with the mobilisation of a large,

- credit facilities which had given credit to farmers totaling about 1 million British Sterling for agricultural expansion
- state ranches operating at Mkushi, Chisamba, Monze and Abercorn (Mbala) for the development of beef industry and dairy farming
- a full-fledged veterinary service department supported by newly constructed cattle-handling centres
- a well established Tsetse Control Service Department
- an efficient marketing system through its marketing boards namely: Cold Storage Board (for the marketing of milk and milk products), Grain Marketing Board (for the marketing of grain), Lint Marketing Board (for the marketing of cotton), Dairy Produce Board (for the marketing of milk and milk products), and the Agricultural Rural marketing Board (for the marketing of agricultural produce for rural farmers), which by that year had handled between them “fifty thousand head of cattle, two point eight million bags of maize, five million pounds (British) of cotton, ... three thousand gallons of milk ...” and “four million pounds (British) worth of produce from rural farmers”, respectively (*Ibid*: 162).

These achievements, though in the eyes of the international community, were small-scale, were no mean achievements for a young nation. The nation was on a slow, but steady path towards the diversification of the economy: from copper mining to agricultural development.

None-the-less, the path to diversification was not an easy one. The picture was variegated: there were still “unsatisfactory aspects” in agricultural development, in spite of the initial 450,000 plus farm units scattered in rural areas and a number of commercial farms, mostly along the line of rail (*Ibid*: 163 f.f.). For example, in 1966, the country had to import K2 million worth of vegetable oil – a drain on foreign reserves (*Ibid*: 166). And yet the soils of the land, especially in Eastern province, were very suitable for groundnuts production (one of the necessities in vegetable oil production). The other example is rice. In 1966, the country had to import K440,000 worth of 40,000 bags of rice for domestic consumption

but insignificant group of peasant farmers country-wide while propping up a small, but significant group of commercial farmers.

(*Ibid:* 167). And yet the country had good soils for this, especially in the Zambezi plains of Western province, to necessitate large-scale production for both the domestic and global markets. Also, it was annoying that Zambia had by 1966 spent K1.1 million on the importation of vegetables of varied types (*Ibid:* 167), which could easily have been produced and accessed locally.

Zambia was far from becoming self-sufficient in almost all the farm produce and products for the domestic economy by 1968. This is in spite of government support in terms of credit, institutional and human capacity building, subsidies, infra-structure and co-operatives (*Ibid:* 152 f.f.).

In spite of inherent and apparent failures in the agricultural system, “slightly notable” progress was recorded in poultry farming and maize production between 1969 and 1973.

In poultry, under the Rural Poultry Development Scheme, “71 farmers with 8,500 laying birds in 1966” had “become 332 farmers with 50,000 birds producing 9 million eggs in 1969” (*Ibid:* 171). By 1967, 2,2 million day-old chicks were hatched and 2,1 million live and dressed chickens were sold (*Ibid:* 181). Imports of day-old chicks ended on the 1st October 1967 (*Ibid:* 181). There was no importation of eggs⁵⁹ from the 3rd August 1968 (*Ibid:* 181). Of the 4½ million chicks produced in 1969, about half were exported to East and Central Africa (*Ibid:* 205).

In maize production, the country reached self-sufficiency in 1967 and was able in that year to export “one million bags to China and three-quarters of a million bags to Congo” (*Ibid:* 182)⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Though this could be seen as good progress, it could not fulfil completely Kaunda’s independence dream of an egg (and a pint of milk) a day for each Zambian (*Ibid:* 165, 181, 204). For example, going by 1969 statistics, Zambia’s population was about four million (*Central Statistical Office* 1999:4) and it produced in that year 9 million eggs (Kaunda 1989:181). 9 Million eggs would have taken 2 days for 4 million Zambians. To have an egg a day, for each Zambian, Zambia needed to have produced 1,460,000,000 million eggs (that is, 365 days x 1 egg x 4 million Zambians), to satisfy its population in 1969. With these statistics, Zambia had not yet reached even a quarter of what was required nationally.

⁶⁰ Maize is the country’s staple food. This was probably the most important agricultural achievement of the Kaunda government in reaching a diversified economy. If only this was developed a little further, Zambia would have been “the grain basket” of Africa.

As for other areas, government was still scheming out how to increase production, for example in dairy milk and beef production through dairy, cattle and beef schemes, in tobacco production, in groundnuts production and cotton production (*Ibid*:172ff).

In spite of a slow start in agricultural development and subsequent agricultural productivity, government continued to take a keen interest in the agricultural industry in order to diversify the economy. Tangible results could be seen between 1968 and 1970 (*Ibid*: 72-99, 152-225):

- To expedite credit, the Credit Organisation of Zambia was now transformed into the Agriculture Finance Company.
- As an incentive to tobacco marketing, government facilitated the opening of the Tobacco Packing Plant in Lusaka.
- To boost fruit production, the Mununshi Banana Scheme was launched in Luapula province.
- To promote sugar cane production, the Nakambala Sugar Estate was launched in Mazabuka district.
- To boost tea production, Kawambwa Tea Company was launched in Kwambwa district.
- To facilitate affordable nitrogen fertilizers for farmers in order to increase agricultural productivity, Nitrogen Chemicals of Zambia was set up in Kafue (its incorporation was done in 1967 and its official opening in 1970).
- To boost the fruit and vegetable industry, the Mwinilunga Cannery was opened in Mwinilunga district.
- To boost the cotton industry, Kafue Textiles of Zambia was set up in Kafue district.
- To streamline marketing of agricultural produce and products, and provision of agricultural requirements, the Grain Marketing Board and the Agricultural Rural Marketing Board merged in September, 1969, to form the National Agricultural Marketing Board (NAMBOARD).

In spite of all these developments, agriculture contributed a meagre 11% of GDP in 1970 (Chisupa 1999:18).

By 1970, leading to 1976, agricultural performance was very poor. Kaunda observed: “Although opportunities to the majority of our farmers are as good as they could be, the performance of our agricultural sector has been far below expectation” (*Ibid*: 209). Agricultural production was not yet able to outstrip local demand in order to begin to export agricultural produce and products on a large-scale to other countries. In short, the country was still facing major obstacles to rapid diversification through agriculture. The situation was exacerbated by unfavourable effects of heavy rains experienced in 1970 leading to crop failure⁶¹ (*Ibid*:210, 213).

The main problem had to do with the implementation of the agricultural programme both at national institutional level and grassroot level. For example, there existed cases of under-utilisation of government facilities and support systems and mechanisms, like in Eastern province which had in 1971, 217 constructed dams, but only with 4 irrigation schemes using these facilities (*Ibid*: 211). The other example had to do with credit. There still existed elaborate credit procedures which needed to be ironed out and simplified (*Ibid*: 211). Further, there were inherent problems in the co-operative movement as Kaunda stated:

While we can be proud of our achievements, let me say that our co-operatives have not done as well as expected. The cause of this can be found in the lack of initiative, lack of planning and co-ordination on the part of the members of the co-operatives. Management has been very poor and consequently, a number of co-operatives have not met their targets. This is very shameful, indeed (Ibid: 206).

The other issue was that agricultural marketing institutions were not performing as well as expected and had their own in-built “institutional inadequacies” which affected efficient and effective operations for rapid economic growth and development. In one incidence, NAMBOARD had collected so much cotton seed that they did not know what to do with it and left it to waste (*Ibid*: 217 and 218).

⁶¹ An exception for the year under review (1971) could be made with maize. In that year, there was a bumper harvest; in 1967 a similar maize bumper harvest was experienced (*Ibid*:213).

It is clear that government's agricultural programme put in place from 1964 was not yielding tangible results by the mid 1970s to make agriculture⁶² compete favourably with copper mining in terms of GDP contribution. Government had failed to diversify the economy from copper mining to agriculture (Cleary 1990: passim). This failure to diversify through agriculture was going to cost the nation a great deal – socially and economically. However, government still hoped that one day, agriculture would be developed so that the economy could be diversified. The need for large-scale agricultural development, therefore, was still on “the drawing board” - waiting to be implemented vigorously. The key to this implementation was in the hands of government⁶³ which had the ability to mobilise resources and human beings, build institutional and human capacity, and “go flat out” to achieve desired objectives. But so far, it had only managed to “scratch” the surface of the “agrarian revolution”. The era of large-scale, export-oriented and home-inclined “agrarian revolution” was yet to come to Zambia.

3.5 ECONOMIC SLIDE OF THE MID 1970s TO 1979

This section argues that Zambia's real economic slide could be traced back to the mid 1970s when its major industry, copper mining, the country's mainstay of the economy, suffered loss of revenue and decline in production. The situation was exacerbated by the energy shortage which brought about high prices (partly due to the law of supply and demand) – causing heavy financial strains on Third World countries (including Zambia). It was a period of economic crisis from which Zambia has not yet recovered. In addition, this period was a great challenge to the Kaunda regime's ambition to create a humanist society. This section will be presented under two sub-headings, namely: Impact of external shocks on the mono-economy of Zambia and Responding to the aftermath of the economic slide and the test of humanist and ideals: discontinuity between theory and practice.

⁶² In 1975, agriculture contributed 12,1% to GDP as compared to mining and quarry (including copper mining) which contributed 32.4% to GDP (Central Statistical Office *Zambia in Figures 1997*).

3.5.1 Impact of external shocks on the mono-economy of Zambia

All the writers consulted on this subject agree that external shocks⁶⁴ which consisted of the oil and commodity crises are the major causes of the economic crisis in the Third World countries, including Zambia (Seshamani 1992; Jones 1994; Kalyalya 1994; Todaro 1981; Morgan 1975; Nafziger 1993; Nunnenkamp 1986). Among other things, the economies of these countries did not have the capacity to adjust to the challenges of these crises as compared to developed industrial countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany (Nunnenkamp 1986:51-53).

The oil crisis is traced back to 1974 when Oil-producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, through an agreed plan, announced a massive 400 percent oil price increase (Todaro 1981:491—492)⁶⁵. This brought about an increase in their total export revenues – rising from USD 14.5 billion in 1973 to over USD110 billion in 1974 (*Ibid*: 491). Non-OPEC developing countries which depended on oil from OPEC countries for industrial and agricultural survival, increased sharply their oil import bill – from USD 4 billion in 1973 to over USD 10 billion in 1974 or an increase of 250 percent (*Ibid*: 491). The economic results for these countries were catastrophic; *inter alia*, it led to shrinking foreign reserves because these countries had to spend huge sums of money, meant for investment, to import oil. Zambia was equally affected (Chisupa 1999; Seshamani 1992). Zambia had to use large sums of foreign reserves to pay for her oil needs – thus compounding her financial adverse position.

⁶³ It is generally argued that government's heavy-handedness and control of the marketing and pricing of agricultural produce and products was responsible for the failure of and dismal performance of agriculture (Chisupa 1999:20). Certainly government did bear some degree of blame!

⁶⁴ These external shocks produced massive debts for many of the Third World countries, including Zambia, in order to support the balance of payments in their individual countries (Nafziger 1993:66-73). The Genesis of Third World Debt can be traced from this period – see also Bwalya (1996) and *Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in Zambia* (1994). In the case of Zambia “debt servicing, which had represented only 7.3 percent of export earnings in 1974, rose to 18.7 percent in 1977 and 47.6 percent in 1982 (Seshamani 1992:116-117).

⁶⁵ See also Nunnenkamp (1986:51-53): the price of oil soared from between USD 2 and USD 3 per barrel to between USD 32 to USD 40 per barrel.

The commodity crisis, especially that of copper, can be traced back to 1975 when the price of copper plummeted (Seshamani 1992; Jones 1994). This was related to developments emanating from the 1974 oil crisis, which affected developed industrial countries as Nunenkamp observes:

Both the first oil-price shock and anti-inflationary fiscal and monetary policies in major industrial countries resulted in a severe international recession in the mid-seventies which could have hampered the Third World's economic situation in two ways. The slackening world-market demand not only threatened a continuous growth in export volumes, but was also likely to force prices down (1986:52).

In other words, because of the adjustment which was taking place in industrial countries as a result of the oil crisis, Third World countries, which depended on foreign exchange earnings, through their commodity exports (including copper), from industrial countries were affected doubly: low demand for their exports led to poor prices and consequently, reduced export volumes. In the case of Africa, Nafziger attributes this to high export commodity concentration “which is associated with volatile export prices and earnings” (1993:66)⁶⁶. Due to the fall of the commodity price of copper⁶⁷, Zambia's balance of payment position went into deficit, its terms of trade fell to 54 percent relative to 1974, its government revenues dropped “less than one-fifth of the previous level, and its budget went into deficit equivalent to 24 percent of GDP relative to the 1974 budget surplus” (Seshamani 1992:116-117). Jones observes that: “... the collapse of the copper price expressed fundamental weaknesses in the structure of the Zambian economy” (1994:26). By the time of the collapse of the copper price (compounded by the oil crisis), the economy had not yet diversi-

⁶⁶ Morgan argues on similar grounds when he observes that: “It is often held, both for logical and empirical reasons that LDCs (Less Developed Countries) suffer more export instability than MDCs (More Developed Countries)” (1975:307). Part of the problem is that LDCs export primary products which “experience wider price fluctuations than manufactures; that they often specialise in only one or two or three primary products and export mainly to one or a few countries, so that there is less averaging out of fluctuations than there would be otherwise” (1975:307).

⁶⁷ Valentine (1985) argues that the real genesis of the decline started to appear as early as 1970 when the price and output of copper started to plummet. In that year, for example, copper output was reduced to 585,000 metric tons from 755,000 metric tons in 1969 – copper output continued to fall in subsequent years. Therefore, the fall of the copper price in 1975 made matters worse. Copper which was costing 1460 British Sterling per ton in 1974 dropped to 576 British Sterling per ton in one year (*General Policy Framework* (1998-2000) 1997:11).

fied through agriculture to cushion the effects of the collapse of copper price. About this Jones observes again:

While diversification of export earnings away from copper and the promotion of the agricultural sector which absorbed the bulk of employment, had both been primary stated objectives since independence in 1964, government investment and price strategies had done little to bring them about. Agricultural growth had lagged behind the growth of the economy, and agricultural exports were negligible despite considerable potential (1994:26).

Manufacturing which was dependent on copper earnings was severely affected, bringing the entire economy under great stress⁶⁸ (Seshamani 1992:116-117; Jones 1994:25-26).

Zambia became a victim of her creation: the structures she inherited and perpetuated worked against her, pushing her into economic doldrums from which she has not recovered. Van der Hoeven (1982) argues that the fundamental cause of Zambia's economic problems is her static and inflexible economic structure which she took over at independence, and her lack of attempting seriously to make this structure more dynamic and resilient. It was a structure which was geared to serve fundamentally the mining industry and as such, when price fluctuations came in this industry, the entire economy was shaken, nose-dived and went into decline. What Zambia needed, in the face of unfavourable effects of external shocks was economic dynamism, resilience and adaptability. Unfortunately, the country, at the time, did not have these and so, it was hit the hardest. The road to recovery was going to prove a long, painful and hard one.

3.5.2 Responding to the aftermath of the economic slide and the test of humanist objectives and ideals: discontinuity between theory and practice

⁶⁸ Manufacturing as well as mining were both depended on foreign exchange earnings from copper sales especially for their technology and inputs. Reduced foreign exchange earnings meant a reduction in productivity levels and a fall in GDP (Seshamani 1992:116-117). Consequently, the entire economy could not deliver as well as expected. Reduced income meant also reduced investment in these two important sectors of the economy – affecting all other sectors.

The fall of the copper price spelt doom for the economy thereafter. It appears on the one hand that the government did not take seriously the fall of the copper price and care to push up the speed of diversification. Seshamani observes: “Even after the 1975 debacle, the fond hope lingered that the decline in copper prices would be transient and that once these prices picked up the economy would again become buoyant” (1992:117). On the other hand, it was quite clear that the creation of a humanist society was being challenged by the notion of private self-interest among certain Zambians. In short, in the post-1975 period, Kaunda’s government faced two battles, namely: firstly, to create a humanist economic system as an alternative to capitalism and socialism in spite of the economic difficulties; and secondly, to continue to convert Zambians into becoming humanists, who are motivated by societal interest as supported by humanist objectives and ideals rather than by private self-interest. Sooner than later, there was going to be discontinuity between the theoretical underpinnings of Zambian humanism and their practical implementation in a society characterised by falling standards of living partly due to the onslaught of oil and commodity crises as external shocks.

In his address to the National Assembly in Lusaka on 12 January, 1976, Kaunda said: “We cannot continue to mourn over the fall of copper prices. We must turn this tragedy into a blessing. We must simply face the reality of life with poor copper prices. A prosperous life without total dependence on copper is possible in Zambia” (1989:215). Unfortunately, this tragedy was not turned into a blessing, nor did Zambians start to enjoy a prosperous life.

By 1976, the main target areas of the Zambian “agrarian revolution” were not fully productive in spite of considerable strides made in stimulating agricultural development as a vehicle for diversification (*Ibid*:216). Zambia had not yet reached total self-sufficiency in food, and was not yet ready to export food items, except for maize (*Ibid*: 216-219). As for cash crops, the country was by 1976 still looking into the question of expanding their production so that they could begin to contribute to foreign exchange earnings (*Ibid*:216-219). For example, Kawambwa Tea Estate, a parastatal established to grow, produce, and market tea could only contribute 10% of the national requirement. In spite of improved oil seeds production, the country still remained a non-exporter of cooking oil by 1976 (*Ibid*: 217)

As the country passed the mid-seventies, it was still riddled by a multiplicity of problems in agricultural development, mainly due to the economic decline. These problems included, *inter alia* (*Ibid*:219ff): unavailability of dairy cattle, shortage of stockfeeds, foreign exchange problems, insufficient agricultural processing facilities, inadequate credit and a soaring wheat import bill. Nevertheless, the Kaunda government was determined to ensure that they did everything in their power to push for agricultural projects and schemes which would eventually help the economy diversify. For example, additional projects and schemes were put in place (*Ibid*:222ff): Mpongwe Wheat Scheme in Ndola rural (with the help of the European Union) – to boost wheat production and other crops; Lint Company – to speed up cotton production; and ZAMHORT (Zambia Horticultural Company) – to market horticultural products.

In spite of these commendable efforts, the tide was against government efforts. Large-scale, export-oriented diversification through agriculture was a non-starter. The country was passing through very serious economic ills which made it very hard to successfully implement government objectives.

While government was dealing with the post-1975 economic difficulties, it had to deal equally with the *human condition*, usually characterised by private self-interest, in industry and commerce, in government, and in agriculture as a vehicle for diversification.

Kaunda felt that certain Zambians were frustrating government efforts to create a humanist state (1988:67ff; 1989:217ff). He put it succinctly: “The most serious obstacle is the apparent confusion over our ideology (humanism) in the minds of some people” (1988:67). Humanism was simply not being actualised in industry and commerce, civil service and agriculture. Its ideals such as honesty, hard work, discipline and sacrifice were not being demonstrated practically. He accused some Zambian managers in industry and commerce of poor management, encouraging high prices, and exhibiting inefficiencies: “It pains me that nearly fourteen years after independence we have not managed to bring forth a generation of aggressive leaders in our parastatals ... Did we found these parastatals to strangle us with high prices which are the result of inefficiencies?” (*Ibid*:69). He also attacked the Zambian Civil Service:

The Civil Service, especially the Economic Ministry has cost the economy a fortune through its lethargy, indecision, inaction and lack of imagination. Instead of serving the community by quick and thorough action, it is frustrating the very people it is supposed to serve ... We did not create them to lord it over these people. And yet what do we find? Petty bourgeoisie attitudes and this is happening while the country is in economic ferment. No business can ever succeed, however efficient, without an efficient Civil Service (Ibid:69).

Government had to deal also with incidences of dishonest gain. For example, certain Zambians started to take advantage of the prevailing favourable conditions necessary for agricultural development like the reported misuse of money in subsidised marketing organisations and the smuggling of subsidised fertilizers into neighbouring countries in order to sell them at exorbitant prices (Kaunda 1989:220-221).

Zambia's problem was much more than cases of "human failures" as hinted above (even though they needed to be rectified). It had to do with the re-modeling of the entire structure of the economy so that government, all Zambians and other stakeholders (including the private sector) could move in partnership together in order to put back the economy into line. At this stage, the emerging picture was that the creation of a humanist state was an impossibility: it was being frustrated by the poor economic performance of the 1970s and by "bad elements" of the human condition motivated mainly by private self-interest in all its manifestations such as selfishness, class superiority and personal indifference.

With such a difficult economic situation in the late 1970s, it was no longer easy to convince hungry and unhappy Zambians about the objectives and ideals of humanism, let alone about the creation of a humanist state. The economy was in serious difficulties; diversification through agriculture had failed; and the philosophy of Zambian humanism was becoming rhetorical. As the 1970s waned, the nation was yet to see the creation of a humanist state sustained by a yet-to-be-seen "agrarian revolution" which would eventually contain the economic slide of the mid-seventies. Zambia was now a case of virtual discontinuity between theory and practice; between humanism and economic reality; between "imagined"

agricultural development and real impediments to an “agrarian revolution”; and between state interest and private self-interest.

3.6 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN THE 1980S: AN OVERVIEW

The main purpose of this section is to provide a bird’s eye view of the main economic policy issues which were formulated and implemented in the political economy of Zambia. Attention will be given to some of the achievements and failures of economic policies aimed at structural adjustment⁶⁹ in the 1980s. It is actually the latter which outweighed the former; and for this reason Zambia’s attempts to structurally adjust her economy in the 1980s can be described, in the words of Jones, as “the legacy of failed reform” (1994:39).

⁶⁹ Chisupa gives a brief outline the nature and perimeters of structural adjustment (1999:19ff). Basing his analysis on Petersen *et al.*, editors (1996) and Sachs (1996), he observes that the term “SAP” (Structural Adjustment Programme) is a term that is used to describe what he identifies as “the development-oriented policies” as prescribed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for developing countries. Then, using Sachs thought, he underlines the fact that there is a distinction between “stabilisation” and “structural adjustment”: “stabilisation” is associated with measures aimed at the improvement of macroeconomic balance and stability; whereas “structural adjustment” refers to a package of measures aimed at the reduction of direct economic involvement of the state in the economy and movement towards the market allocation of resources. In the main, both “stabilisation” and “structural adjustment” are part and parcel of SAP. They (SAPs) are fashioned in such a way that they usually move towards what is known as “the Neoclassical Model” in which the market is seen as the most efficient way of allocating scarce resources (see also Daly and Cobb, Jr., 1989; Goudzwaard & De Lange 1995; Atherton 1992). Chisupa further observes that subjecting the economy to the market, with its imperfections, does not necessarily work out positively. He bases his conclusion on the Theory of Second Best (Lipsey and Lancaster 1956) as presented by Mosley (1991) and which states that an economy which is riddled by market imperfections does not guarantee that removing such imperfections would result in bettering the economy. To carry out SAPs, the World Bank and IMF used instruments such as currency devaluation (for the improvement of the balance-of-payments position in the long run which is usually followed by an expansion of country’s export base – devaluation makes a country’s export cheaper and creates international demand which consequently bring in foreign exchange) and inflation control (whose aim is to bring about a stable macroeconomic environment which is conducive for economic growth and investment – usually done through tight fiscal [and monetary] policies). Then he concludes by saying that SAPs are a reorientation of development policies: from state-led economic growth to the neoclassical model, whereby the main responsibility of the state is to provide “conducive” conditions for the market mechanism and for private enterprise-led (or free enterprise-led or *laissez faire* – led) growth. SAPs, at best, aim at “fixing” a country’s economy into a better shape and, at worst, cause enormous human and social dislocation. In recent times, SAPs have come under heavy attack by churches, the United Nations, international NGOs and other concerned groups and persons of goodwill. For example, UNICEF has estimated that about 500,000 children die each year due to austerity measures (quoted by Chitiga in *Development assessed* 1995:99). See also Suzan George and Karen Talbot in *The South and the Bretton Woods institutions* (1995:5-23) and 61-71). One of the greatest challenges of the World Bank and IMF, as main administrators of SAPs, is to make these programmes more people-centred than “overly” and “exclusively” market-oriented. This will inevitably require these world bodies to work with national governments so that people (men, women and children) are protected from poverty, disease, ignorance and dependence.

In the same vein, Chisupa comments: “The pattern of tried and abandoned reform appeared to have become familiar” (1999:23). During this period, Zambia had lamentably failed to solve her scarcity problems.

The 1980s opened a new chapter in Zambia’s serious attempts to reform the economy after several years of economic decline emanating from the mid-seventies copper price fall. Sesshamani observes: “The perception that the decline was an established, long-term trend only dawned in the 1980s. By that time, however, the country’s economic problems had already assumed the proportions of a crisis” (1992:117). Before reform, Zambia was confronted with a number of structural problems including, *inter alia* (Jones 1994:26ff): “A highly urbanised and rapidly growing population, with stagnant formal sector employment and a high degree of dependence on subsidised consumer goods and welfare services”; “An extremely skewed income distribution, even by developing country standards with the richest 5% receiving a third of total income, and the poorest 60% only a fifth”; “A political system which to a considerable degree entrenched the interests of those who had most to lose from the reform”⁷⁰; “Extremely high levels of external debt in relation to exports and GDP: by 1987 the per capital debt burden was the highest in the developing world”; “A real effective exchange rate whose level had remained almost constant at the pre-1975 level, implying no additional incentive to promote non-traditional exports”; “A large number of parastatal enterprises and agencies whose financial and management performance was poor, and a demoralised public service”; “An agricultural sector whose development had been neglected and was characterised by extreme dualism between large-scale capital-intensive commercial farming and subsistence activities”; “Continued dependence on the mining sector to generate foreign exchange and government revenues, and consequent extreme vulnerability to world price fluctuations and to the exhaustion of the main mineral deposits which is due in the early years of the next century (2000)”; “A relatively large manufacturing sector of doubtful economic viability, generally enjoying high rates of effective protection, dependent

⁷⁰ Jones assumes that the Kaunda government was not free to act liberalistically because of social imperatives of looking after the interest and embracing the pain of the public. It is generally felt that the Kaunda government was justified to put the community first, before all economic planning and implementation; they are probably unjustified for not adopting an economic system which would have profitably sustained a human-centred society. It is fair to make a distinction between life-affirming and human-enhancing ideological inclination on one hand, and practical economic inclination on the other hand: the two are not the same, even though they can be influenced by each other.

on receiving rationed foreign exchange at a price well below its scarcity value⁷¹, and intermittently crippled by foreign-exchange shortages⁷². The structural economic situation was extremely serious and affected *the body politic, the body social, the body moral, and the body spiritual* as well.

Zambia had no alternative, but to pursue a market-oriented approach to solve its economic ills (Jones 1994:33) – which, unfortunately, as we shall see later, did not produce tangible economic results.

It is Seshamani who sets the context for the major reform programmes in the 1980s when he says:

The 1980s were characterised in Zambia by a series of alternating policy regimes, each designed to restructure the economy and enable it to recover from the crisis. The thrust of the early efforts was movement away from the controlled regime which had prevailed until the end of 1982. To achieve this the government embarked on reforms aimed at transforming the economy from one based primarily on administrative controls to one based primarily on free market forces and price mechanisms (1992:117)⁷³.

⁷¹ Scarcity value is a term that is related to the word “scarcity”. Scarcity simply refers to “a situation that arises when there is less of something than people would like to have if it were free” (Todaro 1997:718). In the sense as shown above, getting foreign exchange below the scarcity value means to obtain it cheaper than the normal and expected rate.

⁷² See also Gulhati (1989).

⁷³ According to Jones (1994:26ff), basing his tabulation on Gulhati (1989), there were about 20 main policy agreements from April, 1983 to August 1989, between the Zambian Government and the international financial institutions (both bilateral and multilateral), all aimed at restructuring the economy. These include: the April, 1983 IMF stand-by agreement for twelve months (which was suspended in April 1985 due to a build-up of arrears), and the February, 1986 IMF stand-by agreement for twenty four months (which was suspended in May, 1987, partly due to maintenance by government of food subsidies after the December 1986 food riots and government’s suspension of the auction system which had caused the Kwacha (local currency) to depreciate massively). Minor stand-by agreements were concluded with IMF and the World Bank in 1978 and 1981 (Nafziger 1993:122ff). According to Jones (1994:27ff), the 1981 agreement was a medium-term adjustment programme with the IMF to cover the period 1981 to 1983: unfortunately, in July 1982, it was suspended due to significant arrears on external payments by Zambia. He further divides the period of structural adjustment in the 1980s into five episodes, namely: 1981-85 - attempted stabilisation and limited liberalisation; 1985-1986 – an intensive reform effort; 1986-1987 – a period of disintegration of the IMF and World Bank programme; 1987-89 – period of Interim National Development Plan under the auspices of the National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP); and 1989 leading into the 1990s (especially 1991) as a period of Rapprochement with the Bretton Woods institutions. What is clear is that there was much in-

The possible question might have been: How could a UNIP government with “a humanist and socialist agenda” ever implement market-based strategies which were essentially premised on free-market economics? Blind to this background, bilateral and multilateral donors were willing to come to the aid of Zambia in order to help her liberalise her economy and contain the economic slide.

Between 1985 and 1986, an intensive reform effort was made by government. Among other things, this period saw the introduction of the foreign exchange auction system which was principally set up to determine the foreign exchange rate (Jones 1994: 29-30; Seshamani 1991:117). Under this system, “foreign exchange was made available at a weekly auction rather than being allocated administratively” (Jones 1994:34). The system had two main objectives, namely (*Ibid*:34):

- “to bring about a rapid real devaluation and to establish a framework for foreign exchange to be priced at approximately scarcity value for all uses”;
- “to introduce more flexibility into the process of foreign-exchange allocation so that critical bottlenecks in the economy could be released”.

Even though this was government’s way of showing to the donor community that it was trying to liberalise the economy through the instrumentality of the market, the early stage of auction brought about a sharp increase in the rate of inflation according to the Consumer Price Index (CPI) measurements (*Ibid*:34)⁷⁴. In spite of attempts to stem the devaluation of the Kwacha by the Bank of Zambia through the introduction of tax clearance-certificates and other documentation, the auction system started to experience the credibility crisis, whereby companies started to feel that foreign exchange was no longer going to be readily available (*Ibid*: 35). Meanwhile, the Kwacha continued to fall against the dollar (American) (*Ibid*:35). Economic difficulties started to rise by day affecting living conditions of peo-

ternational goodwill in the 1980s to help Zambia restructure her economy inspite of Zambia’s recurring problem of lack of meeting agreed targets and temporal suspension of policy agreements between Zambia and the World Bank /IMF.

⁷⁴ The average annual level of the price index jumped from 37% between 1984 and 1985 to 52% between 1985 and 1986 (*Ibid*:34). In fact, in 1985, Zambia was re-classified by the World Bank from a middle-income country to a low-income country (Nafziger 1993:123).

ple⁷⁵. In December, 1986, government announced a 120 percent increase on white breakfast mealie meal (the country's staple food) precipitating food riots, as already noted, especially on the Copperbelt (Jones 1994:38), in which property was destroyed and lives were lost⁷⁶.

As 1987 arrived, tension was mounting between the government and donors, partly because of the government's backtracking on policy issues. In May, 1987, the government decided to call it quits with the IMF/World Bank sponsored SAP⁷⁷ and decided to go it alone (Seshamani 1992:120-121; Jones 1994:30). In that same month and year, the government decided to abandon the auction system partly because it was not fulfilling government's intended objectives. About the abandonment of the auction system, Seshamani observes: "The foreign exchange auction system was finally abandoned because, after 18 months of operation, it had shown no promise of converging towards a stable and realistic exchange rate" (1992:121)⁷⁸.

After the breakdown of the externally sponsored reform programme, government decided to put in place its own programme known as the National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP) under the guiding slogan "Growth from Our Own Resources" as from May, 1987 (Seshamani 1992:121-123; Jones 1994:31). Jones observes again that: "The main feature of the New Economic Recovery Programme (NERP) was the desire to break away

⁷⁵ Government's GDP expenditures in health, education and other social sectors started to either dwindle or rise moderately (Seshamani 1992:120).

⁷⁶ It is argued that the whole announcement was mishandled by both government and the association of millers (Jones 1994:38). Government's intention was to eliminate subsidies on the white breakfast mealie meal (refined) and maintain subsidies on the coarse roller mealie meal (unrefined) for the poor. Millers felt that government was not going to fulfil its obligation by paying for subsidies on roller meal. Consequently, millers decided to stop the production of roller meal and instead produced breakfast meal – and in the process, infuriated consumers who had to pay the full increase. Hence the 1986 food riots. What government did was to nationalise big milling companies and to rescind the decision on the elimination of food subsidies.

⁷⁷ This programme was concluded in February 1986, but did not complete its twenty four months period as originally planned (*Ibid*:28-31).

⁷⁸ Apart from this, the auction system was said to be riddled by planning difficulties, erosion of investor confidence and purchasing power, uncontrolled inflation, tendencies to increase debt and general dependency, and discrimination against smaller firms (Jones 1994:35-36). By May, 1987, the Kwacha had depreciated to 21 Kwacha for 1 US Dollar – with the abandonment of the auction system, the Kwacha was administratively fixed at 8 Kwacha for 1 US Dollar (*Ibid*:35).

from reliance on external funding, conditionality imposed by external creditors, and to reassert visible government control over key economic variables and decisions which the reform programme had tended to decentralize and depoliticize” (1994:31)⁷⁹. This action was a clear demonstration that the Zambian government was not ready to pursue hard-core market-oriented reform programmes as prescribed by donors. It wanted something which would give government a hand to intervene in the market, if necessary, and direct, without any external influence⁸⁰, the economic destiny of Zambia. NERP was simply the centralisation and politicisation of Zambia’s key economic variables and decisions.

Among other things, NERP had the following main features (Jones 1994:31): “Debt repayment was limited to 10% of net export earnings”; “A Foreign-Exchange Management Committee was established, reporting directly to the President; the pattern of foreign-exchange allocations compared to that under the auction tended to favour state-owned industries producing consumer goods”; “limitations on the employment of expatriates were imposed, providing protection for Zambian professionals”; “Price controls were re-introduced on essential consumer items”; “Further substantial fiscal retrenchment”. In the beginning, NERP became successful partly due to a rise in world copper prices, reduced labour unrest, good rains and the maintenance of the overall level of external assistance during the period 1987-89 “despite the failure to honour debt obligations” (Seshamani 1992:121-123; Jones 1994:31).

The Interim National Development Plan (INDP) progress report which was done under the auspices of NERP, released by the Zambian government in mid-1988, covering a nine-month period, from July, 1987 to March, 1988, revealed that NERP had reasonably succeeded (Seshamani 1992:122). Achievements of NERP included: a reversal of previously negative GDP growth rate and an estimated 2.7 percent real growth rate was recorded against 2.2 per cent which was targeted by INDP; significant improvements in production in almost all sectors of the economy; improvement of the social delivery system such as in primary health care, drug supply, production and distribution of educational materials

⁷⁹ See also Bates and Collier (1991), and Cheru (1989).

⁸⁰ Nafziger observes that in the 1980s, the World Bank and IMF were “virtually a *de facto* finance ministry in Zambia” (1993:125). What NERP did was simply to break away from this external influence and put financial and economic matters under government control.

(*Ibid*:122) However, notable failures included: an increase in the inflation rate, partly due to government's inability to keep budget deficit and money supply on target⁸¹; and decline in formal sector employment (*Ibid*:122).

Seshamani further observes that in spite of achievements and failures of NERP, it marked the abandonment of "economic liberalisation" and hence the country lost its "seal of approval" among its bilateral and multilateral donors (*Ibid*: 122). Faced with another decline in copper production, mounting debt, and broad-based freeze on multilateral and bilateral aid, government had to go down "on its knees" to seek a fresh agreement with the IMF (*Ibid*: 123). In June, 1989, new adjustment measures were announced and "a policy framework paper prepared by the government, together with IMF and World Bank officials was released in August 1989" (*Ibid*: 123). As usual, the principal aim was to "move towards a more market-oriented economic environment" (*Ibid*: 123). But the question was: Was the Kaunda government, which was humanist and socialist inclined, repentant enough to pursue market-based strategies in solving the Zambian economic malaise? This was rather a difficult question for hardcore humanists who in the face of trouble are willing to decide for and uphold the interest of humanity and society, no matter what. Only time would tell.

As the nation approached the end of the decade, it was faced with problems of macro-economic stabilisation, especially the inflation issue which had a negative direct bearing on the cost of living (*Ibid*:123). In the 1980s, at the beginning and at the middle, government put in all its energy and effort to restructure the economy, but repeatedly failed. And now at the end of the decade in 1989, it was still trying to contain the situation under very trying economic conditions. The beginning of the nineties did not look any brighter. Nevertheless, the Kaunda government was determined to give leadership to the nation, in spite of mounting economic problems. They looked to the nineties with hope that one day the situation would improve and make Zambians a happy people once again. To use Kaunda's familiar words, "the light at the end of the tunnel" was yet to come and shine on the sad faces of the majority of Zambians.

⁸¹ It is estimated that between July, 1987 and March, 1988, the inflation rate stood at 35.6 per cent which was an increase of 64 percent over the 21.7 per cent rate recorded during the same period a year ear-

3.7 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND MACROECONOMIC STABILISATION IN THE 1990s: A BRIEF PRESENTATION

Structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation⁸² in the 1990s started with the continuation of a package of measures agreed between the UNIP government and donors in June, 1989 (Seshamani 1992:123). With the replacement of the UNIP government by the Movement of Multiparty Democracy (MMD) government in November, 1991, these measures were reasserted and redone to suit changing times of economic liberalism in Zambia. The purpose of this section is to highlight briefly on how the economy evolved as it passed through structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilization in the 1990s. It is presented under two sub-headings, namely: A bloodless revolution: re-birth of free enterprise and multipartism; and Pursuit of handcore capitalism: a paradigm shift from state capital to private capital. This section underscores the point that even though modest economic results were achieved in the 1990s, these results did not significantly spill in an improvement of the standard of life. Zambia was yet to fully solve her scarcity problems.

3.7.1 A bloodless revolution: The re-birth of free enterprise and multipartism

The change of government in November, 1991, following the October general and presidential elections in Zambia, could rightly be described as “a bloodless revolution”. This change brought about the re-birth of free enterprise (a key element of neoclassical economics) and multipartism (one of the cornerstones of a liberal democracy). First of all, it is important to understand major political and economic events leading to this event of historic significance.

The government was committed to implement in early 1990, measures and targets brokered under the August 1989 Policy Framework Paper with IMF and the World Bank. This in-

lier (*Ibid*: 122).

⁸² Macroeconomic stabilisation belongs to macroeconomics which is “the study of the economy as a whole rather than its constituent parts” (Barclays Bank of Zambia *Quarterly Economic Review* [2nd Quarter 1999] 1998b:25). In this sense, macroeconomic stabilisation generally refers to how government goes about to stabilize the entire economy by normalising inflation and interest rates, by achieving a stable exchange rate, by budget discipline, and other means. See fiscal policy and monetary policy in footnotes 92 and 93, respectively.

cluded, *inter alia*, “the phasing out of handling and all other subsidies for fertilizer and maize by 1993” under the agricultural pricing and food subsidy reform, and the “reduction of both producer and consumer subsidies on maize, and partial targeting of the coupon system” under the maize marketing reform (Jones 1994:32-33). In April, 1990, a consultative group meeting reviewed the adjustment programme and “was satisfied that significant progress had been made” (*Ibid*:33).

In June, 1990, government decided to double the price of maize meal⁸³ (*Ibid*: 33). This action brought about food riots on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka. This again led to the loss of life and destruction of property worth billions of Kwacha. This culminated in a very serious coup attempt on 30th June, 1990, which lasted for four hours and was led by a 30-year-old army Lieutenant Christopher Mwamba Luchembe⁸⁴ (Chisala 1994:329). Chisala describes this as “the turning point in Zambia’s history” (*Ibid*: 329).

Jones observes that these events (especially food riots) made the process of rapprochement to be set back (1994:33). It, inevitably, brought about a political crisis – paving the way for the re-birth of multipartism in Zambia. Meanwhile opposition politics⁸⁵ started to gather

⁸³ The price of maize meal was increased from K114,50 to K269,00 for a 25kg bag of breakfast meal and from K82.30 to K198,00 for a 25kg bag of roller meal (Chisala 1994:33). By June, 1990, 1 American Dollar was equivalent to 16 Zambia Kwacha (Jones 1994:32). Government had hoped that through the food-coupon system introduced in July, 1989, for lowly paid urban dwellers (who bought subsidised coupons and exchanged them for maize meal at selected shops), it would slowly reduce maize subsidies (*Ibid*:38ff). Unfortunately, the more than double increase was extremely severe for these people and hence, the food riots. The government backpeddled by going back to original maize meal prices.

⁸⁴ His speech to announce the take over read in part: “Due to the escalating cost of living followed by food riots, the Zambia Army has decided to take over the government. Announcing the coup I am Lt. Mwamba Luchembe from the Zambia Army Corps of signals” (*Ibid*: 329). Chisala observes again: “Furthermore, Lt. Luchembe blamed the government for mismanaging the economy resulting in the rising cost of living and corruption. He said UNIP leaders had sold themselves Mercedes-Benz cars at give away prices. The other charge was that the UNIP leaders had amassed a lot of wealth and had banked, bought and constructed houses and owned businesses outside Zambia. Lt. Luchembe further complained of government’s failure to build decent houses for the defence forces personnel and the policy of politicising the army and spending more time and resources on foreign issues. Lt Luchembe was totally against the continuance of the State of Emergency and employment of foreigners in the Anti-robbery Squad consisting of whites and Asians who killed Zambians during the food riots” (*Ibid*: 330). Some of these charges may have been exaggerated, but what is true, is that the 30 June 1990 coup attempt was a response to the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in Zambia. Mwamba Luchembe and other coup-implicated soldiers were arrested and later released unconditionally in a general amnesty by President Kaunda on 25 July, 1990 (*Ibid*:330).

⁸⁵ The UNIP extra-ordinary Fifth National Convention meeting at Mulungushi International Conference Centre in Lusaka from 14 to 16 March, 1990, had rejected the re-introduction of the multiparty system of government in Zambia stating that the one-party system was still suitable (*Ibid*: 341). This is in

momentum, culminating in a “loose” multi-party conference which was held on 20 July, 1990 at the Garden Hotel in Lusaka (*Ibid*: 33). It brought together over 130 delegates from different backgrounds and walks of life including: Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika, Derrick Chitala, Vernon Mwaanga, Donald Chanda, late Remmy Mushota, Newstead Zimba, Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba, Chitalu Sampa, Edith Nawakwi, late Arthur Wina (first finance minister of Zambia), and the late Baldwin Nkumbula, to mention but a few (*Ibid*: 342-343, 376-377)). It could be described as “a loose alliance” which was bound by one thing: “replacement of the Kaunda government” and which was “potentially incohesive” due to the fact that most of these people were meeting closely for the first time and had diverse personal idiosyncracies, dispositions and philosophies. This group later transformed itself into a political party known as the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) under the leadership of Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba as party president. This was after President Kaunda “signed the Constitutional Amendment Bill on 17 December 1990, legalising the formation of opposition parties in Zambia” (*Ibid*: 346).

On 31st October 1991, multi-party elections were held in Zambia and the MMD emerged victorious with 125 seats in parliament out of 150 seats, capturing 75-79 per cent of votes cast – UNIP only got 25 seats, capturing 24.21 cent of votes cast (*The Europa World Year Book Vol II 1992*: 3236). President Chiluba was inaugurated as second republican president on 2nd November, 1991 (*Ibid*: 3236).

This event marked the formal re-birth of free enterprise and multipartism in Zambia. It was indeed “a bloodless revolution”. President Kaunda was willing to hand over power without any drop of blood. What was a one-party democracy had now become a multiparty democracy.

The new government under President Chiluba was now poised to open a new chapter in Zambia’s history in as far as restructuring the economy was concerned. Unlike the previous government which was inclined to state and administrative controls of the economy, the new government was going to be an affirmer of the market – a strong believer in free enter-

spite of a well-known wind of change which was taking place in Eastern Europe and which saw, *inter alia*, the brutal death of President Nicolai Ceausescu of Rumania, a socialist one-party country, in De-

prise, albeit, the re-building of the nation and the economy was going to be extremely tough!

3.7.2 Pursuit of hardcore capitalism: a paradigm shift from state capital to private capital

It is no doubt that the new government of Zambia which was inaugurated with the swearing in of President Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba as second republican president of the Republic of Zambia on 2 November, 1991, wanted from the beginning, to pursue hardcore capitalism⁸⁶. By hardcore capitalism is meant following strictly and adhering unflinchingly to principles of a market economy (alternatively called capitalism)⁸⁷. Among other things, it wanted to pursue economic liberalism⁸⁸, the rule of the market and free enterprise. Its attitude could well be described as a post-care economic stance (Goudzwaard & De Lange 1997), whereby “internal workings” of the economy are given priority, put right and directed towards productive purposes, and then, thereafter, consider what are called by conventional economics “externalities” such as the environment and human community. It is the economy which comes first in such a paradigm; the environment and human community are secondary. To use the language of Haselbarth (1994), the economy is *ultimate*; whereas the environment and human community are *penultimate*. This stance is hardcore, because it only considers and embraces the pain of human community, let alone injury to the environment, when economic decisions and variables which are premised on the market mechanism are attended to first. To the new government, there is no alternative to market-based strategies; to put it crudely, *there is no alternative to SAP for an economy such as the Zambian one*. In this way, it shifted radically the economic paradigm based on the command mechanism which was formally put in place by the Kaunda government from April, 1968, which grew in the 1970s, and “wobbled” in the 1980s until the change of government in 1991. This was a paradigm shift from state capital to private capital. It was private citizens and foreigners with private capital who were now going to be the engine for resuscitating the

cember, 1989 (*Ibid*: 341). See also Chiluba (1996).

⁸⁶ See MMD Manifesto (1991).

⁸⁷ Atherton (1991).

⁸⁸ Economic liberalism generally means the belief that a person can advance one’s economic standing in a free enterprise situation. It comes out of the view that each person is free to get something legally from nature and transform it into one’s own c.f. Locke (quoted in Wogaman 1986)

economy and driving it to growth; government's role in such a paradigm would be to be a provider of conducive conditions suitable and necessary for business and economic growth. To put things in perspective, this section is argued under two headings, namely: Theoretical Intentions of new government and economic reform: towards a liberalised economy and macroeconomic stability: 1992-1999, and Denationalisation and the privatisation programme: The embodiment of the neoclassical model in the economy.

3.7.2.1 **Theoretical intentions of New Government and Economic Reform: Towards a Liberalised Economy and Macroeconomic stability: 1992-1999**

The new government did not want to proceed with economic reform without having some kind of a guide as to the goals and targets of its economic reform programme. This guide spelt out (spells out) theoretical intentions of government which are usually found in a government document called "Policy Framework Paper"⁸⁹ (PFP) – normally produced every three years. From the late 1991, the new government sought to re-establish links with the World Bank and IMF⁹⁰ (*The Europa World Year Book* Vol II 1992:3229).

When the new government took over power at the end of 1991, the Zambian economy was characterised by a number of economic problems, *inter alia* (*Policy Framework Paper 1995-1998*, 1995:2):

- short supply of basic goods and services
- rapid growth of money supply
- rise in military expenditure
- decline in social sector expenditures such as health and education
- low tax compliance
- large and increasing budget deficit
- heavily indebted and largely loss-making parastatals
- collapse of private investment

⁸⁹ PFPs are usually prepared in collaboration with the World Bank/IMF officials and in this way, they are internationally acceptable.

⁹⁰ These links broke down between the Kaunda government and the Bretton Woods during 1991 over the food subsidies issue shortly before the elections (Jones 1994:33).

- disappearance of business and consumer confidence
- inflation was running over 100 per cent annually
- non-servicing of mounting external debt from multilateral and bilateral institutions
- deteriorating physical infrastructure.

When the new government came into power, it set itself on a capitalist economic recovery course whose objectives, broadly speaking, included, *inter alia* (*Ibid*: 2): restoration of Zambia's economic growth prospects by means of stabilizing the economy; moving towards external viability (partly because of Zambia's external arrears which had accumulated over a period of time); promoting the private sector "based on free market principles"; disengaging government from commercial activity; and reversing the decline in the social sector delivery system and infrastructure in the nation. To achieve these broad-based objectives, the government decided to adopt the PFP for 1992 to 1994⁹¹ in February 1992. In November 1995, the government issued a second PFP for 1995 to 1998 (*Policy Framework Paper (1995-1998)* 1995:2). This was followed by the issuance of the PFP for 1999 to 2001 at the beginning of 1999 (*Policy Framework Paper [1999-2001]* 1999a:1). These papers share and reflect the same intentions of government which in-

⁹¹ Actually the PFP for 1992 to 1994 went into the 1995, especially the early part (*Ibid*:2).

clude: privatisation and parastatal reform, rehabilitation of country's infrastructure, liberalisation of financial markets, liberalisation of trade, strengthening of fiscal policy⁹² and the tax regime, macroeconomic stabilisation through a tight monetary policy⁹³, promotion of economic growth, the attainment of a sustainable balance of payments position, upholding of business and consumer confidence, and social sector improvement.

Results, on a "purely" economic level, from 1992 to 1999, were fairly impressive. However, it is in the area of socio-economic impact that the government performed dismally. One of the biggest weaknesses of implementing an economic recovery programme in Zambia was and is the *one-sided economic approach*, whereby the government, in collaboration with its corporating partners, cared more for *the economy proper* and less for *the Zambian human community* which was and is bedevilled by high incidences of poverty, unemployment, income inequality and dependency. The government did not hold the creative tension between repairing and enhancing the economy on the one hand and protecting its people from the ravages of poverty, unemployment, income inequality and dependency, on the other hand. Because the human community in Zambia was and is economically and socially brutalised and casualised, positive results scored so far on the economic front appear "blurred".

On the economic front, as noted above, the government's economic management was fairly successful. Between 1992 and 1994, the government achieved admirable results which were foundational to a liberalised economy and macroeconomic stability. In the area of privatisation and parastatal reform, the government decided to put in place two important constitutional bodies, namely, the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA) and the Zambia Investment Agency (ZIA) which came into being as a result of the Privatisation Act of 1992 and the Investment Act of 1992, respectively, (*Structural Adjustment Programme [SAP] in Zambia: Policy framework, basic facts and realities* 1994). The ZPA was "charged with the responsibility of ensuring efficient and effective divestment of government from direct participation in commercial and industrial enterprises" (*The Post Privatisation Impact Assess-*

⁹² Fiscal policy is "the government's policy regarding public expenditure and the raising of revenues through taxation in order to finance it" (*Barclays Bank of Zambia Quarterly Economic Review* (2nd Quarter 1998) 1998:24).

ment Study 1998:47) in the now private-led economy, whereas the ZIA was given the task of promoting foreign and local investment in the now liberalized Zambian economy (*Structural adjustment Programme (SAP) (in Zambia 1994)*). By September 1995, ZPA had either sold or liquidated at least 26 parastatal companies (*Policy Framework Paper [1995-1998] 1995:3*) including: two large loss-making transport parastatal companies, namely, Zambia Airways (the national airliner) and the United Bus Company of Zambia (the national passenger transport company).

In rehabilitation, the government put in place an ongoing countrywide programme, supported by corporating partners, to attend to infrastructural repair and maintenance such as that of roads system, schools, hospitals, water systems and telecommunications (*Ibid:3*) – and in certain cases, new infrastructure was constructed, the best example being additional basic schools.

The government went full-throttle to liberalise the financial system including, *inter alia* (*Ibid:3*): control of interest rates; removal of virtually all remaining exchange controls on external transactions in 1994; reform of the banking system as from 1992 (the Banking and Financial Services Act of 1994 speeded up this process); and the implementation of monetary policy through market-oriented methods as from 1993. The motivation was and is that the market should decide the destiny of financial markets in Zambia⁹⁴.

With trade liberalisation, government introduced the following (*Ibid: 3*): removal of quantitative controls on imports in 1992; removal of export restrictions except for the maize exports ban which was effected in 1995 (partly due to the anticipated poor maize crop yield); introduction of the international countervailing duty⁹⁵; leaving of domestic and external

⁹³ Monetary policy is “the government’s policy regarding its control of money in the economy: (*Ibid: 25*).

⁹⁴ One of the major criticisms of financial markets liberalisation is that the Zambian market has exposed itself widely to potential international financial manipulation - for example, foreigners can easily bring in their money and take it out the way they want. This can be dangerous for the Zambian market which is somewhat “imperfect”, partly due to high inflation and a highly depreciated Kwacha. Zambia as a poor country would do well to protect its financial markets by semi-liberalisation or step by step liberalisation.

⁹⁵ The international countervailing duty or simply countervailing duty is “an import duty imposes to protect a home industry against what is regarded as unfair foreign competition” (Hanson 1967:99).

trade to the private sector, except for trade in petroleum. This was now the era of private sector-driven growth in which government set conditions for business⁹⁶.

The strengthening of fiscal policy and tax regime saw the introduction of a cash budget system⁹⁷ in the 1993/1994 financial year and the establishment of the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA) as from 1st April, 1994 (*Ibid*:3). Since the establishment of ZRA “tax administration and compliance have improved substantially” (*Ibid*:3)⁹⁸. Fiscal policy and tax regime stipulate sources of government’s finances for capital, recurrent and other expenditures, and therefore, their strengthening cannot be over-emphasised.

On the macroeconomic stabilization level, the picture was mixed. On the positive side (*Ibid*: 3): in the second half of 1993, the Kwacha appreciated, at the end of 1994, inflation declined by 35 per cent “after five years of 100 per cent inflation”, and there was a stable exchange rate throughout the month of November, 1994. On the negative side (*Ibid*: 2): at the end of 1994, the macroeconomic situation was weak: inflation went up (mainly as a result of a rise in maize meal prices); depreciation of the Kwacha was experienced; and interest rates⁹⁹ went up to 24 per cent.

In addition to these economic reform policies put in place by government, government tried to boost business and consumer confidence through the necessary incentives, and through a market determined exchange rate (*Ibid*: 2). Also, as a way of moving towards external viability, the government, in 1994, established a balance-of-payments support and external debt management group¹⁰⁰ (*Ibid*: 3).

Livesey defines it as “an additional import duty imposed to counteract a fall in price following the granting of a subsidy by an exporting country” (1993:10).

⁹⁶ Trade liberalisation has since seen a proliferation of foreign companies, participating in trade – the best example is Shoprite Checkers of South Africa, a large-scale consumer organisation, with branches almost in every province of Zambia. See *ZPA Status Report* (1999).

⁹⁷ The cash budget system is a system whereby government spends within budget figures and when financial resources are available. This was not fully implemented until April, 1995.

⁹⁸ The ZRA is one of the most feared statutory bodies due to hefty penalties it slaps on defaulting tax payers and organisations.

⁹⁹ Interest rate(s) pay a lender over and above the amount borrowed, expressed as “percentage of the total amount of funds borrowed” (Todaro 1997:700).

¹⁰⁰ Because of this action, Zambia has been servicing her external debt timely, in spite of low foreign reserves (*Ibid*: 3).

The total outcome of economic reforms implemented from 1992 to 1994 was a real GDP fall of 5.1 per cent in 1994¹⁰¹ (*Ibid*: 4). At the end of this period, the government admitted that “progress in some areas has been slow” (*Ibid*: 4).

One of the areas of need, if not the greatest need, was the social sector in so far as the livelihood, work, and daily sustenance of the people was concerned – or to put it simply: matters of “bread and butter” were not handled very well by government¹⁰². The Bank of Zambia annual report for 1993 records that:

To assist the vulnerable groups from the adverse effects of the economic restructuring programme, several supportive programmes were put in place by the government. These programmes were aimed at improving access of the vulnerable groups to social services and food ... These programmes made it easier for the government to successfully implement the economic restructuring programme with the support of all the Zambians (1993:5).

This is rather an impressionist, ivory tower, and uncondescending kind of statement which did not reflect the true situation on the ground and was, therefore, highly misleading.

¹⁰¹ Decline in agricultural output due to poor rainfall, decline in the mining sector as a result of technical and managerial difficulties, and decline in related manufacturing activities have accounted for this fall (*Ibid*: 4). In fact, between 1991 and 1995 the economy was in decline by an average of 1 per cent annually (*Policy Framework Paper [1991-2001]* 1999a: 1ff). As for real per capita GDP, it declined by 13 percent during this period (*Ibid*: 1ff).

¹⁰² While it is a well known fact that the political elite and senior government officials (who are usually fairly insulated against economic brutalisation through hefty perks and other incentives) are not severely affected by SAP, it is equally well known that a large number of ordinary citizens (including ordinary civil servants and informal sector people) have borne the brunt of adverse effects of economic reforms including: perpetual poverty and hunger, falling purchasing power, inaccessibility to medical facilities (due to high fees), malnutrition, early death, despondency, depression, marital instability, joblessness, a hand-to-mouth existence, indignity and feeling of failure (because they neither have nor control means of looking after and providing for their families).

While it is appreciated that government put in place the National Social Safety Net as from 1993, in order, *inter alia*, to co-ordinate other social safety net schemes for social and human upliftment such as the Public Welfare Assistance scheme, Future Search, Land Resettlement programme, Small & Micro Enterprises Promotion unit, Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training (TEVET) programme and through various NGOs (non-governmental organisations) (*National Social Safety Net* 1996), the truth is that these programmes, though necessary, only “scratched” the tip of an iceberg. Social and human survival in Zambia required more than a symptomatic approach whereby a few hand outs are given out to address hunger¹⁰³ and a few who are targeted for their employment needs¹⁰⁴. It requires the total gamut of change which targets the unlocking and enhancing of the entire institutional and human capacity in order to move towards to a situation which can be regarded as spiritually and materially better (Todaro 1997), not only for today, but for years to come.

It is the Central Statistical Office *Household Budget Survey for 1993/1994* and the Central Statistical Office *Quarterly Employment and Earnings Survey (Fourth Quarter) for 1994*, which revealed in honesty the prevailing socio-economic situation of the majority Zambians as it obtained between 1992 and 1994. The *Household Budget Survey for 1993/1994* reported that there was income inequality during this period (1998:10,36). It further reported that in Zambia, people spent more money on food than any other item – implying that the cost of food was and is high in Zambia (*Ibid*: 14). Similarly, the *Quarterly Employment and Earnings Survey (Fourth Quarter) for 1994*, reported that between March,

¹⁰³ For example, the *Food for Work Programme* pays cooking oil, mealie meal and other consumables in exchange of labour used in the construction of roads and community projects in the shanty compounds of big towns. These programmes are very common among women.

¹⁰⁴ For example, the National Social Safety Net, as a national co-ordinating body, has a very restricted scope of operation: it only deals with displaced workers who have been adversely affected by the ongoing economic reform programme – and therefore, it does not capture the “unemployed” nationwide (Interview with Ngosa Chisupa, Programme Director of National Social Safety Net Co-ordinating Committee – 27 April 1999).

1993 and December 1994, there were about 30,000 people who lost their employment in the formal sector¹⁰⁵ against a meagre backdrop of about 2000 jobs created within the same period (1994: 4-4 & 9). The loss was due to privatisation and other economic re-adjustment policies (*Ibid*: 3-4, 8-9). Issues of income inequality or skewed income, high cost of food, and unemployment, impinge harshly on the morale of the public and should be considered priority agenda items as the economy moves towards growth and development.

Between 1995 and 1998, the government continued to consolidate its fair gains from the 1992 to 1994 period, notwithstanding initial difficulties. In early 1995, the economy faced serious problems which threatened to dissipate the gains of previous years as far as economic adjustment and macroeconomic stability were concerned. These serious pressures on the economy, included (*Policy Framework paper [1995-98]* 1995: 3-4): inflationary pressures partly due to continued maize price rises; anticipated severe maize crop shortfall in 1995; official financial support to a cash-strapped Meridian B1AO Zambia Ltd.¹⁰⁶, and revenue collection by ZRA was much below the expected levels.

In spite of these difficulties, the government was determined to proceed with economic reform and macroeconomic stabilisation.

In the period under review, the government continued to achieve fair results (*Ibid*: 1ff). Under privatisation, it had managed to sell 170 companies out of a working portfolio of 275 companies by 1996 (*General Policy Framework [1998-2000]* 1997: 1ff). On the fiscal policy level, it managed to implement a cash budget system (expenditure side) as from April 1995, and introduced Value Added Tax¹⁰⁷ (revenue side). On the monetary front, the catalogue of additional fair achievements by 1996 was impressive: foreign exchange was now readily available on the open market; the Bank of Zambia was now relying on the market

¹⁰⁵ On 1994 only, the *survey* states that: “The most affected sectors in 1994 were the private and parastatal which declared 4,303 and 3,678 employees redundant respectively. Local government declared 2,045 employees redundant in the period under review. In all, there were 10,025 workers declared redundant involving a total of 298 companies” (1994:9).

¹⁰⁶ In May, 1995, the bank was put under receivership (*Ibid*: 4). By this time, it had gabbled 51 billion Kwacha in public funds, representing 1 percent of GDP. It is still not very clear to the Zambian public as to why the MMD government went out of its way to support a private banking conglomerate with branches in East and West Africa.

¹⁰⁷ Value Added Tax (VAT) is “a tax applied at every point, with the chain of production and distribution, at which an exchange of goods or services takes place” (Livesey 1993:228).

mechanism for its execution of monetary policy; the money supply was under control¹⁰⁸; and prices of consumer goods were fairly stable. In 1996, the MMD government was voted back into power after the controversial presidential elections which led to the withdrawal of UNIP participation. Meanwhile, in that same year, the economy recovered with real GDP growth estimated at 6.5 per cent (*Policy Framework Paper [1999-2001]* 1999: 1ff). Positive growth was maintained in the following year. The Bank of Zambia Governor, Jacob Mwanza, states: “For the second successive year, the economy recorded a positive growth in real terms. Preliminary statistics indicate that the economy grew by 3.5 per cent in 1997” (*Bank of Zambia Annual Report [1997]* 1997:1). On inflation, he observes: “For the sixth year running, our inflation performance was exemplary.

The end of December twelve-month inflation rate was 18.6 per cent, down from 35.2 per cent in December 1996. This is a remarkable achievement by Sub-Saharan standard and puts Zambia among the more success stories in the structurally adjusting countries”¹⁰⁹ (*Ibid*: 1). The other notable gain in 1997 was the rapid growth in non-traditional export earnings, especially from primary agricultural products of which cotton lint recorded the highest growth in that year¹¹⁰ (*Ibid*:16). Even the October 1997 attempted coup by Captain Elias Lungu, code-named Captain Solo, could not change the positive gains of that year.

In spite of these economic achievements, the economy had to deal with other impediments

¹⁰⁸ Inflation was estimated to be just over 30 per cent by 1996 (*Ibid*: 1ff). See also *Bank of Zambia Annual Report (1997)*.

¹⁰⁹ The governor’s statement may be true when only economic factors such as monetary policy management and market-based strategies are considered, but when the so called non-economic factors such as human and social welfare are considered, the statement is highly misleading and exaggerated. Economic growth should be complemented by an improvement in the physical, moral and spiritual conditions of the people (Todaro 1997). There is a difference between “success in figures” and “success as it affects the real lives of the people”. As we shall see later, the lives of Zambians could not be called “a success” in 1997 and in the final year of the 20th century

¹¹⁰ Positive growth in non-traditional exports (NTEs) was largely attributed to “the liberalized export regime; fiscal incentives: technical assistance and credit from the European Union to some sections of exporters” (*Ibid*: 16). The question is: Why can’t Zambia develop NTEs even further, that is, for the domestic economy as well as for export, for the benefit of the country? This is the only way that the country will diversify away from copper. When the MMD government came into power in 1991, copper accounted for 93% of foreign exchange earnings (*The Europa World Year book Vol II 1992:3238*). The situation has not significantly changed in the final year of the 20th century.

to growth and negative effects of SAP in 1997. These include (*Ibid*: 16ff): the debt problem¹¹¹, overall negative growth in agriculture¹¹², unemployment and job losses¹¹³, and a shortfall in the donor balance-of-payments support¹¹⁴.

On the whole, 1996/1997 was a period of economic recovery with real GDP estimated at 6.5 per cent and 3.5 percent, respectively (*Policy Framework Paper* [1999a-2001] 1999a:1). The overall picture at the end of seven years (1991 to 1997) was impressive, at least when economic factors are considered: “The pursuance of prudent fiscal and monetary policies during the 1991-1997 period helped to stabilize the macro-economic environment” (*Ibid*:1).

¹¹¹ As at 31st December 1997, Zambia’s external debt stock stood at around USD 7.1 billion – an increase of 7.5 per cent over the debt position of 31st December, 1996 which stood at USD 6.6 billion (Bank of Zambia *Annual Report* 1997: 18-19). The Bank of Zambia governor, Jacob Mwanza, observes: “The World Bank and IMF launched the heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) initiative of debt reduction in 1997. The main objective of this initiative is to bring debt of the poorest countries to sustainable levels to enable them to release resources on development requirements and all creditors are expected to take part in stock reduction ... Primary analysis of debt ratios i.e. debt service as percentage of exports and present value of debt as a percentage of exports, showed that Zambia was above World Bank’s criteria for sustainable debt levels. This means that at the current levels of debt, Zambia will continue to face debt servicing problems for the next twenty years” (*Ibid*: 18-19). Even if Zambia negotiates for debt reduction or increase her net export earnings and revenue collection (*Ibid*: 18-19), the only way forward, is lobbying for debt cancellation. In this way, she will be able to concentrate on developing the economy.

¹¹² Agriculture recorded a negative growth rate of 3.4 per cent mainly due to “inadequate and erratic supply of fertilizer and other inputs, and the continuous heavy rainfall recorded in January and February, which resulted in leaching and flooding in some parts of the country” (*Ibid*: 10). Notwithstanding adverse natural phenomena, the question is: When will Zambia attend to diversification through agriculture? Thirty two years after independence, diversification through large-scale intensive and export-oriented agriculture is still a pipe dream.

¹¹³ The implementation of the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) – second-phase of SAP – through the instruments of privatisation and liquidation of companies - increased unemployment levels in the country (*Ibid*: 12). Many of those who lost jobs joined the informal sector which is usually characterised by a hand-to-mouth existence through street vending, stone crushing and other jobs. Informal sector jobs as they obtain in Zambia are “a sign of a very sick economy”. What government needs is the mobilisation of the informal sector so that decent business infrastructure, credit, business skills, insurance facilities and other attendant support schemes, can be availed to them. This is the only way Zambia can see a healthy, robust, skillful and secure informal sector.

¹¹⁴ In the early part of 1997, Zambia had to suffer the pain of certain donors withholding the balance-of-payments support due to the controversial presidential clause which barred the first president, Kenneth David Kaunda, from standing as a candidate in the 1996 presidential elections. In spite of this problem, Zambia met all her external debt obligations (*Ibid*: 12). Nonetheless, this action reduced Zambia’s foreign reserves – putting negative pressure on the economy. The same situation happened when donors withheld the balance of payment support in 1998 – due to unresolved governance issues and delay in privatising the remaining assets of ZCCM - see Barclays Bank of Zambia *1999 Budget Digest* (1999:1ff) and Barclays Bank of Zambia *Quarterly Economic Review* (2nd Quarter 1998) (1998b:1ff).

The year 1998, was a difficult year¹¹⁵: “In 1998, however, the economy has been seriously affected by several problems that threaten positive developments achieved over the last three years” (*Ibid:2*). Main problems of 1998 included (Barclays Bank of Zambia 1999 *Budget Digest* 1999:130ff and *Policy Framework Paper* (1999-2001) 1999:1ff):

- the financial and economic crisis in Asia (affecting adversely the price of copper)
- slump in copper production¹¹⁶
- absence of donor support i.e. in terms of balance of payments¹¹⁷
- effects of low cost imports from the region (Southern Africa)¹¹⁸
- rapid depreciation of the Kwacha¹¹⁹
- delay in selling the remaining assets of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM)
- unfavourable atmospheric conditions in the 1997/1998 season¹²⁰ (mainly due to the El Nino phenomenon)
- decline in manufacturing (mainly due to reduced earnings which is a result of exporting raw products)
- decline in NTEs (non-traditional exports) (due to reduced demand especially for cotton lint and soya beans).

The overall economic outlook at the end of 1998 was gloomy. Main features include (*1998 Economic Report* 1999:22ff and *Policy Framework Paper* (1999-2001) 1999: 1ff): lower export receipts, absence of balance-of-payments support, depletion of foreign reserves, a depreciated Kwacha mainly due to scarcity of foreign exchange and poor crop yield, and

¹¹⁵ See also Barclays Bank of Zambia 1999 *Budget Digest* (1999:20-34) and the Republic of Zambia 1999 *Budget Speech* (1999:1ff).

¹¹⁶ Which reduced from 322,000 tons in 1997 to 260,000 tons in 1998 (*Ibid: 2*)

¹¹⁷ Donors withheld the balance of payment support partly due to delay in privatising the remaining assets for the mining industry and due to other governance issues. See Barclays Bank of Zambia 1999 *Budget Digest* (1999:30).

¹¹⁸ Leading to the dampening of local manufacturing companies, because they could not compete with foreign companies which brought in low cost goods.

¹¹⁹ The 1998 *Economic Report* for the government of the Republic of Zambia observes that: “The nominal exchange rate of the Kwacha against the US Dollar rose from an end period of K1,421 in 1997 to K2,300 as at end of 1998, representing a depreciation of 62 per cent” (1999:24).

¹²⁰ Performance in agriculture cannot only be attributed to El Nino effects, but also to failures in the distribution and marketing of both agricultural inputs and outputs (*Ibid:2*). For example, the output of maize was 583,000 tonnes – 45 per cent lower than the normal maize requirements of the nation. This led to maize price increases as well as that of other related products (*Ibid:2*).

budget problems such as cost overruns¹²¹, severe cuts and accumulation of domestic arrears. Thus some of the gains of the two buoyant years (1996 and 1997) were wiped out by the recording of a negative GDP growth rate of 2.0% in 1998¹²² (Barclays Bank of Zambia *1999 Budget Digest* 1999:34).

At the beginning of 1999, the *Budget Address* by the Hon. Edith Z. Nawakwi, Minister of Finance and Economic Development, delivered to the National Assembly of Zambia on 29th January, 1999, set the context for economic reform in that year:

Mr Speaker, Sir, I stand before this august house deeply indebted to the courage, patience and resolve of the Zambian people in the face of the many difficulties we have encountered in our efforts to turn the economy around. I have nothing but sheer admiration for the sober and mature manner in which Zambians have carried the burden of reform (1999:1).

Poverty reduction and delay in the privatisation of the remaining assets of ZCCM stood out as two of the main issues which confronted Zambia's economy as government endeavoured to turn it around. Poverty reduction, if not achieved, will continue to negatively affect public morale. If the issue of the sale of remaining assets of ZCCM is not concluded well and the mining sector allowed to profitably expand thereafter, the entire economy will crumble. One of the reasons is that the mining sector is still the mainstay of the economy and that the economy has not yet diversified appreciably away from mining.

¹²¹ For example, the Public Service Retrenchment Programme (PSRP) under which government planned to spend 20 billion Kwacha and had hoped that donors would contribute 96 billion Kwacha (Barclays Bank of Zambia *Quarterly Economic Review (2nd Quarter 1998)*: 1998b:7). However, due to the unresolved governance issues, this money was not released by donors and so, by the end of May 1998, government ended up spending 37 billion Kwacha (*Ibid*:7).

¹²² Barclays Bank of Zambia *Quarterly Economic Review (2nd Quarter 1998)*, right at the beginning of 1998, painted an overall grim picture on the performance of the economy fundamentally due to a depressed manufacturing sector, unresolved privatisation of ZCCM and the impact of this on local industries which are dependant on copper/cobalt mining (1998b:4-5). Zambia needs a more diversified industrial platform which is not necessarily linked to copper mining (and its by-products such as cobalt). As already noted, Zambia needs to go flat out and develop its agriculture, industrial and manufacturing base and attendant service delivery systems. This is the way forward for wealth creation (*chrematistics*), development, and a well-ordered society in which the entire household of the Zambian community can share the benefits of living in this household.

While it is appreciated that government recognised the sobriety and maturity of the majority of Zambians amidst difficulties, it was disheartening that this was not matched by sacrifice and modest living on the part of those with political power. This is why calls for poverty reduction such as the one below lacked substance (*Ibid*:10):

Mr Speaker, Sir, in his opening address to this session, the President described poverty as a cancer that rots the human soul. Poverty denies millions of our people the opportunity to enjoy their God given rights and freedom and to participate in the development of their country. In his address, the President appropriately called on the Nation to move forward in defence of the ordinary Zambian against this cancer.

The defence of the “ordinary Zambian against this cancer (poverty)” can only happen when he or she is not left behind in economic programmes and when he or she is able to see and experience that public leaders are accompanying him or her in his or her difficulties, helping him or her to recover and demonstrating that they are *not extravagant*, but *moderate* in the perks and incentives which are due to them as public leaders. The problem of government is its hardline pursuance of post-care neoclassical economics which tends to care first and foremost for economic variables and decisions, at the expense of the human community. In most cases, people are left behind the economic reform course and are only considered afterwards. The other problem of government is that words are not matched with action. People see that the political elite are far better off socially and economically. In the quest for the solution of scarcity, citizens should come first. Solving scarcity for the elite and excluding ordinary citizens from scarcity-solving mechanisms is a moral concern which needs to be addressed. Government needs to adopt a pre-care economics approach which, *inter alia*, cares for people first as it proceeds with economic reform¹²³, and to show high level moderation¹²⁴ in terms of perks and incentives accorded to senior public officers and the

¹²³ Or alternatively do the simultaneous job of looking after the socio-economic needs of their people as they proceed with reform. The point is that people should not be left behind the economic development process and be considered as an “after-thought” in this process.

¹²⁴ For example, there needs to be public debate on perks and incentives given to these people which should take into consideration *restrictions* on telephone facilities, travel, fuel allocation, allowances, and other issues. An outstanding case in point is the Cabinet: there needs to be cutting down of the Cabinet to the early post-independence cabinet levels which was 16 or even lower (the present cabinet has 25 members). These and other measures can make the nation save considerably as the economy recovers from its sickness. Zambia should not pretend to live like rich nations. She must learn to live within its financial means.

political elite. This is the only way that the entire nation will ably move together towards a common vision as articulated ably by Edith Z. Nawakwi, Minister of Finance (*Ibid*: 18):

We must not be faint-hearted, but rather move together with a common vision to permanently change our nation for the better. We must have the determination to transform our economy into one where hard work and enterprise are rewarded, where there are expanded opportunities for all and where wealth is generated and distributed equitably to reduce the widespread poverty and protect the vulnerable – Government is committed to playing its role, but it is the Zambian people themselves who must make the African Renaissance¹²⁵ a reality within the nation. To achieve our rebirth we must all re-examine and change our attitudes and our work habits. We must realise the great potential that exists around us and within us. Each man and woman must play his or her part in exploiting that potential so that we can all feed, clothe and house our families, educate our children, and develop our nation. We must all take up the challenge to engage the world with open minds and with spirits eager to identify and embrace the tremendous opportunities

¹²⁵

The call for African Renaissance by the then Executive Vice President of the Republic of South Africa, and now Republican President, Thabo Mbeki, which was given in the post-Apartheid and post-South African Independence era is not new to Africa. It was called for in one form or another by forefathers of African Independence such as Kaunda (1988). However, development has eluded Africa. It is probably this time around that Africa should reassert through development.

that exist in our land for an outward looking people. We all have a part to play in using what God has richly blessed us with to make our nation dynamic, vibrant and prosperous, able to enter the new millenium with our heads held high and with respect of our friends around the globe.

As for the remaining assets of ZCCM, the Standard Chartered of Zambia *Business Trends Zambia* casted a “ray of hope” that the sale of the remaining mining assets will be cardinal in determining the way for the economy (1991:1). It was expected that the sale of mines would open up the flow of donor-funding – and further investment in the mining sector¹²⁶ (*Ibid*: 2).

However, the report cautioned that “Copper privatisation is no quick fix” (*Ibid*: 2). This view is qualified when it states that (*Ibid*: 8-9):

Production is unlikely to begin to recover until the year 2000 and could take until 2006 to 2008 before it regains the 600 000 tonne level. It will not reach those heights without the restructuring of the industry in the form of new investment and new managerial and marketing techniques.

The delay in privatising the remaining assets cost the nation an unconfirmed amount of USD 1.5 billion at the end of 1998 (*Ibid*:3). In the words of Permanent Secretary (Financial Management and Accounting Division), Ministry of Finance and Economic Development of the Republic of Zambia, government was using about 20 million USD per month by April, 1999, in order to keep the mines “barely alive” before the prospective owners take over¹²⁷. Therefore, the successful privatisation of the remaining assets of the mines and their eventual positive growth and development will be decisive to the health of Zambia’s economy as it prepares to enter the 21st Century. To put it in other words, Zambia’s economy, let alone the life of Zambians, depend on successful privatisation of the remaining assets of the mines, for now and in the early part of the new millennium.

¹²⁶ This view is well supported by the Barclays Bank of Zambia *1999 Budget Digest* (1999).

The dye has been cast and the economic pattern is emerging. In the closing year of the 20th Century, 1999, it is now up to government to see how economic decisions will be made and economic variables will be applied in order to truly restructure the economy, maintain macro-economic stability and boost economic growth and development and thus, achieve positive economic reform and recovery. Major issues of great attention include the instilling of positive growth in the mining sector, the manufacturing sector and the agricultural sector as highly potential growth areas. But, most importantly, Zambia's implementation of economic reforms will be judged successful if and when social imperatives of human livelihood, existence, wholeness and their physical surrounding are given uttermost consideration¹²⁸. After all, *development is for people* (Coetzee editor 1987).

3.7.2.2 Denationalisation and the privatisation programme: the embodiment of the neo-classical model in the economy

The process of denationalisation was set in motion by the MMD government soon after the creation of the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA) at the beginning of 1992. By definition, it is a process which sought to undo nationalisation of private companies which came under state control as from April, 1968, in order to give back these companies to rightful private owners, or sell them to prospective private buyers or private shareholders in state companies, whatever the case may be. In addition, it is a process which sought to sell almost all state companies created before and after the 1968 Mulungushi Reforms to private buyers. This process required a natural accompaniment: the privatisation programme. The privatisation programme, in broad terms, refers to government policy aimed at making the private sector to participate prominently in leading commercial and industrial activities of the economy. Both denationalisation and privatisation seek to promote a private sector-driven economy and thus, embody into the structures of the economy the neoclassical model in which government's role is to set prerequisites and conditions which are both conducive and favourable for the economy to take off.

¹²⁷ This is according to the interview conducted with Mr Mtonga at the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development Headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, on 15 April, 1999

¹²⁸ Issues of community empowerment through development projects, literacy classes, primary health care, skills development, institutional capacity building, deliberate government protection of its people from hunger, nakedness and lack of shelter, and the like, should be taken aboard the state ship, as the economy evolves.

None-the-less, it should be borne in mind that denationalisation and privatisation changed radically the face of predominantly parastatal business in Zambia which had enjoyed state protection, subsidy, and benevolence spanning over a period of 24 to 27 years. Equally, workers used to enjoy security of employment even when some of the parastatals were performing badly. This period of “parastatal economy” can be described as “a period of relative ease” in as far as the worker was concerned – employment was a must and a right, with or without good and productive company performance simply because the state was overseeing every Zambian and every parastatal in order to ensure that people had employment. Every parastatal, especially the non-performing ones, were financially subsidised.

The final stroke which changed this scenario was the full force of denationalisation and privatisation of 1992. Non-performing companies and bloated companies were the first to feel the incisive pain of denationalisation and privatisation. Sooner than later, the Zambian nation started to see the outpouring of human masses from liquidated and privatised companies into the streets of Zambia. For the first time in the history of Zambia, stories of high incidences of joblessness, hunger, depression, marital wreckage, lack of school fees for children, and all those cases related to denationalisation and privatisation, became the order of the day. Those who left employment due to privatisation or liquidation, if they were unlucky to be re-deployed, retained or re-employed, joined the already bloated informal sector which was usually represented by *utuntemba economy*¹²⁹ just to make ends meet.

Consequently, a situation emerged whereby there existed in the nation, two parallel economies, namely: the formal economy represented by the public and private sectors and the informal economy represented mainly by *utuntemba economy* (which is not integrated in and peripheral to the national economy). The brushing of shoulders between the two is not easy

¹²⁹ *Utuntemba* (plural, *akantemba* –singular) is a Bemba word which means makeshift structures where somebody can sell consumables and utilities such as sweets, fruits and soap, in order to make ends meet. It has become a common Zambian phrase in the light of economic difficulties. *Utuntemba* can also be found in low-density suburban residential areas of big cities like Lusaka. Zambia has now become a “nation of traders”. The point is that, in Zambia today, in order for you to survive, especially as an ordinary citizen, you must sell goodies. *Utuntemba economy* is not integrated in the mainline economy of Zambia. One of the greatest challenges of the MMD government is to integrate some of these *utuntemba* into the main fabric of Zambian’s formal commercial and industrial activities. It is hoped that when the economy finally recovers and begins to deliver “economic goods”, some of these *utuntemba* will naturally die out because a good portion of people from this sector will be in productive gainful employment.

at all, especially in a changed business scenario brought about by denationalisation and privatisation. For example, consumables offered by *utuntemba* may be shunned in preference to those found in big consumer shops such as Shoprite Checkers which belong to the private formal economy and vice versa. The result is survival of the fittest through and through. In the formal economy, both public and private, those companies which outperform others survive; whereas those who are outperformed and who do not adapt and improve, sink under and collapse. In the *utuntemba economy*, survival is at the mercy of those in the formal economy, especially individuals: if they have no money or decide to buy from their fellow competitors, their business suffer and consequently, their families suffer because there will be no money to buy basic necessities such as the staple food mealie meal.

Denationalisation and privatisation have brought in a new culture of entrepreneurship, and a new culture of competition, formally and informally. At the same time, it has engendered pain of varied degrees, namely: the pain of adjusting to the changed business environment, the pain of losing employment due to privatisation and denationalisation, and the pain of surviving in a denationalised and privatised economy. The post-1992 period can well be described as “Zambia’s second Great Transformation”,¹³⁰. Not only did commercial and industrial activities change hands from state-led to private sector-led, but that it led to, undeniably, massive human and social dislocation not only for affected workers, but for their families and the entire public which co-exists in the breadth and length of Zambia. The previous economy was uprooted and replaced by new economic structures with a promise for business and potential for destabilising the human, social, and moral fibre of the nation.

At the heart of denationalisation and privatisation is the celebrated ZPA. According to *Privatisation News* (1999a:4), the privatisation process was successful with a negligible failure rate of 3 per cent¹³¹. In other words, the privatisation process, which denationalised the economy, had a 97% success rate since the privatisation programme was launched in July, 1992 (*Ibid*:4). In comparative terms, it even outperformed privatisation programmes in big

¹³⁰ c.f. Karl Polanyi (1944). See also chapter 4 on “The missionary church and the emerging industrial economy: the general missionary council and the united missions to the Copperbelt” in order to compare with “Zambia’s first great transformation”.

¹³¹ Failure of some privatised companies is attributed mainly to indebtedness of these companies from the time they were parastatals and inability to withstand the changed economic environment (*Ibid*: 4-

economies such as that of Germany which recorded a failure rate of 20% (*Ibid*: 4). As at 30 March 1999, 242 companies were privatised (*ZPA Status Report 1999b:1ff*). With only 38 companies to be privatised out of a working portfolio of 280 companies, the economy is no longer “a parastatal economy”, but “a free enterprise economy” (*Ibid*: 1).

In this way, the privatisation programme as it obtained in Zambia, economically speaking, successfully and fully embodied the neoclassical model. The ball is the court and hands of the private business people to stir the economy to positive growth and development, albeit, with government’s ability to level the playing field and set an enabling environment in the true sense of the term. However, the ethical question is: When will Zambians begin to reap the fruits of the privatisation programme, which in economic terms, was described as “a success with distinction”? Is it in the medium term? Is it in the long term? If privatisation will not deliver economic benefits such as affordable food, clothes and shelter, then it will have failed its historic mandate, and it can well be described as a disaster.

3.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In building the case of Zambia, firstly what comes out clearly is that in the political economy of Zambia the “point of departure” was scarcity. Zambia believed that it was necessary and fundamental to arrange its industrial economy according to the three key elements of scarcity, namely: production, allocation, and distribution. For example, the copper mining industry, the mainstay of the economy, was done in accordance with the three key elements of scarcity. Secondly, Zambia choose the socialist collectivist philosophy as a system by which to solve scarcity from 1964 to 1991. With the new government coming to power in 1991, Zambia took the capitalist individualist philosophy as a way by which to solve scarcity. *Inter alia* in spite of modest social and economic achievements, inappropriate measures contributed to a falling in living standards up to 1999. During the period under review, Zambia failed to fully solve her scarcity problems.

6). Most of these were sold to Zambians, for example: General Pharmaceuticals of Kabwe; National Drum Company of Ndola; Crushed Stone Sales of Lusaka; and Eagle Travel of Lusaka (*Ibid*: 6).

By choosing scarcity as a “point of departure” in its quest for economic development, Zambia agreed with the international business community that, technical choices are more important in the economic process than moral concerns. Consequently, adherence to the notion of scarcity did contribute to the compromise of social imperatives mainly due to market exclusion of many Zambians, especially in the 1990s.

In this regard, scarcity may not be an adequate “starting point” for the quest for economic development. In spite of apparent scarcity of resources, Zambia does have sufficient and abundant resources to feed, clothe, shelter and educate its people. She may not have precious commodities like crude oil and diamonds, but she does have other resources which can be tapped and employed to bring about prosperity, good health and holistic fulfilment for her people.

She must acknowledge that she has sufficient resources over which she has responsibility. There is a need to develop a new “point of departure” which recognises this fact of life for the sake of the Zambian citizenry. This idea will be argued firmly and critically in the succeeding chapters. Zambia needs a new “starting point” which needs to be executed hand in hand with moral criteria which are based on Biblical insights and norms. They are not the kind of moral criteria which exclude people from other faiths from participating in the economy. In fact, in God’s economy (Greek *oikonomia tou theou*), everyone is included (Meeks 1989). In this vision of inclusivity, a deliberate choice is made to advance values which are shared by people around the world. These include a commitment to duty, a commitment to justice, responsible use of resources and care for other human beings.

On the basis of this new “starting point” grounded in appropriate moral criteria, Zambia should put in place an economic system which discerns and gathers the best from the two major economic systems and from other sources for holistic progress. Her sacred task is to find a system which use appropriate measures to bring about growth and development. This time around it will not be an argument about mere material goods, but about how best she can contextually appropriate this new “starting point” in order to help its people reach their potential.

CHAPTER 4

**THE CHURCH AS AN INSTITUTION: A HISTORICAL SURVEY
OF ITS RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA**

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an attempt to critically present a historical survey of the *Zambian Church*¹ as an institution with regards to its response to economic development in Zambia. Through this historical survey, this chapter will illustrate how the *Zambian church* has executed its pastoral and social tasks on the one hand, and how it has responded to the problem of scarcity in the context of an evolving economy on the other hand.

It appears that the institutional church in Zambia from the time of its foundation did not question “scarcity” as a “point of departure”. *Inter alia*, there is no evidence to suggest that the church started from a different “point of departure” in its social commitments. Scarcity was taken for granted. This was true for the pre-independence missionary church (1882 to 1963) as well as for the post-independent *Zambian church* (1964 onwards)

¹ The Greek word which gives us the English word “church” is *ecclesia*. It simply means an assembly of people. In the Christian context, it means an assembly of God’s people or better still, a called out community of believers, following the New Testament line, especially Pauline thought. It is not the task of this thesis to give a technical definition of the word “Church”, but suffice to say that the term “*Zambian Church*” refers, in general terms, to the historical Church in Zambia which has connections with the wider universal church. It includes churches, that is, denominations which fall under three main legal church bodies, namely: The Episcopal Conference of Zambia (Roman Catholic), The Christian Council of Zambia (mainly Protestant), and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (mainly Evangelical, Charismatic and Pentecostal); and to a certain degree, the term includes other independent legal denominations, who include African Independent Churches on *proviso* that they follow certain universally acceptable Christian and biblical practices and beliefs. In essence, the *Zambian Church* is the Church that is situated concretely in Zambia and which seeks to profess faith in the living God and to bear testimony in word and practice to the reality of salvation through Jesus Christ according to the scriptures. See Richard A Muller’s *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House 1985), and Nicholas Lossky, *et al.*, eds, *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: WCC 1991). It should be pointed out that in the text of this research, words such as “Protestant”, “Catholic” and “Pentecostal”, will be used to emphasize a particular doctrinal or liturgical or ministerial or church governmental position. Nonetheless, it should be observed that it is mainly the “Protestant view” which will dominate this section and the rest of the thesis. That is to say that a number of examples and analyses will be drawn from what are recognised as Protestant churches. Examples from other Christian bodies like the Roman Catholic church, will be used for illustrative, analytical, evaluative and comparative purposes.

In building the case of Zambia in as far as ecclesial response to economic development is concerned, the point which needs to be emphasized is that the missionaries who brought the gospel to Zambia were generally influenced by European industrial capitalism mainly of the West. The basis of this system as already noted was scarcity. Influenced by capitalist thought forms, the pre-independence missionary church was willing to support the industrial exploitation of Zambia's mineral wealth. They saw it as something which was good for the nation and which would bring prosperity and civilization fashioned after Europe (c.f. Livingstone in Bolink 1967:1 ff). The ecclesial task, at this stage, was to work within this capitalist individualist philosophy. It is in this context that the pre-independence missionary church responded to economic development. Within this context, the missionary church saw itself as having both the pastoral and the social tasks. Even though it was a social church as evidenced through the establishment of schools and health centres, and its prophetic interventions, it was its pastoral role which became pre-eminent. The missionary church saw the social task as an appendage to the main pastoral task of preparing men, women, and children, for heaven. All it did, institutionally, spiritually, and evangelically, was geared towards the salvation of human souls. And because the social task was seen in a narrower view and as an appendage to the major task, the missionary church could well be described as "an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and 'narrowly' social church". Influenced by the concept of scarcity and by the capitalist individualist philosophy, it made its specific contribution to economic development through its community and social services. It is probably in the area of education, though indirect, that its greatest response and contribution to economic development was recorded.

As for the post-independence Zambian church which came into being soon after Zambia's independence in 1964, it had to adjust to the new philosophy – popularly known as the Zambian philosophy of humanism – which was being developed by Zambian political leaders (see for example, Woodhall 1972 which records a church conference at which they discussed how churches could participate in socialist programmes).

Zambian humanism was essentially a socialist collectivist philosophy. It is in such a milieu that the Zambian church sought to respond and contribute to economic development (*Ibid*).

Specifically, it continued with the social tasks which were left by missionaries – including education development and health care. Like the pre-independence missionary church, the early post-independence Zambian church was more interested in its pastoral role than its social role. It continued to entertain a narrower view of its social role whereby this was only seen as an appendage to the main ecclesial pastoral task of snatching men, women, and children from the fires of hell. Thus it maintained a disequilibrium between the pastoral and the social tasks. Because of its narrower conception of its social responsibility, the early post-independence Zambian church could as well be described as “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical, and ‘narrowly’ social church”.

Nonetheless, the economic crisis of the 1980s helped it to seek that necessary balance between the pastoral task and the social task. The Zambian church started to feel that both spiritual and material aspects of life should be viewed holistically, simultaneously, and equally. It is the economic crisis of the 1980s which helped the Zambian church to begin to “expand” its social task – that is, to begin to enlarge its understanding of its social task *viz*-*a-viz* its pastoral responsibility. Meanwhile, up until 1991, the Zambian church executed its community programmes and social services within the milieu of a socialist collectivist philosophy. In other words, its social task was usually carried out under the influence of the reigning philosophy – in this case, the socialist collectivist philosophy of humanism as an overarching socio-politico-economic system. In Zambia, from 1964 to 1991, the philosophy of Zambian humanism as a political doctrine with economic ramifications permeated every facet of life from basic communities to the highest policy-making body (the party and its government – parliament being used as a rubber stamp for the party and its government). There was no way the Zambian church would escape this philosophy (*Ibid*).

With the change of government in 1991, the Zambian church started to re-adjust to the new capitalist individualist philosophy espoused and preached by the new political leaders (see, for example, the Zambian Catholic Bishops pastoral letter “The future is ours” 1992) in which capitalist language is used in order to show the role of Zambian churches in a new economic dispensation. Because of the harsh realities of austere conditions mooted under the capitalist individualist model and a sharp fall in the living standards of the people in the 1990s, the Zambian church enhanced its redefinition of its role in development (*Ibid*). *Inter*

alia, it started to be extremely critical of economic programmes which caused human suffering. Its goal was to expand its social task and thus, seek a balance between its pastoral and social tasks. Because of this, up until 1999, the Zambian church could be described as “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and ‘expandingly’ social church”. Meanwhile, the Zambian church executed its social programmes within the context of a market economy, but with a great sense of “uneasiness”. This is because, broadly speaking, it supported good programmes under the capitalist model which improved the economy and was unequivocally opposed to those that tended to make people suffer (*Ibid*). In other words, up to 1999, the Zambian church opted for an capitalist individualist model which did not make living conditions deteriorate. As long as this model was going to deliver social gains, the church was happy, but should this model make people suffer, the church were prepared to oppose some of its parts. In addition to the prophetic and critical stance, the Zambian church started to gain a broader understanding of economic policy issues. Both the pastoral role and social responsibility were and are an integral part of the mission of the church.

Inevitably, the mission of the church should be concretised in *this world* as we anticipate the arrival of the “new heavens and new earth”. The eminent protestant theologian, Jürgen Moltmann (1978), argues that the church does not exist for itself, but for the world. Its task is to work for the salvation and liberation of the world *in totality*. Speaking for Africa, the former president of Tanzania, the late Julius Kambarage Mwalimu Nyerere once said:

The Christian faith was brought to Africa in response to the words of Jesus – “Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to every creature”. The continuing responsibility of the Church to contribute to the development of Africa arises out of the same mission. For the message of Jesus is one of service – service to God through the service of humanity. “In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these brethren, ye have done it unto me”².

This study agrees with late “Mwalimu” Nyerere that Christian evangelisation goes beyond the proclamation of the gospel for the salvation of souls. It extends to the physical reality of

humankind in which the church is obliged, following the christological commission to serve God by serving people through, *inter alia*, contributing to the development of good living conditions and fuller lives in Africa and elsewhere. This calls for a comprehensive and integrated understanding of what is meant by “the evangel” and “salvation” so that all human needs can be met. It is only in this way that the church can claim to serve God. Therefore, the issue of service to humanity, especially in the modern world, which is riddled by so much human pain, suffering, and chaos, is of cardinal importance. The challenge to the church in Zambia and elsewhere, is to embrace the needs of humanity in their entirety in order to humbly contribute to their realisation. One such need is the need for development, especially when humans are threatened by perennial under-development. About the same, former president of Zambia and elder statesman, Kenneth David Kaunda observes:

In the past, the Church confined itself mainly to the traditional role of spreading Christianity ... But we have reached a turning-point in the history of human development. Service to God extends beyond charity and priestly activities. It extends to man's complete development, that is, development embracing the totality of humanness³.

Using Kaunda's words, this chapter would like to address the following question: How far did the Zambian Church go beyond charity and priestly activities in its mission to Zambia from the time of its inception?

The birth of the church in Zambia preceded that of the industrial economy in the 1920s when copper ores, which have contributed to the modern economy of Zambia, were discovered (Bolink 1967). In this way, it has been a part and parcel of Zambia's ascendancy to Western civilisation sustained by the market economy of the industrial West. In addition, it has seen, felt, and experienced the socio-economic effects of industrial capitalism. Its thinking and action during this period up till this point in time when Zambia's economy is “struggling and limping” is of vital importance.

² Julius Nyerere (1981) – presidential address given at the opening of the 8th General Assembly of International Cooperation for Socio-Economic development (CIDSE) held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, from 10 to 15 February 1981.

To critically survey “the church’s economic thinking and action”, in the pre and post independence periods in Zambia, this section is divided into three main parts, namely: missions, the missionary church and economic development in Northern Rhodesia: a brief historical view; the post-independence church in Zambia and economic development: “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and ‘narrowly’ social church” – the case of the United Church of Zambia; and the contemporary Zambian church and social responsibility: the renewed role of the church in economic development in the context of structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation in Zambia. This is done deliberately in order to show the missionary contribution to the economy in the pre-independence era, the general characteristics of the post-independence church in relation to the economy, and the impact of the effects of structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation on the thinking and action of the Zambian church.

This chapter is related to the previous one in that it would like to relate how the church fared when the economy of Zambia was evolving. It is hoped that through this historical survey, the response of the Zambian church to economic development will be presented clearly.

³ Kenneth D Kaunda (1968) – presidential speech to the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches held in Uppsala, Sweden, from 4 to 20 July 1968.

4.2 **MISSIONS, THE MISSIONARY CHURCH, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN RHODESIA: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

The missionary church was the “product” of various missions popularly known as missionary societies which came mainly from Europe in order to announce the good news about salvation through Christ to the religiously inclined peoples of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) formally in about 1882 (Isichel 1995; Bolink 1967; Weller and Linden 1984; Ipenburg 1992; Ragsdale 1986; Verstraelen-Gilhuis 1982; and Snelson 1977). These included mainly Protestant and Roman Catholic societies such as the London Missionary Society, The Primitive Methodists, the White Fathers and Plymouth Brethren.

Their prime purpose was to convert the African people first and foremost into becoming faith-professing Christians according to the testimony of scriptures. In short, they wanted to introduce the Christian religion into Northern Rhodesia.

One of the cardinal questions is: In which ways did the missions and the resultant missionary church contribute to the economic development of the area in question? In order to follow up this question systematically, this section is divided into three major parts namely: Foundational role of Dr David Livingstone: christianity, commerce and civilisation; the missionary enterprise: “evangelisation through education” – a preparation for nation-building and economic development; and the missionary church and the emerging industrial economy: the general missionary conference and the United Missions to the Copperbelt.

4.2.1 **Foundational role of Dr David Livingstone: christianity, commerce and civilisation**

Dr David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary-explorer, whom Kenneth S Latourette (1945) describes as the “path-breaker”, was the man who opened up what is known today as Central Africa, including Northern Rhodesia, not only to missionaries, but to industrialists and colonisers as well.

He was born in 1813 at Blantyre and studied medicine and theology at Anderson's College, Glasgow in Scotland (Douglas 1978). He joined the London Missionary Society (LMS) and was sent to Africa in 1841. In his capacity as LMS employee and later as British Crown agent, between 1849 until the time of his death on Bangweulu plains in Northern Rhodesia in 1873, he explored Central Africa for the possibilities of Christianity, commerce and civilisation. The real impact of his work came to be felt especially after his death. It is "this posthumous impact" which changed the course of history for the nations of Central Africa forever.

Bolink argues that Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) were *terra incognita* (unknown lands) to the Western world (1967:1). Because of his travels, published under the title *Missionary travels and researches in South Africa* (1957), a number of British people, including missionaries and industrialists, started to learn something of the immense possibilities of Central Africa. About this, Bolink observes: "Livingstone's stirring appeal to British Christianity and to the leaders of commerce and industry received an enthusiastic response" (1967:1). He wanted to combine the three c's not only for the benefit of Central Africa, but for all of Africa. His personal agenda and challenge was well presented:

I have a twofold object in view, and believe that, by guiding our missionary labours to the benefit of our own country, we shall thereby more effectively and permanently benefit the heathen. We ought to encourage the Africans to cultivate for our markets as the most effectual means, next to the Gospel, of their elevation (Livingstone, quoted in Bolink:1967:1).

According to Livingstone's view, the elevation of the African heathen was twofold, namely: commerce (through agriculture) and gospel (through Christianity). In essence, what he meant was that for Africans to be elevated, that is, to be civilised, they needed to do this through commerce and the acceptance of God's gospel mediated through the Western world. Positively, Livingstone wanted to see Africa become like Europe in terms of modernity. He firmly believed that Europe had modernised due to Christianity and commerce. So the gospel or Christianity and commerce or industry were good for the advancement of the African continent. In short, he wanted Africa to be an extension and replica of modern

Europe. There was indeed nothing wrong in advocating “the catching up” of Africa with the rest of Europe. This was good. Africans at that time needed this transformation from traditional levels to modernity (in a Western sense). Nevertheless, negatively, especially when one considers the philosophical and sociological assumptions on which they were based, Livingstone’s comments smacked of race superiority, lack of appreciation of African traditional and mundane development, Western religious triumphalism and the “sucking” of Africa into the powerful industrial capitalist West. Africans’ culture, the stage of development they were in, and their religiosity should have been respected more. The introduction of Africa to the powerful industrial capitalist West should have been done more carefully and cautiously.

The point is that Livingstone had good intentions for Africa, but that these intentions were couched in a language and attitude which glorified the Western Christian heritage at the expense of African traditional ethos⁴.

David Livingstone truly believed in the efficacy of Christian civilization for the progress and advancement of the continent of Africa, as Bolink observes: “The salvation of Africa, he became convinced, called for the mobilisation of all the forces of Christian civilization” (1967:4). The extent and nature of Christian civilization was made clear by Livingstone himself:

Men of science, searching after the hidden truths ... soldiers battling for the right against tyranny – sailors rescuing victims of oppression from the grasp of heartless men-stealers – merchants teaching the nations lessons of mutual dependence – and many others, as well as missionaries all work in the same direction, and all efforts are overruled for one glorious end (quoted in Bolink 1967:4).

Livingstone believed that the whole gamut of change⁵, involving all material, moral and spiritual resources, should be geared towards institutional, social, and communal transfor-

⁴ There is evidence to suggest that Africans were intelligent, religious, and well-organised people. Use of words like “heathen” and “primitive” to refer to Africans were harsh and pejorative. Africans needed to be treated fairly. For example, see Andrew D Roberts’ historical and anthropological work:

mation through the power of Christian civilisation⁶. He wanted to see Africa become like the industrial, capitalist, Christian West. What he did not realise was that this was later going to create a dependent Africa⁷.

In spite of all his missiological weaknesses, David Livingstone inspired a good number of British missions including the London Missionary Society and the Presbyterian Mission of the Scottish Free Church to come and work in Central Africa. This happened after his death on May 1, 1873 in the swamps of Lake Bangweulu in Northern Rhodesia, especially after his Westminster Abbey funeral⁸ (Bolink 1967:10-12). However, it was the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, under Francis Coillard, who first came into Northern Rhodesia to do mission work among the Lozi⁹ (*Ibid*:11). After 1885, a number of missions poured into Northern Rhodesia to do missionary work. It was left up to them to live up to the legacy of that fearless, energetic, compassionate, and determined man, the honourable and distinguished David Livingstone or simply to dismiss it.

It ought to be emphasized that it is David Livingstone, who laid a firm foundation for Christian ministry in Northern Rhodesia. His legacy is that he tried to combine religious thought with economic ideas. He might not have been completely successful in the process of

A History of the Bemba: Political Growth and Change in North-Eastern Zambia before 1900, (UK: Longman 1973).

⁵ cf Todaro (1997)

⁶ His view is highly acceptable to the modern audience, especially as a result of the fact that it emphasizes a movement towards something materially and spiritually better. One should however, realise that Christian civilisation is not the only vehicle through which this could be achieved. Other world civilisations such as that of the Japanese can contribute and is contributing to institutional, social, communal transformation in the market place. See Peter Berger, "The Global economy" in Stackhouse, M L *et al.*, editors: *On moral business* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: WB Eerdmans 1995: 741-860)

⁷ Africa has not yet fully recovered from what may be called as "a culture of Western dependence". This has partly contributed to the emergence of Western-type politics, economic *dependencia*, Western-type social styles and preferences, and Western-influenced religious manifestations and thought-forms. Africa is still struggling to find its "feet" and regain her selfhood and personhood in terms of its politics, economics, social life and religiosity. This, however, does not mean that Africa cannot learn from other civilisations such as the Western which is largely built on the Judeo-Christian heritage. What is important is that Africa should recover its "true face and being", and begin to be African in every facet of life. This is the only way it can emerge as a major contributor to the world's politics, economics, social life and religion.

⁸ Earlier attempts to do mission work by British missions in Central Africa failed (*Ibid*:9).

⁹ Peter Snelson (1977) argues that Frederick Arnot of the Plymouth Brethren was the first to do mission work in Northern Rhodesia and worked amongst the Lozi. His only problem is that he did not make any converts and therefore, his work was initially unsuccessful. His mission relocated to North-Western province and Luapula province of modern Zambia.

“weaving” religious or theological ideas with economic ones. He should, at least, be praised for pointing out that Christianity and economics are related to each other, that there existed enormous possibilities for Christian ministry in Africa for adhering to the ideals of the gospel of Christ and the goals of commerce simultaneously. In short, David Livingstone tried to put matters of economic development on the theological, ecclesiological, ministerial, and missiological agenda. Only time would tell whether Livingstone’s approach would be taken on board by generations of missionaries who came to sound the “evangelical trumpet” in Northern Rhodesia at the end of the 1800s.

Livingstone’s work in what is known today as Central Africa, including Zambia, opened the way for modern Christianity and modern civilisation to thrive side by side. In spite of his personal inadequacies, his role was indeed foundational in setting the stage for, not only the course of Christian history in Zambia, but for the politics of colonisation and economic captivity¹⁰.

¹⁰ The figure of Livingstone was sometimes held with suspicion among certain Zambian nationalists and freedom fighters who saw him as “the archetype of European duplicity, arriving with the Gospel to disarm the African before the advance of the colonists, settlers and industrialists” (Taylor 1961:157). This is exactly what happened: after Livingstone’s time, colonisation first by the British South African Company in 1897 and later by the British Crown in 1924, came to Northern Rhodesia (Ragsdale 1986 and Verstraelen-Gilhuis 1982), followed by immigration of the settler community in the wake of foreign-inspired industrialisation, especially that of the Copperbelt region, due to the discovery of copper ores in the area in the 1920s. Nonetheless, it is unfair to say that David Livingstone directly called for the advance of colonists, settlers and industrialists into Zambia. He endeavoured to teach “a theology of Church and development”, whereby Africa would benefit or be elevated by means of a “marriage” between gospel and commerce. That Zambia was colonised, settled, and industrialised by a foreign power cannot be attributed wholly to David Livingstone, but, broadly speaking, to the machinations of British imperial power around the world. He might have taught a straight-forward and innocent message of African advancement which might have had certain colonial undertones

4.2.2 The missionary enterprise: “evangelisation through education” – a preparation for nation-building and economic development

The missionary enterprise, that is, the whole business of mission work geared towards the spreading of the gospel and Christianity, had a specific purpose: *to evangelise the people of Northern Rhodesia and make them into followers of Christ*. To achieve this, missionaries had to rely on education of the people as a vehicle for evangelisation. “Evangelisation through education”, laid a firm foundation for nation-building and economic development in modern Zambia. To put it in other words, the education provided by missions, especially Roman Catholic and Protestant missions was their single-most important contribution to the politics and economy of Zambia¹¹. In fact, almost all members of the first cabinet of Zambia, including the first president of Zambia, Kenneth David Kaunda¹², who directed the post-independence politics and political economy of the nation, were “products” of missionary education.

On using education as a method of evangelisation, Ragsdale observes: “Common to all the missionary societies was the prevailing concept that education was the primary method for evangelising the people” (1986:28). Education formed a natural basis for reaching out to the indigenous people. The value of education became more pronounced when it came to communicate the gospel through the local dialect and language. About this Ragsdale observes again:

whether by design or not. The truth of the matter is that, in the final analysis, others made use of both his message and discoveries and tried to put to reality their colonial ambitions for Central Africa.

¹¹ As already noted, the proclamation of the good news about the Kingdom of God goes beyond salvation of souls to include matters of human materiality of which economic development forms a part. Even though missions tried to be social, to a certain degree, through the provision of social and community services and charity, it appears their social responsibility was “not extended to the full” to include in-depth analysis and evaluation of material aspects of human life such as economic development of the indigenous people within the Northern Rhodesian context. In this way, the missiological agenda was imbalanced: there was more emphasis on the evangelical role of the Church than its social role – for example, education (a part of the missiological social and community services) was simply “used” as a means to an end: *the evangelisation of the people*. That there arose this imbalance, especially in the early history of missions, is a scandal of the proclamation of the gospel which needs to be corrected.

¹² Kaunda was a product of Lubwa mission of the Free Church of Scotland (Ipenburg 1992).

They soon realized there was no substitute for the indigenous language. The success of this work depended on the mastery of the local dialects and on their translations of the Bible and other books into the vernacular (1986:28).

Simplifying the basic message of the Bible became their focus: “The use of the Bible as the primary basis of education was the foundation of this philosophy” (*Ibid:29*). It was education for evangelism or evangelisation. Teleologically, “by introducing Christianity through a comprehensive educational system, the missions were attempting to bring about a drastic change in both the faith and behaviour of the people” (*Ibid:29*).

Apart from teaching the Bible to the indigenous people, “the missionaries generally recognised a need for training people in industry, agriculture, and hygiene” (*Ibid:29*). However, it should be noted that the evangelisation of the indigenous people through education was the primary aim of the missions; the secondary one was to help in the solution of health problems, in establishing local industries, and in the provision of local literature¹³.

¹³ Mag Davis (1975) in his doctoral thesis, *A history of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia up to 1960*, argues that “Missionaries in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) tried to win converts through education and medicine”. This was partly true: both education and medicine were “used” by missionaries, especially Roman Catholic and Protestant, whether in Rhodesia, Malawi and Zambia, or elsewhere as a means by which people could be helped to come to the saving knowledge of Christ (in addition to the normal enlightenment of the mind and healing of the body). Education was, however, the foremost means “used” in the evangelisation process. This is the view taken by almost all the scholars consulted, for example: Bolink (1967), Snelson (1977), and Ragsdale (1986). So, in terms of missionary priorities, “evangelisation through education” was the number one priority. Provision of social and community services was done under the banner of priority number one. These services of relative importance included, as already noted, medicine, special skills training, basic hygiene and charity. That the church was involved in meeting the social needs of the indigenous people, to a certain level, justify calling it “a social church” as well. As already noted, the social responsibility of the church was limited: it provided direct social and community services to the indigenous people more as “a matter of charity and ecclesial obedience”. That is to say that the church felt that, following the New Testament, in which a number of examples of charity and obedient service are given, it was duty bound to do the same to the needy indigenous people. In this way, sufficient time was not given to the evaluation and analysis of the entire context of their social responsibility. This context included the economics of the land. While they appreciably developed the spiritual basis of evangelisation, they did not adequately develop the material basis of evangelisation to enable them to be more balanced, more comprehensive and more broad-focused.

The characterisation of Africa as a dark continent¹⁴ necessitated the need for evangelism. It was assumed that Africa was not only in spiritual darkness, but in intellectual and social darkness. The prevailing view was that Africa needed the light of the gospel of God's salvation and the enlightenment of European civilisation exhibited by progress in arts, sciences, technology, commerce and industry¹⁵. It appears that, somewhere along the way, missions that came after Livingstone started to feel that their prime task was conventional evangelisation, that is, preaching and teaching the gospel of God's grace to save humankind. Even though missions tried to contribute to the material well-being of people through charity and other social and community services, it was probably assumed that it was mainly the task of colonists, settlers, and industrialists to ensure that Africa was ushered into modernity patterned after Europe. They were content to contribute to the meeting of social needs of the indigenous people only to a certain degree. They felt that social change, politics, and economics, let alone policy issues, were largely the business of the colonial government and its collaborators. In this way, they allowed them to set the social, political and economic agenda for Northern Rhodesia, without any incisive ecclesial influence. They were satisfied with the higher drive for evangelisation aimed at spiritual salvation while attempting to fulfil their social responsibility through charity.

This missiological thinking and attitude of over-concentrating on evangelisation for the salvation of the soul was a departure from the legacy of Livingstone. Understandably, Protestant missions which came out of the 18th century revival movement had one primary focus: *preach (and teach) the gospel of God's salvation for all human creatures to the farthest ends of the world*. According to Groves (1954), those men and women who were touched by the fires of revivalism, first in Britain, and later in other parts of continental Europe and the Americas, started to re-orient their energy, talent, vision and will to two correlated objectives: *abolition of slavery and the spread of the gospel*. With regards to the spread of the gospel, especially in what were termed as non-Christian lands (like Asia, Africa and the Pacific), these pioneer missionaries, of whom William Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society was seen as the first to respond, were moved with compassion to help the "spiritually dying"

¹⁴ cf Bolink (1967)

¹⁵ By calling for the elevation of Africans through gospel and commerce, and later through the mobilisation of the Western Judeo-Christian civilisation, Livingstone, as already noted, tried to teach and

people to gain salvation in Christ¹⁶. As for the Roman Catholic missions, it is generally argued that they wanted to find new areas which were untainted by liberalism¹⁷. Whatever the case, whether moved by revivalism or the desire to find new areas which were untainted by what was perceived as the corrupting influence of liberalism or any other reason, missions wanted to convert the Africans to Christianity¹⁸.

Generally speaking, this kind of approach – converting Africans to Christianity – permeated the mind and action of those missions which came to work in Northern Rhodesia. Livingstone’s “broader approach” (Bolink 1967:3) of preaching and teaching about the equal relevance of conventional evangelisation and material well being (especially through economic development as a means) was not highly considered. Instead, they chose a “parochial approach” to mission: *evangelisation for spiritual salvation as their ultimate objective while trying to execute their social responsibility as their penultimate objective*.

As a result, matters of economics were seen as secondary to those of salvation of “dying” human souls. In fact, even during his life time, Livingstone was criticised by the London Missionary Society Foreign Secretary, Dr A Tidman, for associating with “plans connected remotely with the spread of the Gospel” (quoted in Bolink 1967:2). His work of exploration, especially when he became a British government agent was seen as far re-

preach the inseparability of Christianity and economics, or simply that of the spiritual and material entities.

¹⁶ See also Isichei (1995) on the emergence of Protestant missionary activity.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, on Roman Catholic missions in Africa. Liberalism beginning in France at the start of the French revolution in 1789, with its central theme of equality, freedom, and fraternity, was seen as a threat to the Roman Catholic church authority as well as ideology bent on promoting rebellious attitudes against the established *status quo* which presented the church and the state (represented by monarchical rule) linked during the Constantinian era, as symbols of power and authority. The French revolution pushed both the church and the state from their pedestal and replaced them with elected peoples’ assemblies for political rule. It was, therefore, natural for the Roman Catholic Church to find new areas which were not yet visited by liberalism. See also MacCulloch (1987).

¹⁸ Charles Allemand Lavignerie, the Roman Catholic primate of Africa and head of the White fathers based in Algiers, would even go to the extent of insulting Africa by calling it a barbaric continent of 200 million souls in need of the gospel - See Isichei (1995).

moved from conventional evangelisation¹⁹. The emphasis of spirituality over materiality (in terms of social, economic, and human progress) was problematic. Herein lies an imbalance in early missionary work during Livingstone's time, which unfortunately was extended to the time of the pioneers of Zambia's missiological and evangelisation process.

The following are the missions which came to work in Zambia after the time of Livingstone. They were partly inspired by his faithful work and love for the African continent and partly by their desire to extend the work of their respective missions. Verstraelen-Gilhuis lists them conveniently as follows (1982:33):

- The London Missionary Society, who entered North Eastern Zambia, established their first mission at Lofu in 1883 among the Lungu, and extended their work to the Mambwe, Namwanga and the Bemba Kingdom of Paramount Chief Chitimukulu;
- The Plymouth Brethren, first under brother Frederick Arnot, who entered Western Zambia, worked among the Lozi Kingdom of Paramount Chief Lewanika in 1883, due to lack of converts in the area, relocated to Angola and later, under Dan Crawford, re-entered Zambia, worked in Luapula among the Lunda in 1898, and extended work to North Western Zambia;
- The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, under Francois Coillard, who worked among the Lozi as from 1885;
- The Primitive Methodists, who entered Western Zambia, under the auspices of Chief Lewanika, went to work among the Ila, in Southern Zambia, in 1894, and later extended their work to the Tongas;
- The Jesuits, who worked among the Lozi in 1905;
- The Scottish Livingstonia Mission who entered North-Eastern Zambia, worked at Mwenzo among the Mambwe in 1894, extended their work to the Bemba, Bisa and Lala;

¹⁹ Livingstone believed that he was equally doing mission work through exploration. For Livingstone, exploration of Central Africa: its waters, land, people, climate and resources – had everything to do with striking the balance, between gospel and commerce, eternal life and a fuller earthly life for Africans. See Bolink (1967).

- The Dutch Reformed Church Mission, who entered Eastern Zambia, worked among the Ngoni of Paramount Chief Mpezeni in 1899, and extended work to the Chewa, Tumbuka and Nsenga;
- The Seventh Day Adventists, who entered Southern Zambia and worked among the Tonga in 1905;
- The Universities Missions to Central Africa, the Anglicans, who entered Southern Zambia in 1910 worked among the Toka-Leya and Tonga, extended their work to Luapula province, Central province and wherever opportunity availed itself; and
- The White Fathers, who entered North Eastern Zambia, worked amongst the Bemba in 1898, and extended their work to Luapula among the Lunda and to Eastern Zambia.

Others included: The Wesleyan Methodists who entered Zambia from the south in 1912, worked among the Lenje in Central Zambia, and extended their work to the Lala (they later joined forces with the Primitive Methodists in 1932); The South African Baptist Mission, who worked among the Lamba from about 1905; and the United Missions to the Copperbelt, a British initiative, which started its united mission work, involving mainly British missions, on the Copperbelt as from 1936 (Bolink 1967 and Doke 1993).

These could be considered as pioneers of the missiological and evangelisation process in Zambia²⁰. They all wanted to proclaim the message of salvation to the Zambian people. One of them, the London Missionary Society stated clearly the focus of its work as entrenched in its *Fundamental Principle*:

... that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy or any other form of church order and government, but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God, to the Heathen ... (quoted in Bolink 1967:33)²¹.

²⁰ Most of missionary societies and churches in the Evangelical, Charismatic and Pentecostal tradition came to Northern Rhodesia after 1940 (*Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia 1998 Handbook 1998a*).

²¹ Bolink (1967) argues that matters of church order and government, rose up from time to time, especially in the course of deliberations leading to organic union in Zambia

They came to a land of savanna grassland and trees, sparsely populated by tribes who led a simple traditional and agrarian life when compared to sophisticated European standards. There were no street lights, lovely buildings, delicatessens, chateaus and the like. They simply had to start from the scratch to build and construct what could be termed as semblances of Western normalcy like a missionary house, a kraal, a storehouse, a dispensary and a small garden: just to help them organise their missionary work. This is true especially for those who came to Zambia before 1900.

As already noted, they had no time to reflect on “the economic basis of the Church of Africa” (Edwin Smith quoted in Bolink 1967:3). To begin to construct an adequate theology of economic development for colonial Africa, and later to map out a programme for the role of the church in the economic development of Africa, was not an agenda item. Their prime concern was conversion of the people. Contextually, what else could they have done in the absence of a capitalist industrial economy? All they saw were land, rivers, lakes, natural resources, and the big blue sky. Naturally, people had to be targeted so that they could be converted. Absence of a materially affluent society by European standards and the presence of human souls in Africa, as a *raison detre* of the missionary departure from Europe, probably further strengthened the prevailing view among the pioneer missionaries that they came for the fundamental purpose of winning African men, women and children to Jesus Christ.

It is these pioneer missions which went about to establish schools around the breadth and length of Zambia. Although educational work was “established primarily as an evangelistic tool”, as already noted, it, nevertheless, contributed significantly to the shaping of the intellectual soul of Zambia – laying a firm foundation for political organisation, national leadership, societal reconstruction, and the politico-economic dynamics of the nation. Here lay the greatest ecclesial response and contribution to economic development.

With the change of government from the British South African Company rule to the British Colonial Office rule as from 1 April 1924 (Ragsdale 1986:56ff), there came into being a number of educational improvements. This came especially with the establishment of the Department of Native Education in 1925 (*Ibid*:76). Mission schools came to be called “grant-aided schools” because of government financial support.

By 1945, mission schools, offering mainly primary education up to standard six were dotted around the country (Snelson 1977). The White Fathers in various places, the Methodists at Kafue mission, and the Scottish Presbyterians at Lubwa mission were missions which gave quality education comparable to that of the famous Overtoun institution of the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland in Malawi (Snelson 1977; Bolink 1967; Ragsdale 1986). While missions originally wanted education to be a means to conversion, more and more young Northern Rhodesians started to see mission education as a means to personal progress and a better life. This new philosophy among the young started to challenge the conventional missionary view. As the years went by, education was seen by more and more people as a stepping stone to what was perceived as a good and modern European life. Nevertheless, in spite of this change of attitude among young people, most missions still felt that their primary task was evangelisation for the salvation of the people.

It is indeed gratifying to note that education, provided first by missions, and later, in collaboration with the colonial government, ushered Zambia into the complexities and niceties of modern European life²². Missionaries fundamentally “used” it as a means to an end. And that end was *the conventional evangelisation of Northern Rhodesia*. In addition to this chief end, they did charity work and provided other social and community services within the context of evangelisation. In this way, they pursued a limited view of their mission which tried to speak ‘narrowly’ about the material foundation of mission. The legacy of Livingstone, even though it had its own inadequacies, should have been used as a basis to develop a fuller and adequate understanding of the mission of the church – a kind which balanced between spiritual and material needs. Missionaries who came after Livingstone

²² The forefathers of Zambia’s independence, for example Kaunda (1988) and Makasa (1984) heavily criticised the colonial government for neglecting the education of the Zambian people. This is true. It was indeed insulting, that after close to sixty years of British occupation, Zambia only had 100 university graduates at independence. In general terms, a number of African people could only be trained as teachers and clerks, considered to be higher white collar jobs for the indigenous. Missionary education, though praised for contributing to the emergence of modern Zambia, only provided education up to standard six (Snelson 1977). This was true especially in the period 1883 to 1945. It is only after independence that there was a proliferation of educational institutions including primary schools, secondary schools, technical colleges and two universities, all of a high calibre, especially in the initial stages of Zambia’s independence - thanks to the insight and benevolence of the founding Zambian leadership. With the onset of economic problems, especially beginning in the 1980s, the Zambian educational system has been experiencing a number of organisational, institutional and im-

decided not to implement his legacy of a balanced approach to evangelism. They chose, instead, to evangelise for conversion at the expense of their social responsibility and thus, became unbalanced in their approach to mission and evangelism.

4.2.3 **The missionary church and the emerging industrial economy: the general missionary council and the united missions to the Copperbelt**

The missionary church was a church which was brought into being in Northern Rhodesia mainly due to committed missiological and evangelical action on the part of various courageous and resolute missionary societies. It was established by 1914 (Bolink 1967) and was mostly led by loving, self-denying and humble missionaries²³.

This church was established in what are termed today as “remote” areas of Zambia. The arrival of the industrial economy on the Copperbelt in the 1920s, however, changed the course of missionary history. The missionary church had to adapt to the changing times. There were two main ecclesiastical bodies, which outstandingly attempted to respond to the challenges of modernity, industrialisation, and transformation, engendered by the discovery of copper ores. These were: the General Missionary Council (GMC) and the United Missions to the Copperbelt (UMCB). Their involvement in the affairs of the people, especially with regard to the socio-economic condition, brings about three interesting questions of research which are: firstly, to what extent did these bodies get involved?; secondly, how successful was their involvement?; and thirdly, what motivated and inspired them? These are the specific questions which this section would like to address in order to objectively ascer-

plementational problems. With the economy picking up or through deliberate efforts of government, they will hopefully regain their former glory.

²³

This praise is not, however, blind to the fact that some of the missionaries had wishy-washy temperaments and just joined “the band wagon of mission to Africa”. Nevertheless, it must be noted that a good number of missionaries were willing to leave the comforts of modern European life just to come and proclaim the message of the Kingdom of God. For this reason, missionaries could be seen as true founders of the African Church. In founding various churches across the African continent, they were assisted by a number of nameless African teacher-evangelists who went about spreading the good news of the Kingdom of God (Bolink 1967; Isichei 1995; Bwalya 1989). While praise should be given for the humble and loving work of a number of missionaries, the same should be equally given for the good and enduring work of nameless indigenous “sowers of the Word of God”. To use and paraphrase the common words of Tertullian of Carthage, “the blood of missionaries and African teacher-evangelists was the seed of the African church”, which was spilled during the difficult phase of proclaiming Jesus Christ as saviour of the world. C.f. the hard-hitting critique of the missionary movement in Africa by Isichei (1995).

tain the changing role of the missionary church in the national affairs of the land and its economy.

It should be noted from the onset that prior to the great social and economic transformation of Zambia in the 1920s, clear lines of ecclesiastical distinctions started to emerge: churches or denominations, in accordance with the polity and doctrine of “the host” mission, started to emerge in Zambia. Soon the nation had the presence of the Roman Catholic Church in Luapula, in Northern Zambia, and in Eastern Zambia; that of the Church of Scotland in North-Eastern Zambia; that of the Dutch Reformed Church in Eastern Zambia; that of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Southern Zambia; that of the Evangelical Protestant Church (among the Lozi) in Western Zambia; and so on (Weller and Linden 1984; Bolink 1967). To their responsibility of evangelisation for the salvation of human souls and their social responsibility was added the task of serving the institutional churches for “the nourishment of the body of Christ”. This task include church sacraments (according to denominational affiliation), Christian education, stewardship, counseling, church discipline, and church government. The spiritual element of believers was held in high consideration. Whatever the priests, ministers, elders, stewards and other church people did, contributed primarily to the spiritual well-being of churches. It was evangelisation for salvation, institutionalism for salvation, and spirituality for salvation while trying to be social to a certain degree. The church, prior to the 1920s, could well be described as “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical, and ‘narrowly’ social church”²⁴.

²⁴ As shall be seen later, in a case study presentation of the United Church of Zambia, the largest protestant church in Zambia (*The Europa World Year Book, Vol II, 1992*), in spite of strides in making the church more responsive to the socio-economic condition of the people, it remained “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and ‘narrowly’ social church”. It is only in recent times that it has started to extend to the full its social responsibility and has moved beyond the narrative, the ethical, and the pro-

It is this church that was to encounter the effects of the industrial economy. Essentially, the missionary church was a product of the market economy of the industrial West. That is to say that missionary pioneers like L M S Missionaries, Primitive Methodists, the Jesuits and Seventh Day Adventists, were oriented to capitalist thought forms. In this way, they were generally influenced by the capitalist system and there was no way, at this stage, the socialist system could take an upper hand over their missionary economic philosophy. In fact by 1920, socialism was just being developed (c.f. Leatt *et al.* 1986). The point is that this church came to be under the influence of the capitalist individualist philosophy. Generally speaking, it saw nothing wrong with the emergence of industrial capitalism in colonial Zambia. As already noted, this was good for colonial Zambia (c.f. Livingstone quoted by Bolink 1967:1 ff). The path to economic development, it believed, was through Western capitalism which has its point of departure in scarcity. It is under this capitalist influence that this church continued to execute its social tasks and community programmes in order to respond to economic development. Nonetheless, it was an ill-equipped church in the face of this encounter, that is, in terms of handling urban ministry and negativities of industry. It is said that by the time copper ores were discovered on the Copperbelt, there was only one missionary society, the South African Baptist Mission at Kafulafuta, near Ndola rural, by this time under the Rev Alex Cross (Weller and Linden 1984).

Almost forty years had passed since the missionary church was established in rural Zambia. There was a lack of full-scale urban ministry. Weller and Linden attribute the “slow progress” in urban ministry to three major reasons, namely (*Ibid:* 145 ff):

phetic to include the policy mode of moral discourse (Gustafson 1988). This transition is slow, but sure, and is being led by the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia which has started to be more policy-oriented in their approach to mission and development. This issue will be pursued in detail toward the end of this chapter and cited in other chapters. According to Gustafson (1988), Christian moral discourse should be looked at four levels, namely: the narrative (understanding biblical stories), the ethical (emphasising right and wrong), the prophetic (emphasising condemnation and correction), and the policy (seeking to understand government policy issues). By using the four moral dimensions, Christian moral discourse can be balanced.

- lack of preparedness;
- stretched resources; and
- the prevailing idea that the Copperbelt would not provide a permanent home for many Africans who came to work there²⁵.

Weller and Linden observe that “until the mid 1920s, missionary work had been carried out almost entirely in a rural setting” (*Ibid*: 145). Most of their financial and material resources were expended here. Through their generosity and benevolence, backed by their home-boards and other contributors, they managed to construct well-known mission stations in the land such as Mbereshi and Kashinda missions of the London Missionary Society, Lubwa and Mwenzo missions of the Free Church of Scotland, Kafue and Chipembi missions of the Methodist Missionary Society, Chikankata mission of the Seventh Day Adventists, Chilubula and Ilondola Missions of the Roman Catholic Church, and Magwero and Madzimoyo missions of the Dutch Reformed Church (Bolink 1967; Snelson 1977). Understandably, given the limited financial resources, it was difficult to expand their work to urban areas. They were content to serve the local community, including those who trekked to and from Rhodesian and South African mines. The rural areas were their place of specialisation. They were not yet ready to launch their mission work in the emerging urban areas of Zambia. However, circumstances in the 1920s demanded that they change their focus: to extend their work to the urban centres of Zambia’s industrial life centered on the Copperbelt.

As already noted, copper ores were discovered in 1925 in the Copperbelt region of Zambia (Bolink 1967:149; Burawoy 1972:1-12). In the last half of the 1920s important copper mining towns came into being which have endured to this day: Luanshya, Nkana, Mufulira, Nchanga and Chambeshi (Bolink 1967:150). The owners of capital (foreign mining companies) in collaboration with the BSACo which had mineral rights (Macpherson 1977) and the British colonial power, were motivated by self-interest to make a profit for themselves. To keep the wheels of industry moving, they drew and attracted a number of indigenous people, including people from neighbouring Malawi and Tanzania (Taylor 1961) to come

²⁵ Experience showed that a number of miners who went down to the south to work in Rhodesian and South African mines had the tendency to return to their home villages after working for a few years. In the wisdom of missionaries, home villages, where missions were located, rather than the urban areas, were the *loci* of church work. See Weller and Linden (1984).

and work on these mines. Apparently, a good number of them were converted to Christianity by various missions working in their home villages and consequently, they started to organise prayer meetings and Sunday worship services, leading to the formation of the African Union Church of the Copperbelt²⁶ (Bolink 1967).

Meanwhile, Northern Rhodesia was now “baptised into waters of industrial capitalism”. It was bound to be transformed permanently. The society was now changing rapidly: from a simple agricultural setting to a complex industrial existence organised by the capitalist ethos which glorify individual profit maximisation. It was indeed a great challenge to the African ethos which tend to promote communalism (Kaunda 1988). This could well be described as *Zambia’s first great transformation*, to use Karl Polanyi’s (1945) analysis. Apart from the benefits capitalism brought to Zambian society, it produced human, social, and communal chaos which forever affected and changed the entire nation. It was, in other words, both a constructive and disruptive phenomenon.

The change from an agrarian community to a sophisticated, industrial, capitalist community, though unavoidable, was catastrophic. Bolink observes:

The amount of human tragedy and the host of social problems which followed in the wake of this industrial revolution can never be fully grasped by Europeans, who had had many decades to adjust to the age of mechanisation and industry, whereas these people had hardly anytime at all (1967:150).

²⁶

This was a purely African initiative (Taylor 1961; Bolink 1967). These African miners organised themselves into a ‘formidable force’ with their own elders and deacons. They had come from various denominational backgrounds including the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Evangelical Protestant and Methodist. They were drawn together by a spiritual need for prayer and fellowship in the Christian religion. As shall be seen later, this African development, was among the first to form a foundation for the future United Church of Zambia.

It was a process which destabilised the human, social and communal fabric of the nation. Human and social relations were slowly being arranged according to the purchasing power. Generally speaking, even though traditional villages still had basic requirements such as shelter, food and natural water which were usually obtained freely through sheer hard work and sometimes through barter, as time went on, the money economy (a feature of the market economy) swallowed up the entire nation. Zambians started to organise their relationships on the basis of how much money a person had. Society had transformed. There was no point of return. Among other things, this transformation had the following results²⁷.

1. Total loss of the economic destiny of the indigenous people: *de facto or de jure*, the mineral wealth, and inevitably, all natural resources came to be controlled or possessed by the colonial industrialist and coloniser.
2. Alienation: between the old order represented by a cohesive and inclusive traditional African village and the new order, based on the free market principle (only those with the “purchasing power” were allowed to participate; those without this power were excluded – they became peripherised).
3. Gradual loss of reciprocity and redistribution: unlike the traditional society which cared for all people (old people, women, children, the maimed, the infirm, the lunatics, and others) through the principles of reciprocity and redistribution²⁸, the new market society introduced a new feature: the individual, the satisfaction of his or her individual needs (including those of his or her immediate family), and profit or wage maximisation through the market mechanism came first. Gradually, the institutional fabric of chiefs and headmen or head-women was weakened, making them to fall into want and to fend for themselves²⁹.

²⁷ C.f. Polanyi (1945) and Bolink (1967).

²⁸ Reciprocity was usually a gesture of mutual sharing between friends, families, villages and clan. Redistribution was usually done by either a chief or a headman to demonstrate the principle that food and other material resources should be gathered at a central place and redistributed to the needy. In both cases, all people were cared for.

²⁹ The chief's palace, generally speaking, was a place of abundance. With the introduction of the market economy since the 1920s, poverty started to creep in. Some previously dignified palaces have now become an eyesore especially with the onset of structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation programmes in Zambia. Only hardworking and innovative chiefs are able to make ends meet in these difficult times.

4. Breakdown of the moral fibre: people had to adjust to new challenges created by beer-halls, markets, and other social places. In a tightly knit society, morality was regulated through the unwritten social contract. In this new society, which was loosely organised, people earned new habits in the absence of a firm moral regulatory mechanism, for example, reckless beer-drinking.
5. Transformation of language: from one based on the survival of the community³⁰ to one based on the Darwinian “survival of the fittest”, that is, those who could be resilient and could command power (to whatever degree) in the market place.
6. Gradual loss of a human society: it was now the reign of the market with laws, regulations, institutions, ideas, and education orientated to serve a market economy. A human society was slowly being replaced by a competitive market society (c.f. Polanyi 1945).
7. Loss of political power: this enabled the colonisers to put in place conditions necessary for the expansion of industrial capitalism for their benefit at the expense of the indigenous people.

Such a changed scenario needed the involvement of the church as one of the moral consciences of society. This involvement came to be demonstrated mainly by the General Missionary Conference (GMC) through their ethical-prophetic approach and the United Missions to the Copperbelt (UMCB) by trying to get involved comprehensively. The main challenge which these two bodies faced was: *the socio-religious impact of industrialisation and the modern age*³¹. Sooner than later, these two bodies started to be ethical and prophetic³² in the face of injustices perpetrated by foreign powers and to be socially active in the face of a multiplicity of socio-religious needs. Their beginnings are well-documented by Dutch theologian, Peter Bolink (1967)³³.

³⁰ See “the principle of sacrificial death on behalf of the community among the Bemba” in Bwalya (1989).

³¹ See Bolink’s analysis of the impact of industrialisation and the challenge of materialism (1967:118 ff).

³² As shall be seen later, this was seen more as an appendage of the main ecclesial and missiological task: *converting people to be followers of Christ for their spiritual salvation*. Nonetheless, it laid a foundation for possibilities of a more refined and pragmatic approach to mission – an approach that is maturing from the mere verbal criticisms to a more critical policy-oriented approach, especially in recent times.

³³ See also Weller and Linden (1984).

The General Missionary Conference came into being due to the initiative of the Primitive Methodists who were working in an area known then as North-Western Rhodesia. It grew out of co-operative ventures between the Primitive Methodists and other missionaries who were working on Bible translation in the area. It is the Kasenga language committee meeting of November 1913 which sanctioned the Rev J W Price, a Primitive Methodist, and the Rev J D MacLennan, an Anglican, “to arrange the first gathering and to invite every mission in North-Western Rhodesia, North-Eastern Rhodesia still thought as too remote” (Bolink 1967:132). The first conference took place in June 1914 and included the following societies: the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Brethren in Christ³⁴.

One of their objectives, according to the General Missionary Conference report of 1914, was “to watch over the interests of the Native races” (quoted in Bolink 1967:132). This was a heavily-loaded ‘overseer’ responsibility. It simply meant overseeing a wide spectrum of indigenous interests including the socio-economic ones. It is here where one begins to trace ‘a new way of doing things’ in the face of the colonial segregative and divisive onslaught. By the time this objective was formulated, the industrial economy was not yet a threat to the indigenous interests. It was the use and execution of colonial power in a colonised country which posed a threat to indigenous interests. It was only in the mid 1920s and beyond that the emergence of industrialisation and modernity posed a very serious threat to the interests of the indigenous people.

Whatever the case, the GMC was able to contribute to a redefinition of the church’s role in the affairs of the local people. It called on the missionary church to launch a verbal political ‘attack’ against those in the corridors of power in government and industry. This ‘attack’

³⁴ By 1931, the conference had a membership of nineteen societies in the entire Northern Rhodesia including the Roman Catholic orders namely: the White Fathers, the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Capuchin Fathers (GMC 1931 Report quoted in Bolink: 132).

took the form of an ethical-prophetic stand against any colonial injustice – economic, social, or otherwise. This happened whenever ‘injustice’ raised its ugly head.

In this way, the missionary church, through the GMC, became the ‘voice of the voiceless’³⁵ (Colin Morris quoted in Bolink: 136). As already noted, even though the GMC tried to be ethical and prophetic prior to mid 1920s³⁶, its ethical-prophetic role came to prominence when the wheels of the mining industry started to roll; especially in the 1930s. What transpired is that by 1930, the Copperbelt region saw an unprecedented proliferation of buildings, infrastructure and plant areas. More and more African people from the countryside and beyond the frontiers of Zambia started to come to the Copperbelt – leading to an increase in labour.

Unfortunately, in 1931, the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia was severely hit by a world-wide depression. It is reported that African labour which stood at 231,941 miners by September 1930 reduced to 7,523 miners by September 1932 (J Merle Davis quoted in Bolink:119). The results were catastrophic for the Africans. This was a clear example of the failure of capitalism to fully address scarcity. Bolink observes: “Thousands were forced to return to their villages, dis-illusioned and disturbed” (1967:119). In

³⁵ In recent times, the phrase ‘voice of the voiceless’ whether used religiously or politically or socially, has come under attack. Most people feel that the voiceless, that is, the down-trodden and powerless, should be helped by others to liberate themselves and thus, have their own voice about their destiny. Eminent Peruvian Roman Catholic theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, explores this idea in his book: *The Power of the poor in history* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1981).

³⁶ Bolink gives a catalogue of main examples of the church’s commitment to looking after indigenous interests prior to 1925: (1) In 1922, the GMC meeting (a) condemned the forced movement of able-bodied men from villages to European centres through the newly introduced poll tax of 10 British pence instead of a hut tax of 5 British pence (they thought this destabilised village life), (b) called on the colonial government to apportion money collected from taxes from the indigenous people and use it for the improvement of “education, medical care and assistance in agricultural development”, (c) appealed to government to institute special education for chiefs so that they could be more appreciative of the new western-type of education which was being availed to young people by missionaries; (2) In the same year, approached the colonial government “with a well documented resolution that no more land should be alienated from the Africans”, and which called for the creation of “Native reserves”; (3) In 1924, at its meeting, called on the governor to consider “the question of the representation of the Africans in the Legislative Council” (a matter which instigated debate on the future role of Africans in colonial politics) (1967:136 f.f.). See also Weller and Linden (1984:141 f.f.).

addition to this, there came into being a growing suspicion over against the white foreigner (*Ibid*:119). The mining economy could not sustain the miners because of low copper prices. Miners were now exposed to the rise and fall of the industrial capitalist economy, which, in the event of poor copper prices, was willing to “shed off” excess labour. The loss of employment and fear of insecurity for those who were retained, were blamed by Africans on the colonisers and foreign industrialists.

This experience made Africans to begin to think seriously about their situation in relation to work conditions in the mines. It was a time of great re-awakening for African workers. They had already suffered two losses as from 1897 (Verstraelen-Gilhuis 1982): *the loss of political rule and that of economic control*. Like “silent lambs”, especially with the military subjugation of the Bemba empire and the Ngoni empire at the end of the 1800s, they had submitted to colonial political government and foreign economic management. They were willing to work within this state of affairs, for a time, and move towards improving labour conditions of service. It is this quest for improved conditions of service which provided an opportunity for the GMC to take an ethical-prophetic stand.

Events of the 1930s and 1940s illustrate this point. Bolink observes about this:

... there was a growing African distrust of the sincerity of the European as far as African welfare, economic and social development were concerned (1967:120).

About the mid 1930s, the mining industry picked up. By this time, African miners were now a mature lot in as far as the issue of their rights was concerned. They were now ready to express their anger and disappointment about poor working conditions. In 1935, the first violent outbreak of African discontent was recorded in the mining industry (*Ibid*:120). This is regarded as the first African strike in Northern Rhodesia. It was very severe in Mufulira, Nkana and Luanshya (Weller and Linden 1984:195). Unfortunately, at Luanshya, “police opened fire on a crowd, killing six people and injuring seventeen” (*Ibid*:195). Bolink observes that the immediate cause was the sudden increase in poll tax from 10 pence to 15

pence³⁷ (1967:120). According to Bolink, the immediate cause was just a spark. Other long-standing unresolved concerns included: rates of pay, pay deductions, housing, and rations. The coming of age of African miners to reflect on their conditions, through organised mass action, marked the beginning of a long struggle against colonial economic disadvantage and political slavery.

The missionary reaction to this tragedy in the mining industry was convincingly ethical and prophetic. It was initiated by the Methodists who attended the 1935 June 7 to 13 GMC meeting at Ndola. Bolink summarises the proceedings of that meeting:

A fortnight after this incident on June 7-13, the seventh meeting of the General Missionary Conference took place at Ndola. Here the Rev J G Soulsby, the Superintendent of the Methodist Missionary Society, severely criticized the government in his presidential address (1967:155-156).

The governor of Northern Rhodesia was forced to travel to Ndola to defend government's position. However, conference members stood strongly in support of the president of the GMC, and consequently, government instituted a commission of enquiry to "ensure a more objective report on this tragic affair" (*Ibid*:156). The missionary group took stand an ethical and prophetic stance and, influenced the course of events so that truth and justice could be established in the land. Though being a-once-in-a-while event, it was important that the missionary church was demonstrating sensitivity to national issues, especially when indigenous rights were being threatened by the politico-economic process.

An unfortunate incident occurred in March 1940, when thirteen Africans were killed on the Copperbelt during a second violent strike (*Ibid*:121). A similar commission of inquiry was instituted by government to look into the Copperbelt disturbance. By this time, both church and state were "swallowed up" by war issues. It was only towards the end of the war that Methodists came to state that "colour discrimination" was deeply entrenched in the Northern Rhodesian society (*Ibid*:121). It is possible that this second outbreak of African discontent was a protest against colonial discriminatory tendencies based on colour.

³⁷ This was an exhibition of colonial extortionist tendencies: you colonise people politically and you

By 1948, Africans had organised themselves into a mass political party. They now had a “voice” through which they could express their grievances against colonial injustices – political, economic, and otherwise. However, it should be pointed out that, in spite of the political re-awakening of Africans, especially in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, the GMC (which in 1945 transformed itself into the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia [Ragsdale 1986:46]), did not stop to be political from time to time. For example, the federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was vehemently opposed by missionaries as a colonial imposition (Bolink 1967:137 ff). By being political, in other words, or rather by being ethical and prophetic about the politics of the land, they indirectly tried to safeguard the socio-economic interests of the indigenous people.

As noted above, even though missions and churches were not prophetically silent “in the critical years of the birth of African nationhood in Northern Rhodesia”, Bolink observes that “the voice of the Church scarcely earned a hearing” (*Ibid*:144). This was partly due to the rise of the freedom struggle outside the Church. The point is that the freedom struggle, though supported by some churches and some individual missionaries, was the “baby” of freedom fighters in political parties. It became national agenda item number one. Africans were all pre-occupied with the dawn of the new era. They had come of age and now wanted political power which they achieved through a well-organised political programme of action which earned Zambia’s independence from the British in 1964. As a result, the ecclesial ethical-prophetic stance “thinned out”, as the indigenous people started to have their own “voice” on the political and economic future of the nation. It should be said that Zambians themselves, though influenced by the ecclesial presence, became the architects of political independence and the future destiny of economic development in the nation.

Very little, indeed, can be said about the UMCB. It started on a very promising note, but

was “liquidated” within twenty years of its existence amidst accusations and counter-accusations among the constituting societies. It was originally meant to respond to the socio-religious impact of industrialisation on the Copperbelt. Unfortunately, it was not allowed to mature beyond 1955.

The background to the formation of UMCB is very interesting, indeed. In 1931, the Department of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council decided to send out “a commission to make a thorough study on the spot” (Bolink 1967:152). And that spot was the Copperbelt. It was chaired by Mr J Merle Davis. In July 1931, at the GMC meeting at Broken Hill (Kabwe), in the presence of the Merle Davis commission, main discussions centred on “the problems created by the sudden emergence of industrialization in the primitive society³⁸ of Central Africa” (*Ibid*:152). A plan of co-operation of missions in the Copperbelt was drafted and later sent to UK-based societies. In anticipation of the imminent formation of a united missions, the London Missionary Society sent R J B Moore in 1933 who settled in a LMS area in Luapula and later arrived at a place known today as Mindolo on the Copperbelt in July 1934.

Even though Moore’s work could be described as pioneering and helpful to the strengthening of African Union Churches which were flourishing on the Copperbelt, his missionary approach was not comprehensive: he concentrated more on evangelisation for spiritual salvation.

Meanwhile, the International Missionary Council Commission finished its work in early 1933 and published a voluminous report entitled: *Modern Industry and the African* (*Ibid*: 153). The main contents of this report were:

1. “the impact of European civilisation on the indigenous people” and
2. “the position of Christian missionary societies in this impact in all its relationships”.

³⁸ As already noted, the use of the terms such as “primitive society” is a manifestation of a Western judgmental attitude which borders on Western cultural triumphalism.

One of the recommendations, with regard to missionary work, read as follows: “the missionary work of the Protestant Free Church Societies on the Copperbelt to be united under the care of one missionary society” (J Merle Davis quoted in Bolink: 153). In February, 1934, a meeting of representatives from mission boards concerned with mission work in the Copperbelt was called in London (*Ibid*:154). A plan was drafted “suggesting lines on which possible action could be taken to get a co-operative project under way” (*Ibid*:154). At this meeting, they agreed to cooperate with the existing African Union Church and to invite R J B Moore to work with them. A memorandum of understanding was given to John R Mott, Chairman of the International Missionary Council, who planned to visit Northern Rhodesia in April and May of 1934. During his visit in Northern Rhodesia, he was fortunate to meet twenty seven missionaries from “nearly all the missions in Northern Rhodesia” who were attending a GMC meeting from 24th to 27th May, 1934 at Ndola (*Ibid*:154). A committee chaired by Moore, was formed to look into the question of united missionary work on the Copperbelt. It was after this meeting that Moore took up residence at Mindolo to begin his initial preparatory work.

UMCB could only be formed by mid 1936 after “deliberations on the home base and on the field” were concluded (*Ibid*:158). Those who participated in this missionary and evangelistic project were mainly British societies, namely: the London Missionary Society, the Livingstonia Mission, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Methodist Missionary Society, the South African Baptist Mission, and the United Society for Christian Literature³⁹. The Rev A J Cross was chosen as leader of the UMCB. Its scheme of work included: church and evangelistic work, educational and welfare work, establishment of social and recreational centres, reading rooms, and distribution of literature. From this scheme of work, one would observe that the UMCB did not only address the institutional, evangelical, and spiritual needs of the people of the Copperbelt, but that it tried to address welfare, educational (initially for evangelisation and later for societal well-being), social, and leisure

³⁹ Others who participated on a small scale were: the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (through their financial support); the Congregational Union of South Africa (by providing a minister among European Congregations); the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (through the provision of indigenous evangelists) and the Plymouth Brethren (through indigenous evangelists as well) (*Ibid*:159). It was only in 1939 that the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the Roman Catholics tried to cooperate with UMCB on the education-delivery efforts (*Ibid*:159).

needs. Their intention was simply to address the needs of humans in total, that is, both the spiritual and the material. It appears that the ethical-prophetic role was not part of their agenda. Since all participating mission of UMCB were members of the GMC, it was probably felt that GMC was better placed to exercise an ethical-prophetic role whenever indigenous interests were threatened. Nevertheless, their intended comprehensive approach to mission and evangelism was most encouraging. If only this approach was allowed to grow, develop, and mature, the legacy of Livingstone, which tried to combine gospel and economic development (as an aspect of human materiality) could have been taken a step further. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

Bolink divides the work of the UMCB into four periods, namely: first period (1936-1940); second period (1941-1945); third period (1945-1950); and the fourth period (1950-1955) [*Ibid*:160]. According to him, the first period concentrated on church matters and education. This was rather a traditional task of the missionary church which was, as already noted, “an institutional spiritual, evangelical and ‘narrowly’ social church”. He also observes that the second period came to be associated with differences of opinion on priority of work. It was the battle between a “church-centric” approach which was parochial in nature and a “comprehensive approach” which was pragmatic and open. For example, R J B Moore left UMCB early because his over-concentration on church and evangelistic work could not be tolerated by other team members. In addition to problems of priority of work, other member of UMCB started to exhibit denominational tendencies, that is, to emphasize a denominational approach at the expense of an inter-denominational one⁴⁰. He further observes that the third period was riddled by failure in church, social and educational work. The main reasons include lack of finance and personnel. It appears that the participating missions spent more money and deployed more personnel in their own societies than they did when it came to their financial and personnel contributions to UMCB⁴¹. In this way,

⁴⁰ The Anglicans were singled out as those who tried to influence team members to agree at the 1944 team meeting that in UMCB schools a period for religious education be devoted to denominational teaching. This was a complete departure from the original plan of preserving an inter-denominational character in the team. See Bolink (1967:163).

UMCB was set on a “slow death” course. No mission or church could succeed without any financial resource and personnel (especially a motivated type). The last period experienced an inevitable break up. The situation grew worse in the early 1950s. As a result of a lack of financial support and other logistics, educational work was handed over to the colonial government in January 1952 (*Ibid*:168). This was a serious blow to missiological intentions that were aimed at meeting the entire needs of human beings. After this most unfortunate event, UMCB continued to limp until in June, 1955 when it sadly folded up (*Ibid*:169) amidst organisational problems. After this dissolution, the Copperbelt Christian Service was set up for the purposes of doing mission and church work co-operatively – it inherited land rights on behalf of missions and later set up Mindola Ecumenical Centre. Church work and evangelism was handed over to the Union Church and the Free Church Council⁴², which up until this time had enjoyed the services of ministers, evangelists, and other church leaders from UMCB.

The UMCB wasted its valuable time in defining and redefining its role in the Northern Rhodesian society during its almost twenty-year life span. Riddled by financial, personnel and other organisational problems, it collapsed. Its social, educational, and church work came to a sad end. In this way, it was not a clear demonstration of the church’s commitment to a “comprehensive approach”, let alone the church’s involvement in economic development. It failed to extend, to the full, the social responsibility of churches. Nevertheless, in spite of its collapse, it should be praised for laying a firm foundation for organic unity which saw the formation of the United Church of Zambia, for contributing in a small way to the educational development of the nation, and for making a statement that, given the right support, the church can contribute to the communal and social well-being of the people among whom it exists – of which economic development forms a part.

⁴¹ Bolink alludes to this in his work (1967).

⁴² The Free Church Council was essentially European and English-speaking. It consisted of the settler community, from various denominations, who had come to work on the Copperbelt. As we shall see

At this juncture, it is important to return to the three questions which we raised at the beginning of this presentation. It is only in this way that a good wrap-up of this section can be done.

Firstly, to what extent did these bodies get involved? As we have already noted, both of these bodies tried to share the view that in all their work and programmes, they came to evangelise Northern Rhodesia. Church work, evangelism, and education, formed a big chunk of their work. Nevertheless, both of them wanted to connect concretely with what was happening in the Northern Rhodesian society. On one hand, the GMC, while being a mouthpiece of the major missionary societies and while supporting the church, evangelistic and educational work of member societies, decided to come out and be ethical and prophetic on a number of national issues which affected the indigenous people. Its ethical and prophetic role was significantly reduced in the wake of the African struggle for political independence, nationhood, self-rule, and economic emancipation, which came to prominence in the 1950, and early 1960s. That is to say that political freedom fighters became “prophets” to their own people. In fact, an analysis of Kaunda’s language prior to independence reveals that he spoke of a new era of peace, justice, and freedom⁴³. In this period, whatever the church said and did, ethically and prophetically, was simply a small, but significant contribution, to the “louder voices” of Zambian politicians who, on their own terms, cried for justice and freedom. On the other hand, the UMCB decided to be comprehensive in its approach, but unfortunately, could not see the full materialisation of its intentions because their project simply came to a disastrous end in 1955.

Secondly, how successful was their involvement? Their involvement was successful in that both of them demonstrated the point that the church can go beyond the traditional role of evangelisation, that, as part of the role of the church, it can afford to be ethical and prophetic as an expression of ecclesial social responsibility by speaking about ruler injustices, and that mission should be comprehensive, that is, it should consider all human needs such as wel-

later, it only organically united with the African Union Church, through the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia, in 1958.

fare, social and spiritual. They were not successful by being content with the verbal ethical-prophetic stand in their mission which they exhibited from time to time. It was not enough simply to “speak out” on matters. As shall be argued later, the church should have been more policy-oriented especially on economic matters in its Christian moral discourse. This approach was probably seen as a waste of time at that time: *it was felt that it was probably easier just to “speak out” without due reference to policy issues.* They were also not successful by simply not allowing the full extension of their social responsibility and by not allowing their comprehensive approach to see the light of day. For this to materialise, it needed both financial resources and motivated personnel who were fully supported by participating missions. Unfortunately participating missions chose to maintain the denominational presence at the expense of a united missiological front in the Copperbelt.

Thirdly, what motivated and inspired them? Both of them were partly motivated and inspired by changes within the international missionary movement which started to consider seriously matters of socio-economic well-being as being part of the missiological and evangelisation agenda. This came to the fore through the visitation of the Merle Davis commission, under the auspices of the International Missionary Council, which went to Northern Rhodesia and surveyed the impact of industrialisation on Africans in Northern Rhodesia from 1931 to 1933. Their main point was that church and society, or religion and society, cannot be separated. That is to say that what happens in society, unavoidably, impacts on church (or religion). For the church to be meaningful and relevant, it should be able to understand and constructively react to changes in society in order to attempt to contribute to the meeting of human needs. This inspiration and motivation was very cardinal in laying the foundation, in varied degrees, for a balanced and comprehensive ministry of the contemporary Zambian church.

As already noted, missionaries in GMC and UMCB were influenced by their social tasks such as educational development and health care which implemented under the influence of the capitalist individualist philosophy. It is not that all of them were “confirmed” capitalists, but that their social response was generally influenced by capitalism which has scarcity as

⁴³ This language is common amongst those who experience very difficult socio-politico-economic conditions and who, by design or not, tend to speak of better times, or theologically, “new heavens and

its “point of departure”. In fact, for example, when it comes to educational development, products of missionary schools were prepared to serve in a capitalist society. As part of this preparation, it was incumbent upon missionary educators to prepare Zambian pupils according to capitalist ethos which *inter alia* include class competition and hard work (c.f. Weber 1933).

Both GMC and UMCB, in their own rights, attempted to respond to the emerging industrial economy on the basis of what they felt was their priority. In spite of their various weaknesses, some of which have been pointed out in this text, they are praised for teaching the church in Zambia that there exist enormous possibilities for service in society as the church endeavours to be true to the christological commission: “Go ye in all the world and make disciples of all nations”. These bodies were neither silent nor inactive. They tried to uphold their Christian moral ideals, given the sometimes difficult prevailing circumstances in which they operated. It is up to the post-independence Zambian church to pick up from where they left. Drawing on lessons from the missiological and evangelisational past, the Zambian church, as will be emphasized and explained later, can afford to balance between its pastoral role and social responsibility on the one hand, and between its ethical-prophetic role and policy oriented approach on the other hand, in the context of an evolving economy.

4.3 **THE POST-INDEPENDENCE CHURCH IN ZAMBIA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: “AN INSTITUTIONAL, SPIRITUAL, EVANGELICAL AND ‘NARROWLY’ SOCIAL CHURCH” – THE CASE OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ZAMBIA**

This thesis argues that the church that came into existence soon after Zambia’s independence up to 1980, was essentially “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and ‘narrowly’ social” reality. It was “institutional” because it was an established historical structure connected to the universal church, but with its own line of command within society. Its organisational features were not homogeneous, but varied from denomination to denomination. For example, the Roman Catholics pursued the episcopalian model; the Dutch Reformed Church followed the Calvinist-Presbyterian model; whereas the United Church of Zambia

reclaimed elements from Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, and Methodism. The connecting thread was institutionalism which portrayed leadership structures, membership structures, and service within these structures. It was “spiritual” because almost all denominations aimed at the spiritual enhancement of their leaders and members, and thus, attain true Christian humanliness. It was “evangelical” because they concerned themselves with the effective spread of the gospel of Christ for the salvation of the human souls within and outside the church (this was, in fact, their cardinal emphasis). Lastly, it was “‘Narrowly’ Social” because the social responsibility of the church had three major flaws: firstly, it was executed mainly as a matter of charity and church obedience – care was not taken to develop an in-depth, long-lasting understanding of the material basis⁴⁴ (including the economic basis) of the church’s involvement in charity work and social issues; secondly, it was executed in an imbalanced way – more emphasis was placed on the conventional evangelical responsibility at the expense of their social responsibility; thirdly, when it came to speaking out against injustices or societal wrongs as a principle of social responsibility, they tended to overly emphasize the ethical-prophetic role of the church at the expense of a policy-oriented approach. In this way, the ecclesial social responsibility was ‘narrowly’ conceived and implemented.

This is admittedly a rather generalised view. These characteristics mentioned above were stronger in certain denominations than others. For example, it is generally agreed that from independence, the Roman Catholic Church has been predominantly social in its programmes in respect to society, and therefore, may not be called ‘narrowly’ social. Nonetheless, there are certain Roman Catholic Church leaders who today still feel that their main task is pastoral work which promotes the institutional, spiritual, and evangelical elements of the church⁴⁵. Also, it is generally agreed that a good number of pentecostals and charisma-

⁴⁴ By ‘material basis’ is meant a comprehensive Biblically-inclined and theologically-viable philosophical and conceptual framework on which to base the church’s understanding of concrete issues such as economic development, in relation to the Christian proclamation of the gospel.

⁴⁵ See Joseph Chanda who argues that within the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia, there exist certain church leaders who separate pastoral work from social responsibility like involvement in development: “Pastoral Work and/or development” in *AFER*, Vol.25 1983, pp42-46. The point is that even though the Roman Catholic Church has been speaking about “integral evangelism” since 1964, the process of realising adequately this concept has been gradual. It is especially in the light of structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation beginning especially in the 1980s that this concept has all the more been clarified, explored, and applied. In this regard, as shall be seen later, the Roman Catholic Church has become a pace-setter.

tics have been highly evangelical. In fact, in certain cases, they are not even social. As we shall see later, they are slowly changing as well.

The point is that these characteristics were a carry-over from missionary churches to post-independence Zambian churches. The churches had not yet “matured” enough to begin to strike the balance between their conventional responsibility and their social responsibility, that is, broadly speaking, *their task of contributing to upliftment, enhancement, and the promotion of the well-being of society at large*. They were more oriented to the first responsibility: prop up or serve the institutional church, seek the spiritual nourishment of the church, and uphold the proclamation of the “evangel” for the salvation of souls. The second responsibility – social responsibility – was fulfilled through charity, without any serious “wrestling” with the socio-politico-economic context within which they operated,. When it came to correcting injustices and wrongs of the ruling elite, it was rather verbal, without due in-depth reference to matters of policy. In this way, their social responsibility was somewhat ‘narrow’. As we shall see later, this disequilibrium between their first and second responsibilities has, for many years, affected the practice of ministry by churches: churches tend to be very specific in missiological and ecclesial matters, but when it comes to socio-politico-economic issues, they do not seem to be that specific⁴⁶.

To illustrate this point, a case study is presented on the United Church of Zambia, a post-independence church. It is presented under two sub-headings, namely: a short historical background of the United Church of Zambia: “streams which formed a lake” and an analysis and evaluation of the constitution, doctrine, worship, government, and discipline

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Some churches are simply ahead of others and are attempting to strike the hoped for balance; some churches have not even started to evolve the material basis of the churches’ involvement in national affairs; and so on. This thesis argues that social matters, politics, and economics are too important to be left in the hands of experts only. Churches, like other social realities, have a stake in the social, political and economic destiny of the nation, and cannot simply abdicate their social responsibility.

of the United Church of Zambia: is economic development an ecclesial and missiological agenda item?

4.3.1 A short historical background of the United Church of Zambia: “streams which formed a lake”

To understand the characterisation that the post-independence Zambian church up to 1980 was generally “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and ‘narrowly’ social church”, it is vitally important to go into the historical background of the United Church of Zambia, albeit, briefly, and then see whether economic development was part of its inaugural agenda.

The story of the United Church of Zambia can be described as “streams which formed a lake”. Six churches, as streams, joined together at successive stages in history to form a lake of one organic church, out of which a river of Christian witness and life flowed to nearly all corners of the nation. The formation of one organic church brought about a number of benefits, including: shared material and spiritual resources, shared witness, expanded ecclesial presence, and Christian unity.

Bolink (1967) observes that early church union negotiations (1936-1945), from where we trace the roots of the United Church of Zambia, were essentially carried out by white missionaries from the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Nyasaland (Malawi), the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Northern Rhodesia, the United Missions to the Copperbelt (UMCB) and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) in Nyasaland. After attending to some of the issues, anxieties, and fears which revolved around church government, doctrine, and discipline, the London Missionary Society, the African Union Church of the Copperbelt (with full support from UMCB), and the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian Presbytery in Northern Rhodesia (an extension of the Livingstonia mission of the free church of Scotland in Nyasaland) went ahead and merged to form the Church of

Central Africa in Rhodesia⁴⁷ (CCAR) on 1st December 1945, at Chitambo mission (*Ibid*:246 ff).

Its role was a conventional one: to support CCAR as an ecclesiastical institution, to pastorally look after the spiritual needs of members, and form its leaders, to continue the spread of the gospel for spiritual salvation, and to continue to implement their social responsibility, in a small and limited way, through charity, social and community services like schools and health centers. The ethical-prophetic task was being carried by the broad-based and representative Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia⁴⁸ to which CCAR belonged.

In 1958, the second merger leading to the formation of the United Church of Zambia took place. Bolink observes: “On Saturday, 26 July 1958, the consummation of union between CCAR and CFCC took place at Mindolo” (*Ibid*:334)⁴⁹. The Copperbelt Free Church Council (CFCC), as noted already, was a European Council which assembled mainly English-speaking congregations from the settler community who came from various denominations. Both CFCC and the Union Church in the Copperbelt (UCCB) were being served pastorally by UMCB up until the time of its dissolution in 1955. With the merger, English speaking European congregations at Kitwe, Chililabombwe, Chingola, Ndola, Kalulushi and Luanshya came to be under the pastoral care of this new ecclesiastical body now called the United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia (UCCAR) with its headquarters at Mindolo. The CCFC was the fourth church.

⁴⁷ It was the June 1947 CCAR meeting at Mindolo which recognised that CCAR was a separate church from CCAP (*Ibid*:270). Weller and Linden argue that that a merger took place between a presbytery of CCAP and other churches and not with the entire CCAP was done deliberately by the CCAP of Malawi to appease the DRCM who doubted the doctrinal and organisational orthodoxy of LMS (1984:146). LMS was seen by the DRCM, especially the Mkoma wing in Malawi, as being loosely organised and as being without a well-defined doctrinal stand. The DRCM had intentions for organic union, but were still unready. To open a way for future union negotiations with the DRCM, the CCAP felt that they should not unite with the LMS, but instead allow their Northern Rhodesian Presbytery to unite with them.

⁴⁸ The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia, the successor to the General Missionary Conference, as noted already was formed in 1945 (see also *The Constitution of the Christian Council of Zambia 1985*).

⁴⁹ See also Weller and Linden (1984)

The third merger which ushered in the United Church of Zambia on a permanent basis took place in 1965. Weller and Linden observe that: “Unlike any of the previous unions, the formation of the United Church of Zambia was the result of African “initiative” (1984:151). This initiative was very important to the viability and sustainability of an African church. Africans, through support from missionaries, were now on a threshold of a new beginning: to put in place an African project which would endure for years to come and contribute its resources, spiritual and material, to the Zambian nation. Realistically, though being a genuine African initiative, it had to face organisational, doctrinal, social, and financial problems as it grew from infancy to manhood and womanhood.

The third merger was between the Methodists, the Church of Barotseland (Evangelical Protestant) and UCCAR⁵⁰. After protracted discussions and many years of “delay” caused by the Methodist homeboard in England, Methodists in Northern Rhodesia were finally given permission to unite with the UCCAR. This happened during the Methodist Conference which took place in London in 1964 (Bolink 1967:360). Similar events took place in the Church of Barotseland. Bolink observes: “On September 27, 1964, a delegation from the Headquarters in Paris declared the Church of Barotseland an autonomous body” (1967:362). When all this was happening, the African church leaders in all camps – Methodist, Church of Barotseland and UCCAR – were in the forefront, determined with new resolve to push joyously for the formation of a united church (Bolink 1967; Weller and Linden 1984). The dawning of independence acted as a catalyst towards the speedy formation of the United Church of Zambia. About this Weller and Linden observe: “There is no doubt that the imminence of the country’s independence was a major reason for the urgency which was shown in pressing for the decisions of 1964” (1984:151). The Methodist Church and the Church of Barotseland became the last two churches to complete the organic union of the United Church of Zambia.

⁵⁰ Desire for organic union on the part of Methodists and the Church of Barotseland date back to the 1930s. See Bolink (1967).

The United Church of Zambia was soundly, joyfully, and sanguinely sealed – ready to take flight into a land which was replete with spiritual, social, political, and economic challenges.

From its inception, judging especially from *An Act of Worship to Constitute the United Church of Zambia* (1965), its mission to the Zambian society was well-presented in terms of the three conventional basic tenets already alluded to: institutionality, spirituality, and evangecality. A re-emphasis of its social responsibility in the context of the emerging politics and political economy of a newly born republic was simply “missing” from the inaugural service. One may argue that inclusion of this aspect might have been inappropriate because they gathered for the purpose of organic ecclesial union. This argument is partly true: leaders of the church concerned themselves with what they felt was their priority. Arguably, their priority was the celebration of the birth of a denomination which is part of the universal historical church, of the strengthening and renewal of the body of Christ, and of its salvific role to humankind. Nonetheless, its social responsibility hid behind its celebrated priority. The point is that the UCZ should have re-emphasized its social responsibility because of its charity work, social and community services, especially through schools and health centres⁵¹. As a result of this anomaly, the UCZ, at inception, could be described as “an institutional, spiritual, evangelical, and ‘narrowly’ social” denomination. Thus issues pertaining to its contribution to economic development as a matter of its social responsibility were, unfortunately, not part and parcel of the inaugural agenda.

Ever since, with its headquarters at Lusaka, it has grown from an estimated number of 32 000 members in 1965 (*Ibid*:365) to an estimated number of 1 million in 1991 (*Europe World Year Book* Vol.II, 1992). It has a number of congregations and other church institutions all over the country and participates in the implementation of social responsibility, in a

limited way, through its schools, training and health centres⁵² in the country.

It has matured and has continued to develop its pastoral responsibility to the Zambian society. Its main challenge now as shall be argued in the following chapters is to extend to the full its social responsibility. Firstly, it will be argued that it has to move beyond mere charity work and obedient provision of social and community services. The UCZ, like any other church, has to begin to “wrestle” with the socio-politico-economic milieu within which it exists and develop an adequate material or social basis of its mission in as much as it has developed its spiritual basis of its mission. Secondly, it will be argued that, like any other church, it has to move beyond mere verbal criticisms of government policy action to begin to be more policy-oriented, that is, to understand clearly policy matters before rushing to issue statements. This is the way forward which can enable the UCZ to maintain balance between its pastoral responsibility and its social task, of which economic development forms a part.

4.3.2 **An analysis and evaluation of the constitution, doctrine, worship, government and discipline of the United Church of Zambia: Is economic development an ecclesial and missiological agenda item?**

The purpose of this section is to address specific items and see if one can find elements of economic development in the ecclesial and missiological agenda of the United Church of

⁵¹ L M S, Church of Scotland, Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, and Methodist Missionary Society which contributed to organic union of the UCZ, were involved, from the beginning of their work, in the social delivery system through schools, training and health centres.

⁵² The UCZ has inherited four major secondary schools, namely: Sefula Secondary School from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Njase Girls Secondary School and Chipembi Girls Secondary School and Kafue Boys Secondary School from the Methodist Missionary Society. In addition to these schools, it has managed to construct St Andrew’s High School in Ndola, Kanchindu basic Secondary School in Gwembe Valley, and other small self-help church schools. The first four are fully supported by the government of the Republic of Zambia through finance and personnel. Its training centres include Nyengo Makoma Youth Skills Development project in Western province, Chipembi Farm College in Kabwe, and the now defunct Kaputa Agricultural Development Project in Kaputa. Its health centres include Mwandu General Hospital in Western province and Mbereshi Mission hospital in Luapula which are heavily funded by the Zambian government. One of the major obstacles to effective social responsibility of the UCZ is the lack of adequate financial resources. It is trying to address this partly through a full-fledged projects department at Synod headquarters. See UCZ Synod and Synod Executive minutes for the years 1989 to 1999 stored at the church’s headquarters in Lusaka.

Zambia. In this regard, an attempt is made to analyse and evaluate critically five specific core elements, namely: the constitution, doctrine, worship, government, and discipline.

The phrase “The Constitution of the United Church of Zambia”, in general terms, refers to “the system of church government; laws and principles according to which it is governed” (cf *The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English* 1987). All in all, an ecclesiastical constitution is a legally compiled and binding document which defines the nature and purpose of the church – in this regard, the United Church of Zambia. It is a very important ecclesiastical document which gives traces of church thinking on socio-economic matters – including economic development. A brief background of the constitutional development is, therefore, necessary.

Bolink (1967) has ably given a brief survey of the constitutional development of the United Church of Zambia. It took 18 years (1947-1965) to develop, evolve, and make it available for the inaugural service in 1965. Since then it has undergone several editions and revisions. The most recent edition was done in 1994⁵³.

According to Bolink the first draft was prepared by the Rev Kenneth D Francis, a LMS missionary, in 1947 (1967:366). Since then, it was edited six times until it reached its current form in the inaugural year. All in all, it is a document which combined Presbyterian elements and other valuable methods from the London Missionary Society and the United Missions to the Copperbelt. These valuable methods or elements included: congregational autonomy, emphasis on congregationalism, and the role of church elders and deacons. Unfortunately, during the CCAR Presbytery meeting in 1947, Francis’ constitutional proposals were simply ignored. In stead, they chose to put in place a constitution committee which during the 1949 CCAR presbytery meeting tried to complete its first draft under the able leadership of the Rev George Fraser, the then head of the UMCB at Mindolo. Their document followed closely the CCAP draft, and took into consideration, this time, the proposals of the 1947 draft which was compiled by K D Francis. According to Bolink, the 1949 draft

⁵³ See *Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the United Church of Zambia* (1994)

was “an almost Presbyterian document” (1967:368). Copies of the 1949 draft were then distributed to concerned mission boards and church courts for their scrutiny. The Church of Barotseland felt that there was need to have a clear doctrinal basis, and that it was necessary not to make the draft too Presbyterian. The Methodists proposed that a “pastoral session be upheld and that they should be no separate African and European congregations” (*Ibid*:369). The Church of Scotland felt that there was need to simplify the brief statement, that a formula for ordination be developed for ministers and elders, that a credal statement be worked out and spelt out, and that members be obliged to commit themselves to an undertaking which would make them be accountable to the highest court of the church. The Congregationalists felt that a congregation should be given chance to function in its own right and that the granting of dispensation to administer sacraments by elders be based on the criterion that should an area have the need for this, special authority should be given. On the whole, they felt that on the basis of the 1949 draft, Presbyterianism was out to “suffocate” Congregationalism (*Ibid*: 369).

In 1956, the Constitution Committee released a new draft – thanks to the insight and foresight of the Rev George Fraser and the Rev Kenneth D Francis. According to Bolink this “bore a less distinct Presbyterian stamp” (1967:370). He further observes that “although the structure was still Presbyterian, it adopted certain Congregational and Methodist features” (*Ibid*:370). Generally, “this draft was more ecumenically oriented than the previous two. Exclusive Protestant and Reformed accents were avoided” (*Ibid*:371). To top it all, all forms of worship before the union, were allowed to flourish and develop simultaneously.

In 1958, the 1956 draft was revised by the church union committee which gathered appointed representatives from CCAR, Free Churches on the Copperbelt, and the Methodists. It is the revised 1958 draft which served as “interim constitution” for UCCAR which was formed in July 1958. It is the same draft which formed the basis “on which the UCCAR, the Methodists, and the Church of Barotseland worked toward union” (*Ibid*: 372). It went “through three revisions in 1958, 1959 and 1963, before it reached its final shape in 1965” (*Ibid*:372). Unlike the first merger, in the second and third mergers, church leaders were

keen to see to it that the constitutional character of the United Church of Zambia was sufficiently laid down for the benefit of future generations of believers.

The constitution was a bequeath of the forefathers and foremothers of the union church to the contemporary members. So far, it is clear that in the course of the constitutional development of the UCZ, leaders sought to arrive at what could be termed as “an adequate form of church government” which would include valuable elements of the three ecclesiastical models, namely: Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Methodism⁵⁴.

All matters of Doctrine, Worship, Government, and Discipline of the United Church of Zambia are well-outlined in the constitution. In this way, it is an essential guide to the doctrinal, liturgical, and disciplinary character of the denomination. It is from these themes that one can trace ecclesiastical thinking on economic development.

In terms of its theological and religious teaching, Bolink observes that the doctrinal basis of the UCZ has “grown from a two-fold source: first, the “Brief Statement of the Faith” of the CCAP and secondly, the doctrinal statements used in the Union Schemes of South India, North India, Ceylon and Nigeria” (1967:390). That is to say that there are a number of doctrinal similarities between the UCZ and other sister churches which earlier sought to define their doctrinal stand in their regions⁵⁵. They used these sources to construct what came to be genuinely UCZ. According to the Constitution (1994:1):

The United Church holds the faith which the Church has ever held in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the World, in whom we are saved by grace through faith, and in

⁵⁴ Evangelicalism which was a gift of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society as one coming from a Calvinist Reformed tradition, shared, in many respects, features from the Presbyterian model and the Congregationalist model, but with great emphasis on “the doctrine of Priesthood of all believers” and their equality therein. For example, the role of elders in church government was equally emphasized. In this regard, Evangelicalism, though being an important element of Protestantism, cannot be described as an “ecclesiastical model”

⁵⁵ See the “Brief Statement of the Faith” of the CCAP and Union Schemes of South India, North India, Ceylon and Nigeria quoted in Bolink (1967:388ff).

accordance with the revelation of God which he made, being himself God incarnate. It worships one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

Its *faith*, its *historicity*, its *universality*, its understanding of *redemption*, *salvation* and *revelation*, and its *trinitarian worship*, all point to the fact it is indeed institutional, spiritual, and evangelical. Doctrinally, the above-mentioned constitutional statement does not point to the social task of the UCZ. In other words, its social responsibility to the nation is not mentioned.

The documentary basis of its faith are the Holy Scriptures, the Old and the New Testaments, the Apostles Creed (of c200 CE) and the Nicene Creed (of 325 CE) as “witnessing to and guarding that faith which is continuously confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ” (*Ibid:2*). Broadly speaking, the Holy Scriptures, apart from pointing believers to the institutionality, spirituality, and evangelicality of the universal church, do raise, from time to time, the social imperatives of ecclesial life and work. Unfortunately, both of the ancient creeds are oriented to the institutionality, spirituality, and evangelicality of ecclesial life and witness and do not, whatsoever, bring out the sociality of the universal church in terms of its socio-politico-economic responsibility to society.

It is interesting to note, *inter alia*, that the nature and process of salvation “gained for us by Christ” is for “the whole man - body, mind and soul” (*Ibid:2ff*). It is here where the UCZ comes out emphatically to state that they are not just interested in the salvation of the soul, but of the whole person. Unfortunately how this will occur in a concrete Zambian society is not explained.

From the foregoing, it is crystal clear that doctrinally, it is the UCZ’s pastoral responsibility, in terms of its institutionality, its spirituality, and its evangelicality, which is emphatically presented. Its social responsibility is clearly *oblivionised*, except by implicit allusion to the statement that “this salvation is for the whole man - body, mind and soul” (*Ibid*). As already noted, the salvific implications of the whole person in his or her environmental, social, political and economic milieu are not fully explained. It is only the spiritual enhancement and salvation of persons which is tersely, credally, and ecclesiastically presented.

The worship of the UCZ, that is, the way it conducts its prayers, services and other faith-expressions, is generally presented first under the general title “The Doctrine and Worship of the Church” (*Ibid*:1). It is not specifically addressed by the constitution *per se* as in the case of doctrine. Its main ideas are further dotted in the pages of the constitution here and there, especially pages 1 to 14 (*Ibid*).

It recognises the Doctrine of the Priesthood of All Believers implemented in its liturgical context, which among other things, emphasises that, “all its members can approach God through Christ; all its members share in the calling and authority of the whole church” (*Ibid*:9). It, however, specially recognises ordained ministry of both men and women⁵⁶ (*Ibid*:12,13) whose ministerial task is essentially institutional, spiritual, and evangelical, which include the following duties: to watch over the congregation committed to them; to visit the members of the congregation; to visit especially the sick and those who go astray; to encourage, teach, warn and rebuke; to maintain the doctrine and discipline of the Church; to be leaders in the work of preaching of the Word in the Congregations; to bring sinners to repentance and the assurance of forgiveness; to encourage and give opportunity for the exercise by Church members of their various ministries; to encourage all efforts for the promotion of justice⁵⁷, harmony and righteousness; to encourage the removal of wrong in the

⁵⁶ Ordained ministers do exercise prime influence on various congregations of the UCZ. In fact, the institutionality, the spirituality, and the evangelicity of the UCZ is basically directed by ministers. The training of ministers in the UCZ started in 1949 at Kashinda Bible School in Mporokoso district (Bwalya 1989) and has continued at the now United Church of Zambia Theological College in Kitwe. Even though the academic standing of the college has greatly improved from a mere Biblical and ministerial course to an advanced university diploma course offered by Makerere University in Uganda (and now by St Paul’s United Theological College in Kenya in collaboration with other theological colleges in East Africa), theological education and ministerial formation is highly oriented to the enhancement of the “pastoral responsibility” of ministers at the expense of their “social responsibility”. Aspects of social responsibility are briefly presented under diploma courses such as mission and development and Christian ethics. It is now up to the college as an academic idea-generating institution to revisit its syllabi and programmes so that it can begin to help the UCZ begin to seek the vital equilibrium between its pastoral task and social responsibility, thereby help it to be fully comprehensive in its mission to the nation. See the University of Makerere, Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy, *Syllabus for Diploma in Theology, 1987* and St Paul’s United Theological College, Limuru *Diploma in Theology Syllabus, 1994*.

⁵⁷ Ministers are called upon to exercise their social responsibility by employing a critical ethical-prophetic stance. However, the UCZ needs to equip its ministers to the level that this is done appropriately and with solid Christian ethical balance which, *inter alia*, emphasize a policy-oriented approach.

community⁵⁸; to lead the worship and to administer the sacraments; to conduct the other services to the Church; to instruct the young; to prepare candidates for admission to communicant membership; to preach the Gospel to non-Christians; to be diligent in Biblical and theological studies; to be diligent in prayer; to attend meetings of Church courts as required (*Ibid*:12-13).

As already noted, the liturgical nature of the UCZ is mainly a celebration of its institutional, spiritual, and evangelical character. Its social character is briefly mentioned through offertory and intercessory prayers, for example, asking God for the good stewardship of its resources, for the provision of charity, social and community services, in society, and invocation of God's wisdom for the political elite and leaders of industry. The point is that the question of material resources and the church's role in the socio-politico-economic affairs do not form a major segment in the liturgical agenda – if anything, they are just mentioned in passing. What is emphasized more is the pastoral task of the church in terms of the institutional-spiritual-evangelical orientation. In this way, the worship of the UCZ is inclined towards looking after, pastorally, the needs of its members and leaders first and then second, those of other human beings, especially those of the higher spiritual goal of sanctification, regeneration, and final salvation of human souls.

In terms of its government as an institutional ecclesiastical body, the UCZ recognises five major courts in which church elders (including church ministers when the biblical term “elder” is applied) play a very significant role. These courts in ascending order are: Section, Congregation, Consistory, Presbytery, and Synod (*Ibid*:15). The Synod, in this structure, is “the supreme supervisory, governing and law-making body of the United Church (of Zambia) and its final court of appeal” (*Ibid*:24). These courts spell out clearly their specific

⁵⁸ Similarly, the correction of wrong in society requires that ministers are trained in balanced Christian

mandates. As shall be seen below, it is the pastoral mandate rather the social mandate which is emphasised.

The organisational structure is such that each court is governed by head office bearers, namely: the Congregational chairman (who is usually a minister and who supervises the work of sections), the Consistory chairman (who is usually a minister), the Presbytery Bishop (who is normally a Synod minister and whose duty is to “be primarily the pastor, guide and adviser of all Ministers, particularly newly appointed ministers, full-time lay-workers of presbytery staff, church, officers and congregations within the Presbytery area”), and the Synod Bishop (who is usually a Synod minister) (*Ibid:15ff*)⁵⁹.

The role of the Synod Bishop is to ensure that UCZ as a church organisation functions well by “first and foremost” providing “leadership in all aspects to the United Church ...” (*Ibid:28*). In this regard, he or she is the head of the UCZ. To give chance to the Synod Bishop to concentrate in the pastoral “overseer” responsibility, the Synod employs a general secretary (who is usually a Synod Minister) whose duties, *inter alia*, are to “be the Chief Executive Officer of Synod ...” and “be the Official correspondent on behalf of Synod” (*Ibid:29*). The general secretary is assisted by a financial secretary and an administrative secretary who are usually drawn from suitably qualified lay members (*Ibid:31-34*).

An in-depth analysis and evaluation of the functions of the five ecclesiastical courts on the one hand, and the duties of the four head office bearers of courts on the other hand reveal that the UCZ is inclined towards its institutional, spiritual, and evangelical character

ethical engagement.

⁵⁹ Before 1993, Presbytery Bishops and the Synod Bishop used to be called Presbytery moderators and Synod moderator, respectively. Certain people felt that the use of the term “bishop” was more appropriate especially when other bishops from other denominations gathered together with UCZ leaders in ecumenical gatherings. The change from “moderator” to “bishop” was a movement “to be like other churches”. What the UCZ probably needs to do is to set up a committee which would investigate properly the historicity, validity, qualifications, conditions of service, and general regulations of the historical office of bishops, so that the change from “moderator” to “bishop” may not simply be a change of titles and that it may not simply be a mechanism to satisfy status – oriented church leaders who, nevertheless, function in an essentially Presbyterian context. See Synod Executive Minutes of the United Church of Zambia 1993 (December).

(*Ibid*:15 f.f.). That is to say that the organisational structure is inclined more to the pastoral role than the social responsibility. Even though the church is involved in charity work, social and community services, its social responsibility within its organisational structure is not well pronounced. Thus its social responsibility within which to engage economic development issues, governmentally speaking, is peripheral.

The UCZ usually interprets the term “discipline” mainly in terms of the good moral standing of all its Christian members and of the good repute of its life and witness (*Ibid*:38). In general, it is a term which is used to “describe the practical methods and rules by which Christ through the influence of the whole community, seek to help each member to be healthy in his own Christian growth and discipleship, and to make his best contribution to the life and witness of the whole body” (J D Douglas 1978:302). These practical methods and rules have a high moral and ethical content. So when the UCZ talks about church discipline, it refers to the whole question of how its members ought to live and how it ought to conduct its affairs and therefore, those who fraught the “code of discipline” are suspended from full communicant membership for a period of time. The UCZ states that “the purpose of Church discipline is for the good of the offender and the purity and witness of the church” (*Ibid*:38). Disciplinary cases are usually determined by pastoral committees at various church courts. Most of these cases relate to both private and public (that is, in the community of persons) misconduct which is liable to church discipline⁶⁰. Disciplinary offences committed in the context of executing one’s duty in the public service, in parastatals, in the private sector, and other sectors, are not usually brought to the church. For example, if a church member is disciplined by his or her company for abuse of office, the case is not usually brought to the church. The church feels that it is within its powers to deal with “common sins” such as murder and assault committed by its members in their communities and homes. It feels that it is not within its powers to intervene ecclesiastically when a member is disciplined by his or her company⁶¹.

⁶⁰ See also Bolink (1967) and *Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the United Church of Zambia (1994)*

⁶¹ The UCZ probably needs to strike the balance between two sides of discipline – company and church

From the foregoing, it is clear that when the UCZ talks about church discipline, it talks about church offences of its members which need to be described, defined, and corrected for “the good of the offender and the purity and witness of the church” (*Ibid*:38). These ecclesial offences go against the good institutional, spiritual and evangelical standing of the UCZ. In other words, they fall within the pastoral responsibility of the church. They have either less or nothing to do with the social responsibility. That is to say, as already noted, the UCZ rarely speaks about, as a matter of its social responsibility, the social and public wrongs of its members in secular organisations, unless if they are connected with straightforward immoral activities such as rape.

Coming back to the question: Is economic development an ecclesial and missiological agenda item? The answer is “no” and “yes”. “No” in the sense that in the UCZ the priority agenda items are those which enhance its institutionality, spirituality, and evangelicity such as evangelism and Bible classes. “Yes” in the sense that the UCZ does indirectly put economic development issues on its ecclesial and missiological agenda, only that this is usually seen as a secondary item. This is evidenced through its charity work and the provision of social and community services like schools in a limited way. Also, from time to time, especially through the Christian Council of Zambia, it does contribute in a small way its ethical-prophetic voice on influencing economic development issues.

The UCZ has a long way to extend to the full its social responsibility, practically, ethically, prophetically, and otherwise so as to make “economic development” one of its major agenda items. This is the way it can achieve comprehensivity and adequate balance in its ecclesial and missiological service to the nation and beyond.

discipline. For example, a serious case of fraud by a church member in a company can warrant suspension from full communicant membership. In this way, a member will experience double discipline - company and church – which will work for the good reputation of the church. Members who are guilty of serious offences in their secular organisations cannot just go scot-free in the church. There needs to be a certain measure of ecclesiastical ethical intervention which is inclined to simultaneously disciplining and compassionately resuscitating an erring brother or sister.

4.4 THE CONTEMPORARY ZAMBIAN CHURCH AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: THE RENEWED ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND MACROECONOMIC STABILISATION IN ZAMBIA

The contemporary Zambian church is slowly, but surely changing in as far as engaging socio-economic issues is concerned (c.f *The Future is ours: Pastoral letter by the Catholic Bishops of Zambia* 1992). One of the motivating impacts is the changed unfavourable economic scenario in Zambia which has brought about a “slump” in living standards of ordinary citizens. Ideally, members of the Zambian society are members of various denominations. In this regard, the Zambian church, as one of the moral consciences of the nation, is well placed to listen to the cries of the people, feel their hurts, and thus, embrace their pain in order to contribute to the quest for a more lasting solution to the deteriorating socio-economic conditions⁶².

Prior to 1980, when Zambia entered into economic crisis, the Zambian church was still enjoying its status as a post-independence body in a newly independent republic. It was still adjusting to the reality of ecclesiastical self-rule when a number of denominations started to have “black” Zambian church leaders. During this period, it did not shed off the conventional missionary characterisation – an institutional, spiritual, evangelical and ‘narrowly’ social church – in varied degrees from denomination to denomination. It was a period of “economic easy”. The church went on with its pastoral responsibility to the nation, while trying to execute its social responsibility, as a matter of charity and ecclesial obedience, to a certain degree. It is only the 1972 conference on *Churches and National Development* in Lusaka which tried to begin to “wrestle” with the socio-politico-economic context within

⁶² Priscilla Jere-Mwindilila, formerly communications officer with the Christian Council of Zambia, in her article “The Effects of SAP on women in Zambia” (*Reformed World*, Vol.44, 1994, pp 59-65) has alluded to the misery, destitution, depravity, and hopelessness which are being experienced by a good number of women and children in Zambia and elsewhere as a result of structural adjustment and stabilisation programmes. The cry and pain of women as keepers, preservers, and enhancers of life, make the quest for lasting solutions to socio-economic difficulties by all sections of society extremely urgent.

which churches operated and with their specific role in development⁶³ (Woodhall *et al.* 1972).

This conference was held at the time when the Zambian economy was experiencing “boom” years. Unfortunately, this conference did not build any effective ecclesial consensus to begin to help Zambian churches stretch out their social responsibility to the most possible effective frontiers. After the conference, churches went back to do their conventional roles of propping up their ecclesiastical institutions, enhancing their spirituality, preaching and teaching the gospel of God’s salvation, and contributing, in varied degrees, to the social and economic upliftment of the people through charity, social and community services. In this way, ecclesial and missiological weight was oriented more to their pastoral responsibility than to their social responsibility – the pastoral-social balance was simply lacking.

One of the reasons for this is that churches did not “push enough” for the enlargement of their social responsibility because, generally speaking, they felt that socially and economically, things were not yet out of hand and the government of the day was fulfilling its social imperatives. In spite of the 1975 debacle, Zambians, up to 1980, still lived in relative ease: *most families still had three meals a day; the morale of education in the country was high; the health-delivery system was relatively fine; unemployment was kept at bay - thanks to the epochal generosity of the parastatal economic machinery.* During this period of relative economic ease, the socialist and humanist Kaunda regime fared very well – thanks to its policy of social and industrial subsidisation. Unfortunately, this policy was shortlived: the government could no longer afford to subsidise its people and its industries. 1980, therefore, as already noted, marked the breakdown of “law and order” in the

socio-economic delivery system. Living conditions simply deteriorated – characterised by incessant shortages of goods and services. It is from this period that the contemporary

⁶³ At this conference, which was called by the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia and the Christian Council of Zambia, important papers were given, which included the following topics: Why the church should be involved in development, by Archbishop E Milingo; The role of the church in national development, by W Nkowane; What does the Second National Development Plan mean for churches and church leaders? by M Temple; and Churches and Development Survey for Zambia, by C Woodhall (Woodhall *et al.* 1972).

Zambian church re-awakened in order to re-formulate and re-implement its social responsibility with renewed vigour and vision.

To follow up this re-awakening process properly, this section will be presented under two main sub-headings, namely: The dawning of the new era of ecclesial involvement and the leading role of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia: Bridging the gap between the spiritual and the material bases of the proclamation of the gospel, and between the ethical-prophetic task and the role of the church to understand specific problems of basic economic policy.

4.4.1 The dawning of the new era of ecclesial involvement

The “wind of change” has blown over almost the entire spectrum of ecclesial presence in Zambia, motivating and encouraging the Zambian church to be more responsive to socio-economic issues. In this way, it is gradually renewing its role in economic development in the light of the unfavourable effects of structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation which reached their climax at the end of the 20th century. The contemporary church is no longer ‘narrowly’ social, but ‘expandingly’ social. It has started to seriously expand gradually its social responsibility through practical socio-economic engagement and a more balanced approach to Christian moral discourse. This is a clear demonstration of ecclesial involvement for the sake of human, social, spiritual, material, and environmental progress. This is a step by step process which is leading to transformation of the Zambian society.

Notable in this process are the Christian Council of Zambia, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, and the Episcopal Conference of Zambia (we shall return to them later). It appears that churches which fall under these ecclesiastical bodies are saying that they can no longer afford just to be significantly institutional, spiritual, and evangelical, but should equally also be ‘expandingly’ social. In this way, churches are beginning to be increasingly relevant and meaningful in their service to the nation. They are surely making a paradigm shift: *from mere charity and priestly functions to a quest for equilibrium between their pastoral and social tasks (under which economic development is being seriously addressed).*

The Christian Council of Zambia was legally established in 1964 (*Constitution of the Christian Council of Zambia* 1985). It was successor to the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia which was established in 1945 when its precursor, the General Missionary Conference, with both Protestant and Catholic representatives, ceased to exist, after being in existence from 1914 to 1944 (*Ibid*:1). Today it has fifteen member churches and eighteen associate member organisations (*The Christian Council of Zambia Newsletter* 1996).

Related to the question of ecclesial involvement in economic development are two of its objectives⁶⁴ which read as follows (*The Constitution of the Christian Council of Zambia* 1985:2):

- “To help encourage Christian leaders to attain a more effective Christian Ministry in the Country”
- “To promote the social development of the people in Zambia”.

The CCZ seeks to make tangible the following functions⁶⁵ which impinge on the socio-politico-economic-religious well-being of society and which are fully intertwined with its objectives (*Ibid*:2):

- “To bring together representatives of its constituent members for consultation and discussion in order to help form an enlightened Christian public opinion on all issues affecting the spiritual, moral, social and physical welfare of all peoples in the Republic of Zambia”
- “To promote the study and investigation of problems relating to the progress of the Kingdom of God and the development of the people of God”.

⁶⁴ Much of its institutional, spiritual, and evangelical objectives are usually met by its member churches and associate member organisations. In other words, the bulk of its pastoral task is taken up by these members. Nonetheless, from time to time it does contribute to the growth of churches, spread of the Kingdom of God and spiritual development (*The Christian Council of Zambia Newsletter* 1996). In this regard, its programmes are tilted more toward its social responsibility than its pastoral task. For this reason, it has sought practically and morally to develop, consolidate, and implement its social task premised on a very strong material basis of Christian ministry. In retrospect, it has carried over the social task of the General Missionary Council and has tried to take it to higher heights: from the ethical-prophetic to the ethical-prophetic-practical. Thus, it is trying to demonstrate its expanding social responsibility.

Objectively and functionally, the CCZ aspires for “effective Christian ministry”, “social development of the people”, an appropriate ethical-prophetic stand on all aspects of life, and for an intelligible, reasoned out approach to problems “relating to the progress of the Kingdom of God and the development of the people of God”.

Missiologically, since 1964, the CCZ has sought “to work towards a holistic ministry to the people for the glory of God” (*The CCZ Annual Report 1997:3*). With the onset of economic difficulties, especially in the 1990s, CCZ has all the more attempted to stretch out its social responsibility to the nation, especially through practical socio-economic involvement. Its programmes and projects are fashioned in such a way that they either have a direct or an indirect impact on the socio-economic well-being of the people. In this way, it is a contributor to both the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Its work is departmentalised into four sections, namely: Women’s work, Development, Education and Communications and Social Justice. It is these departments which carry out specific CCZ programmes and projects (*Ibid:3ff*).

Women’s work is currently involved in the following programmes and projects:

1. Home-based care training, as a response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic (apart from trying to sensitise people on the need to care for HIV/AIDS patients, this programme is contributing to healthy sexual conduct for the well-being of the nation)
2. Gender and Economic literacy in which small-scale business management training sessions and loan facilities are given to women;
3. Community Workers programme which is “intended to create awareness among community leaders about how they can organise communities in order to effectively utilise available material and human resources for their own development” (*Ibid:4*);
4. Human Rights and Legal Education, especially in the wake of abuse of women and their rights;

⁶⁵ Similarly, CCZ, as a church body, is stronger in the execution of its social responsibility functions than its pastoral task ones.

5. Youth behavioral Change programme which is “intended to help young people change their attitude and behaviour in relation to life” and is “designed to instill confidence and self-esteem in young people so that they can make good choices about their own lives” (*Ibid:6*), especially in the wake of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The Development department has two major projects, namely: Post-drought Recovery Programme which aim is to promote sustainable development and self-reliance, especially the enhancement of water and agricultural skills, in the wake of “unpredictable” weather patterns which sometimes lead to drought; and the Lusaka West Farm whose main goal is to make CCZ a self-supporting organisation. It is the intention of CCZ to turn this place in future into an “agricultural research facility”, now that it has started to use it as “a centre for the exchange of agricultural development knowledge and ideas between farm staff and CCZ member churches” (*Ibid:7*).

The Education Department has continued to contribute to the attainment of higher education through the David Livingstone Teachers Training College in Livingstone and Malcolm Moffat Teachers’ Training College (*Ibid:7*). This time around, it is not “education for evangelisation” but “education for human and social development”.

The Communications and Social Justice Department, whose main task is to co-ordinate the communication systems of CCZ and to engage in social justice vis-à-vis socio-political-economic issues, is slowly, but surely rising from its “slumber”. Its biggest project to date is the initiation of “the ‘Operation Zero debt’ effort with the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, the Zambia Episcopal Conference and some specific church denominations” (*Ibid:11*). This project is aimed at the cancellation of Third World debt.

Its other special projects and programmes include: a counseling unit at the University of Zambia CCZ Chapel grounds, in the light of mounting social problems; and the Ukwimi Resettlement centre in Eastern Province whose goal is to resettle the youth with the necessary skills and logistics, in the light of high youth unemployment (The Christian Council of Zambia *Newsletter* 1996).

It is quite clear from the foregoing that these projects are selected and small-scale. Nonetheless, CCZ is making a point that the Zambian church can afford to expand its social responsibility and that this should target all areas of human and social endeavour. For this reason, CCZ has gone out of its way to respond positively to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, to contribute to the economic empowerment of women, to enhance community leadership for development, to protect women and vouch for the legal protection of women's rights, to contribute to the emergence of healthy youth who are the leaders of tomorrow, to respond to the need for sustainable, community-oriented, contextualised, and life-affirming agricultural development, to prop up the agricultural sector as a contributor to national development, to seek the education of Zambians for national progress, and pursue social justice for all and for the good progress of the nation. These are good signs of social responsibility which are expanding and which will certainly grow, with the necessary support, into large-scale projects and programmes.

Apart from its vibrant practical abilities, the CCZ renders her voice to the ethical-prophetic role of the Zambian church, which it does in collaboration with other two church bodies, namely: the Zambia Episcopal Conference and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. For example, on December 1, 1995, the Zambia Episcopal Conference and the Christian Council of Zambia issued a statement on "the Constitutional Debate"⁶⁶ which, *inter alia*, called for an "in-depth discussion of the Constitution throughout all sections of Zambian Society". The Constitution spells out how a nation is to be governed, and ultimately, has everything to do with political economy and economic development.

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) has also experienced what can be described as a "radical change" in its missiological approach. Previously, generally speaking, its members were associated with a one-track view of the proclamation of the gospel: the message of the Kingdom of God should be preached to all corners of Zambia so that men, women and children, could be "born-again", and thus be "snatched" from the fires of hell when they died and be part of the group who will inherit the "new heavens and new Earth"

⁶⁶ This paper, entitled "Church Leaders' statement on the Constitutional Debate", was signed by Bishop T G Mpundu, chairman of the Zambia Episcopal Conference and by late Bishop Clement H Shaba, chairman of the Christian Council of Zambia. It can be obtained from the general secretariates of both bodies.

when Christ comes again. In all their programmes and projects, they aimed at evangelisation and the spiritual preparation of “born-again” Christians – for Christ is to come soon and take his true church. The spiritual preparation was mainly done through the development of spiritual gifts and ministries as given by the Holy Spirit. This attitude promoted, in their circles, a heaven-bound, other-worldly, and from-above focus, which tended to be escapist in relation to human concrete reality and thus earth-denying. In most cases, they articulated in word and deed, a ‘privatised’ faith, that is, faith as a private matter and for individual salvation.

With the onset of economic problems in Zambia, especially in the 1980s, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has started to orient its mission to human and social realities in this life, and thus, seek an equilibrium between its pastoral task and its social responsibility. About this, Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Operations and Projects Manager, Pukuta Ndombi Mwanza, observes: “EFZ and its members can no longer afford to be heavenly and spiritual in their approach to mission. They have started to address human and social problems, and thus, try to be holistic in their approach”⁶⁷.

EFZ was formed on 8th April 1964, in Lusaka⁶⁸. Today, it has seventy eight member churches and para-church bodies (EFZ *Evangelical Voice* Vol.1, No.1, 1998b:2). Two of its objectives, related to its social responsibility, and ultimately, to economic development, read as follows⁶⁹:

- “To render special services, selective social action, channeling emergency relief and developmental assistance ...”
- “To serve humanity in general and the church in matters of justice and peace, relief and development and empowerment of vulnerable groups.”

Its pastoral work is done through the Evangelism and Missions Department which attempts to promote the work of churches, for example, through seminars and workshops. Its social

⁶⁷ Interview with Mr Mwanza at EFZ headquarters in Lusaka – 28th April 1999c.

⁶⁸ EFZ pamphlet “Introducing the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia” n.d.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

responsibility is usually carried out by the Departments of Ethics, Society and Development, and Women's affairs.

The Ethics, Society and Development Department is currently involved in four major projects⁷⁰, namely: the European Union Food Relief Project in Luangwa and Gwembe where residents have been hit hard by incessant drought and poor agricultural harvest. The European Union has provided funding for sourcing grains and transporting them to Zambia, the EFZ manages the distribution part; the Luangwa Sunflower Extension Project in which local farmers are being assisted with expansion of sunflower growing; the Gwembe Livestock Restocking Project in which they are helping peasant farmers to revitalise cattle production and boost beef production; and a small-scale credits project especially to vulnerable women in Lusaka. Other small projects include tailoring and carpentry.

The Women Affairs Department has two outstanding social projects: the Orphan Care Project and the HIV/AIDS Education project⁷¹. Like the CCZ, the EFZ is trying to respond positively to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Zambia which has left a trail of social problems such as uncared for children and sexual health risks.

The EFZ is indeed trying to maintain a balance between its pastoral and social responsibility through its selected and small-scale projects. Even though it can be said that EFZ and most of its members are still highly 'spiritual and evangelical' in their missiological approach, it can equally be said that an *epistemological shift* is slowly, but surely happening in their circles: *they have started to be more earthly, more realistic, more public, more historical, and more practical*. Their faith has become "deprivatised", that is, a faith that includes public concern and accountability in order to render concrete service to the Zambian society without any distinction whatsoever. For this reason, apart from their practical involvement, in a small way, in socio-economic issues, they are open and willing to participate in ecumenical and inter-church projects and programmes in order to foster a common Christian mind, promote Christian unity, and be ethical-prophetic. For example, as already noted, they are

⁷⁰ Executive Director's Report to the 2nd General Council Meeting of EFZ held at St Andrew's Motel, Lusaka, 26-29 April 1999.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* See also EFZ *Evangelical Voice* Vol.1, No.1 1998b.

fully participating in the Debt Cancellation Campaign⁷². A new era of ecclesial involvement has indeed dawned on the previously heaven-bound EFZ. They now realise that while they are looking forward to the consummation of the Kingdom of God in the near future, like other church bodies, they can still make a lasting contribution to the socio-economic well-being of the nation – thereby preaching and teaching salvation in total.

Below is a brief survey of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia which this thesis considers to be “pace-setters” in seeking to bridge “the gap between the spiritual and the material bases of the proclamation of the gospel, and between the ethical-prophetic task and the role of the church to understand specific problems of basic economic policy”.

⁷² EFZ Executive Director’s Report (April 1999).

4.4.2 The leading role of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia: bridging the gap between the spiritual and the material bases of the proclamation of the gospel, and between the ethical-prophetic task and the role of the church to understand specific problems of basic economic policy

There is no doubt that the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia has been very active in both religious and societal life from the time of the White Fathers as early Roman Catholic missionaries set foot in the nation as from 1898. These and others did not depart from the idea of conventional evangelisation. In this regard, their missiological and ecclesial focus was very similar to their Protestant missionary counterparts.

Up until 1964, they shared the general characterisation of the Zambian church: institutional, spiritual, evangelical, and ‘narrowly’ social. Like their Protestant counterparts, they too were ‘narrowly’ social in that they executed their charity work, social and community services, just as a matter of charity and New Testament ecclesial obedience. That is to say, in doing these great works for social upliftment they were motivated by the New Testament message which called upon followers of Christ to exercise compassion and act charitably and obediently to serve fellow men and women. Their charity work, social and community work, were simply subordinate to their evangelical goal, and therefore, an appendage to the higher spiritual goal of conventional salvation. Nonetheless, it goes without saying that the execution of their social responsibility was exceptional. For example, between 1883 and 1945, the White Fathers were leading in education delivery, outstripping all the efforts made by major Protestant missions in education (Snelson 1977). With the dawning of independence, the Roman Catholic church missiological focus changed. Since 1964, the Roman Catholic Church was engaged in redefining its role in society. About this General Secretary of the Zambia Episcopal Conference, Fr Ignatius Mwebe observes:

For a long time, early missionary work laid a lot of stress on evangelisation. After 1964, the Roman Catholic Church started to pursue ‘integral evangelism’, that is, the development of the whole person – social, intellectual, spiritual, etc. The Roman Catholic Church has now gone ‘full blast’ to address all human aspects. For example, the church regards education as ‘a basis for development’. This is why the

*church is fully involved in primary, secondary, and tertiary education. So the question of 'integral evangelism' is something that forms a vital segment of the mission of the church*⁷³.

One of the movements, with global impact, which tried to motivate the Roman Catholic Church to begin to think in this way, was the well-known Vatican II, 1962 to 1965, called by the late Pope John XXIII. In general, this council called upon Christians to begin to get involved in matters of balanced and holistic development⁷⁴.

The quest for a re-definition of the role of the church did not just take place overnight. It took some time for the Roman Catholic Church to entrench the idea of 'integral evangelism' among its leaders and members. In spite of the excellent social works, there still existed a certain number of Roman Catholic leaders who felt that their prime task is pastoral work. Matters of sociality such as development were not part of their business⁷⁵. In fact, in spite of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church had accumulated a number of charitable, social and community projects, which were being run professionally and properly, up until 1980, it was its institutional, spiritual, and evangelical character which was very prominent. Many Zambians remember the healing and evangelistic mass rallies organised by Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo (1977) in the 1970s. In short, the celebration of its institutionality, spirituality, and evangelicity was more in the foreground than that of its sociality. Its social responsibility, though practically demonstrated through its many charity works, social and community projects, had not yet been redefined, reconceptualised, and fully clarified.

The economic problems of the 1980s and especially of the 1990s helped the Roman Catholic Church to develop an adequate understanding and implementation of 'integral evangelism'. They are truly seeking a balance between the pastoral task and social task on the one hand, and within their social task commitments, seek an additional balance between the ethical-prophetic task of the church and its bid to understand problems of basic economic

⁷³ Interview with Fr I Mwebe at the Zambia Episcopal Conference Headquarters in Lusaka – 14th April, 1999a.

⁷⁴ For a further understanding of Vatican II and its message, see Cadorett *et al.* eds (1992)

⁷⁵ cf Chanda (1983).

policy on the other hand. In this way, they have become “pace-setters” in the quest for balance and comprehensivity in the mission of the Zambian church.

Today, apart from their well-organised institutional, spiritual, and evangelical activities, the Roman Catholic Church supervises over a wide spectrum of clearly defined programmes and projects through which its social responsibility is realised. It is involved in almost every field of human endeavour, such as education, agriculture, social development, charity work, medicine, primary health care, skills development, and HIV/AIDS Awareness, Education, and Care.

It is steadily developing the material basis of the church’s mission to society. For example, in the Pastoral letter of the Catholic Bishops of Zambia, entitled “The Future is Ours”, which was issued in February 1992 and addressed to the Zambia people, the Bishops called on:

- The Zambian people and government to embrace “a new moral culture of responsibility and a new political and economic culture of accountability” which would alleviate gigantic problems such as the poor nutritional status of nearly 60% of Zambian households, the decline in overall national output and the unabated unemployment growth, unbridled inflation which was running over 100%, the collapse in health delivery system, and which would enhance an increased public health awareness in the wake of the AIDS pandemic which was depleting Zambia’s “most productive sectors in society” (1992:3).
- The Zambian people and government to work hard whereby, *inter alia*, the new government would “fulfil its promises”, the people would work and grow towards “greater self-reliance and less dependence on government and on charitable hand-outs”, increase “national, community and personal productivity”, exercise “a sense of conscientiousness and professionalism”, promote “greater respect ... for public properties and institutions”, and eliminate “the anti-social behaviour which tears apart the fabric of our communities (e.g. stealing, killing, drunkenness)” (1992:3-4).

- The Zambian church to be “a model for society”, that it should promote “this new culture of responsibility and accountability” and that as a church they “cannot call others to virtues which we ourselves (they themselves) do not make an effort to practice” (1992:4)
- The promotion of democratic governance and the strengthening of human rights (1992:5).
- The orientation of the Zambian economy to the service of people that liberalisation, privatisation, and the free market system (which were adopted by the MMD government) are not “natural laws to be blindly obeyed in the operation of the economy”, but they should be used as “merely human instruments which must be constantly evaluated in terms of their promotion of the common good” (1992:6).
- The setting of the “recovery of Zambia’s agricultural potential” as “number one priority”, that adequate employment be created, that the educational and health delivery systems be boosted, and that the tax regime be just and fair especially for the low income bracket (1992:8).
- The international community to exempt Zambia from the debt which was tied to the implementation of economic structural adjustment to enable Zambia to begin to meet peoples’ needs (1992:1-10)
- All Zambians “to respect the constitutional guarantee of freedom of conscience and freedom of worship and expression” in the wake of the declaration of Zambia as a “Christian nation” by the second Republican President, Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba, on 29th December, 1991 (1992:10)

The foregoing is a clear demonstration of serious “wrestling” with the socio-economic context within which the Zambian Church operates. It is in clear view of these issues and others that the Roman Catholic Church is carrying out its social responsibility to the nation⁷⁶.

Within its social task, the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia has taken further the ethical-prophetic task of the church: it has now added to the ethical-prophetic attribute the policy-oriented attribute so that it can now be described as an ethical-prophetic-policy-oriented

church (see and c.f. Gustafson 1988). It is no longer satisfied with mere political verbal criticisms of government, but it seeks to understand carefully government policy, especially economic policy, in order to present a well-argued ecclesial and missiological case on matters which affect the livelihoods of workers and their families, companies and the public at large.

For example, through its Justice and Peace Department, it has set up the SAP Monitor: “the project to monitor the impact of SAP on the poor in Zambia” (*SAP Monitor* Issue No.20, Jan/Feb 1999b). Through a bimonthly bulletin (*SAP Monitor*), the Justice and Peace Department is able to write on and to follow up important national development issues such as food security and agricultural liberation, primary health care and public health, education, making a living in Zambia, and post-budget analyses⁷⁷ (*Ibid*).

The Roman Catholic Church in Zambia must be complemented on their effort to seek the necessary balance between an ethical-prophetic approach and a policy-oriented approach. A simple and naive verbal attack on government alone is simply not adequate. The Zambian church needs, as shall be argued later, a certain measure of in-depth policy understanding, evaluation, and analysis before rushing into verbal criticisms of government ac-

⁷⁶ For more information on the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia and its social teaching, see Zambia Episcopal Conference *Politics, Economics and Justice* (1990), and *You shall be my witnesses: evangelisation for the second century* (1991).

⁷⁷ See the 1999 Post-budget Statement by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace entitled *Visions, Priorities and Parliamentary Responsibilities* (March 1999a) kept at the Catholic Secretariat headquarters in Lusaka. It is the normal practice for post-budget analyses and evaluations to be a preserve of financial business and banking institutions like Barclays Bank of Zambia limited and the Economics Association of Zambia. That the church - led by the Catholics - is able to do this is a step in the right direction which is certainly contributing to the formulation of the “economic basis of the proclamation of the gospel of Christ”.

tion, in order to make a lasting impact on the socio-economic destiny of the country.

The energy and vision of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia is not yet expended nor dissipated. It is still determined to forge ahead with its quest for 'integral evangelism', which balances between the pastoral and the social, between the ethical-prophetic and the policy-oriented. Time has come that this 'energy and vision' should encourage other Christian churches and bodies who are seeking this balance to go a step further in their ecclesiological and missiological focus. The result is that, together, an 'expandingly' social Zambian church will emerge, ready to meet challenges of modern Zambia in order to, in a balanced, comprehensive and holistic way, contribute to the meeting of whole-person needs.

4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

There are two cardinal issues which have come out of this critical historical survey of ecclesial response to economic development in Zambia. Firstly, the Zambian church has implemented its social responsibility from scarcity as a "point of departure". That is to say that from the beginning, the Zambian church did not oppose the conventional wisdom that relative scarcity is solved from the standpoint of the notion of scarcity. As for the system or philosophy by which to solve relative scarcity, the Zambian church did not provide an alternative economic system or philosophy. Instead, it carried out its social responsibility under either the influence of the capitalist individualist philosophy or the socialist collectivist philosophy. In this process, it has contributed small-scale community and social programmes which are aimed at socio-economic upliftment and community health. Even though these may be seen by some critics as indirect, lacking capacity, and without any overall significant impact on the economy, the point still remains that, through its small-scale projects, the Zambian church has contributed its share to the well-being of the Zambian economy. Take, for example, education, those who were and are educated in church institutions do not just participate in the economy on the basis of the enlightened minds and sharpened abilities, but they bring to the fold discipline and hard work, especially if they come from well-run ecclesiastical educational centres.

Secondly, the Zambian church is no longer narrow in its understanding of social responsibility – that is, it is no longer seeing the social role as a mere appendage to the main pastoral role of winning men, women, and children to Jesus Christ. Instead, the social role is being seen as an equally important role. The Zambian church has indeed started to expand its understanding of social issues, especially in the light of deteriorating living conditions. It is “expandingly” social and not just seeking an equilibrium between its pastoral and social tasks, but endeavouring to balance between all modes of moral discourse – including the prophetic mode and the policy mode. This is in order to appropriately engage matters of economic development.

Nonetheless, as already observed, scarcity may not be an adequate “point of departure” for economic development (see Goudzwaard and De Lange 1997; Meeks 1988). In chapters five and six, an alternative “point of departure” which has relevance for churches and humanity at large and which is rooted in appropriate moral criteria, will be developed and presented. In addition, how the social role of the Zambian church can be strengthened will also be tackled. Ideally, there ought to be an appropriate “point of departure” which should help humanity to appropriately re-define “the rules of the economic game”. To this end, the Zambian church ought to re-assert itself and enhance its social responsibility to the greatest height possible.

CHAPTER 5

THE NORMATIVE BASIS OF A THEOLOGICAL-ETHICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the normative basis of a theological-ethical framework – that is, the moral standard or foundation upon which a theological-ethical evaluation of economic development rests.

It is a firm contention of this thesis that there is no such thing as a value-free science (c.f. Todaro 1997 and Burawoy 1972). Humans engage issues from specific value systems¹. Its overall objective is to show the kind of conceptual and practical shift which ought to occur through a commitment to a new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development. There are three main parts to this chapter, namely: Christian theology and economic development: does theology have anything to offer to economic development?; other moral criteria as part of a new point of departure and model for economic development; and the concept of stewardship: towards the quest for a new point of departure and model for economic development. These three parts are linked by one cardinal conviction: Christian theology (including Christian ethics) does have something to

¹ From the perspective of professional Christian ethics or theological ethics, one would rather say “specific normative systems” in order to include the de-ontological (principles), the ethnological (values) and the teleological (goals) (Stackhouse *et al.* editors 1995a and Boulton *et al.* editors, 1994). However, throughout the text of this thesis, the phrase “value systems” or the word “values” will be used in a general sense to include all moral values, moral principles and moral goals. This is to avoid the unnecessary problem of showing clear lines of distinction for each concept. Besides, principles and goals do contain values.

offer in terms of presenting a new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development which is based on moral values and which are in tune with the Biblical witness. In addition to these three parts, an evaluation of stewardship in the light of the complexities of running a modern economy and a checklist of a set of principles to be used in the evaluation of economic development programmes will be presented.

The previous chapters have established that “scarcity” is the main problem under investigation in the field of economics. It is used as a “point of departure” for economic theory and practice. Consequently, it defines the “rules of the economic game”. Nonetheless, economists such as Goudzwaard and De Lange of the Netherlands (1997) have argued convincingly that scarcity is an insufficient “point of departure” for economic development. *Inter alia*, they argue that it tends to exclude social and environmental imperatives from economic development (*Ibid*). In the same vein, this chapter takes up this argument and proposes a new “point of departure”.

In the place of scarcity, this chapter proposes that *stewardship* ought to be the new “point of departure” for economic development. It will not just be seen as a “point of departure” for economic development, but as a “model” which can ensure that there is adequate development for every person, if only this concept and appropriate moral criteria such as justice, fairness, accountability, and care are allowed to incarnate in society. Stewardship is a Biblical concept and general framework within which moral values which are in tune with the Biblical witness will be concretised. But before this, the pertinent question is: Does Christian theology have anything to offer to economic development?

5.2 CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: DOES THEOLOGY HAVE ANYTHING TO OFFER TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?

Does theology have anything to offer to economic development, which according to Christian social ethics belongs to public policy moral discourse? (Forrester 1997; Gustafson 1988). This is one of the major questions the Edinburgh University scholar, Forrester (1997), grapples with. He observes that one of the problems of distinguishing between the public and the private is that it has led to the “privatisation and domestication of religion (including theology)” (brackets included *Ibid*: 9ff). In this way, the public realm has been deprived of the benefits of religion and theology. Technical approaches to human problems rather than moral concerns take pre-eminence in the public sphere, that is, the arena in which decisions are made on behalf of the public by those in positions of authority. About this he observes:

The public sphere has, however, been impoverished and trivialised in recent times by certain aspects of modernity. For one thing there has been an increasing tendency to treat all issues in the public realm as technical rather than moral concerns, so that it is assumed that political problems are amenable to a quick fix on the part of a technician, an expert, rather than requiring wrestling with the complexities and ramifications of the problem on the part of the wide range of people who are involved and bringing into the common discussion their varied insights and perspectives (Ibid:23).

Inevitably, this raises a pertinent question of who has monopoly over the public realm. In response to this, Forrester alludes to some of dominant theories in the West, especially those which relate justice and public policy discourse. These have an unavoidable influence on

Third World nations as recipients of Western aid and culture. They are conveniently expounded and analysed by Forrester and their implications for Christian theology and religion are presented and drawn out by him (*Ibid*:113-246). They are those of John Rawls, Friedrich A. Hayek, and Jürgen Habermas. All of them take a pluralist and secularist approach to public policy discourse, to the exclusion of all religious or theological or metaphysical considerations as authoritative sources for public policy discourse. In other words, they articulate the view that humankind can discover by themselves what should constitute public policy discourse (political, social, economic and so on) without referring to their experience of a supreme being, to a systematic reflection on the revelatory activities of divinity, or philosophical questions about life, truth, and existence.

John Rawls, in his theory of justice, feels that with regard to public policy discourse, the state is the dispenser of justice² (*Ibid*:113-138). For Friedrich A Hayek, the market is the dispenser of justice³ in the public sphere (*Ibid*:140-164). As for Jürgen Habermas, in his “critical theory” whose central function is to “expose structures of domination and exploitation, often elaborately concealed, for what they are” (*Ibid*: 167), justice in public policy discourse will only be established through processes of communicative action and solidarity⁴ (*Ibid*: 165-191).

Against this irreligious, atheological and ametaphysical background, Forrester feels that in

² *Inter alia*, Rawlsian justice is admired by Christians for its inclusion of the principle of concern for the least advantaged (*Ibid* 129). See also Rawls, J (1972)

³ Hayekian justice is a major influence on public policy in the USA and Britain (*Ibid* 157). In fact, the Chicago school, represented by the “neoclassist par excellence”, Milton Friedman, with its emphasis on the power of freedom in a free market and its emphasis that everything within and outside a human person is marketable, shares the Hayekian notion of justice on public policy. See Hinkelammert (1986). See also Hayek, F (1982) and Friedman, M (1962 & 1967)

⁴ Unfortunately, the Habermasian socialist “critical theory” is not made use of on a large scale (Forrester 1997:181). However, some Christians, especially liberation theologians, do find inspiration from his works, for example, his emphasis on solidarity and justice (*Ibid*: 191). See Habermas, J (1984-1987)

a pluralist and secular society, there exists the possibility for theology (including Christian ethics) to make “a modest, but constructive questioning contribution” both to “the theoretical discussions which undergird policy and to policy-making itself” (*Ibid*:36). As we shall see below, Gustafson (1988) clarifies the point that even though policy-making is the responsibility of government policy-makers, Christians can actively participate in policy-making through the influence they bring to bear on policy issues which comes from Christian insights and values. The basis for this, as we shall re-emphasize later, is the salvific and redemptive life of Jesus (*Ibid*:58).

Theology does indeed have a legitimate, specific, and valid role to play in the public sphere where, *inter alia*, economic development plays a significant role in people’s lives. Theology should come from a position of optimism, but non-triumphalist, and contribute its valid insights and perspectives (“theological insights and perspectives”), as a voice among many voices.

As already noted in the previous chapters, Gustafson (1988) takes up this debate and observes that there are four varieties of moral discourse in relation to Christian engagement of a public nature, namely: the prophetic, the narrative, the ethical, and the policy. Policy discourse touches at the very heart of the public sphere in which public policy is formulated and implemented. However, this does not mean that the other varieties (the prophetic, the narrative, and the ethical) are excluded from influencing policy discourse. The point is that policy discourse, as a moral variant, has a specific role to play, but it can also be enriched by other moral variants.

What, then, is policy moral discourse? According to Gustafson, policy moral discourse is utilised in “the writings which seek to recommend or prescribe quite particular courses of action about quite specific issues” (1988:45). Following the reasoning of Gustafson, for example, in political economy, appropriate government bodies may recommend or prescribe

“quite particular courses of action” about “quite specific issues”. This may include fiscal and monetary policy at macroeconomic level and consumer policy at microeconomic level⁵, whereby these policies will address and deal with the question on how best to go about “quite specific issues”. It is here where one finds the limitations of prophetic discourse, narrative discourse, and ethical discourse whose main foci are the condemnation of unjust practices from the perspective of Christian and Biblical justice, the highlighting of Biblical stories which have relevance for today, and the sharing and critical argumentation of Christian values, respectively. All three, in their own right, cannot articulate the complexities of economic policy such as fiscal and monetary policies which are reflected in economic programmes. This is done by means of policy moral discourse (cf *Ibid*: 50-51).

Gustafson points out two features which are characteristic of policy discourse, namely: that policy discourse is not conducted “by external observers, but by the persons who have responsibility to make choices and to carry out the actions that are required by choices” and that there is the question of “the particularity of conditions within which policy is developed” (1988:46). With regard to economic policy and programmes, especially in a liberal democracy, these persons include the President or Prime Minister and Cabinet, and those who work in various ministries and institutions such as Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Commerce, various government bodies, and the central or reserve bank. It includes experts in policy formulation and implementation of various levels who “have responsibility to make choices” on behalf of a country and “carry out the actions that are required by choices” of a particular economy. These persons are not angels, but human beings who react to “the particularity of conditions” which may include, *inter alia*, pressure from the donor-community and a volatile international environment. They have accountability to the nation

⁵ Microeconomic level refers to individual units within an economy rather than the economy as a whole (macroeconomic level). See Pearce, D W ed (1992). *The Mit Dictionary of Modern economics*, 4th edition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

as they shift through competing choices and possible courses of action (*Ibid*: 46-47).

As policymakers (and implementers), they are morally involved simply because they deal with moral questions such as “What ought we to do?” (*Ibid*:47). Gustafson observes again: “The policymaker has to know what is possible as well as what is the right thing to do, or what are the most desirable outcomes” (1988:47). Policy discourse has “distinctive demands in terms of knowledge, concepts and understanding” (*Ibid*:51) to help policymakers “shape the course of events” (*Ibid*:51). This is their specific “social role” as policy makers (*Ibid*:51).

Even though Gustafson argues that policy moral discourse belongs to policymakers, he does not rule out the participation of other social groups and individuals whom he calls “external observers”. With regard to the Christian religion, he says: “Churches and Christian persons who aspire to affect the course of events with moral aims and principles need to be able to participate in policy discourse” (*Ibid*:52). This can either be done through direct and active participation in commissions and the like, and through various societal event-changing ways like critical examinations. This will help them understand biases, theories, and convictions underlying policy and thus, appropriately influence the outcome of economic programmes. Their role, in this regard, is not to prescribe policy, but to understand it in order to positively contribute to the change of the social order.

In addition, Gustafson argues that policy discourse cannot stand in isolation. It needs the rich contributions of other moral variants and *vice versa*, and the same is true for each moral variant:

Policymakers need to have their institutions challenged by the prophetic; they need to have their arguments and choices clarified, evaluated, and informed by the ethician. The prophet and narrator need to have their discourse subjected to ethical analysis ... They also have to understand sympathetically the legitimate role of the

accountable policymaker in the determination of the course of events. The ethician needs to understand that the policymaker cannot simply apply the conclusion of a sound moral argument to his (or her) circumstances, but that ethical arguments deepen, broaden and sharpen his (or her) capacities to make morally responsible choices (brackets included Ibid:52-53).

In other words, the participative role of prophetic discourse, narrative discourse, and ethical discourse in policy discourse is challenging, clarifying, evaluative, and analytical so that choices “with a moral perspective” are made for the betterment of people and society at large. Economic choices, for example, should not just be technical, but made “with a moral perspective” (c.f. Niebuhr in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994:466) and not the kind which hinges on “distorted moralism” (Tillich in Boulton, *et al.*, editors, 1994:250 ff) of inflexible don’ts and dos.

From the foregoing, it is clear that Christian theology does indeed have something to offer to public policy discourse affecting issues of justice, equity, empowerment, food security, safety of humans and the environment (Dorr 1991). It needs not be privatised nor domesticated, but be de-privatised and de-domesticated so that it can appropriately contribute its rich and specific insights and perspectives, not only to economic development, but to all manners of public issues.

To take the argument further, there is no need for animosity between economics and theology or religion as sometimes is exhibited when some theologians and economic theorists confer with one another (cf. Brennan and Waterman 1994:4). There is some “common ground” between the two disciplines which needs to be explored.

This means that economics should allow itself to be challenged by other disciplines such as theology and *vice versa*. Differently stated, economists ought not to consider economics as their own domain. Instead, they should allow other people to make valuable contributions in finding solutions to human problems. Economics is too fundamental a matter to be left in the hands of economists alone (Wogaman 1986).

Historically, speaking for the Christian community, there has been Christian reflection on economics from time immemorial which has been consolidated in the last hundred and fifty years in both Protestant and Catholic circles (see, for example, the 1910 WCC Edinburgh Conference quoted by De Santa Ana in the *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: WCC, 1991:313-314J); also the papal encyclical *rerum novarum* (on the condition of workers) issued by Pope Leo XIII on May 15, 1891 quoted in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol. XIII (New York: McGraw-Hill 1967:387) – regarded as “the first of the great social encyclicals”). This Christian reflection on economics is usually influenced by fundamental religious beliefs on God and God’s purpose for humanity. It is related to the whole business of theology or theological discourse. Etymologically, theology is based on the Greek *theologia* – a compound word based on two Greek words – *theos*, meaning God and *logos*, meaning word or reason, rendered as study of God or word of God or reason of God or science of God (see *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms* 1985:299; *A Concise Dictionary of Theological and Related Terms* 1984:258; *A Dictionary of Theological Terms* 1990:135; *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 1997:1604; and *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* 1983:566). About this De Gruchy, theological professor at Cape Town University observes:

It was an urgent and intense attempt to discern meaning amidst suffering, to understand both themselves and the ways of God in the affairs of humankind, to penetrate the mystery which lies at the heart of reality, and to determine their responsibility in the struggle for social justice, liberation and human dignity.

Genuine God-talk - the literal Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the Greek word "theology" – has always been about such things (1986:1).

Again, he observes: "God-talk is inseparable from our concern for human fulfilment and the flourishing of human community" (*Ibid*:1). Economics which according to economic wisdom, *inter alia*, tries to solve scarcity problems such as poverty, unemployment and income inequality, is very much related to theology in that even though theology has its own "point of departure", they both deal with the questions of life and living. Theology by its very nature "... is not to be confused with faith and revelation: It is a human project in which we attempt, in Langdon Gilkey's words, to 'present an understanding of contemporary human existence as that existence is interpreted through the symbols of the Christian tradition'" (Gilkey quoted in De Gruchy 1986:2). Differently stated, "... we might say that Christian theology is critical reflection on the liberating faith and transforming praxis of the Christian community in relation to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ" (De Gruchy 1986:2). Even though De Gruchy does not acknowledge this, in many respects, his definition reflects the influence of liberation theologians, but especially Gustavo Gutierrez (1973:3-32) who defines theology as a critical reflection on praxis (or historical praxis). There is an inseparable connection between faith and human existence.

It follows that theology, like economics, seeks to deal with issues pertaining to contemporary human existence from a specific standpoint. It seeks to reflect critically on "the liberating faith and transforming praxis of the Christian community" (to use De Gruchy's words) within the context of "contemporary human existence" (to use Gilkey's words) which is bedeviled by so many socio-economic-politico problems. In this regard, theology seeks to take seriously the "situational reality" of human existence. About this Dickson observes: "...theology is done meaningfully only in context, or with reference to a situation or set of circumstances" (1984:15). For this reason, theology ought to be a partner of economics which, *inter alia*, also seeks to deal with contextual issues of human existence such as unemployment and poverty through economic development. This partnership will, however,

be constructively critical. Economics and theology should “join forces” in order to achieve human wholeness which is geared towards true community and a sustainable present and future of both humanity and the entire created order – each contributing its specific insights and perspectives which are supplementary and complementary. From the perspective of theology, this means that it should take seriously the specific nature of economics. This should be done in order to understand its distinctive characteristics, focus, and laws, and to find an entry point into it so that the construction of a coherent and systematised theological discourse can be facilitated.

Therefore, theology, as a partner of economics will contribute its viewpoint (a theological-ethical framework for economic development) to the debate on economic development.

Now that it has been established that theology does, indeed, have something to offer to economic development as a public issue, the obvious question is: What are these Christian insights and perspectives which can be contributed to economic development? These are moral criteria which are in tune with the Biblical witness and form part of the new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development which will be developed in the rest of this chapter.

5.3 MORAL CRITERIA AS PART OF A NEW POINT OF DEPARTURE AND MODEL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The first part of this section “the normative basis of a theological-ethical framework” ended by hinting that Christian theology can indeed offer its rich and specific insights and perspectives to economic development – a matter of public policy moral discourse. This point raises a number of theoretical questions with practical implications for economic development, for example: What are these insights and perspectives? How should they be

allowed to have a bearing on economic programmes? And what ought to be moral values, which these should pursue? These questions and others will be addressed critically under this section.

These insights and perspectives are those Christian teachings which are rooted in the Biblical witness and Christian experience. Nonetheless, a Christian does not live on an island. From time to time, they come into contact with shared insights of human experience in modernity which, *inter alia*, include positive influences from human and social sciences (c.f. Gustafson in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994:164). These form part of a rich and valued human heritage which cuts across boundaries of gender, colour, creed, and status.

The result is that a theological-ethical normative basis ought to be based not only on Christian theological and ethical norms, but equally on positive influences within human experience which have shaped society and contributed to human progress and advancement (c.f. Atherton 1994 and Birch and Rasmussen 1987). In some respects, these positive influences do reflect the basic meaning of Biblical values.

In this thesis, only those moral criteria that can significantly contribute to the debate on the evaluation of specific economic programmes in Zambia will be discussed. Other moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics, from human experience in modernity and from other sources, will only be mentioned, but not discussed.

The purpose of this section is to present and discuss the essential moral guidelines or criteria from Christian theological-ethical discourse which is rooted in the Biblical narrative. They are then related briefly to moral criteria from shared human experience. .

5.3.1 Moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics

Moral criteria, for an adequate Christian interpretation of the social order, should be anchored in the essence of the church. The essence of the church is "God's salvific act in Jesus Christ"⁶.

The all-embracing theme of salvation in human history is present throughout the pages of the Bible (cf Küng 1968:16-17). Salvation is not only confined to the spiritual salvation of the soul as in the case of Lazarus⁷, but has implications on how we ought to live with others⁸ and effects the entire life of humanity - drawing them to cosmic salvation⁹.

It is the reference to the historical Jesus who revealed the purposes of God, the resurrected one, who now reigns with God, intercedes for us, and abides with us through the Holy Spirit, which forms the basis for Christian theological and ethical reflection (c.f. Boulton *et al.*, editors 1994:1-4). He is "the one in terms of whom Christians undertake both the task of living lives of discipleship and the task of thinking about the sort of lives that are worthy of followers of Christ" (*Ibid*: 3). It is this task of living and thinking which goes beyond the confines of the church to extend to society which is replete with many socio-economic-political problems. It is in such a society that Christians seek to incarnate Christian moral values, not just as a matter of Christian discipleship, but as a matter of how they ought to live and think in relation to other human beings (cf Pemberton and Finn 1985:1ff).

⁶ Küng (1968:15). See also Moltmann (1977:1-65). Klaus Nürnberger calls this the essential core of the Word of God.

⁷ See Luke chapter 16 verse 19ff

⁸ For example, Luke chapter 19 verse 1 f.f. witnesses to the conversion of Zacheus, who after a spiritual encounter with the Lord, is motivated to give reparations to the community (for extortion) as a mark of moral re-armament through justice as a moral norm.

⁹ Apostle Paul, in Romans chapter 8 verse 18ff, witnesses to a vision of cosmic redemption for humanity and the entire created order. In interpreting salvation, one should always keep this cosmic vision.

The failure to refer to Jesus or simply “the failure to somehow ‘think from’ the perspective of the story of Jesus” is indeed “a failure of the greatest significance” (Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994:4). Christian theology and ethics will be failing in its duty if it does not draw its strength from the ecclesial essence. This is the moral basis which Christians should share (c.f. Bwalya 2000:5). They ought to be true to this legacy of christendom (*Ibid*: 5). They should not teach nor preach nor live out any other “moral basis” except that age-old “moral basis” which has been handed down to them. And they read it for themselves from the scriptures that God was in Christ reconciling men (women and children) to God’s being¹⁰. They ought to demonstrate the ecclesial essence throughout their life, work and mission (Bwalya 1998 and 2000). And “what God has done in Jesus Christ” is founded on what has come to be a well-known attribute of God – the unconditional self-giving love (Greek *agapé*) (*New Dictionary of Theology* 1988:398-399; *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* 1984:656). This unconditional self-giving love goes beyond natural affection or family love (Greek *storgé*), the attraction of desire or physical love (Greek *erós*), and friendship love (Greek *philia*) (*Ibid*). It is the fundamental characteristic of the being of God according to the Biblical witness. Similarly, it is expected that it ought to be “the motivating power and pattern of Christian living” (*New Dictionary of Theology* (88:398). Differently stated, “*agapé*, that love in men and women which images divine grace, needs to permeate, inform, direct and control all the other ‘loves’ and all the Christian’s relationships with others” (*Ibid*:399). It is hoped that this love ought to define the character of not only Christians, but of all people at various levels of human endeavour. It ought to be seen as the overarching message of “what God has done in Jesus Christ”. From this message, moral criteria are drawn out.

¹⁰ See II Corinthians chapter 5 verse 19.

The following are some of the moral guidelines or criteria which can be drawn from the life of Jesus. They include: the holistic mission of Jesus, the primacy of human dignity, the necessity of justice, and an ethic of care and sociality.

5.3.1.1 The holistic mission of Jesus

Matthew chapter 4 verse 4 states that: “Man (and woman) shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God” (RSV, brackets included). Exegetically, the life of humanity depends on bread – a symbol of life-sustaining material things which are meant for the well-being of the human body – and on every word that proceeds from the mouth of God (God’s way of communicating to humanity by the power of the Spirit which transcends human spirituality and cuts through to human materiality¹¹). To give life to the materiality and spirituality of all human persons in all places and at all times was the moral *telos* of the mission of Jesus. In fact, he once said: “I have come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly”¹² (RSV). Jesus gives abundant life – a fuller life – to both spiritual and material dimensions of all human life. His mission was holistic. He ministered to: the spiritual needs of humanity which included demonic deliverance¹³ and forgiveness of human sin¹⁴; and the material needs of humanity which include healing of the human body¹⁵ and provision of food and drink¹⁶.

The holistic mission of Jesus ought to be a challenge for Christian theology and ethics. It should be appropriated as a moral value in theological-ethical discussions of economic programmes.

¹¹ See Hebrews chapter 4 verse 12 which witnesses to the power of God’s word which is able to penetrate both our spirit and our flesh in order to give us life.

¹² See John chapter 10 verse 10.

¹³ See Mark chapter 5 verse 1ff

¹⁴ See Mark chapter 2 verse 1ff

¹⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶ See John chapter 6 verse 1ff and chapter 2 verse 1-11

Paul Hertig explores this moral value in his article: “The jubilee mission of Jesus in the gospel of Luke: reversals of fortunes” (in Whiteman, editor, April 1998:167-179). He argues that “Jesus’ jubilee mission was holistic in four aspects: it was proclaimed and enacted, spiritual and physical, for Jew and Gentile, present and eschatological” (*Ibid*: 167). Hertig enlarges and enriches the moral goal of the holistic mission of Jesus by contributing three other important categories namely: “proclaimed and enacted”, “for Jew and Gentile”, and “present and eschatological” to the category “spiritual and physical”. In short, Jesus was not only holistic on matters pertaining to spirituality and physicality (or materiality), but he was equally holistic on matters pertaining to what he said and what he did (theory and praxis), his inclusive and non-separatist view of all human persons, and to his balanced understanding of time. His mission, therefore, matched theoretical matters and practical issues, was for all human persons, and was for all times, as he went about to be a minister to spiritual and material problems of humanity.

He further argues that what is of interest is that Jesus introduced a new jubilee (*Ibid*: 168-170). According to the Old Testament jubilee, which occurred every 50 years:

... those forced into slavery due to poverty were released (Leviticus 25 v39-41); leased land due to poverty was returned to its original owners (Leviticus 25 v10, 13); debts were erased since it was the fiftieth year following seven times seven sabbatical years (Deuteronomy 15 v1-6); and the land was given a rest from planting and harvesting (Leviticus 25 v2-7, 11-12) (Ibid: 171).

The old jubilee was oriented more to matters of social well-being like slave-master relations, the land issue, debt issues, and sustainable agriculture, in order to have a more just society. The new jubilee, as demonstrated by Christ, introduces a new element – the holistic mission. Hertig argues that the new jubilee could be summarised by what he calls “a reversal of rich and poor, a redistribution of resources” (*Ibid*:171) on the one hand and the integration of

“spiritual and social dimensions (including physical matters)” on the other hand (Kraybill quoted by Hertig *Ibid*: 171).

That is to say that not only does Jesus deal with social issues, especially those relating to the rich and the poor, he also deals with spiritual issues. Thus, in the context of the current debate on the holistic mission of Jesus: “the jubilee integrates spiritual and social dimensions” and “it weaves religion and economics into one fabric” (*Ibid*: 171). That is to say that religion (our basis for theological and ethical thinking) is linked to and related to the business of economics, which falls under the social dimension of life. The salvific and redemptive act of Jesus should not be regarded as religious only, but as an act that includes the social dimension. Stated differently, there is a need to balance between pastoral matters and social issues. As Hertig observed, quoting Kraybill, “pulling the two apart prostitutes the biblical truth” (*Ibid*: 171). In fact, the passage of Isaiah quoted in Luke chapter 4, clearly “illustrates that Yahweh’s one is not only the bearer of good news to the poor¹⁷, but equally the deliverer of the poor from their sufferings” (*Ibid*: 172). By this passage, Jesus initiated “the reversal motif when he announced a new jubilar age in the Nazareth Synagogue” (*Ibid*: 173). This motif calls for “inclusivity” of all categories of the poor ((*Ibid*: 173). For example, for those who hated their enemies, they are called upon to love their enemies. By offering deliverance to all categories of the poor, Jesus expects all to live by kingdom ideals such as love, peace, compassion, and forgiveness, and renounce anti-kingdom ideals such as hatred and murder. Jesus “literally fulfilled the jubilee that he proclaimed” (*Ibid*: 176). He demonstrated it in both word and deed holistically throughout his ministry. Finally, Hertig throws a challenge to the church: “the present jubilee era we live in calls for Christians everywhere to embrace the holistic mission of Jesus by engaging in the real world through

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In Old Testament teaching, the poor were in one sense the victims of the unjust structures of society - powerless, vulnerable, insignificant, exploited, economically deprived, and oppressed (*Ibid*: 173) – the *ptochoi*. In another sense “they were the spiritually poor who were humbly and utterly dependent upon God” and who “hoped for both social and spiritual deliverance” (*Ibid*: 172-173 – the *anawin*. Both senses are found in the ministry of Jesus in the New Testament. See also De Santa Ana (1977).

Jesus' spiritually and socially inclusive mission of mercy and love" (*Ibid*: 177).

Embracing the holistic mission of Jesus ought to be a moral norm of the Christian church. It should move the church to come into contact with a multiplicity of human needs which are manifested both at the spiritual and material or social levels. In relation to this, Nürnberger argues that ecclesial mission patterned after the holistic mission of Jesus ought to be understood in terms of human needs which he identifies as immanent and transcendent needs (1994:5-10). According to Nürnberger, these immanent needs "belong to the sphere of reality which is at least partially under human control, or accessible to human manipulation" (*Ibid*: 7). These include "ecological, physical, psychological, communal, social, economic and political needs" (*Ibid*: 7). Transcendent needs, however, "go beyond human accessibility and control" (*Ibid*:7). These include "an authoritative system of meaning, an authoritative assurance of one's right of existence and an authority to use the powers at one's disposal to achieve one's goals" (*Ibid*: 7). According to his argument, the "immanent" refers more to the material or physical and the "transcendent" refers more to the spiritual or moral.

Ecclesial mission, therefore, should target "the entire spectrum of human needs" and for ecclesial mission to be relevant, contextual, and meaningful, the church has to "ask where the greatest needs of the people, among whom it works are located" (*Ibid*: 9).

The quest for economic development in the Third World is one of the areas of greatest need. Churches should seek to incarnate the holistic mission in the context of economic development in the light of the new "point of departure". They ought to emphasize that economic development ought to be holistic, to keep an adequate balance between what is spiritual and what is material, in word and deed, for all people, and for all times, as a moral goal. An economy which only aims at the material satisfaction of human needs is deadly

and leads humanity away from their spiritual and moral foundations. In other words, in an economy, human wholeness ought to be intact. About this Pope John Paul II observes:

*In singling out new needs and new means to meet them, one must be guided by a comprehensive picture of man (and woman) which respects all the dimensions of his (or her) being and which subordinates his (or her) material and instinctive dimensions to his (or her) interior and spiritual ones¹⁸. If, on the contrary a direct appeal is made to his (or her) instincts – while ignoring in various ways the reality of the person as intelligent and free – then consumer attitudes and lifestyles can be treated which are objectively and often damaging to his (or her) physical and spiritual health¹⁹ (in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994:471).*

Falling into an “orgy of materialism” is disastrous to the human race (Weber 1930). The point is that an economy which grows partly due to a respected, supported, valued and motivated workforce ought not to compromise the different dimensions of humanity. Humanity does not just enjoy to eat, to work, and to do other material things, but also enjoys to excel to higher levels of spirituality and religiosity (c.f. Todaro 1977). To be holistic, to keep an equilibrium between what is spiritual and what is material, ought to be the moral *telos* which churches should uphold in the light of the “new point of departure”. It is a moral criterion which needs to be shared with others, especially those who seek after genuine economic development for their people.

¹⁸ While it is appreciated that evil material cravings ought to be tamed by higher spiritual desires and that the Roman Pontiff takes a subordinationist view, whereby materiality is subordinate to spirituality, it is the view of this thesis that there ought to be an equilibrium between materiality and spirituality. *Inter alia*, the Biblical narrative witnesses to the fact that human life is both spiritual and material and is dependant on both spiritual and material interventions. There is indeed that inherent communication between the spiritual and the material as humanity moves to mature manhood and womanhood as God intended. Both the spiritual and material need to grow together in this journey. Theologically, the Spirit of God to whom all Christians ought to submit, makes this possible. See Luke chapter 4 verses 1 ff and Romans chapter 8 verses 1 ff.

¹⁹ Brackets included by author for purposes of inclusive language.

5.3.1.2 The primacy of human dignity

The primacy of human dignity hinges on the fact that God decided to create a human being - male and female – in their image²⁰. A human being is a bearer of God's image. This is what gives a human being the dignity which cannot be compared with anything created on the earth. A human being becomes a dignified creature of God, exalted far above anything else²¹. Nothing or no one in creation has the right to take away this dignity. A human being cannot be lowered to any status – be it animal, be it plant, or otherwise. They bear the likeness of God Almighty. It is not that they are gods nor equal to God in power and glory, but that, in them, one can see the characteristics of God – including the power of reason and the ability to work. This dignity is accompanied by responsibility towards themselves, fellow humans, other creatures and the created order²². A human being – a dignified creature – is a responsible steward over all what God has created. They draw their happiness and fulfillment from God and as they live in harmony with the created order. They enjoy full humanity and full dignity and, in this regard, they tender God's creation and support the continuation of all life. The purpose of God is for them to be dignified through and through as they relate responsibly to themselves and other members of the created order.

The essence of their dignity is that God the creator had consciously decided to give them a special place in the economy of the created order. They tender and tame everything in the

²⁰ See Genesis chapter 1.

²¹ *Ibid*; De Villiers expresses the same view when he argues that “Christians believe that all people are created in the image of God. This means that God bestowed on humans a special dignity that should be recognised by fellow human beings” (in De Villiers *et al.* 1996:4).

²² Again, De Villiers highlights the extent of the nature of human to human responsibility when he observes: “Part of being created in the image of God is to take responsibility for your own life and for the lives of your next of kin. And part of recognising the dignity of fellow human beings is to allow them fulfill this responsibility and to empower them when they are unable to fulfill it” (*Ibid*: 4).

created order. God provides them with the necessary “tools” to use in order for them to execute their responsibility and to show that they are dignified creatures. These “tools” include wisdom, foresight, and the ability to recreate their own world. In God’s plan, the dignity of humanity cannot be compromised either by selfish human schemes or by any other creature. Humanity – the bearer of God’s image and the dignified one – stands out as the officer-in-charge of the goods of the earth and over everything God created.

In today’s world, modern capitalism, especially, tends to make a large portion of humanity act as if they are not in charge of the goods of the earth and over everything God created. In fact, in most cases, it promotes an ethic of human indignity whereby the majority of humanity is ideologically seen as a commodity through contractual labour (Hinkelammert 1986:1ff). In most cases, capital is more important than human beings and the labour they provide (*Ibid*:1ff). Against this ideologically defined ethic of dehumanisation, churches should rise to the occasion and promote an ethic of human dignity according to the Biblical witness. It is a moral norm which needs to be shared with the world which tend to see human beings as things or commodities.

Writing to the American audience, the Catholic bishops in America agree that human dignity should be seen as a moral value (1986:12-15). They argue that it should form the basis of the Christian vision of economic life (*Ibid*:15). It is in the Third World, especially in Africa, where special emphasis should be laid on the application of this norm. A number of citizens of Africa live in dehumanising conditions and suffer many indignities (International Bank of Reconstruction and Development/World Bank 1999). Africa’s story is a story of exploitation by the rich and powerful countries. The same story is repeated in the national economies (c.f. Nürnberger 1988:1ff). In relation to this, the American Catholic bishops argue that the economy ought to serve human beings as ends and “not means to be exploited for more narrowly defined goals” (1986:15). This is one of the main arguments of Heilbroner that “behind the veil of economics” lies human domination and social control (as

offshoots of exploitation) (1988:1ff). The economy has assumed absolute power and has become a mechanism by which society is organised (*Ibid*:1ff). Consequently, society – through most of humanity – is serving the economy. In rendering this service, humanity is simply an “economic means” without that God-given dignity.

This ought not to be like this. Christian churches cannot encourage other human beings to continue to assault the image of God in fellow human beings who are the majority. If they do, they will encourage the sacralisation of human dignity and consequently, go against the purposes of God in human history. The ecclesial task, therefore, is to prop up human dignity in an economy. In relation to this, the American Catholic bishops observe again that: “all economic institutions must support the bonds of community and solidarity that are essential to the dignity of persons” (1986:15). These bonds of community and solidarity in the context of Africa include mutual respect between employee and employer, citizens and government, recipient country and donor country. This has to be premised first and foremost on Africa’s re-conceptualisation of who its people are; that they are creatures of God, created in God’s image and, therefore, they are dignified – they are neither “things” nor “commodities”. Secondly, it has to be premised on the fact that Africa’s economies should unreservedly serve the interest of Africans and not use them as means to the narrowly defined selfish dictates of orthodox capitalists.

The life of Jesus, especially in the gospels, is a clear demonstration of the faith which he attached to the dignity of the human person. Throughout his life and ministry, he did not do anything which worked against the dignity of human beings. He went about to heal the sick, preach the good news and do good works²³. His view of humanity was that humanity needed to have a fuller life free from sin, disease, and mortal destruction. He was even willing to die for and on behalf of dignified humanity²⁴. It was a clear demonstration of

²³ Mark chapter 1 verse 14-15 and Matthew chapter 4 verse 23-25.

²⁴ John chapter 19. See also Nürnberger (in Cochrane and West, eds 1991:31).

his intentions to correct human failure which threatens the dignity of humanity. He was indeed fulfilling the purposes of the Creator God. Jesus appears in human history as a restorer, enhancer, fortifier, and energiser of the image of God in humanity. In his redemptive and salvific story, humanity holds a special place in the scheme of things. The christological salvation is primarily for humanity who bears the image of God. Nonetheless, other creatures and things in the created order become beneficiaries and party to the redemption and salvation plan due to God's cosmological restoration of all things²⁵. Jesus truly demonstrated an ethic of human dignity.

The primacy of human dignity founded on God's image is, indeed, a moral value which churches should share with those who are entrusted with the power to shape the economies of the world. Denial of human dignity is a "blot on this image" (Conference of American Catholic Bishops 1986:16-22). The ecclesial task, therefore, is to ensure that programmes are implemented which give due recognition to the dignity of the human person by insisting that government economic programmes ought to be oriented to the service of the human person. Nothing in an economy - including capital, land, and labour - should exalt itself or be exalted above the dignity of human persons. This is the Biblical witness, the biblical value, which ought to guide Christian thinking on the economy, as Christians seek to positively influence the social order.

5.3.1.3 The necessity of justice

The theme of justice is one of the themes most often discussed in the modern world today. According to its current use, it refers to "just behavior or treatment", "the administration of the law or authority in maintaining this" and "a judge or magistrate" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 10th edition, 1999b:768). It follows, therefore, from this current understanding, that it has to do with the behaviour or treatment of human beings by fellow human beings,

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C.f. Romans chapter 8.

with the dispensation of justice according to the provisions of law, and with legal officers. It appears that all uses of the word “justice” hinge more on the popular understanding that justice means giving someone his or her due²⁶. For example, the law provides for the person who commits murder and this can be called as his or her due rewards. Also, judges or magistrates give what is due to an individual through their legal judgements.

The complex question is: What constitutes justice? Or put differently: What constitutes just behavior or treatment? Forrester (1997) alludes to the intricacies of defining what justice constitutes partly as a result of the prevailing popular view that nobody knows what justice ought to be in our modern world. Nonetheless, even though he does not give a precise Christian definition of justice, he is content to argue that Christian theology can, indeed, add its voice to the debate on what justice ought to be in relation to public policy²⁷ discourse.

Forrester argues that churches need to share their understanding of justice with the world. They need not be intimidated by popularist and secularist theories of justice like those of Rawls, Hayek, and Habermas²⁸. The Christian understanding of justice is ultimately anchored on the biblical witness, especially the Old testament evidence. The Bible does not give a specific definition of justice, but only gives examples of what justice in God’s dealings with humanity is. It is these Biblical examples which inform the Christian interpretation of justice and its definition.

According to the Authorised version of the Old testament, for example, the Hebrew word which stand for the word “justice” is *mispat*²⁹ meaning “judgment” (*The New Bible Dictio-*

²⁶ See *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged: page 281.

²⁷ See the first part of this chapter: “Christian theology and the public sphere: does theology have anything to offer to economic development?”

²⁸ *Ibid*: 1 ff.

²⁹ See also *Economic Justice for all: Pastoral letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the US Economy* (1986).

nary 1962:680). In some cases, it is translated from the Hebrew word *sedeq* or *sedaqa* meaning “righteousness” (*Ibid*). In situations where *mispat* and *sedaqa* appear together, the Authorised version of the Bible “translates the whole phrase as ‘judgement and justice’” (*Ibid*). The Revised version of the Bible translates the same phrase as “justice and righteousness” (*Ibid*). It follows, therefore, that when one speaks of justice, the reference is to both judgment and righteousness.

In understanding the notion of justice (*sedaqa*), it is important to see how it has been used through time (*Ibid*: 681 ff). Firstly, its root signifies “straightness” – for example cf. Deuteronomy chapter 9 verse 5 which talks about *yoser*, a kindred noun of *sedaqa* meaning “uprightness”. Secondly, it means “conformity, by a given object or action, to an accepted standard of values” –for example, Jacob’s honesty in contractual dealings with Laban in Genesis chapter 30 verse 33 and Moses’ reference to just balances, weights, and measures in Leviticus chapter 19 verse 36 and Deuteronomy chapter 25 verse 15. Thirdly, as mark of God’s character which should be pursued in life and which should help the people of God to distinguish God’s will in life – for example, Job chapter 9 verse 2. Fourthly, as a “moral standard by which God measures human conduct” – for example Isaiah chapter 26 verse 7. Fifthly, as a descriptive mechanism³⁰ which shows how God punishes people for moral infraction which is done under God’s government – for example the punishment of Pharaoh in Exodus chapter 9 verse 27. Sixthly, as a description of God’s “deeds of vindication for the deserving” – for example, the promise of Absalom to “do justice on behalf of petitioners” in 2 Samuel chapter 25 verse 4. Seventhly, as a connotation of divine pity, love, and grace – for example, David’s prayer for forgiveness in Psalm 51. Eighthly, as a gracious impartation of God’s moral attribute to humankind – for example, the divine righteousness imputed to Abraham in Genesis chapter 25 verse 6. And ninthly, as a call to duty “as God in his grace bestows righteousness upon the unworthy, so the people of God are called upon

³⁰ That is to say that justice can describe what is good and wicked. Thus bring wicked deeds or wicked actions under God’s punishment.

to ‘seek justice’” – for example, in “pleading for the widow and ‘judging the cause of the poor and the needy’” in Jeremiah chapter 22 verse 16.

These are some of the senses in which justice occurs. It follows, therefore, that according to the Biblical narrative, justice has to do with: straightness or uprightness especially of a person’s character; conformity to a given value system; the human search for God’s character; measuring human behavioral patterns; punishment in accordance with juridical description; vindication to whom it is due; human participation in the undeserved graces of God; human reception of God’s righteous character based not on human effort, but the unconditional love of God; and the incarnation of God’s righteousness through righteous activities of children of God in society. Each sense complements and supplements the other sense. This rich meaning of justice is seen throughout the pages of scripture. Not only is it emphatically presented in the Old testament, it equally resonates in the New testament. In fact, the New Testament Greek renderings for justice (*dikaïosyn* righteousness, *dike* - right penalty, and *crisis* – judgment) are not very different from the basic Old Testament Hebrew meaning of justice (see, for example *An Analytical Concordance to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* 1979:329). The activity of God in human history is truly associated with justice.

About this, the American Catholic Bishops observe:

God is described as a “God of justice” (Isaiah 30:18) who loves justice (Isaiah 61:8, cf Psalms 11:7; 53:5; 37:28; 99:4) and delights in it (Jeremiah 9:23). God demands justice from the whole people (Deuteronomy 16:20) and executes justice for the needy (Psalm 140:13) (1986:21).

Similarly, the Christian church ought to be an organisation of justice, a lover of justice, one which delights in justice, one which demands justice in society on behalf of God, and one which is able to execute justice for the needy (including victims of economic brutalisation)

on behalf of the God of justice. The ecclesial task is enormous: to share in word and deed the meaning of Biblical justice.

The life of Jesus as God's anointed is a clear demonstration of the reign of God of justice (*Ibid:23*). The American Catholic Bishops observe again:

*What Jesus proclaims by word, he enacts in his ministry. He resists temptations of power and prestige, follows his Father's will, and teaches us to pray that it be accomplished on earth. He warns against attempts to "lay up treasures on earth" (Matthew 6:1a) and exhorts his followers not to be anxious about material goods but rather so seek first God's reign and God's justice (Matthew 6:25-33). His mighty works symbolize that the reign of God is more powerful than evil, sickness, and the hardness of the human heart. He offers God's loving mercy to sinners (Mark 2:17), takes up the cause of those who suffered religious and social discrimination (Luke 7:36-50; 15:1-2), and attacks the use of religion to avoid the demands of charity and justice (mark 7:9-13; Matthew 23:23) (*Ibid: 23*)³¹.*

The christological life of justice should encourage Christians to be involved in societal events in order for them to contribute to the positive influence of the social order. In the context of the current debate on churches participation in economic development, the necessity of justice, as a moral criterion, cannot be over-emphasized.

The incarnation of Biblical justice in concrete day to day human affairs does not promise to be an easy assignment. This is because partly the modern world is ruled by secularist theories of justice as already alluded to. The situation is made extremely complex when Biblical justice is related to economics which generally claims that it has its own laws which ought to be respected. In spite of this complex situation, what connects Biblical justice to

³¹ See also Paul Hertig in Whiteman, editor (April 1998: 167-179).

economics is human beings and how they are treated in the economic development process. This is the thread which should connect Christian reflection on Biblical justice with the economy.

Therefore, the contribution of churches to the debate on justice and the economy will be on two fronts: firstly, at the level of people, especially those who least benefit from the economic process; secondly, at the level of how an economy operates – to see if people are ends of an economy and to see if there is business morality among all stakeholders including creditors and debtors, employers and employees, the public sector and the private sector, the state and its citizens. In other words, Christian theological and ethical engagement in relation to economic justice should not just end with people as subjects of history. It must be incarnated within the real world of business where human-initiated productive, distributive, and consumptive forces meet.

About the first front, the American Catholic bishops observe:

Central to the biblical presentation of justice is that the justice of a community is measured by the treatment of the powerless in society, most often described as the widow, the orphan, the poor and the stranger (non-Israelite) in the land. The Law, the Prophets, and the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament all show deep concern for the proper treatment of such people. What these groups of people have in common is their vulnerability and lack of power. They are often alone and have no protector or advocate. Therefore, it is God who hears their cries (Psalms 109:21; 113:7), and the king who is God's anointed is commanded to have special concern for them (1986:21).

What the American Catholic bishops refer to is what has come to be known as *the preferential option for the poor*. This is a special contribution of Latin American liberation

theologians³². Ultimately, it ought to guide economic programme formulation and implementation (cf Pobee 1994). De Villiers calls it “the trade mark of biblical justice” (in De Villiers *et al.* 1996:4).

At the level of the operation of an economy, Protestant and Evangelical Christian churches should probably take a leaf from Catholic social teaching which distinguishes three variants of fundamental justice namely: commutative justice, distributive justice, and social justice (*Economic Justice for all* 1986:35ff).

According to this teaching, commutative justice “calls for fundamental fairness in all agreements and exchanges between individuals or private social groups” (*Ibid*: 35). These agreements and exchanges include those between buyers and sellers, employers and employees, creditors and debtors. Commutative justice reflects the view of Biblical justice that there needs to be fairness in promissory and contractual dealings between persons in civil society (cf Stackhouse in Krueger *et al.* 1997:11-16). Further, distributive justice “requires that the allocation of income, wealth, and power in society be evaluated in light of its effects on persons whose basic material needs are unmet” (*Economic Justice for All* 1986:36). This includes groups of uprooted women and children, street kids, the unemployed youth and adults, and the under-employed workers. It reflects the Biblical view of justice that God cares for the vulnerable and the down-trodden³³. Further still, social justice “implies that persons have an obligation to be active and productive participants in the life of society and that society has a duty to enable them to participate in this way” (*Ibid*: 36). This can also be called “contributive justice” (*Ibid*: 36). In God’s design, all human beings find their fulfillment in applying their energy, talent and life for the well-being of society³⁴. It is a reflection of biblical justice that in God’s economy every human being is

³² See for example Gustavo Gutierrez (1983): *The Power for the Poor in History* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis); cf Albert Nolan’s essay “A Worker’s Theology” in Cochrane and West, eds (1991).

³³ Catholic Social teaching on distributive justice hinges on the notion of the preferential option for the poor. To care for the vulnerable and the down-trodden is the primary task of state (cf Stackhouse in Krueger *et al.* 1997:11-16).

³⁴ See for example the active and productive capabilities of Jacob and Esau in Genesis chapter 24-38.

included and makes their contribution therein for the well-being of society (c.f. Meeks 1988).

The necessity of Biblical justice is a moral value that is rooted in God's dealings with humanity for humanity's sake and humanity's well-being. Thus, the Christian church ought to share this Biblical norm with all stakeholders who believe in the creation of just economic trends as well as those who are adamantly opposed to the establishment of ethics of justice in economics.

5.3.1.4 An ethic of care and sociality

In modern use, the word "care" signifies the following: "the provision of what is necessary for health, welfare, maintenance, and protection of someone or something"; "serious attention or consideration applied to an action or plan" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 10th edition, 1999a:212). The first rendering conveys the idea of ways and means which are employed to support and sustain human, plant, and animal life, and the physical environment, as well as strategies and methods which are used to preserve the well-being of these entities. The second rendering gives the idea of the pre-psychological and pre-attitudinal disposition which is necessary before the execution of an action or plan. It refers to an outcome-based approach whereby possible results or consequences of an action or plan are critically analysed first before implementation. The word "sociality" is a derivative of the adjective "social" which means: "of or relating to society or its organization"³⁵; "need companionship; suited to living in communities"; "relating to or designed for activities in which people meet each other for pleasure"; and in relation to Zoology, "breeding or living in colonies or organized communities" (*Ibid*: 1361). The Latin etymologies of "social" are *socialis* meaning "allied" and *socius* meaning "friend" (*Ibid*: 1361). It follows, therefore,

³⁵ See also chapter 3 of this thesis.

that by definition, the word “sociality” signifies the state of being social. It is a state of social organization, of companionship – a prerequisite for community-building, of simply meeting together in informal gatherings, and of simply co-existing together as *homo sapiens* and in relationship to other members of the larger created order. But most importantly, it is a state of being “allied” to and being a “friend” not only to fellow humans, but to other non-human entities in creation.

The Biblical renderings of care are not very different from what ought to be the modern understanding of care. Firstly, they carry the idea of anxious care (inner urging expressed by paying attention to an action) – from the Hebrew *deagah* – as in Ezekiel 4:16 (*Young’s Analytical Concordance to the Bible* 1970:144). Secondly, as a state of fear or trembling (in relation to performance of duty) – from the Hebrew *charadah* – for example, 2 Kings 4:13 (*Ibid*: 144). Thirdly, as division or distraction (in the sense of possible spiritual stumbling blocks) – from the Greek *merimna*³⁶ - for example, Luke 8:14 and 2 Corinthians 11:28 (*Ibid*: 144). Fourthly, as haste or speed (a spontaneous and quick response for others) – from the Greek *spoude* – for example, 2 Corinthians 7:12 (*Ibid*:144). Fifthly, simply to be mindful (of others) – from the Greek *phroneo* – for example, Philippians 4:10 (*Ibid*: 144). Sixthly, to look upon or visit (an indication of special feeling for someone) – from the Greek *episkeptomani* – for example, Hebrews 2:6 (*An Analytical Concordance to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* 1979:87). Seventhly, as simply care (which is expected to be shown by God to human beings and to other creatures and which is expected to be shown by human beings to fellow human beings and other creatures) – from the Greek *melei* – for example Mark 4:38, John 10:13, and John 12:6 (*Ibid*:87). Eighthly, as simply to take care of (to show concern for the well-being of others) – from the Greek *epimeleomai* – for example, 1 Timothy 3:5 and Luke 10:34 (*Ibid*:87). Ninthly, to tend or herd or govern (in terms of leadership) – from the Greek *poimaino* – for example Acts 20:28 (*Ibid*:87). Tenthly, to bring nourishment or sustain – from the Greek *trophophoreo* – for example, Acts

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See also *An Analytical Concordance to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* (1979:88)

13:18 (*Ibid*:87). Eleventhly, to warm or cherish – from the Greek *thalpo* – for example, 1 Thessalonians 2:7 (*Ibid*: 87). Twelvethly, to see or look (a form of critical examination of one’s ways and actions) – from the Greek *blepo* – for example, 1 Corinthians 3:10 and Hebrews 3:12 (*Ibid*: 88). Thirteenthly, to take heed to oneself (to avoid being careless) – from the Greek *prosecho* – for example, Acts 5:35 (*Ibid* : 88).

The above are some of the biblical renderings of care. In short, Biblical care is described by words like attention, performance with fear, distraction, speed, mindfulness, visitation, simple care, concern, leadership, warmth, critical examination, nourishment, and a state of carefulness. Except for *merimna* (cares or care), the rest are very similar to the modern understanding of care.

As for the word “sociality”, it is not included in the major analytical concordances consulted. However, its basic meaning is expressed by similar terms such as fellowship (Greek *koinōnia*) and friendship (Greek *philia*) (see for example, *An Analytical Concordance to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* 1979:195 and 437). The history of salvation – from the Old Testament to the New Testament – is a story of sociality of God and humanity, of humanity and humanity, of God, humanity and the created order³⁷.

It follows, therefore, that the modern understanding of care and sociality is complemented and supplemented by Biblical care and sociality. Care and sociality are inextricably linked: care emphasizes actions which are needed for human and non-human well-beingness; sociality defines the basis of those actions. Humans cannot execute meaningfully an ethic of care if they are not social. In God’s design, they are created by God, bear God’s image, share the same destiny, and are meant to be “allied” to or be “friends” to each other and other members of the created order. Similarly, humans cannot execute meaning-fully an

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cf Clifford Green’s *Bonhoeffer: a theology of sociality*, Revised edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1999) which discussed Bonhoeffer’s theology and life in the context of sociality.

ethic of sociality if this is not demonstrated by practical care in word and deed. Stated differently, how can one say that one is “allied” to or a “friend” to someone or something if one cares not for this someone or something? The measurement of true human and ecological sociality is the demonstration of deeds and words of care for humanity and other members of the created order, and to some extent, for divinity.

The moral goal of an ethic of care and sociality is the creation of healthier, happier, materially and spiritually fulfilled communities of human persons. These communities are in turn inter-linked to the larger ecological community whose well-being the human family needs to unflinchingly support. It is in such communities of human persons in which characteristics of care and sociality ought to be incarnated. These characteristics include mutual respect, friendship, sharing, and sacrifice.

Once again, the life of Jesus was a clear demonstration of an ethic of care and sociality. From the beginning, he called ordinary persons as disciples to live in the community³⁸. His life, work and mission were done in the context of the human community. He desired the very best for human communities³⁹. He shared his life and his abundant spiritual and material resources for the sake of communities of human persons. Most importantly, he laid down his life for the sake of human communities in order to fashion out of these frail and weak communities a godly and holy community of the redeemed who will continue to effect God’s kingdom on earth and who will inherit God’s kingdom when it is finally revealed⁴⁰. The christological ethic of care and sociality was a stupendous act of divine disclosure of love (c.f. Moltmann 1977:1 ff).

³⁸ See Mark chapter 1 verse 16ff

³⁹ See, for example, the story of the wedding at Cana at which Jesus gave the best wine to the community of persons in John chapter 2.

⁴⁰ cf *Economic Justice for all* (1986:25 f.f.).

It is this ethic of care and sociality as a moral value which Christian churches need to incarnate in the economy. This task does not promise to be easy especially in the light of the fact that modern economics is predominantly ruled by the doctrine of individualism, whereby individual wants and needs are more important than those of the community (cf Daly and Cobb, Jr. 1989:85ff). However, Christian churches ought to share their understanding of care and sociality in spite of this difficulty.

One of the ways is to insist on *maintaining a trilogy of community, the environment, and a sustainable future* whereby an economy ought to orient itself to these dimensions⁴¹ (*Ibid*: 1ff). This trilogy touches at the very heart of the Christian message which includes communal and environmental nourishment, recreation, responsibility and vision. The other way is to insist on *pre-care economics* whereby care should be taken first to consider the effects of the economic process on people and the environment before implementation of a development plan (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:1ff). Still another way is to insist on the *inclusivity of an economy* whereby all human persons should find their fulfillment and sustenance in this economy as God's economy signifies⁴² (Meeks 1988: 1f.f.). In such a paradigm, talk of "casualties" who are usually excluded from enjoying the benefits of an economy is unacceptable⁴³.

⁴¹ J J Kritzinga calls it "a people centred, religiously sensitive and environmentally friendly development paradigm" – see his article "The role of religion in development" in Etienne de Villiers *et al.*: *Church and Development* (Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research, University of Pretoria 1996).

⁴² Meek's terminology – inclusive economy – is very rich and reflects a view similar to the view on "social" or "contributive" justice in Roman Catholic social teaching (*Economic Justice for All* 19986:35ff). Nonetheless, he is criticized by English theologian, Ronald H. Preston (1991:95-107), for drawing out detailed conclusions from his discussion of the concept of *perichoresis* (Mutual-in-dwelling: the Greek Cappadocian contribution to the doctrine of God) and applying them to economics (especially to the concept of inclusive economy) without taking into consideration the analysis of nuances and complexities of the social context.

⁴³ See Bwalya (1996). In many parts of Africa, it is not uncommon to see the elite grow potbellies, beam with shining faces, drive the latest cars, and trot around the globe with USD travelers cheques, while the majority of their people, who are usually excluded from the economy, suffer from emaciation, malnutrition, skin diseases, lung diseases, and a general lack of self-esteem.

Christian churches should not hesitate to share an ethic of care and sociality as a moral criterion. The life of humanity, inclined to the building of vibrant, resilient, and healthy communities of human persons, and that of the environment, is dependant on how humanity, consciously and resolutely, realize this ethic in creation. Christian churches have a role to play in this regard.

5.3.1.5 A synthesis of moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics

Moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics naturally bring out various implications for economic development. Therefore, a synthesis of these moral criteria is of vital importance.

Firstly, the holistic mission of Jesus implies that economic development ought to support the idea that human needs are not just spiritual and material, but that: theory ought to match practice; every human being – poor or rich – ought to be helped to excel to something spiritually and materially better; and that economic programmes ought to consider the needs of the *now* and the *future*. This means that these spiritual and material needs ought to be met. Even though it is generally accepted that “evil cravings” of humanity ought to be tamed by higher spiritual goals, there is a need to balance between both the material and spiritual dimensions of humanity. Even though one cannot expect economic development *per se* to help humanity excel to the highest levels of spirituality, it, nevertheless, ought to depend on other aspects of life such as the spiritual. It is here where the role of religious institutions such as churches ought to be pronounced. It also means that quantitative economic growth should match with qualitative economic development.

People should not just be satisfied with the good performance of the economy when ordinary people have not experienced any changes in their lives. Both significant material and attitudinal changes in the lives of people are needed, for example: the poor should strive for

material well-being; the rich who exploit the vulnerable and powerless should strive for a co-operative existence; and so on. Significant life-affirming, life-changing changes ought to occur materially and spiritually (or morally) Further, it means economic programmes should not just “use up” resources only for *now*. People should remember that there is “a today” and “a tomorrow”. Hence, the need to plan for the present and the future. Overall, what this means is that economic development ought to move towards a comprehensive balance in every aspect of life such as outlined above.

Secondly, the primacy of human dignity imply that human beings occupy a special place in both the economy of God and the human economy. This is because they bear the very image of God (Latin *imago dei*). This means that they do exhibit some of the characteristics of God such as the ability to manage their affairs, the ability to reason, and the ability to work. This places on them a very heavy responsibility for their lives and things around them. To execute this responsibility, God gives them abundant and sufficient “tools” such as wisdom, foresight, and natural resources. For God, scarcity is not part of God’s economy. It is God’s expectation that humanity sees these “tools” not as scarce, but as abundant and sufficient. Such is the honour which God bestows on humanity. Therefore, economic development should not assault God’s image in humanity, but prop it up through responsible utilisation of all the abundant and sufficient “tools” for the sake of humanity’s progress and well-being.

Thirdly, the necessity of justice imply that justice ought to be seen in every facet of life – including the economic one. It means both the integration of justice at the level of society in general and at the level of how the processes of economic development are carried out from government economic machinery to business technocrats to an ordinary worker. At the very centre of these two levels are human persons. Ultimately, society in general should be the main beneficiary of the fruits of the economic development processes. This includes human persons such as women and children, disillusioned youth, and hopeless adults. Society can

only benefit if business technocrats in positive collaboration with government stimulate ordinary workers through good work relations and incentives. A motivated worker contributes to an increase in productivity which will in turn bring about increased wealth, capital creation, and investment, all things being equal. Social benefits of this process include an increase in the standard of living for people and an expansion of job opportunities. This is why commutative justice, distributive justice, and social justice are so important to be part and parcel of societal ethos from the high echelons of power to business executives to the last person in society. No one should “rip off” the other. Society ought to be protected against economic brutalisation through an entrenchment of economic justice which can be expressed in various ways.

Lastly, but not the least, an ethic of care and sociality imply that care and sociality ought to affect not only human relations, but the entire created order. It means that when it comes to economic development, humans should care for one another because they are “allied” and are “friends” – that is, they share one common origin and are socially involved with each other. This alliance and friendship extends to other living things, non living things and the entire created order, and also to God the originator of humanity’s origin. This is connected to the holistic approach to economic development and to the notion of the primacy of human dignity and the responsibility which it places on humans in relation to themselves and their “neighbours”. In this regard, there is no justification for economic processes to destroy human community, the environment, and a sustainable future. One of the prime objectives of humanity in the implementation of economic development is to maintain a sacred trilogy of the community, the environment, and a sustainable future.

These are the implications of moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics. Therefore, economic development ought to be holistic in every way, dignify humanity, to be premised on the notion of justice, and executed with a high degree of care and sociality in relation to

the community, the environment, and a sustainable future. These moral criteria will be used as “building blocks and material” for the new “point of departure” to be discussed below.

5.3.2 Moral criteria from shared human experience: a brief discussion

Moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics ought to be in tandem with moral criteria gained from shared human experience which supplement the Biblical witness. Together they form “building blocks and material” so crucial to the formulation of a new “point of departure”.

In the realm of economics, Christians have increasingly come to understand that a theological-ethical engagement of economic issues requires basic knowledge of economics. About this, Gustafson observes:

It is no longer possible to discuss economic ethics, for example, at the level of generalization used in the great social encyclicals. Now one should have technical knowledge of the gross national product, the economics of development, the function of monetary and fiscal policies, etc (in Boulton et al. editors 1994:164).

It is this technical knowledge, at least in a basic form, which should give legitimacy to Christian theology as it tries to engage hard issues of economics. It is this knowledge, therefore, which has helped Christians to “draw out” important moral criteria from shared human experience which have a bearing on economic programme evaluation. These criteria include: a regulated market, individual rights to property, promotion of appropriate and healthy business, and human co-operative action.

Historically, the market (including financial, commodity, labour markets) has been seen as the most efficient mechanism through which scarce resources⁴⁴ can be allocated (Daly and Cobb, Jr. 1989; Todaro 1997). At the moment, humanity has not yet developed a viable and vigorous alternative to the market – usually conceived in terms of the Western industrial capitalism (Atherton 1992 and Polanyi 1944). The market has assumed centre-stage in modern human history partly because of the lesson which has been learnt from the folly of command economies which were characterised by total government control of the market and wholesale fixations of prices without a self-sustaining productive base (cf Atherton 1992).

Nonetheless, the market should not be left to itself as if it were an automatic machine or a living idol (Pobee 1994). The point is that it does not have a mind, a soul, and a life except that which is given to it by humans (cf Hinkelammert 1986). It owes its very existence to humanity. It cannot regulate itself, except when human persons do that. It follows, therefore, that the principle of self-regulation of the market should not be misinterpreted to mean a system that can regulate itself without any due regard for ordinary citizens. That is to say that while the principle of “supply and demand” should be allowed to flourish, it should not be allowed to incapacitate society to the extent that ordinary people find it hard to get goods and services from the market. What is the use of the market if there are sufficient goods and services in an economy, but they are not accessible to ordinary citizens? Window-shopping citizenry, that is, citizens who are merely on-lookers and not buyers, is an assault on humanity. Third World countries need to regulate the market to make it accessible to ordinary people. It is precisely at this stage where the role of government as a responsible state comes in (cf Wogaman 1986). How government goes about regulating is

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It is not that productive resources which provide economic goods and services are scarce, but that, through sheer human choice, these have been restricted to the hands of very few institutions and

probably one of the most difficult tasks. One of the well-known ways is to boost the agricultural potential and food production of a country (c.f. Barclays Bank of Zambia 1999 *Budget Digest and 2nd Quarter 1998 Quarterly Economic Review*). This usually result in cheaper food prices for home consumption. The point is that a responsible state should not relinquish its classical role of protecting its people from market negativities as it seeks to promote market-oriented neoclassical programmes. There needs to be a deliberate effort to see the market as “merely an accessory feature of an institutional setting controlled and regulated more than ever by social authority” (Polanyi 1944:67). It ought not to be allowed to operate on its own terms, but controlled and regulated by a responsible state so that citizens might have access to affordable goods and services. Christian churches, therefore, ought to persuade government to uphold the regulation of the market as a moral norm in economic programmes.

The other normative criterion is that individuals have the right to own property. Ownership of property is their just entitlement which fortifies a sense of belonging, dignity and positive pride (in one sense, feeling proud of what they own for its intrinsic and use value). An individual has the right to own property such as a car, a house, a farm, and a business. Even though some of these items may only be considered as possessions and may not necessarily contribute to capital formation in an economy, the bottom line is that they ought to be owned by human persons in their private capacities. About this, Pope John Paul II argues that the genesis or *the origin of individual* property is when man and woman “makes part of the earth his (or her) own, precisely the part which he or she has acquired through work” (in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994:468). In some respects, the Roman pontifical understanding of property rights is Lockean, because it stresses the Lockean idea that if a person, through his or her labour, gets something from the earth, this something becomes his or her own, and nobody has the right to take this property away (quoted in Wogaman 1986:14-18). While the Roman

persons who control society and upon whom the livelihoods of millions depend. See chapter 2 on the problem of “scarcity”.

Pontiff promotes individual rights to property, he cautions: “Obviously, he (or she) also has the responsibility not to hinder others from having their own part of God’s gift; indeed, he (or she) must co-operate with others so that together all can dominate⁴⁵ the earth” (in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994:468, brackets added). Unfortunately, most trickle-down economic programmes perpetuate a “culture of the propertied and the property-less”. The elite of Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, especially politicians and senior civil servants, are extremely propertied: they have more than two houses, two cars and so on. The majority of citizens who are usually property-less are left in the cold. They are far too much excluded by structural inadequacies and impediments to have an individual claim over the kind of property which matters in a modern world. The Roman Pontiff observes again that the formulation of *the universal destination of the earth’s goods* is that “God gave the earth to the whole human race for the sustenance of all its members, without excluding or favouring anyone”⁴⁶ (*Ibid*: 468). Biblical figures such as Abraham were firm believers in individual ownership of material goods⁴⁷. Therefore, it is not too much to claim that individual rights to property are not only for the President, a Cabinet minister, an industrial magnet, a business executive and the like, but for all citizens, including ordinary civil servants, mine workers, and other workers. This does not mean that they will have the same amount of property, but that at least, basic property necessary to stable human survival and livelihood such as a house and a piece of land, will be accorded to all citizens in an economy. People should enjoy their natural and God-given rights to property as a matter of their fundamental

⁴⁵ Even though the idea of domination is Biblical, it is repressive. The verb “dominate” is to exercise power over somebody or something, usually to one’s advantage. It promotes a “culture of violence” not just against other human persons, but against the environment as well. This thesis argues that the verb “dominate” should be traded in for more amiable phrases like “look after”, “care for”, and “be steward of”.

⁴⁶ C.f. Meeks (1988) with his emphasis on the “inclusive economy”.

⁴⁷ See the Abrahamic story of great material success and prosperity founded on the belief that God is the creator, provider, and sustainer of the world and all that is in it, including humanity, in Genesis chapter 12ff.

human rights. It is the contention of this thesis that Christian churches ought to support individual rights to property for all as a moral norm.

Another moral criterion is that there ought to be the promotion of appropriate and healthy business. About this, Pope John Paul II observes that business is not only for profit, but that it ought “to be found in its existence as a *community of persons* who in various ways are endeavouring to satisfy their needs and who form a particular group at the service of the whole of society” (in Boulton *et al.*, editors 1994:471). One of the tragedies of modern business is the impersonalisation and asocialisation of the business environment. Human persons, especially employees, are simply seen by owners of capital and their collaborative business executives as commodities (through their labour) and not as humans created in God’s image. That is why Franz J Hinkelammert (1986) does not mince his words when he calls this kind of attitude as one bent on the capitalist ideology of death.

Through the commoditisation principle, “human commodities” are at the mercy of the capitalist who decides who “lives” and who “dies”, that is, who gets life sustenance and who does not get it. Against this asocial and mechanical background, a business environment should indeed reclaim the concept of *community of persons* from the highest person (a chief executive officer) to the lowest person (probably a cleaner or a tea maker). Each one of them is very vital in the line of business command, and should be respected, supported, and valued. Even though profit is a regulator of business life, it should be borne in mind that “it is not the only one, other *human and moral factors* must be considered which, in the long term, are at least equally important for the life of a business” (Pope John Paul II in Boulton *et al.*, editors 1994: 471). A respected, supported, valued, and motivated workforce does wonders for business and society. It can fulfill its historic mandate: *to produce quality and safe products for local consumers and for export, on the one hand; and to excel to the highest levels of its potential in the service of God and humanity on the other hand.* Therefore, Christian churches should rise to the occasion and promote appropriate and

healthy business as a moral norm whose goal is the creation of a *community of persons* which contributes to the larger human family in society.

Further, the other moral criterion is human co-operative action. Inevitably, there needs to be a deliberate conceptual and practical movement from a triumphalist Christian tradition to the joining of all human forces aimed at co-operative action in an economy. Christians ought to be willing to depart, in some cases, from a radical church-centric approach to a flexible human-centred approach which seeks the solution of economic problems which have continued to bedevil humanity. If this paradigm shift is not realised, Christian triumphalism will go on unabated. Christians must be aware of sources of their triumphalism. One of the sources is through radical and misguided propaganda against non-Christian religions like Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam, and against secular humanisms, philosophies, spiritualities and religiosities⁴⁸. The other is by dismissing the basic tenets of socialism, and denying that they can be used in economic analysis and progress⁴⁹. Further by simply asserting that the Judeo-Christian heritage, especially of the West, should be the “ultimate plumbline” for economic theory and practice.

While it is appreciated that Christians claim to be bearers of the *evangel* and are heaven-bound, they ought to realise that they, like other human beings of different philosophical and religious persuasions, belong to this earth. What binds them together is their common origin, existence, and destiny. Each one of them has a sacred legitimacy and mandate to

⁴⁸ For example, see and compare Stackhouse and McCann (in Boulton *et al.*, editors 1994:486) who argue that these “should not be allowed to shape the future by default”.

⁴⁹ This is the stand taken by Max L Stackhouse and Dennis P. McCann in their essay “A post-communist manifesto” (*Ibid*: 485ff) when they argue that capitalism (in a reformed state) in stead of socialism, ought to be the reigning social system. On the contrary, Pope John Paul II does not necessarily feel that the failure of communism or socialism signifies victory for capitalism, but that humanity ought to evolve a system which promotes “the fundamental and positive role of business, the market, private property and the resulting responsibility for the means of production, as well as free, human creativity in the economic sector” and one in which freedom in the economic sector is “circumscribed within a strong juridical framework which places it at the service of human freedom in its totality ...” (*Ibid*: 472).

make a positive and life-affirming contribution to their common human heritage whose source is in God. All of them should find a way to contribute to the alleviation of human problems. They ought to put their resources – intellectual, moral, religious, scientific, artistic, cultural, political, and economic – in a common basket for the sake of human progress and advancement. A movement towards human co-operative action, in particular on matters of economic development, is urgently needed. It is a moral goal which churches should fully support and seek to share with others. It will be a mark of utter religious and theological irresponsibility, if Christian churches continue to adhere to triumphalist ideas and claim that as “the redeemed of the Lord”, they alone have a claim over how the social order should evolve.

The foregoing, therefore, are some of the moral norms from shared human experience in modernity which will be used in the evaluation of economic programmes. They do, indeed, enrich the Christian theological-ethical engagement of economic issues and thus, make it more relevant to the economic context. As already noted, they form part of moral “building blocks and material” which will be used in the critical discussion of the new “point of departure”.

5.3.3 A summary of moral criteria and their implications

Moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics and from shared human experience are both anchored on the Biblical witness. There is some degree of congruency with Biblical views and values.

The holistic mission of Jesus emphasize comprehensivity in economic programmes. The primacy of human dignity stress that humanity should not be dehumanised by any economic system. The necessity of justice calls for fair and just relations at every level of human experience. An ethic of care and sociality teaches that this should not only be confined to

human relations, but extended to the entire created order. A regulated market highlights the centrality of the human community that everything ought to be geared towards its well-being – an idea which brings out the Biblical teaching about the importance of humanity. Individual rights to property stress that God has benevolently given the goods of the earth to each human being to possess and enjoy, albeit, they should not hinder others from possessing and enjoying them. The promotion of appropriate and healthy business teaches that the business environment is not only for profit, but for the enhancement of the human community - again, an idea which highlights the Biblical teaching on humanity's importance. Part of this enhancement is the recognition of the image of God in humanity and the condemnation of the commoditisation of human persons. The human co-operative action is a clarion call to all humanity to come together and share ideas in the solution of economic problems, irrespective of gender, creed or status – due to the common origin in God.

These are the moral criteria which will be integrated in the new “point of departure” and “model”. Other moral criteria will be discussed briefly as they arise in the course of discussing the new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development.

5.4 THE CONCEPT OF STEWARDSHIP: TOWARDS THE QUEST FOR A NEW POINT OF DEPARTURE AND MODEL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The previous two sections of this chapter have argued that Christian theology does indeed have something to offer to economic development. Its “offerings” are in the form of Christian insights and perspectives which are expressed in moral criteria which are in tune with the biblical witness. Even though these moral criteria are Christian in character, they are, nevertheless, inclusive. This is to say, they are discussed in relation to other valid moral

criteria from shared human experience which in some ways reflect the basic meaning of Biblical values. Thus, the Christian contribution to economic development is enriched, made relevant, and meaningful. The Christian insights and perspectives seek to influence the thinking on and attitude towards economic development. The main goal is to contribute to the achievement of a more just, caring, friendly, balanced, dignified social order. This section argues that there is every need to move towards a new “point of departure” for economic development and that this ought to be seen as a new “model” for economic development as well. By “point of departure” is meant an intellectual starting point for thinking about the economy. And by “model” is meant a representation of how the economy ought to be.

This section is divided into three main sections. The first section “from scarcity to stewardship” establishes the need to make the transition to a new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development. The second section “the broad outlines of stewardship” discusses broadly the meaning of stewardship. And the last section “main implications of stewardship for society and economic development” is an attempt to concretize moral criteria in the context of the discussion on the proposed new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development.

5.4.1 From scarcity to stewardship

The previous three chapters have established beyond any reasonable doubt that the scarcity concept is the central theme of economic theory and practice. With scarcity solved, economics will cease to have a purpose. So everything in economics ought to be organised around the solving of the scarcity problem as the fundamental economic problem. As already noted in chapter two, not only is it seen by traditional economists as a fundamental economic problem, it is also taken as a “point of departure”, that is, a mechanism by which it can solve itself. That is to say, it is perceived that the reality of scarcity can be solved by intellectually

and practically employing the notion of scarcity as a means. As shall be seen below, scarcity may not be an adequate “point of departure”.

From the standpoint of traditional economics, approaches to the solution of scarcity as a fundamental economic problem vary. The Western world has predominantly felt that scarcity could and can be solved through the employment of the individualist capitalist philosophy founded on private property and the free market economy (c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:41-46). The Eastern world, led by Russia, felt that scarcity could be solved by the collectivist socialist philosophy based on common ownership of wealth and property and the command economy. With the fall of socialism and communism, the individualist model has become the reigning economic system, with very few exceptions. And as such, scarcity – from an individualist capitalist standpoint – continues to reign supreme as a “point of departure” in socio-economic-political life on both the local and the global scenes.

In the powerful individualist model, problems of scarcity for individuals, communities, businesses and governments are registered and solved by the market. Unfortunately, the moral issue is that the registration and solution process does not distinguish between real needs in form of basic necessities of life such as food and shelter from wants in form of luxuries such as the want for a television set (Pemberton and Finn 1985:123-124; Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:101-104). In addition to this, to participate in this market successfully and favourably, for example, as seller, one ought to allocate efficiently one’s scarce productive resources in order to competitively supply quality goods and services according to consumer demand. On this basis, individuals and groups of sellers out-compete each other. Those who employ efficient means which meet customers’ expectations gain more from the market. Thus, there are gainers and losers in the market. Moreover, competition becomes morally problematic if it is bent on deliberate and well-calculated means to “strangle” other sellers. Meanwhile, it is hoped that gainers – through the pursuit

of self-interest and personal wealth – will in the long run contribute to the common good (Adam Smith in Leatt *et al.* 1986). Further, the buyer, in order to participate in such a mechanism, ought to have the purchasing power in form of money or capital or labour. Those with more purchasing power participate more successfully than those with less. This is morally problematic because those with less are systematically excluded from the market and thus, they cannot get all the basic necessities of life. The neoclassical argument that their lot will improve in the future when successful people are allowed to prosper *now* does not hold water. The point is that they need to be included in the market *now* and in the future. To crown it all, only those things which are mathematically quantifiable in terms of value and price can be allowed to enter the system (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:51-59). The negative effects of doing this is that moral and social values such as community and friendship which are important to human survival are significantly reduced. This development becomes morally problematic. In addition to this, anything that tends to increase the cost of production such as the harmful effects of production on the environment is simply excluded from the system (*Ibid*; c.f. Wilkinson 1980:168). This way of thinking cares only for profit-maximisation and does not care for environmental and social dimensions upon which all life depends. Again, this becomes a moral concern.

Scarcity and its concomitant and inseparable scarcity-solving mechanism, the market, brings about a social ethos which is anti-social in many ways. This includes selfish self-interest⁵⁰ at the expense of societal service, destructive competition at the expense of appropriate competition oriented to cooperation⁵¹, egoistic individualism at the expense of communalism, unsatiability of human wants at the expense of contentment, exploitation at

⁵⁰ Self-interest does not necessarily mean selfishness. It becomes morally bad if self-interest is used for selfish goals. Self-interest can and should be balanced with others - interest. Having said this, one must be aware that in many cases, self-interest has been portrayed as a mark of sheer selfishness and greed. See Boersema (1999:162-163).

⁵¹ Similarly, as noted already, competition becomes morally bad if it is used to destroy other people. But if it is used fairly, adequately, and in a healthy way, it can lead to, *inter alia*, efficiency, lower consumer prices, quality consumer goods, and business stability. See Boersema (1999:222-234).

the expense of tender care, and exclusivism at the expense of inclusivism (c.f. Meeks 1988:12). The result is that moral and social well-being is radically disrupted (Polanyi 1944); everything in the economy is commoditised including human labour (Hinkelammert 1988); and the economy rather than the human community becomes the most powerful phenomenon to set the socio-economic-political agenda (c.f. Heilbroner 1988).

This approach to economic development has far-reaching social and environmental ramifications. In the quest for economic development, the social and environmental vitality are being destroyed. In terms of the human community, what matters in this approach is how much an individual has and not unquantifiable human values such as friendship and care. In terms of the “silent” environment and ecosystems, what is important is their exploitation for human production, distribution and consumption and not a caring, loving, just and responsible utilisation of resources (Du Plessis in *Koers* Vol.53, Issue 2 1988, pp253-265). As for posterity, it faces an uncertain future due to significant alterations of the environment and ecosystems (Daly and Cobb, Jr. 1989; Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995). The pertinent question is: Should this be the way forward for humanity in their pursuit of wealth and prosperity?

In setting the context for their proposal of a new “point of departure” for economics, Goudzwaard and De Lange, argue that scarcity is a modern phenomenon which bedevils industrialised economies (1995:101). Quoting a social philosopher, Hans Achterhuis, they observe that the notion of scarcity in general did not exist in previous centuries (*Ibid*: 101). In modern times, however, enormous scarcity exists, in spite of unprecedented wealth. They raise a critical question and comment thus:

How is it that a society of enormous wealth also experiences enormous scarcity? Economically we would expect that as material prosperity increased, we would have reduced scarcity rather than raised it. However, even as economic growth continues

and the standard of living rises, a new, generalized feeling of scarcity has permeated our society (Ibid: 38).

Now the scarcity issue is clear. You cannot solve scarcity by using scarcity as a point of departure for economic development as the industrialised world has done. In other words, for example, cancer cannot be solved by cancer; you need something else to solve it. It is probably in exceptional cases that a problem can be solved by the very problem – for example, one can use fire to divert the course of fire and prevent its spread by setting fire from the opposite direction so that the two courses of fire can meet and thus, prevent its spread. In the case of the scarcity problem, it tends to be perpetuated when scarcity, especially in an ideological sense, is used as a means to the solution of this problem. Besides, the effects of scarcity-guided economic systems on society and environment are well known. One needs a “new point of departure” and “model” to solve what is traditionally known in economics as scarcity. In fact, in the new paradigm, the problem to be solved is no longer scarcity as defined and ideologised by main economic thinkers. The issue is the solution of very specific, plain, and concrete social and environmental problems which have come about especially in the last two hundred years of human economic history. Unprecedented wealth has lamentably failed to reduce these problems mainly due to insufficient means which are characterised by the notion of scarcity. That is why humanity needs fresh means to address these problems.

Even though Goudzwaard and De Lange largely speak for the First World, the same is true for Third World countries whose economic growth rates increase year by year (except in some cases) without a corresponding reduction in general scarcity. Something has gone wrong in humanity’s conception of scarcity and the means employed in the solution of scarcity. For this reason, they call for the defining of a new economic agenda in the light of “the unyielding and deteriorating nature of the human and environmental tragedy” (*Ibid: 38*).

They say that economic problems of modern times are “crises of *culture*” (*Ibid*: 39). They are partly socio-political and partly religious (*Ibid*: 39). On the basis of social, political and religious ideas, a society has been constructed which is inimical to societal well-being. This is exactly what Nürnberger means when he says that the kind of beliefs we hold (social, political, religious, or otherwise) influence the kind of institutions we build (1988: 1ff). Even though we have these crises of *culture*, the solution to this will not just be cultural, but technical as well (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:38). That is to say, humanity needs not only a change of attitudes and lifestyles, but a new way of producing and consuming. This includes, for example, consumer products which are unharmed to both society and the environment. Thus they emphasize:

Indeed, the appeal for economic renewal must include an appeal to embrace values, values that can serve as a foundation for an analysis whose ultimate aim is to encourage the development of a more humane and sustainable society (Ibid: 39).

It is hoped that an embracement of new values will ultimately and practically be translated into a new way of doing business. The kind of values people cherish, affects the way of producing and consuming, and thus, the way society is constructed (c.f. Nürnberger 1988).

Even though they appreciate positive aspects of the present day economic order, they call for its replacement. Thus:

Our economic order has had, and still has many good sides. Some, such as the respect for human freedom, ought to be maintained. But we must state that our economic order sets out society on the wrong foot. It draws us away from our human condition (the three aspects of the human conditions namely: social life, earthliness, and life itself (time) alluded to by Hannah Arendt in Goudzwaard and De Lange) and from what we genuinely need to sustain culture and aims us at what is not real instead. It breaks apart culture and the world into the fragments of its own

ambitions. Consequently, our economic order is thoroughly out of date and must, with utmost urgency, be replaced (Ibid: 104, brackets included).

Their language on how to go about changing the current economic order shifts from a somewhat liberal stance to radicality by their use of the word “replacement” instead of “renewal” (c.f. *Ibid*: 38). That is, at this stage, they suggest that one has to go to the roots of the problem and uproot it completely. Goudzwaard and De Lange seem to argue for a radical replacement of the economic order, including scarcity as a “point of departure” which, *inter alia*, ideologically leads humanity not to distinguish between real needs and unreal wants and thus is one of the signs that the current economic order is out of date (*Ibid*: 101-104).

What Goudzwaard and De Lange raise is the problem of methodology, that is, how to go about reconstructing the current economic order. It seems that they prefer a radical approach to the problem. Atherton (1992) alludes to three ways of approaching the market economy by Christians, namely: the conservative (whereby some support the current economic order except that this has to be governed by Christian values), the radical (whereby the current economic order must be uprooted completely and be replaced by a new one), and the liberal which stands in between the two approaches. The argument of Goudzwaard and De Lange seems to fall under the radical mode, that is, a total replacement of the current economic order. One would rather say that a radical approach is not asked for, especially when one considers the benefits of the market economy. It is suggested that a liberal approach is the desired option. This is because this approach seeks the best from both extremes in order to gradually and evolutionary come up with a realistic and humane solution to the problem. It is flexible and seeks an adequate re-alignment of the economic order so that those parts which need to be replaced are replaced, those which need to be adapted are adapted and so on.

Christian theology has provided the philosophy of stewardship. It is now up to Christian economists and other like-minded people to demonstrate in more detail how the present economic system can be changed gradually and evolutionary on the basis of stewardship as a new “point of departure” and “model”. Their work will greatly enhance the transfer of moral discourse from the narrative, the ethical and the prophetic modes to the policy mode (c.f. Gustafson 1988).

From the current economic system, making scarcity a “point of departure” is one of the things which need to be done away with. As already noted, it ought to be replaced by a new “point of departure” as a means of solving the reality of general scarcity – preferably called specific social and environmental problems. The main reasons are clear and some are re-emphasized again: scarcity does not distinguish between real needs and wants; the notion projects human needs and wants as unsatiable; through the market, it excludes those things which do not have value and price; and that it encourages the production and consumption of more and more through its portrayal of a human person as an unsatiable being. Take, for example, the unsatiability of human wants and needs. There has been a creation of an increasing number and variety of wants and needs in our time. This has been achieved through the rapid development of new products through state of the art technology. The mass media has also contributed to this process through advertisement. Consequently, basic necessities of life for all are relegated and huge sums of money, which can be used on what people really need for survival, are spent on luxuries and prestigious items. About this, mainly due to the superficiality of scarcity which is hinged on the notion of the unsatiability of *homo oeconomicus* (economic human), Meeks observes: “Scarcity may not be made the starting point of a system of economic justice. As a *starting point*, scarcity is an illusion. In almost all situations of human life scarcity has been caused by human injustice” (1988: 174, c.f. Pemberton and Finn 1935). It is not that Meeks denies the reality of scarce resources, but that he finds it hard to accept that the notion of scarcity can be used as a “point of departure” for establishing justice among all people in an economy. As already noted, *inter alia*, it gives a false perception of life by not distinguishing real needs from mere wants.

Because of this, one tends to agree with Meeks' idea that scarcity is an illusion. And as such, there is every need to come up with an adequate "point of departure" which can address specific problems of social life and the environment. For Goudzwaard and De Lange, the "point of departure" is the "caring administration" (1955:41-59) – or simply *stewardship*. They observe again:

With "caring administration" as our starting point, an entirely different economic scenario emerges than the one provided by an economy whose trademark is the pursuit of more and more material prosperity measured in money (Ibid: 41-46).

With care, justice is entrenched, comprehensivity is upheld, sociality is respected, human dignity is cherished, and a moral economy emerges. With this new way of thinking, all views about "there is never enough to go around because the human being always wants more" (c.f. Meeks 1988:12) become bankrupt. Human beings begin to appreciate economics of enough or contentment (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:41-47) and not of unbridled and careless production and consumption. Human beings begin to realise that "if the righteousness of God is present, there is always enough to go around" (Meeks: 1988:12) and there is no need for people to go hungry, naked, and shelterless.

One can agree with Goudzwaard and De Lange, and others, that in spite of its benefits, a scarcity-guided economic order has brought about a superfluous, wasteful and destructive society (c.f. *Ibid*: 38ff). Human communities are assaulted left, right, and centre. The environment is destructively altered. Posterity and their future environment are not a priority simply because the scarcity-solving mechanism, the market, does not account for their needs (*Ibid*: 77).

There is a need to develop “a new public ethos and regauge today’s values” (*Ibid*: 77). As Goudzwaard and De Lange have observed, humanity needs to reclaim the original focus of economics which is *people and their needs* (*Ibid*: 77; c.f. Coetzee, editor, 1987). These needs include: the moral and the spiritual such as justice, dignity, care, friendship, and service; and the social or material such as food, shelter, education and clothing (c.f. Nürnberger 1994).

In the light of the new “point of departure” and “model”, the sense of scarcity which makes people “less accepting and compassionate” (Meeks 1988:17) simply because people feel resources are not enough is out of place. The fullness of God’s being who gives all good gifts to humanity made in God’s image makes this possible (*Ibid*: 17-153).

The acceptance of this new way of thinking and living alters human attitudes towards what is identified by traditional economics as general scarcity. This is because they can now employ “new means” to its solution which enhance social life and the environment. Their adherence to the “new point of departure” spurs them to be more caring, more friendly, more balanced, more responsible and accountable, as they produce, distribute, and consume God-given natural resources. In this regard, it becomes necessary to replace scarcity as an illusion and as a social construct with a more realistic “point of departure”. And that “point of departure”, as already alluded to in passing, is *stewardship*. As noted already, it is a notion which will be argued in relationship to the Christian moral criteria discussed in the previous section.

Stewardship is a metaphor which introduces a new way of looking at economics in that it shifts emphasis from the pessimistic notion of scarce resources or scarcity to the optimistic

role of humanity in not only resource management, but in the management of the whole of life. The notion of stewardship highlights the point that it is not the question of how to solve the problem of scarcity, but the question of how humanity goes about using, producing and consuming God-given sufficient resources for the benefit of fellow humanity and the entire created order. This should be a pre-occupation of economic development.

The ethic of stewardship is a Biblical and theological metaphor which recognises the overall abundance, benevolence and grace of the creator God, who has created all things. Within that overall perspective, it recognises there is enough for all living things – including humanity – to sustain their being, although it takes into account that natural resources are limited. On this basis, humanity's role is to responsibly and accountably utilise these resources in relation to fellow humanity and the entire created order. In other words, nothing is excluded and relegated: the material and the spiritual, the social and the moral, the marketable and the non-marketable, the priced and the non-priced, are part and parcel of the circle of humanity's comprehensive task. It is a perspective that ought to permeate all sectors of human society. But most importantly, it is a perspective that should permeate our economy. All production, distribution, and consumption ought to be done from the perspective of stewardship. This perspective recognises, first and foremost, *the people and their needs* (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995) as the original task of economics, but in relation to *the needs of non-humans* and *the needs of posterity* (c.f. Wilkinson 1980:233).

The next section discusses the broad outlines of the notion of stewardship. The main purpose is to show that to take our "point of departure" in stewardship is the best option if we want to redirect the economy towards "community, the environment, and a sustainable future" – to use the words of American economist, Daly and American theologian, Cobb, Jr. (1990: *passim*).

5.4.2 The broad outlines of stewardship

What, then, is stewardship? In ordinary use, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, defines stewardship as “rank and duties of a steward” or a “period of office” (1986:847). It further states that a steward is a “man who arranges for the supply of food, etc in a club, college, etc.” or “man who attends to the needs of passengers in a ship or airliner” or a “man responsible for organising details of a dance, race-meeting, public-meeting, show, etc” or a “man who manages another’s property (especially a large house or estate)” (*Ibid*). Whereas a stewardess is a “woman steward (especially in the sense of one “who attends to the needs of passengers in a ship or airliner”) (*Ibid*). What comes out clearly is that, in ordinary use, the word “stewardship” defines and describes both the specific position and tasks of a steward who executes them within a particular timeframe. His or her position is a relational one – that is, doing tasks on behalf of higher authority and, in some cases, in his or her own behalf for the benefit of higher authority as well as other people according to their specific needs. To ensure that tasks assigned or taken are accomplished in good time and in the right way, it is incumbent upon a steward to work to the best of one’s ability.

Definition number four (see above) is very close to the Biblical view of a steward. Nonetheless, the Biblical narrative expands the meaning of stewardship. It is a Biblical theme which begins with the genesis of the creation of humanity, continues throughout humanity’s fall, and the history of salvation until all things are restored in Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit (c.f. Wilkinson, editor, 1980). This does not mean that it is the ultimate Biblical theme, but that it is one of the most important Biblical themes which needs to be appropriated in daily living – including economic life!

The *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* defines the word “stewardship” as “management of a household” (1984:1054; see also *New Dictionary of Theology* 1988, *An Analytical Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament* 1979 and *Analytical Concordance to the Bible* 1879) – from the Greek *oikonomia* (c.f. definition of economics in chapter two of this thesis). It is a word which is connected to the word “steward”, meaning: “the man who is over” – from the Hebrew *haish asher al*, for example, Genesis chapter 43 v 19; “who is over a house” – from the Hebrew *asher al bayith*, for example, Genesis chapter 44 v 4; “son of acquisition” or “acquired son” – from the Hebrew *ben mesh*, for example, Genesis 15 v 2; “prince” or “head” or “chief” or “captain” – from the Hebrew *sar*; “one to whom a thing is committed” – from the Greek *epitropos*⁵², for example Matthew chapter 20 v 8 and Luke chapter 8 v 3; and “a house manager” – from the Greek *oikonomos*⁵³, for example, Luke chapters 12 v 42, 16 v 1, 16 v 3, 16 v 8, 1 Corinthians chapter 4 v 1 and 2, Titus chapter 1 v 7 and 1 Peter chapter 4 v 10 (*Analytical Concordance to the Bible* 1979:934).

Historically, the *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* observes that “stewardship” has “its roots in the institution of slavery” (1984:1054). In such an arrangement, “the master appointed a slave to administer his household, which might be teaching and disciplining the members of the household, especially other slaves and the children” (*Ibid* :1054). The position of Joseph in Potiphar’s house (Genesis chapter 39 v 4-6) is identified as a classic example (*Ibid*: 1054). Nonetheless, even though the *Evangelical Dictionary* might be right to historically link slavery with “stewardship”, the fact of the matter is that “stewardship”

⁵² An *analytical concordance to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* simply calls this person a “manager” and similarly bases its interpretation on Matthew chapter 20 v 8 and Luke chapter 8 v 3 (1979:553).

⁵³ Similarly *oikonomos* refers to an “administrator” (*Ibid*). In short, according to this concordance, a steward can either be a “manager” – from the Greek *epitropos* - or an “administrator” from the Greek *oikonomos* (*Ibid*). The *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* clarifies this point when it observes that: “The person who administers the household is called a steward (*oikonomos*, meaning literally “law of the house”) or an overseer (*epitropos*)” (1984:1054). In short, the word “steward” refers both to *oikonomos* and *epitropos* – meaning either a manager or an administrator, especially of a household.

occurs before the fall of humanity. This point is clarified by the same dictionary when it observes that the concept that “man (or woman) is a steward of God in his (or her) relation to the world and his (or her) own life is inherent in the creation story (Gen. 1-3) in which he (or she) is appointed lord of all things except himself (or herself)” (brackets included, *Ibid*: 1054-1055). For example, Genesis chapter 1 v 28 (NIV):

God blessed them and said to them: “Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air and over every living creature that moves on the ground”.

Also, Genesis chapter 2 v 15: “The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it”. Humanity’s responsibility, therefore, is to fill the earth, to subdue (or dominate) it, to rule over all that is in it, to work it and to take care of it. Humanity’s awesome responsibility is well explained by Wilkinson, *et al.*, when they allude to important words in the creation process (in Wilkinson, editor, 1980:207 ff). They argue that “‘Be fruitful’ and ‘multiply’ are commands given to no other creatures.

But in this divine command to humanity (Gen 1 v 28) are two commands, which are given to no other creatures: ‘subdue’ and ‘rule’” (*Ibid*: 109, brackets included). They note that, in Hebrew, they mean *kabash* and *radah*, respectively (*Ibid*: 209). Then they explain:

***Kabash** is drawn from a Hebrew word meaning to tread down or bring into bondage, and conveys the image of a conqueror placing his foot on the neck of the conquered; in one passage the word even means “rape”. The other verb, **radah**, comes from a word meaning to trample or to prevail against and conveys the image of one treading grapes in a winepress. Thus there is no doubt at all that man (or women) is placed **over** the rest of creation. These verses express that superiority in the strongest possible terms (*Ibid*: 209, brackets included).*

Nonetheless, they observe that “the image of forceful dominion which this verse conveys (Gen chapter 1 v 28) is balanced (and, in some sense, reversed) by the rest of Scripture” (*Ibid*: 209, the first pair of brackets included). As already noted, that “balance first appears in the next chapter, where Adam is given tasks which seem quite different from the kind of dominion decreed earlier: “The Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to fill it and keep it” (*Ibid*: 209). Then they proceed to do exegesis of the passage:

*... human responsibility is described by two words, **abad** and **shamar** (Hebrew), here translated “till” and “keep”. The first of these verbs, **abad**, is often translated “till”, but it is sometimes translated “work” or “serve”. And in fact, **abad** is the basic Hebrew word for “serve” or even “be a slave to”. The other word, **shamar**, is translated variously “keep”, “watch”, or “preserve” ... The kind of tilling which is to be done is a **service** of the earth. The keeping of the garden is not just for human comfort, but is a kind of **preservation**. Both verbs severely restrict the way the other two verbs – subdue and rule – are to be applied. Human ruling, then, should be exercised in such a way as to **serve** and **preserve** the beasts, the trees, the earth itself – all of which is being ruled (*Ibid*: 209).*

It follows, therefore, that the dominion or rulership of humanity is not to destroy the earth and everything that is in it, but so *serve* and *preserve* the earth and all that is in it for the sake of humans and non-humans. In this way, human dominion ceases to be a kind of destructive victory over the powerless in nature and among human communities, and becomes a loving, caring, just, friendly utilisation of human privilege over nature for the benefit of humans and non-humans. In fact, human dominion, ideally speaking, is swallowed up by service and preservation so that what emerges is servant-leadership and preserver-leadership. Thus:

“The lesson about dominion is clear: unless such dominion is used for the benefit of the dominated, it is misused” (*Ibid*: 214). In this regard, stewardship is not just the question of management of resources, but that it is also the question of character of those who are called to manage. Generally speaking, what humanity is lacking in the management of resources is character. By “character” is meant the kind that is patterned after “what God has done in Jesus Christ”. It is a mark of love for neighbour as oneself. It does not seek to destroy the society of human persons nor the environment. It aims to give service to and preserve society and the environment. The stewardship concept is, indeed, a very powerful life-affirming way to image both society and the environment.

As a Biblical metaphor, it is “closely linked to the concept of grace: everything comes from God as a gift and is to be administered faithfully on his (and her) behalf” (*New Dictionary of Theology* 1988: 661, brackets included). For example, Psalm 24 v 1: “The earth is the Lord’s, and everything in it, the world, and all who live in it” (NIV). About this and in relation to human dominion, Wilkinson *et al.* argue: “If God is owner of all and the human dominion is clearly delegated, then it is also clear that the steward is both a servant and manager” (1980:233). Overall, humanity’s task does not end with “stewardship of the earth”, but extends to the “stewardship of the gospel”⁵⁴, “stewardship of personal resources of time, money and talents” and “stewardship of the resources of church and society” (*New Dictionary of Theology* 1988:661; see also *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* 1984:1055). What comes out clearly is that stewardship has to be exercised over all what God has given. And “Thus God’s steward over nature is to be a manager of the earth’s household: rock, water, air, tree, bird, and beast, in the infinite complexity of their interrelationships” (Wilkinson, editor, 1980:233). This God-delegated “human management or stewardship must be directed to benefit the household of the earth and the creatures, who depend on it for life, health, and fulfilment” (*Ibid*:233). In this way, “the manager of the earth, even in most

⁵⁴ “Stewardship of the gospel” is a matter which needs separate treatment. The focus of this project is the stewardship of the earth by humans in relation to the human community and other non-human realities.

ideal conditions, is often called upon to balance conflicting needs. For the richness of nature is given, in part to provide for the human necessities of food, clothing, shelter, health, delight, work, and joy” (*Ibid*: 233). The same “richness is there also to provide similar needs for non-human creatures: food, shelter, procreation, delight – and perhaps other needs we have not yet learned” (*Ibid*: 233). The manager will not be guided by the illusion of scarcity whose cost-benefit rationale only encourages, *inter alia*, the production and consumption of more and more, and ignores non-marketable things and externalities. Thus, making humanity to concentrate exclusively on the so-called efficient profit maximisation and *chrematistics* which, in many cases, have no consideration for human and non-human necessities which are crucial to the life, health, and fulfilment of the earthly household. Instead, the manager – in the true sense of the word – will be guided by life-giving, life-affirming, and life-enhancing moral values whose *telos* is to bring about and maintain the well being of the earthly household. Humanity, therefore, is confronted with a stupendous task: “The stewards of nature must balance those needs, establish priorities, smooth out conflict. In short, they must *manage* for the welfare of the creation and the glory of God” (*Ibid*: 233). And this task, as already noted, has a futurist stance: “The earth’s managers must also balance present needs with future ones: the needs of present humans and non-humans with the needs of future humans and non-humans” (*Ibid* 233).

The prime requirement of the task is “faithfulness, i.e. administration of trust according to directions” (*Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* 1984:1055). If humans - present and future – can faithfully administer this trust over local and global wealth and resources, over individual and corporate talents and endowments, and over all what God has given them, local and global economies would overflow with abundant blessings for each and every person. Alas! due to human greed, the notion of “administration of trust according to directions” has suffered a miscarriage of morality at every level of human endeavour. The problem is that “... both biblical history and our own observation of the past show that we

departed very early from the ability to use superiority as a basis for service” (Wilkinson editor 1980:211). Humans as stewards, according to the Biblical narrative, have not been faithfully accountable to God who gave them this task (c.f. *Ibid*: 226). In stead they have chosen to be accountable to themselves through the market (cf. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:70). Consequently, people are more willing to amass wealth than worry themselves about the imperatives of stewardship. People are willing to enrich themselves at the expense of community, the environment, and a sustainable future.

In short, in Biblical-theological imagery, the fall of man and woman was complete. It led to the changing of an adequate understanding of management based on Biblical *oikonomia* to a corrupt understanding of management based on selfish self-interested *chrematistics* supported by the scarcity concept. The result was and is a paradigmic and structural shift from life-giving others-interest to life-destroying self-interest. Today, the human family and the “silent” environmental community, are suffering the pains of misdirected human politico-economic actions hinged on greedy personal aggrandisement.

Biblical stewardship says “no” to both irresponsible amassing of wealth and the indiscriminate use of the earth and its resources. Instead, the notion says “yes” to both a responsible creation of wealth and a responsible utilisation of the earth’s resources in relation to humans and non-human realities. Further, the notion casts a wide net of responsibility over personal and corporate resources of time, money, talents, and so on, and over each and every resource of society. It is, indeed, an awesome responsibility which seeks faithful accountability to God because all things belong to God and all are given to humanity as steward. Humans are challenged to reclaim their stewardship responsibility so that humans and non-humans might have life, health, and fulfilment.

5.4.3 Main implications of stewardship for society and economic development

The broad outlines of stewardship have been drawn; its meaning defined and described; and its depth explored. The obvious question is: What are some of the main implications of stewardship for society in general and for economic development in particular? The notion of stewardship becomes empty unless it is related to the real world of people and their institutions. Thus the main objective of this section is to relate stewardship to concrete issues of society and economic development. The first part deals with the general implications of stewardship for society. The second part looks at stewardship implications for economic development. And the third part attempts to draw out stewardship implications for humans and human institutions in the light of economic development. But before this, there arises a structural issue: How are moral criteria identified in the second section of this chapter linked to stewardship?

5.4.3.1 The relationship between moral criteria and stewardship implications: a brief note

The second section of this chapter has categorically stated that moral criteria which have been identified ought to be integrated in the concept of stewardship. *Inter alia*, one cannot explicate the notion of stewardship without reference to these moral criteria. It is a generally accepted idea that the management of resources requires moral criteria such as justice and human dignity. Hence the need to integrate moral criteria in the discussion of stewardship.

The previous discussion on moral criteria has clearly identified moral values which ought to be incarnated in an economy. These values need a general model, a representation, within which they are to be discussed. And that model, as already noted, is the notion of stewardship. Stewardship can also, to some extent, be seen as a moral criterion. Nonetheless, it is not simply a moral criterion, but a broad framework in which to explicate moral

values. The notion immediately calls to mind human persons who are tasked to manage well the resources of the earth for the benefit of the human family – present and future – as well as non-humans. As noted already, the issue is no longer scarcity of resources, but the management of resources by humans and how they go about doing this.

The “how”, therefore, becomes a matter of moral concern. Moral criteria which have been identified, provide the basis for ethical engagement and analysis of the economy. In the context of the discussion on implications of stewardship, these moral criteria will be re-emphasised in brief. The idea is not simply to repeat oneself, but to situate important moral criteria in the broad framework of discussing stewardship. By so doing, a clear picture begins to emerge as to how stewardship ought to be in the real world of people and the economy.

Thus, the relationship is feasible: stewardship is that broad framework within which to explicate moral criteria. And that explication is not for mere repetition, but for contextualising and clarifying the meaning of stewardship.

5.4.3.2 General implications for society

The notion of stewardship, inevitably, has some general implications for how society ought to be organised. The following are some of them:

5.4.3.2.1 All resources and all property belong to God

The earth and all that is in it belong to God. This includes human life and all its capabilities and potentialities. God is the originator of all things according to the Biblical narrative. God created the rivers and seas with all their benefits such as fish, the land with all its benefits such as minerals, good soils and trees and animals such as cattle and zebras, the sky

with all its benefits such as sun and moon. In God's economy, everything has a purpose and works in accordance with the divine master plan. All these things are owned by the creator God. Modern humanity has tried to alter the face of creation through the wisdom given to them by God. This alteration includes human superstructures such as industrial sites, building sites, and habitation sites. The resources used to put up such structures are from God's creation and gift – even the wisdom, in the form of technology and skill, is God's gift. Property which humanity claims to extract from nature through a mixture with labour – according to the Lockean view – comes from God's creation and gift (see property rights in 5.3.2). Ultimately, humanity owns no resources and no property. This is why the words of that great poet of God – Job – that we brought nothing into the world and we shall take nothing out of this world are true also for this generation. Humanity, though they brag about how much they have, are absolutely poor – that is, they have completely nothing. All resources and all property belong to God, the creator, the originator and the generous giver of all things.

5.4.3.2.2 Humans are stewards of God's resources and property

Even though humans own completely nothing, they are, nevertheless, called by God to participate in God's economy by being managers or administrators of God's resources and property. They are tasked to exercise responsible and accountable stewardship. This task has to do: firstly, with how they treat fellow humans and non-humans while managing God's resources and property; and secondly, with how they go about doing the task of managing these resources and property. In terms of their treatment of fellow humans and non-humans, they are expected to maintain the necessary balance between the spiritual and the material, the moral and the technical, to be sensitive to human dignity, to be just to both humans and non-humans alike, to execute an ethic of care and sociality in relation to both humans and non-humans alike (see moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics in

5.3.1) and to do everything in their power – as superior beings – to be moral in their treatment of humans and non-humans. It is only in this way that their management of God's resources and property can pass the test of responsible and accountable stewardship. In terms of the actual task of the management of God's resources and property, it is expected that they will respect interrelationships which exist between living and non-living things, and seek to live within the earth's capacity to support life. Similarly, it is only in this way that humanity can pass the test of responsible and accountable stewardship. In addition to the foregoing points, the notion of stewardship does recognise the ownership of resources and property by private individuals and by communities. Nonetheless, their ownership – privately or corporately – is with the *proviso* that they do this on behalf of God the originator, the creator, and the generous giver of all things. This means that their ownership is not for their exclusive use, but also for the use of others such as street children, the unemployed, and the disabled or simply to share with others (cf. Maynard-Reid in *South African Outlook* – Nov/Dec 1989:155-156). For the Biblical narrative teaches humanity that ownership of resources and property – privately and corporately – ought to be for the benefit of the human community (cf. Wilkinson editor 1980:239-244). In fact, property ownership which is basic to human survival ought to be encouraged. In this way people can be given an opportunity to exercise their stewardship. Humans bring glory to God if they manage God's resources and property responsibly and accountably.

5.4.3.2.3 **Human stewardship is for the life, health, and fulfilment of the human community and other non-human creatures**

In God's economy, it is the intention of God that all humans and non-human creatures might have life, health, and fulfilment. In fact, in God's sight, all creation is good. God did not create a self-destructive economy, but one which was inclined towards the preservation and sustenance of all human life, the enhancement of environmental sanity, and the realisation of eternal fulfilment for both humanity and non-human creatures. God did not expect humanity to destroy life, health and fulfilment. God expected humanity to promote these unquantifiable qualities for the sake of the entire creation. That humans are earthly and as

such, creatures of God, should spur them to act responsibly and accountably. The quality of their life, their health, and their fulfilment, and that of other non-human creature depend, first and foremost, on the sanity of the earth, of the biosphere, and of the entire created order. Irresponsible disruptions of these have a telling effect on human and non-human life, health, and fulfilment. In addition to human earthliness, as a motivation to act responsibly and accountably, humanity ought to be spurred on by the fact that human life is social. This is to say the life, health, and fulfilment of an individual is dependant on the life, health and fulfilment of others. The individual and the community are inextricably linked: they share the same destiny. Hence it is expected that humans --privately and corporately – will do everything in their power to avoid those things that would harm their life, their health and their fulfilment. Similarly, the same sociality ought to be extended to non-human creatures – treating them with care and as friends. Dignified humanity has a sacred duty to ensure that their life, their health, and their fulfilment, and that of non-humans, are not compromised.

5.4.3.3 Stewardship implications for economic development

5.4.3.3.1 Stewardship as a point of departure and model for production, distribution and consumption

From the perspective of a theological-ethical framework for economic development, the notion of stewardship should replace the notion of scarcity. In this way, it becomes a new “point of departure” for economic development. Nonetheless, in spite of the short-comings of the notion of scarcity and the capitalist model, some concepts and ideas related to them are reclaimed and adapted to suit the notion of stewardship. This is not intended however, to

do away with useful socialist concepts and ideas (see human co-operative action in 5.3.2). These will be integrated in the broad framework of stewardship which is being developed. But for now, the focus is on scarcity situated in a free market economy as the reigning model. These reclaimed and adapted concepts and ideas are very basic to the economic organisation of society. This includes the productive machinery, the distributive mechanism, and the consumption patterns. In this regard, the notion of stewardship becomes a model for production, distribution, and consumption. According to the theological-ethical framework for economic development, everything begins with stewardship and is modeled according to this notion. The notion of stewardship ought to be realistic and not idealistic, and speaks a language which is familiar to modern humanity, albeit, with comprehensivity, with dignity for humanity, with justice, with care and a sense of sociality (see moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics in 5.3.1).

The productive machinery ought to emanate from a very strong stewardship base. This is because it is the first phase at which humanity interacts with God's resources and property in nature in order to produce goods and services for the consumers. The centre of the productive machinery is industry. Firstly, there needs to be an awareness in industry that natural resources are limited and should be used responsibly (c.f. Wilkinson editor 1980:169 ff). Some of them are renewable such as soils and trees. Others are non-renewable such as minerals and crude oil. Secondly, the extraction and transformation of these resources ought not to compromise environmental sanity. That is to say the earth ought to continue to renew itself and its resources ought not to be depleted irresponsibly (*Ibid*). Thirdly, production ought to aim, first and foremost, at the meeting of basic needs for the greatest number and the avoidance of wastage. This includes: production of basic food for human consumption guided by environmental-friendly agricultural practices (Pemberton and Finn 1985; Wilkinson, editor, 1980); production of basic shelter for all; production of cheaper, accessible and unharmed drugs for human health; production of quality and affordable clothing for all; and the production of basic and affordable educational programmes for all.

As for other wants which are not threatening to human survival such as the want for automobiles, society has to decide as to what should be the priority. Unbridled production should not be encouraged. Fourthly, there must be an awareness that there are some things which cannot just be produced, and, are therefore, unquantifiable. These include friendship, care, sacrifice and solidarity. This means that attention should not just be paid to quantifiable goods and services, but also to unquantifiable “goods and services”. Both of these categories are important to the life, health, and fulfilment of human communities.

According to the notion of scarcity, in the capitalist individualist model, distribution of goods and services is done through the market mechanism. In this new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development, distribution of goods and services will be done also through the market mechanism. Nonetheless, it is not the “invisible hand” of Adam Smith, but one which is regulated by social authority to meet the basic needs of human beings. Also, society-enhancing virtues such as co-operation to transform destructive competition into responsible paths, communal interest to transform self-interest into service, and contentment to transform unsatiability into economics of enough (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995), will be encouraged. Still, fair and just incomes in accordance with commutative justice (*Economic Justice for All* 1986), and the creation of more jobs, so that the majority of people participate constructively in the distributive mechanism, will be promoted. Further those who are unemployed and have no income will be catered for not only through hand-outs, but through projects which will make them self-reliant. In fact, distribution of resources, goods and services, according to the Biblical narrative, ought to be done from the perspective of the weak, the vulnerable, and the powerless (Wilkinson editor 1980; Goudzwaard and De Lange 1985; *The American Bishops Pastoral Letter* 1986). This is what distributive justice means. Those assigned to distribute resources, goods and services, should, therefore, ensure that more and more people participate in a just, caring and friendly market. And those who may not have the means to participate for the time being are

catered for both by charity and projects aimed at self-sufficiency. This is possible if humanity begins to realise that we are not just a market society, but a humane and social entity. In fact, according to the demands of social or contributive justice, humans contribute their best to society when they are empowered through fair and just distribution of resources, goods and services (c.f. *Economic Justice for All* 1986). This can be achieved through both market and non-market means which balance between the moral and the technical, the spiritual and the material, the present and the future, which recognise human dignity, which are just, and which exercise care and sociality for all.

It is a well-known fact that all economies depend on the consumption of resources – in raw form or transformed form. Their uses vary: some are for food and bodily health, others are for pleasure and so on. Nonetheless, how humanity consumes God-given resources is a matter of stewardship. Firstly, consumer goods and services ought not to compromise the vitality of human life and the environment. This means the consumption of human-friendly and environment-friendly products. Secondly, humanity's consumption patterns should distinguish between what is basic to human life and survival from what is luxurious and superfluous. Society can alleviate problems of poverty and ill-health if more and more products which are fundamental to human life are easily accessible and available. Thirdly, humanity's consumption patterns ought not to encourage wastage and extravagance. The point is, for every product and produce we throw away, for example, food, there are millions of people who need it for their survival. Fourthly, we ought to learn to say we have consumed enough (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995) and that we ought to give others the chance to consume with contentment. This will hinder humanity to go on a rat-race of scarcity which makes them to consume more and more, usually at the expense of those who do not have the means. Fifthly, humanity ought to realise that in God's economy, there is enough to go around for each and every person, if only the righteousness of God is allowed to incarnate (Meeks 1988). Stories of hunger, unemployment, homelessness and the like are not signs of Biblical stewardship, but are signs of the illusion of scarcity which, *inter alia*, is

caused by self-interested material possession for more and more calculated in price. The imperative of stewardship is that the entire household of humanity gets its sustenance from within this household and thus, enable each member to contribute their talents, to society for the sake of its well-being. Therefore, humanity's consumption patterns ought to be stewardly conceived and stewardly exercised.

Finally, the productive machinery, the distributive mechanism, and the consumption patterns ought to be fashioned in such a way that they enhance the life, the health, and the fulfilment of humans – and to a certain degree, that of non-humans. Humanity cannot just produce, distribute, and consume irresponsibly and unaccountably. The creator God, the originator of all things and the giver of all things has given humanity an awesome task: to execute stewardship – justly, lovingly, caringly, humanely and friendly – over all what God has given them. It is expected that humanity ought to be faithful, that is, be accountable to God who gave them such a stupendous and sacred responsibility. Therefore, production, distribution, and consumption ought to start with the notion of stewardship and be modeled on the basis of the imperatives of this notion. These three important economic categories should not be submitted to the figments of the human imagination based on illusionary scarcity which has contributed to the destruction of human communities and environmental degradation. For the present and the future, they have to embrace stewardship as an optimistic option which aims at a more just, caring, friendly, balanced, dignified social order.

5.4.3.3.2 Stewardship and the preservation of community, the environment, and a sustainable future

From the foregoing, it is clear that the development process will be judged successful or unsuccessful on the basis of how much it preserves (and serves) the human community, and to some degree, non-human communities, the environment of humans and non-humans, and

the life and environment of posterity and their non-human neighbours. This idea has become a well-known issue among scholars (for example, see and c.f.: Daly and Cobb, Jr., 1989; Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995; and Wilkinson, editor, 1980) and can be alluded to in brief. This trilogy has already been mentioned (see moral criteria from Christian theology and ethics in 5.3.1). Its implications are now discussed a little more comprehensively in the context of the discussion on stewardship.

A successful economy ensures that human communities thrive, prosper, and excel to greater heights. Thus, it values both the moral and the technical, the spiritual and the material, and ensures that humanity remains dignified, that justice for all is entrenched, that there is care and sociality for all. Similarly, it ensures that non-human communities enjoy the benefits of these human moral norms. A successful economy protects its citizens or beneficiaries from the harmful effects (physical and moral) of producing, distributing and consuming. It works for the best so that humanity and other non-humans realities might have life, health, and fulfilment.

A successful economy respects the environment as the basis not only of human life, but of all life. This economy is aware that God has graciously benevolently and abundantly given all resources to humanity, but that these resources are limited. It takes into account that humanity, can destroy renewable resources as well as deplete non-renewable resources through unsteadwardly actions. Therefore, a successful economy encourages interaction among all environmental realities so that the earth can renew itself and resources can be depleted in a responsible way. Destruction of the environment by any means is not part of the ethos of a successful economy which starts from stewardship and is modeled on the basis of this notion.

A successful economy is accountable to posterity, their future “neighbours” and their future environment. So the actions of the present will define the future. In this regard, it is not

party to irresponsible and accountable production, distribution, and consuming. It ensures that the productive machinery, distributive mechanism, and consumption patterns do take into consideration the needs of future humans and non-humans, and their environment. Its goal is to deliver an environment which is full of vitality and resilience – ready to meet their needs and the needs of future non-humans.

This, indeed, ought to be the test for a successful or unsuccessful development process. The notion of stewardship, if rightly implemented, ensures that the development process preserves and serves community, the environment, and a sustainable future.

5.4.3.3 Stewardship implications for humans and human institutions in the light of economic development

The responsibility of stewardship was not delegated to nature nor to other non-human creatures. It was delegated to humans and human institutions. The ball is in the hands of humans and their institutions to begin to reclaim their God-given responsibility of stewardship, and, ideologically and structurally, move away from the false culture of scarcity. In God's economy, scarcity does not exist. What exists is the abundance and grace of the creator God. Humanity's role, therefore, is to work with God and exercise their God-given authority in the service and preservation of community, the environment and a sustainable future. This task affects all humans from the grassroots to the highest echelons of power. Stewardship ought to be regarded as a general task for humanity (Wilkinson, editor, 1980:231), but with a particular focus on economic development. Humans can do no other than their God-given responsibility of stewardship. They and their institutions should join forces – body, soul and spirit – to think and to do stewardly (*Ibid*: 231). The following are the main groups of humans and human institutions upon which stewardship responsibilities placed.

5.4.3.3.1 Stewardship and government

Government officials and workers – from the President to the last person in the line of command – ought to consider themselves as stewards as well as custodians of a country's resources and property. These include: natural resources such as minerals and rivers; infrastructural property like roads; and monetary wealth, especially in foreign reserves. In addition to this, they ought to manage well the many and various talents, skills and potentialities of the citizenry. Their role is to see to it that their country prospers and progresses in every facet of human endeavour. In order to achieve this, as stewards and custodians of a country's resources and property, they ought to observe very specific norms of public etiquette. For example, they ought not to steal from the country's coffers. Stealing from your country household is like stealing from your own household. This is inimical to the notion of stewardship whose aim is to promote the well-being of the household as a whole. Also, they ought not to earn dis-proportionately when compared to the levels of progress in a country. It is not uncommon to see this trend especially in many Third World countries. Politicians of such countries like to lavish themselves with expensive consumer goods and services which are out of the reach of the suffering majority. Moderation in taste and conduct is one of the main lessons of the notion of stewardship. Further, they ought to use resources wisely and plan for the future of their country. Their vision ought to be the realisation of a prosperous, healthy, and fulfilled citizenry. This involves: firstly, the meeting of basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, health and education; secondly, the diversification of the economy from a mono-economy to a multilateral economy to help the country expand its financial resource base and cushion itself against global trade uncertainties; and thirdly, the storage of sufficient resources and the good management of the country's renewable and non-renewable resources for their future use and the future use of posterity. Further, they ought to ensure that the development process - production-wise, distribution-wise, and consumption-wise – does not harm community, the environment, and a sustainable future. One of the ways is to protect them through sufficient legislation on industrial development and the environment which includes both punitive and motivational

measures (see and c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:134ff). Above all, as stewards and custodians of the country's resources and property, they have to ensure that as they attempt to boost the development process, they simultaneously protect the weakest members of society (see necessity of justice in 5.3.1). This can be done through the facilitation of job-creation, the facilitation of responsible and accountable investment, and through socio-economic empowering social programmes.

The life of the nation is in the hands of government. Its sacred mandate is to stewardly preside over the nation's resources and property which they hold on behalf of God for the sake of God's people. It is their moral responsibility to practically execute stewardship in all their projects, programmes and actions, so that human life, health and fulfilment, and that of other non-human creatures can be sustained.

5.4.3.3.2 **Stewardship, industry and business**

Even though it is generally accepted that industry and business are there for profit-making, decision-makers in this sector have to be aware that they are called to stewardship of resources and property. In short, they are tasked with *chrematistics* as well as *oikonomia*. According to the imperatives of stewardship, the two concepts – *chrematistics* and *oikonomia* – have to be held in creative tension. Both of them are important in running a successful industry and business. That is, as they seek to make a profit in order to stay in business, they should be mindful of the other aspects of the societal household such as humans, the environment, and a sustainable future (see moral criteria from shared human experience in 5.3.2).

Firstly, as already noted, it involves starting and modeling the productive machinery, the distributive mechanism, and the consumption patterns from the perspective of stewardship. All decision-makers, as well as workers in all sectors of the economy, including trade and industry, manufacturing, agricultural, and service, should regard themselves as stewards. Their starting point is not the illusionary scarcity, but a firm acknowledgement that they are tasked to manage well whatever resources are before them. Secondly, it involves seeing industry and business as a community of persons (Pope Johan Paul II in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994). Top management, middle management, and skilled and unskilled labour ought to see each other as dignified human beings who need each other for industrial harmony and business survival. The habit of seeing workers as good for nothing except for their labour value, does not exist in stewardship. Thirdly, it means creating a conducive atmosphere for all categories of workers which would in turn contribute to the efficient productive, distributive, and consumption base. This includes the setting up of just conditions of service and the honouring of contracts so that commutative justice can take effect (*Economic Justice for All* 1986). Fourthly, it means considering that private or corporate wealth is not for the exclusive use by owners of capital, but for inclusive use of the public household. This can be done through charity and social empowerment programmes such as educational projects. Fifthly, it means re-orienting the ethic of self-interest to service so that all persons are able to exercise their democratic right of expression for the good of the company (Block 1993). This can cut down on unduly control of those in the lower echelons of power by authorities. Sixthly, it includes the tapping and enhancing of the human talent and skill of all workers so that this can work for efficient and effective service (Teke in *People Dynamics* Nov/Dec 1988:85-89). Human resources⁵⁵ ought to be well prepared and well placed in order to contribute to company and societal well-being (*Ibid*). Above all, they are mandated to make money on *proviso* that they preserve community, the environment, and a sustainable future.

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Nonetheless, the use of the phrase “human resources” borders on the ethic of commodisation of human labour which reduces human beings to things (c.f. Hinkelammert 1988). The notion of stewardship simply sees human beings as human beings, the dignified creatures of God.

It is expected of them to demonstrate service-leadership and preserver-leadership as they seek to contribute to the creation of national wealth. Responsible and accountable *chrematistics* ought to be a watch-phrase for their contribution to economic growth and development.

5.4.3.3.3 Stewardship, social groups and civil society

The notion of stewardship is a matter for all human beings. Nobody, except may be the mentally disabled and people with extreme physical disabilities, is excused.

All social groups from NGOs to church organisations, from professional bodies to social clubs, and so on, should consider themselves as stewards of God's resources and property. Similarly, civil society, from individuals to families, from communities to workers in various and institutions, are called upon to be stewards.

This calls for a change in mindsets and life styles. The way humanity produces, distributes, and consumes ought to be stewardly. Humanity can no longer make allowance to care less for the harmful effects of environment-unfriendly and society-unfriendly actions. This change includes the little things humans do in their ordinary life, as well as complex actions in the entire economy. No action should destroy moral and social well-beingness and environmental vitality.

Stewardship, is indeed, a clarion call to duty. It challenges humanity not to be confused by the illusion of scarcity which makes them to unstewardly produce, distribute, and consume more and more without due regard for social and environmental imperatives. They should rise to the occasion and model the productive, distributive and consumption base from the vantage point of the notion of stewardship. If that notion is allowed to incarnate, it will

ensure that: all persons have their basic needs met and human beings learn the ways of contentment.

Therefore, all social groups and civil society ought to share this responsibility that the life, health, and fulfilment of humans and non-humans might be preserved and enhanced. Time to act stewardly is *now* – for in this lies the realisation of the new economic vision: *the preservation and enhancement of community, the environment, and a sustainable future.*

5.5 AN EVALUATION OF STEWARDSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMPLEXITIES OF RUNNING A MODERN ECONOMY

There is indeed a high value in incarnating stewardship in a modern economy. As already noted, the benefits are for all humans and non-humans – past and present. However, the path towards this is both painful and gradual. In proposing stewardship as a new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development, one is aware of the complexities of running a modern economy. No doubt, today’s society is a market society and lives by market values, principles, and goals. Nonetheless, this does not mean that society cannot change from self-destruction to self-preservation and self-enhancement.

As already noted, this involves a gradual process of life-style change (cf. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:120ff). People of all sorts who are touched by the new ethos ought to join forces in order to create both local and global awareness (*Ibid*; Pemberton and Finn 1985:204-239; Wilkinson editor 1980:239ff). Through insistence on stewardship and practical demonstrations, this gradual process can yield results. The view that society cannot change its adherence to scarcity, to the ideology which surrounds it, and to an exclusivist market ethos, should be conquered and ought not to be entertained. Society ought to change its ways and move optimistically towards self-preservation and self-enhancement.

This process also involves the swift , flexible, and resilient management of local and global affairs by national governments and international bodies. This is because humanity ought to acknowledge the existence of power structures which are bent on the manipulation of society through their selfish means (c.f Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995:120 ff). In this regard, for example, at national level, sufficient and water-tight regulation as noted already ought to be put in place for all sorts of investors. This is in order to ensure that before, during and after, the development process, community, the environment, and a sustainable future are preserved and enhanced.

Humanity, through greed, has replaced stewardship with the illusion of scarcity. Time to reclaim this Biblical metaphor of stewardship and apply it to economic development has come. It ought to be a new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development. Through stewardship, the development process can certainly be redirected to community, the environment and a sustainable future.

5.6 A CHECKLIST OF A SET OF PRINCIPLES TO BE USED IN THE EVALUATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The basic philosophy of a theological-ethical framework for economic development has been developed. What follows now is, the presentation of a checklist of a set of principles, that is, standards, which can be used in evaluating an economy or economic development

programmes. These principles⁵⁶ are grouped under three sub-headings namely: social life principles; environmental life principles; and economic life principles which are divided further into two parts, namely: business principles and government principles. By “social principles” is meant standards which apply to human persons in their total dimensions, referring to their materiality which is inextricably linked to other aspects of human life such as their spirituality and their culture (Nürnbergger 1994). It is expected that human beings ought to see themselves as they really are. “Environmental principles” are standards which apply to the environment in its own right. Even though the environment cannot speak for itself, there needs to a deliberate human movement towards spelling out clearly an approximation of what standards rightly belong to the environment. “Economic principles” are simply social and environmental principles adapted to economic life. As already noted, they are divided into two, namely: business (including industrial) principles and government principles. This division is necessary because there are two essential groups in running a modern economy (Todaro 1997), namely: business leaders and government leaders. In this regard, their respective roles in ensuring that social and environmental imperatives are protected within an economy ought to be clearly seen.

⁵⁶ See and c.f. Boersema (1999), Hay (1989), Goudzwaard and De Lange (1995), and Wilkinson, editor (1980), on how they formulate principles for economic life derived from Christian theology and biblical teaching. In spite of their different approaches, they all take the notion of stewardship as their point of departure. Boersema prefers to add to stewardship what he calls the “cultural mandate”, that is, the first job description given to Adam and Eve of working and ruling, as a co-starting point for principles. As already noted, this thesis takes the so-called “cultural mandate” as a part of stewardship. Hay, Goudzwaard and De Lange, and Wilkinson are somewhat general in their application of these principles to economic life. It is Boersema who begins to develop some specific initial thinking on how these stewardship principles can be translated into specific economic policy issues. This process should be encouraged to facilitate a balanced transition from the narrative mode, the ethical mode, and the prophetic mode of moral discourse, to the policy mode of moral discourse (see Gustafson in part one of chapter five). And this task belongs to both academic and practical economists, who, in collaboration with interested and appropriate parties, should concretise the philosophy of stewardship into feasible economic policy frameworks.

Key:

A = exceptional

B+ = very good

B = good

C = average

D = poor

E = very poor

(Source: Musonda Bwalya, June 2001)

NB (1) All the principles can be used in the evaluation of either economic development programmes as a whole or specific economic programmes. However, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, social and environmental principles apply more to the evaluation of economic development programmes as a whole. Economic principles apply more to the evaluation of specific economic development programmes. After all, economic principles are simply social and environmental principles adapted to economic life.

(2) Where a principle does not apply, the grade will be “non-applicable” (n/a).

5.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main objective of this chapter was to critically discuss and present the normative basis of a theological-ethical framework for economic development. This was achieved by critically formulating the moral foundation upon which a theological-ethical engagement of economic issues rests.

Firstly, this chapter has established that Christian theology (including Christian ethics) does have something to offer to economic development. It ought to be willing to offer its various insights and perspectives as one voice among many.

Secondly, this chapter has hinted that the Christian insights and perspectives are in the form of Christian moral criteria such as the holistic mission of Jesus, the primacy of human dignity, the necessity of justice, and an ethic of care and sociality. These criteria are in tune with the Biblical witness. In addition, these criteria ought to be combined with moral criteria from shared human experience which are generally in tune with the Biblical witness such as a regulated market, individual rights to property, promotion of appropriate and healthy business, and human co-operative action. Moral criteria from Christian theology and from shared human experience form part of a new “point of departure” and “model” for economic development.

Thirdly, it has pointed out that the concept of stewardship ought to be a new “point of departure” and a “model” for economic development. Stewardship, a Biblical metaphor and principle, is that broad framework within which to discuss and present other moral criteria which are in tune with the Biblical witness. These are taken from Christian theology and ethics on the one hand, and from shared human experience on the other hand. It is not simply another moral criterion, but a general model within which moral criteria is explicated. There is every need to move away from scarcity as the current “point of departure” for economic development to stewardship as the new “point of departure” for economic development. This is because, *inter alia*, the notion of scarcity spurs humanity to produce and consume more and more without any regard for the human society and the environment nor for anything without a price. By definition, stewardship is a God-given responsibility which has to do with the management of the household. Stewardship ensures that the God-given human mandate is used for the service and preservation of society and the environment. As a concept, it has implications for society, in general, and for economic development, in particular. In general, that: all resources and all property belong to God; humans are stewards of God’s resources and property; and human stewardship is for the life,

health, and fulfilment of the human community and other non-human realities. In relation to economic development, that: stewardship ought to be a “point of departure” and “model” for the productive machinery, the distributive mechanism, and consumption patterns; and the preservation and enhancement of community, the environment, and a sustainable future ought to be the test for a successful economy. In relation to humans and human institutions, that: government, as steward and custodian of a country’s resources and property, ought to think and act stewardly for the sake of the nation; decision-makers in industry and business ought not to see themselves as people responsible for wealth-creation (*chrematistics*) only, but as also tasked with *oikonomia*, that is, stewardship in the true sense of the word; and that all social groups and civil society ought to see stewardship as their general human task which has a particular relevance for economic development.

Fourthly, this chapter has shown that to realise the vision of a new economic way of life rooted in stewardship will not be an easy task especially in light of the complexity of the modern economy. Nonetheless, there needs to be a gradual process of life-style change for all people and the legislative intervention of responsible governments and international bodies so that selfish power structures do not hinder this change. Humanity ought to be optimistic that, locally and globally, they can gradually change the *status quo* which is guided by scarcity to one which is guided, directed, and modeled by the notion of stewardship.

Finally, a checklist of a set of principles is provided in this chapter. These are deduced from the philosophy of stewardship which has been developed. The purpose of doing this is to help one to easily evaluate the economy or economic development programmes by using relevant principles as evaluative criteria.

The ball is in the hands of all humans to exercise responsible and accountable stewardship over all what God has given them. They ought to use their superiority and their authority in

the service and preservation of society and the environment. They have to act *now* so that their life, health, and fulfilment and that of other members of non-human communities, and that of posterity, and their future “neighbours” can be assured. Humanity, therefore, has to arrest the destructive effects on society and the environment which were and are being unleashed by unsteWARDly actions. Their sacred duty is to incarnate stewardship in the economic realm so that it might serve the interests of society and the environment.

CHAPTER 6

AN EVALUATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND GUIDELINES FOR CHURCHES' PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter has two objectives, namely: to evaluate economic development programmes and to propose guidelines for churches' participation in economic development in Zambia. This will be a principle-based assignment rather than a facts-based one. If facts and figures are cited, they will be only for illustrative purposes.

The previous chapter has sufficiently developed the philosophy of stewardship and, on that basis, has drawn out some principles which can be relevant to the evaluation of economic development programmes in Zambia. The first task is to apply this evaluative framework in the specific context of Zambia by means of a critical evaluation of economic development programmes. The next task is to see how such a framework can be appropriated by Zambian churches. The point is, one cannot call others to a new way of looking at economic life without setting an example.

6.2 AN EVALUATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES FROM A THEOLOGICAL-ETHICAL FRAMEWORK

This section is divided into two major parts namely: an evaluation of economic development programmes and a summary of the evaluation by the checklist of a set of principles.

6.2.1 An evaluation of economic development programmes

The previous chapter has developed the philosophy of stewardship and had constructed a set of principles based on this philosophy. This segment evaluates economic development programmes as a whole and specific economic development programmes from the standpoint of stewardship principles.

The discussion of economic development programmes as a whole gives one an overall overview of issues; whereas the discussion of specific development programmes enables one to see how stewardship principles can be brought to specifically bear on them. Those specific programmes which have been selected for discussion are nationalisation and privatisation. The motivation for their selection will be explained below. In addition, in the light of this study, one should be aware that in discussing economic development programmes as a whole, there were two main economic periods in Zambia, namely: 1964 to 1991 and 1992 to 1999.

6.2.1.1 Economic development programmes as a whole: 1964-1999

During this time, Zambia implemented a number of economic development programmes (see chapter three). These fall within two major economic periods namely: 1964 to 1991 which was mainly guided by the socialist collectivist philosophy and 1992 to 1999, which was mainly based on the capitalist individualist philosophy. This section discusses the evaluation of economic development programmes as a whole. This is in order to give a general gist or bird's eye view of how things were and might have been, viewed from the standpoint of principles of stewardship. As noted already, to avoid unnecessary repetition, the discussion will be done from the standpoint of social and environmental principles. The next section will then discuss examples of specific economic programmes from the standpoint of economic principles – which are simply social and environmental principles adapted to the economic realm.

During both periods, there was a fair acknowledgment of the wholeness of human needs (principle 1(a)). There were deliberate attempts in both periods to reconcile material needs of Zambians with their spiritual needs (see, for example, *The Constitution of Zam-*

bia, 1990a, which allowed for freedom of worship). Nonetheless, the practical translation of this acknowledgement varied from period to period. In the first period, government ensured that basic social and material needs were met through a once vibrant subsidised economy (see chapter three). In the second period, the meeting of social and material needs was not guaranteed (see chapter three). It all depended on one's purchasing power, which the majority Zambians did not have due to a lack of employment, high inflation and expensive consumer goods and services. On the spiritual and moral level, there was sufficient religious tolerance for all religions in both periods, except for violent religious movements such as the Lenshina movement which was banned (see Makasa 1985). It was only when the new government declared Zambia as a Christian nation at the end of 1991 that certain Zambians felt that this might compromise freedom of worship for other religions (see *The Post* news coverage, December 1991 – March 1992). But up until 1999, there were no religious upheavals. Zambians continued to enjoy their religiosity and other moral aspects amidst great economic difficulties. While spiritually the Zambian people were being enriched, they suffered physically. The result was that this had the potential of making many Zambians to escape from the material world and find solace in purely spiritual activities – with very serious ramifications for personal and communal stewardship which emphasises spiritual and material balance.

From independence, the dignity of human persons (principle 1(b) was greatly cherished by the political leadership (see, for example, Kaunda 1988 and Makasa 1985). It was one of the main cornerstones of the socialist collectivist philosophy of Zambian humanism (see chapter three). Everything was done to defend and protect the dignity of Zambians in all economic development programmes. This defence and protection was demonstrated through the meeting of basic social and material needs, as already noted. Unfortunately, the period of boom and glory turned into hopelessness and doom. Zambia could no longer afford to subsidise social and consumption needs of Zambians due to the economic decline of the 1980s (see chapter three). This led to disastrous effects on education, health and social spending (Mwanawina in Adepoju, editor, 1993). By the end of the 1980s, the situation worsened. It was hoped that the new government which was put in place at the end of 1991, would improve the economic situation, thereby giving back dignity to Zambians. This did not happen at all (see chapter three). By 1999, the majo-

rity of Zambians were a brutalised community with declining human dignity. What accounted for their situation was the total sum of weaknesses and gaps in the implementation of economic development programmes between 1964 and 1999. Social indicators up to 1999 were generally depressing (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank 1999). They indicated a situation of human and social degradation and waste. Examples abound. With regard to child malnutrition, it was estimated: that between 1993 and 1996, 13% of children born had low birth weight; that between 1990 and 1991, the percentage of under five children who were underweight ranged from 24% underweight, 4% wasting, and 42% stunting. This was a clear indication of a lack of nutritious food and exclusion from the market. Life expectancy dwindled from 51 years in 1982 to 43 years in 1997 – an indication of many socio-economic factors such as poor diet, low morale, disease, unemployment, and lack of social support. It was estimated that between 1993 and 1996, only 66% of Zambians living in urban areas, and only 37% of their rural counterparts had access to sanitation facilities. It was reported that between 1993 and 1996, 66% of urban dwellers and 37% of rural dwellers had access to safe water facilities. All these examples indicate that the health, well-being, progress, and fulfillment of the majority Zambians were being compromised. It was a very sad compromise of the dignity of Zambians which the architects of the Zambian society sought to protect and defend. Zambians could not exercise their stewardship in the face of such levels of dehumanisation and indignity.

During the first period, there was an impressive affirmation of work as being part of the human nature (principle 1(c)). Zambian humanism taught that formal work enhanced the condition of humans (Kaunda 1988). Employment was guaranteed. From five school leavers, technical and college graduates, and university graduates were absorbed by both government and industry. Unskilled labourers also had work opportunities. Should parastatals fail to employ able workers, government became the employer of the last resort – bloating the civil service (Mwanawina in Adepoju, editor, 1993). Through employment, many Zambians were able to exercise their stewardship (c.f. Wilkinson, editor, 1980). The prevailing philosophy of the day was that ordinary Zambians – from a toilet cleaner (called a *namalaisha* in Bemba) to the President – should earn a decent living and

look after his or her family. Unfortunately, due to non-performing parastatal companies and the economic debacle, the rate of unemployment swelled rapidly (see Mwanawina in Adepoju, editor, 1993). The situation was even made worse in the second period (see chapter three). As we shall see later, privatised companies were only able to employ according to their ability to make money. The result was that a number of Zambians joined the ever-swelling informal sector which had no influence on the mainline formal economy of Zambia. The informal sector was simply a survival strategy brought into being by unemployed Zambians (see chapter three). With reduced opportunities for gainful employment, many Zambians had no chance to exercise their stewardship.

The affirmation of the just treatment of all Zambians (principle 1(d) in all areas was fairly good in the first period. It was inextricably linked to the centrality of persons in humanism (Kaunda 1988). For example, in terms of distributive justice, the majority of Zambians, including the vulnerable and the disabled, had access to basic necessities of life due to affordable market prices and substantial social programmes (see chapter three). Also, in terms of social justice, the majority of Zambians were enabled to contribute their skill, their talent and their potential because the economy accorded them food, clothing, shelter, education, and other basics (see chapter three). Further, in terms of commutative justice, there was general satisfaction on the conditions of service for workers in a number of parastatals especially mining parastatals which employed people *en masse* (c.f. Burawoy 1972). This does not mean that workers did not agitate for an improvement in their standards of living from time to time (*Ibid*).

Nonetheless, in the maintenance of justice in the economic realm, Zambia was faced with two problems. Firstly, as noted already, it had to contend with falling living standards which challenged the very tenets of economic justice (see chapter three). Secondly, it had to contend with the emergence of the Zambian elite whose standards of living were far higher than an ordinary Zambian worker (Burawoy 1972). They were catapulted into

high echelons of social and economic power as a result of Zambianisation¹ which started soon after independence and continued throughout the 1970s. Even though the strategy brought about some benefits such as the emergence of professional indigenous managers some of whom won the admiration of the Zambian people, the Zambian society at large did not benefit from it. It simply helped to create a divided nation – a very prosperous small group of the Zambian elite and an average-income group consisting of the majority of Zambians. Asymmetrical interaction was certainly entrenched among the Zambian people (c.f. Nürnberger 1988). In such a scenario of economic decline and the emergence of the Zambian *nouveau riche* (a class of the new elite) (Burawoy 1972:59), it became increasingly difficult to maintain economic justice. In the second period, the maintenance of economic justice became poor. The structural shift to the market economy meant more emphasis was placed on the rule of the market than on social imperatives (see chapter three). Social justice for many Zambians was compromised because many of them had sunk into low spirits due to reduced opportunities for gainful employment and poverty. Distributive justice was also compromised because many Zambians could not afford goods and services due to exorbitant market prices. The second period brought with it an influx of consumer goods and a number of essential commodities which were lacking in the first period (see chapter three). Nonetheless, they were beyond the reach of the majority of Zambians. Many Zambians were reduced into window-shopping citizens (see moral criteria from shared human experience in chapter five). Commutative justice was reduced to a few Zambians who were lucky to remain in employment or to be employed (see chapter three). As we shall see later, it depended on the performance of each privatised company or private business in a liberalised, highly competitive, market economy. Without profit-maximisation, commutative justice in businesses was not assured. Even when it was assured, there was no guarantee that workers would get the best contracts. The business magnet, the business executive, or business entrepreneur, decided the destiny of employees. The spirit of capitalism had come to the shores of Zambia (c.f. Weber 1930). It was the market which was going to decide the

¹ Zambianisation was a strategy aimed at putting Zambian citizens in positions of decision-making and authority in business, government, and other areas (Kaunda 1988 and 1989). C.f. the process of Africanisation (Pearce 1981).

depth and extent of economic justice. Economic justice predominantly determined by market forces was going to undermine stewardship responsibilities of many Zambians. This was as a result of mass poverty, unemployment and a lack of constructive participation in the market.

In the first period, there was a great sense of appreciation for government's ability to demonstrate care for the Zambians and to ensure that their sociality grew from strength to strength (principle 1(e)). Post-independence large-scale infrastructural development and deliberate government-initiated social advancement attest to this fact (see chapter three). Care for the Zambian people was usually demonstrated by enabling them to have access to basic necessities of life. As noted already, this was made possible through a subsidised economy. Before the implementation of economic development programmes, citizens were considered first (see chapter three and c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995). Sociality was usually enhanced through national structures to grassroot levels in rural areas. In fact, the slogan of the day which joined all Zambians together was "One Zambia, One Nation", coined and popularised by Zambia's first President and elder statesman, Kenneth David Kaunda (see Kaunda 1988). This helped all Zambians of all tribes and languages, at least, to have equal job opportunities, equal opportunities for advancement, and to be represented at various levels of national life. In spite of isolated cases of regionalism in certain quarters, Zambia remained a socially stable country for many years. Nonetheless, economic problems started to threaten this principle.

The government could no longer demonstrate effectively that it could care due to reduced financial resources (see Kaunda 1989). Its programme to ensure that sociality was enhanced through propaganda and other government and party strategies became less effective (see chapter three). In the face of dire economic need, people were no longer interested in any political jargon which did not improve their lives – be it one which tried to foster national sociality.

At the level of interpersonal relations, the circle of care and sociality started to narrow down to one's family and a few very reliable friends. The philosophy of "each one for

himself or herself” started to infiltrate the Zambian community. This gradual shift did not just challenge humanist political calls for *working together* (Bemba: *ubwananyina* – literally meaning children who belong to one mother and who work together), but the very fabric of Zambian traditional ethos – communal life (Kaunda 1988). In difficult economic times, money started to determine the extent of human care and sociality. By the time of the second period, the situation was made worse. Within five years, the government managed to remove all subsidies on social and consumer goods (see chapter three). People had to pay economic prices for all they needed. In the face of rising unemployment in the formal sector (*Economic Report* 1998), rising poverty levels estimated at 68% by 1997 (International Bank/World Bank 1999), and rising inflation estimated at 30,6% by the end of 1998 (Ministry for Finance 1999), it became extremely difficult for many Zambians to have access to basic necessities of life. In a market economy, it was said that the role of government was to put in place “an enabling environment” first and foremost for business (see *MMD Manifesto* 1990). When this happened, businesses would be initiated which, hopefully, would generate required goods and services for the Zambian people. This did happen, but the problem was that many Zambians did not constructively participate in the market due to poor incomes and unemployment (see chapter three). Through a market economy, government was saying that it did not owe people a living. Each one of them was expected to work out his or her economic salvation. The “new culture” made life a battle for survival for many Zambians. Care, let alone sociality, were going to be determined by one’s ability to command sufficient financial resources. Once care and sociality is attached to money, it robs humans of the opportunity to foster non-market virtues which are so vital to community-building and household management (Pope Paul II in Boulton *et al.*, editors, 1994).

As already noted above, in the first period, every effort was made to include everybody in the market, especially the weakest members of society (principle 1(f)). Humanist practice endeavoured to include all Zambians when it came to economic goods (see chapter three). The government of the day tried to demonstrate in practical terms that African principle of catering for all people – men, women, children, the aged, the disabled, and

the outcasts (see Kaunda 1988). Begging on the streets, especially by street children and blind people was kept to the barest minimum by means of social programmes. The majority of Zambians had access to basic necessities of life. As noted already, this could not be sustained for a long time due to the economic debacle (see chapter three). The ability of the economy to subsidise social and consumer spending was significantly reduced – Zambia's only source of foreign exchange had suffered a slump. In addition, parastatals were performing either at low capacity or at a loss due to, *inter alia*, taking government business subsidies for granted and price control (see chapter three). Zambia did not have the capacity to generate foreign exchange from other sources and to make substantial profits from parastatals. Thus a good principle which is life-affirming and life-enhancing was being compromised. The second period did not guarantee the inclusion of everybody in the market, including the most vulnerable (see chapter three). The result was the rise in street begging, especially by abandoned street children and blind people, and mass street vending (c.f. Jere-Mwindilila in *Reformed World* Vol.44 1994). The continuation of government social and community programmes did not arrest the situation. Everything was done by the people just to eat. This was a sign of a sick economy. Significant participation in the market was narrowed to few Zambians – senior government workers, business executives, well-paid workers, and other successful Zambians in their private capacities. Everything was left to the market to determine who participated and who was excluded. All efforts at macroeconomic stabilisation aimed at market stability were to no avail – reducing further opportunities for significant market participation by many Zambians (see chapter three). The Zambian Kwacha depreciated massively from 1,51 Kwacha in 1983, to 5,70 Kwacha in 1985, to 28,99 Kwacha in 1990, to 1,861.60 Kwacha in 1998, per 1 US Dollar (Mwanawina in Adepoju, editor, 1993 and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank 1999). Systematic exclusion of people from the market is an unstealthy action. People are only able to exercise their God-given stewardship if and when they are allowed to participate constructively and significantly in the market place. And this largely depends on the ability of government to intervene positively in the market place through flexible and wise actions such as mass job creation through good investment packages, mass production of food, foreign exchange

control, and the lowering of inflation. These actions have the capacity to ensure that more and more people participate in the market and become responsible stewards.

In the first period, the affirmation of individual rights to property was poor (principle 1(g)). These rights were overshadowed by state ownership of property (see chapter three). For example, the majority of workers in government and parastatals stayed in government and parastatal houses as sitting tenants. In the event of sudden death of a worker, dismissal from employment and retirement, this brought about great suffering to families concerned. It was only a few Zambians belonging to the elitist group known in the local language as *bamulyabwino* (a Bantu word in Bemba, meaning those who eat well, similar in meaning to *nouveau riche*) and some middle class workers with foresight who managed to own suitable houses facilitated by financial institutions. The bulk of houses belonged to government, town councils, private companies, parastatals, and the giant mining conglomerate (the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines). Also, even though there were national calls to “go back to the land” and farm in rural areas, very few Zambians heeded these calls. It was generally argued that, *inter alia*, the political leadership of the day did not set an example and thus, discouraged many Zambians. The result was that very few Zambians owned successful farms or small farm holdings. These are, but a few examples. The spirit of the day was that *everything belonged to the state* including schools, roads, buildings and parastatals. This engendered unsteadwardly attitudes, leading, in some cases, to destruction of state property and pilferage. The result was a gradual, but steady fall of the Zambian economy. In the second period, the affirmation of individual rights to property, in real terms, slightly improved. This was mainly due to the “new culture” which encouraged the capitalist ownership of private property (see chapter three). In the housing sector, government decided to promote home ownership by selling a large portion of houses belonging to government, town councils, privatised business entities, and the mining sector to sitting tenants (see *Times of Zambia* news coverage June 1996 – December 1997). This was one way in which the principle of individual rights to property was enhanced. In fact, most of these houses were sold at give-away prices. This was simply an act of compassionate social empowerment. Through this

process, some poor Zambians who did not dream about ever owning a house were enabled to exercise their stewardship. As for other areas, this depended on the buying power of individuals in the market. As already noted, it was only a few privileged Zambians who managed to own, add, and expand their property. The majority of Zambians were yet to accumulate property, owing to their decreasing purchasing power. Clear lines of affluence and poverty were defined. The wealthy class commanded a lot of property. These included senior government officers and industrial magnets. In fact, it was more beneficial to become a politician or senior government official than remain a professional. The poorer class owned crumbs and pieces of junk. These included street vendors, marketeers, street children, and the unemployed. The middle class which was situated between the wealthy class and the poorer class became a demotivated poor lot. This included generations of professional people like university lecturers, college lecturers, school teachers, doctors, nurses, and agriculturists. The middle class was virtually destroyed and disempowered. The road to property ownership by masses became tough. This compromised the very essence of stewardship because one cannot be a steward without concrete resources and property, at least in basic form (see moral criteria from shared human experience in chapter three).

The environment as the basis of all life, eco-justice, human care and sociality for the earth and departure from environmental disruption (principles 2(a), (b), (c), (d)) are inter-linked by the idea that it was the responsibility of Zambians to ensure that in the implementation of economic development programmes, the environment remained vibrant, life-giving, and whole.

In both periods, the attitude towards the environment was not all that good. Part of the problem was that during the period under review, environmental matters were considered simply as an appendage to the main political task of ensuring that the economy grew (see chapter three). Environmental matters as a serious issue were not even analysed in major government reports on the political economy of Zambia. For example, the *Economic Report: 1998*, produced by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, did not

even discuss how government should ensure that the economy enhanced the environment. All it did was to mention the effects of the El-Nino on the agriculture, forestry, and fishing sector. It did not wrestle seriously with the impact of the economy on the environment with a view to putting on the table possible policy actions with regard to environmental protection. Besides, environmental matters were not only considered as secondary. There was also no legal body to deal with the issue of environmental protection. The Zambian government only established the Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ) through an act of parliament THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND POLLUTION ACT NO.12 OF 1990 in 1990 (Environmental Council of Zambia brochure “Caring into the future”; see the full text of the *Environmental Protection and Pollution Act No.12 of 1990* 1990b). It started its operations in October 1992 (*Ibid*).

The *State of Environment: Zambia* (1994) circumscribed the environmental problem as it existed in Zambia and sounded a clarion call to all stakeholders to begin to take matters of environmental protection very seriously. It highlighted examples of very serious environmental concerns. These included the following. Firstly, in the land and agriculture sector, there existed serious problems of deforestation, water availability, water quality, waste disposal, loss of wildlife and its habitat. Agricultural chemicals were the main source of pollution in the agricultural sector. These included chemical fertilizers and pesticides which contaminated surface and underground water sources. Secondly, in the national parks and wildlife sector, extensive poaching was the most serious threat. For example, the rhinoceros was reduced to the “brink of extinction” and elephants were reduced to the “status of threatened species”. It was estimated that the elephant population reduced from 2 million in the early 1970s to 22 000 in 1992. Thirdly, in the forestry sector, threats to forest resources emanated: from high population growth, which led to high demand in wood fuel; from poverty, which led to uncontrolled exploitation of forest resources; from unsustainable agricultural practices; from poor land use policies; from weak institutional agricultural capacity; from lack of well-planned forest management plans; and from ignorance on the part of resource users. Fourthly, the exploitation of fish resources had increased since independence. For example, 33,866 tons of fish were caught at independence and this had increased to 70, 000 tons of fish in 1992. Even

though Zambia enjoyed a fair amount of uncontaminated fish, this should not have been taken for granted considering potential pollution of land and waterways. Fifthly, in the energy sector, Zambia imported all her petroleum products and electric energy was virtually generated, transmitted, and distributed by one parastatal company, Zambia Electricity Supply Company (ZESCO). Zambia's great challenge was to develop new and renewable sources of energy for a clean and sustainable environment. Sixthly, in the industrial and mining sector, the major problem was air, land and water pollution. For example, the mining industry and Nitrogen Chemicals of Zambia significantly contributed to the pollution of air through sulphur dioxide and nitrous oxides emissions, respectively. Also, those businesses which contributed to water pollution included: the mining industry by releasing heavy metals like carbide, zinc and mercury, especially in the Kafue river waterway; Bata Shoe Company by releasing chromium into the Kafue during the industrial process of tanning; and Kafue Textiles by releasing textile chemicals into the Kafue during the industrial process of dyeing. The Kafue river, in particular, because it cuts across Zambia's industrial heartland, suffered the heaviest brunt of unskillful industrial practices. It led to the eutrophication (choking) of the Kafue, rendering it inaccessible to navigation in certain areas. Up until 1999, this problem was not fully solved.

Next was the waste management sector, it was reported that most of the solid wastes generated in the country were not collected and disposed off scientifically and professionally. This is a trend which exposed the Zambian public to fatal diseases and environmental hazards. The hazards included odour nuisances, hygienic and aesthetic problems, dangers of leachate, and danger of landfill explosions due to biogas. In addition, clinical wastes were improperly managed and in some cases, dumped in nearby sites and dropped in dug pits – endangering public health further.

What the report did was to critically highlight potential environmental degradation in Zambia. The harming of the Zambian environment, whether in small or large quantities, was not good. Much more should have been done in arresting the gradual deterioration of the environment. Continued serenity and intactibility of the environment depend on

how Zambia puts its environmental household in order. Zambia should have acted as a responsible steward to what God has given to them.

A moral economy does not treat the environment as an externality (c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995). Instead it seeks to be oriented to the quest for a clean and sustainable environment (c.f. Daly and Cobb, Jr. 1989). And that quest forms part of the stewardship of the earth and all its resources for the benefit of humankind and non-humans. At the threshold of a new beginning, Zambia should begin to chart her destiny towards a life-giving, life-affirming, and life-enhancing environmental future.

The foregoing is an overall picture of how the economy performed viewed from the standpoint of stewardship principles. Much more work was needed to protect social and environmental imperatives.

6.2.1.2 Specific economic development programmes

This section discusses the two specific economic development programmes. The main purpose is simply to illustrate how, working from principles of stewardship, specific economic development programmes ought to be viewed and evaluated. The two programmes, nationalisation and privatisation, have been chosen because according to the wisdom of economics, they form the basis upon which a nation hopes to grow and develop. And so, their evaluation is of vital importance. In the case of Zambia, it was hoped that in pursuing them, Zambia would grow into a prosperous, healthier, and happier country. On the contrary, an evaluation of these programmes from the standpoint of stewardship principles shows that much more needs to be done in order to fully achieve this goal. As noted already, in order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, the discussion of specific economic development programmes will be done from the standpoint of economic principles. As already noted in the previous section, economic principles are simply social and environmental principles adapted to economic life. In addition, to avoid further repetition, this section will only discuss stewardship principles which have not been referred to in the general discussion of the economy as a whole. However, those

principles which will not be discussed in the text will be included in the summary of the evaluation by a checklist of a set of principles. This is to enable one to see the specific principles which are applicable to specific economic development programmes – only that some cannot be discussed in order to avoid textual repetition.

6.2.1.2.1 Nationalisation

Nationalisation means: “the acquisition by the state, usually with the payment of compensation, of the assets of the private sector” (Livesey 1993). As already noted in chapter three, in the case of Zambia, this programme dates back to 1968 when the famous Mulungushi reforms were announced by government (see chapter three). At the time of the formulation and implementation of this programme, the national leadership was a *novice* to the international political order characterised by two superpowers, namely: capitalist USA and communist Soviet Union.

Before the Mulungushi reforms, Kenneth David Kaunda, elder statesman and first President of Zambia, had started to develop his thinking on what came to be known as “the Zambian philosophy of humanism” (see Kaunda 1988). Essentially, it was another strand of African socialism (cf. Nyerere 1988). The philosophy of Zambian humanism combined elements from traditional African ethos and Western Christianity (Burawoy 1972). Kaunda himself was a product of two worlds, at least at the level of philosophical and religious orientation (Macpherson 1974). He was a son of African parents from Malawi who grew up in the context of the Bemba traditional ethos in Chinsali district, Northern Zambia (Chisala 1994). He was a convert to Western Christianity through the help of his missionary parents and other missionary workers at Lubwa mission of the Free Church of Scotland in Chinsali (Snelson 1977 and Bolink 1967). His worldview was influenced by both Bemba and Christian thought forms. It is these ideas which he wanted to weave into a coherent doctrine of Zambian humanism. In practical orientation, this doctrine was a socialist collectivist doctrine (cf. Hay 1989).

It appears that at least in the initial stages, his compatriots supported his ideological and philosophical bias, leading to the acceptance of humanism as a way of life for all Zambians in 1967 (Kaunda 1988). With this general acceptance, it was natural for government to ally itself with socialist Russia and its economic principles (*Ibid*). That traditional Soviet socialism was atheistic was immaterial. Government was content to integrate African and Christian thinking in socialist schemes (*Ibid*). Consequently, government started to be anti-capitalist. According to government, capitalism was bent on the exploitation of fellow human being by fellow human being due to private capital. In their wisdom, nationalisation was the way forward for a young and dynamic nation. It was intended to knock out all exploitative tendencies by putting all assets in the hands of the state on behalf of the Zambian people. Human beings were to be the centre of nationalisation. In fact, the goal of government was to integrate humanist thinking in nationalisation. For close to twenty seven years, government adopted a human-centred approach to economic development through nationalisation (see chapter three). Income from nationalised companies and other newly created companies, was now used on human and social expenditure, and on infrastructural development, for the sake of Zambian people and their posterity.

The pertinent questions are: For how long was this programme going to be sustained? What were the failures and achievements of this programme? Above all, viewed from the standpoint of stewardship principles, how did the programme fare? These and other questions will be addressed below.

There was a fair acknowledgement of taking technical choices with a moral perspective in nationalised companies (parastatals) (principle 3(A)[i]). This was mainly spurred by the humanist idea of putting people first (see chapter three). Parastatals were “on paper” regarded as people’s institutions. Their mandate was to produce goods and services which were accessible to many ordinary Zambians. Society was regarded as the main beneficiary of the development process. Unfortunately, over the years, these companies became technically inefficient due to, *inter alia*, managerial incapacity in some cases

(Kaunda 1989). Coupled with this was a high cost of raw materials from abroad which they could not afford due to dwindling foreign reserves (*Ibid*). The result was a money-eating parastatal economy which was riddled by widespread poor business work ethic. The imperatives of stewardship are that to meet people's needs as a moral obligation, one's business ought to be technically efficient, but in such a way which does not destroy society and the environment (Goudzward and De Lange 1995).

The affirmation of stewardship as a premise for productive, distributive, and consumptive forces was very poor in nationalised companies (principle 3(A)(iii)). This was because Zambia's political economy was an extension of European industrial practice (see chapter three). From independence in 1964, Zambia pursued a mixed economy. Nonetheless, it was the socialist collectivist philosophy of Zambian humanism which came to the fore. This trend continued until 1991 (see chapter three). During this period, parastatals organised their economic development process on the basis of scarcity. They followed the trend of major industrial powers. They did not "come out" of traditional economics to examine the basic foundations of scarcity and see how scarcity contributed to perennial social and environmental problems. They chose to model their business operations on scarcity. This was a gradual compromise of responsible living.

The prioritisation of economic goods which were not threatening to the survival of Zambians was usually done by the party and its government (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(d)). It was generally argued that the party knew exactly what citizens wanted (c.f. Hay 1989). The party tried to approximate what these goods were and commanded parastatals to either import them or assemble them or make them (see chapter three). There was no societal consensus in determining what goods were wanted by the Zambian people. Parastatal response in determining these goods was somewhat average. It had its demerits and merits. On the demerit side, for example, it led to the abandonment of costly projects and wastage (see and c.f. Principle 3(A)(i) especially on technical efficiency). A case in point was the Livingstone Motor Assembly Company which was constructed at great cost to assemble Fiat cars and later abandoned due to, *inter alia*, managerial incapacities and lack of spare parts. On the merit side, for example, it led to arresting to some degree

a trend which would have resulted in getting unnecessary goods in some cases. Overall, the task of prioritising economic goods which were not threatening to human survival became extremely difficult. This is because for nearly all electrical and mechanical goods and for necessary parts and raw materials, Zambia depended on their importation – a task which became problematic due to dwindling foreign reserves. With the gradual drying up of national coffers, parastatals were hampered in terms of prioritising economic goods. The imperatives of stewardship are that there needs to be a social contract between government, business, and citizens so that much needed basic goods are produced. This has the principal benefit of spending more national resources on health, food, shelter and education, and less on other human wants for goods which are not indispensable for human survival.

There was a marked awareness in parastatals that some things could not be produced (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(e)). This was encouraged by the socialist collectivist philosophy of Zambian humanism with its emphasis on the centrality and dignity of human beings (see chapter three). The prevailing view was that businesses were not just places of profit-maximisation, but also places where cherished human values could grow. In spite of the influence of the money economy in the Zambian society and the bad-heartedness of some individuals, this way of thinking flourished to some degree. And as such, Zambian workers shared a certain sense of community, collegiality, solidarity, and mutual respect, as some of the valuable and unquantifiable “goods”. These values are part and parcel of household management at all levels.

The interventionist role of government in the market place (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(a)), viewed from a humanist point of view, was fairly impressive. Through instruments such as price control on essential goods, consumption subsidies to businesses, and lowering of inflation, many Zambians were enabled to have access to the market (see chapter three). Viewed from an economic point of view, it undermined the law of supply and demand, and led to the suffocation of parastatal companies most of whom could not make sufficient profits to stay afloat (see *Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in Zambia* 1994). And as such, it was poor. Government should have used more positive means

such as increased food production and diversification which have the benefits of lowering food prices and maintaining a stable currency, respectively (see and c.f. principle 1(f)). Stewardship does not support the idea of leaving the market to itself nor disrupt healthy market operations (see moral criteria from shared human experience in chapter five). Instead, it promotes an adequate working of the market, while allowing for positive, flexible, and wise government intervention. The principle behind this is that more and more citizens should be allowed to have access to the market through affordable prices made possible by government's macroeconomic stabilisation (*Ibid*). Their livelihood depends on market accessibility.

An awareness that some goods cannot be produced (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(e)) ultimately led to the enhancement of non-market society-enhancing virtues in the market place (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(b)). Similarly, the Zambian philosophy of humanism encouraged this way of thinking (see chapter three). For example, to a certain degree, parastatals were not bent on destructive competition, but on adequate competition. They saw each other as sharing one common destiny of improving the lives of the Zambians. Most managers from parastatals knew each other and interacted from time to time through social gatherings, thereby enhancing non-market society-enhancing virtues. A society that promotes austere market virtues only sets itself on a path of self-destruction. The one which promotes healthy market virtues and non-market virtues steers itself towards a balanced existence. Stewardship insists on the enhancement of the human household through a creative and adequate interaction between market virtues and non-market virtues (see Atherton 1992 and c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995).

The principle that just incomes are inter-linked to participation in the market was fairly affirmed and demonstrated (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(c)). Nonetheless, as noted already, it will be naïve to say that Zambians got the same income. The truth is that they were paid by parastatals according to their experience and educational qualifications. The stability of the Zambian Kwacha and a seemingly stable economy, especially between 1964 and 1984, enabled many Zambians to fairly participate in the market (see chapter three). Unfortunately, as already noted, due to the economic debacle, more and more Zambians

started to be gradually excluded from the market. Poor salaries could not enable them to get all what they needed. Systematic market exclusion due to unjust and poor incomes disempowers people to exercise stewardship of resources.

There was a marked recognition of concern for the unemployed and the incomeless by parastatals (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(d)). They did this through their direct contributions to national coffers, especially during good economic years (see chapter three). This enabled government to set up and support social empowering projects such as Zambia National Service and Youth Centres where mainly unemployed youths, school drop-outs, and form-five school leavers with average academic results, would be assisted in various self-reliant skills. But again, as already noted, due to economic difficulties, such life-empowering projects were either stopped or simply neglected. Parastatals could not contribute significantly to the support of such projects. The unemployed and incomeless are members of the national household. The essence of social justice is that everything must be done to ensure that they are cared for (*Economic Justice for All* 1986) and that they are enabled to contribute their potential to the well-being of society (Meekd 1989).

Government ensured that market forces were not manipulated by selfish people (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(e)). This was facilitated by fair legislation against selfish forces which tended to cause significant market instability (see, for example, *Times of Zambia* news coverage on food riots for December 1986). In most cases, government tended to be very harsh in meting out punishment or corrective measures on erring business people, especially private ones. For example, there was legislation against hoarding of goods and money laundering. There will always be selfish people in society. It is incumbent upon government as manager of the national household to be on the look-out and ensure that selfish people are not allowed to manipulate the market. If this happens, it is the ordinary person who suffers through loss of purchasing power.

During the implementation of nationalisation, there was no report of significant undermining of Zambian lives by parastatals through direct consumption (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(a)). The parastatal economy was on the look out for consumer products

which led to the harming of peoples lives. Nonetheless, one case should be pointed out. This is the production and use of asbestos for roofing sheets for a long time in Zambia. A good number of low-cost houses used asbestos as roofing sheets. So far, there has not been an independent report to confirm how many people contracted asbestosis due to the production and use of roofing asbestos sheets. As for the environment, parastatals were major culprits in producing consumer goods which undermined the environment (see *State of Environment Zambia* 1994). Most of them offloaded their harmful by-products in streams, rivers, and on land, thus endangering and undermining the environment. The development process should not just care for humans, but for the environment as well. It should uphold society and the environment as it seeks to generate economic goods for people's consumption (Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995). Through this, the entire national household benefits through a healthier and longer life.

There is no evidence to suggest that during nationalisation many Zambians were wasteful and extravagant in their consumption patterns (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(b)). In fact, with the onset of the economic crisis, many started to learn to use their resources wisely. Consumer goods became too expensive and too few to afford Zambians a life of wastage and extravagance (see chapter three).

The acknowledgement that there was enough for all Zambian consumers (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(c)), especially when it came to basic necessities of life, was good. For example, during the "boom" years, many Zambians could afford decent meals (see chapter three). As noted already, with the advent of the economic crisis, this acknowledgement could not be fully demonstrated. The national basket, through parastatals, could not provide basic consumer goods and services. The result was a decline in living standards. Decline in the living standards of the national household for whatever reason is unacceptable. Household economics demand that all members have sufficient means for their sustenance and contribution to society (Meeks 1989).

During nationalisation, it appears that the principle of accountability to Zambian posterity (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(e)) was somewhat lukewarm. Parastatals accumulated wealth and produced consumer goods on the basis of the immediate needs of Zambian consumers. They did not take into consideration the future needs of Zambian posterity. For example, the mining industry generated a lot of foreign exchange especially between 1964 and 1975 (see chapter three). No percentage of this was apportioned and saved to accumulate profit for the yet-to-be-born. Also, in spite of adequate agricultural conditions (Cleary 1990), agricultural parastatals did not expand the agricultural potential of the nation, especially in cereals and grains. For close to twenty seven years, agricultural parastatals did not store up enough food for the immediate use of Zambians and the future use of their posterity, especially in times of prolonged famine. From time to time, Zambians were subjected to eating the less delicious yellow mealie meal imported from the USA (see, for example, *Times of Zambia* news coverage for April-October 1985). The stewardship principle is very clear: *store up enough for yourself and your descendants, for you do not know what might come tomorrow*. Mortal beings ought to learn to plan for the next day.

The acknowledgement that government was an accountable custodian and manager of Zambia's resources was average (principle 3(B)(i)). Government attempted to ensure that social benefits went to the Zambian people. However, the custodian and manager role was overshadowed by a very powerful bureaucratic political structure – the party and its government (see chapter three). It was generally understood that this structure owned all Zambia's resources and that it was mandated to bring about development. The common saying in those days was that "it is UNIP which has brought everything". The role of citizens was to let this structure function and deliver goods and services. It appeared that citizens looked up to this structure for their life-sustenance as if it owned all the resources. In addition, citizens were expected to be loyal. Dissenting and divergent views were not usually entertained (c.f. Chisala 1994). In fact, for eighteen years, 1972 to 1990, there was no alternative political voice to have a say on Zambia's resources. Only very few Zambians, who were either blacklisted or dismissed from party and government or fed up with the one-party system, succeeded on their own. Stewardship demands that

those who are appointed to political office take care of national wealth on behalf of citizens and that citizens should not be hindered to have a say on how national resources are being managed. An accountable system allows for freedom of expression, transparency, and self-actualisation, across the board.

It is in the area of talent and skill development, that the Zambian government excelled with distinction (principle 3(B)(ii)). During nationalisation, it invested millions of Kwachas in the Zambian people by training them properly and professionally at every level of education – trade, technical, technological, college, and university (see chapter three). From a backward country with less than 100 university graduates at independence, Zambia increased its graduate output to thousands. Zambia had now its own graduate doctors, graduate teachers, graduate economists, graduate sociologists, graduate mechanical engineers, graduate electrical engineers, etc, in their thousands who were internationally competitive. Their work was supplemented by skilled personnel from trade institutes, technical colleges, technological colleges, and training colleges. This included generations of well-baked architects, surveyors, draughtsmen, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, accountants, bankers, primary and secondary school teachers, etc, who were equally competent in their work. It was money well spent. With the onset of economic problems, the once vibrant educational system started to collapse gradually – leading to poor educational in-put and out-put, especially after 1984. As if this was not enough, Zambia started to lose its own talented and skilled manpower to neighbouring countries and overseas. Management of skills and talents does not end with training, but continues with ensuring that those whose skills have been sharpened remain in the national household. This is in order for them to utilise their artistic, scientific, technical, and technological skills for the well-being of society.

During the era of nationalisation, accusations of corruption were only dealt with by relevant bodies whenever evidence was produced. There is no evidence to suggest that there was widespread large-scale thieving in government (principle 3(B)(iii)). It appears that the system maintained a good cadre of disciplined party and government loyalists among many national leaders. However, isolated cases of public officer financial corruption

were dealt with accordingly. For example, public officers involved in fertiliser smuggling across the border while using public means - financial means or otherwise - were usually reported and dealt with (see Kaunda 1989). Stealing from public coffers destroys the very fabric of the national household. It undermines national prosperity and progress.

Remuneration of senior government officers was usually proportionate to the level of progress in Zambia (principle 3(B)(iv)). During nationalisation, every effort was made to bridge the gap between rich and poor Zambians. In fact, it was generally observed that after the change of government in 1991, a good number of UNIP leaders sunk into poverty (see *The Post* news coverage, November 1991-June 1992). The cry for expensive accessories and utilities was usually kept to the minimum. A good steward does not lavish in wealth when those he or she is looking after are wallowing in poverty. He or she seeks individual progress with the view to help others excel as well. He or she ensures whatever he or she has is usually proportionate to what they have.

The vision of a prosperous, healthy and fulfilled Zambian citizenry was a pre- and post-independence vision of the founders of the Zambian nation (principle 3(B)(v)). From a backward country, they managed to transform it into a modern nation, thanks to a healthy balance sheet which they inherited from the British and to the booming copper mining industry, especially between 1964 and 1974 (see chapter three). During this period, Zambia had sufficient financial resources which propped up nationalisation. With this sound financial background, it appeared that nationalisation was succeeding. For a while, Zambians were prosperous, healthy and fulfilled. There was a lot of political will that government was going to sustain this economic vision for a long time. Reality set in. The economic crunch altered this vision. Nationalisation had failed the Zambian people simply because it was not anchored on a sound, self-sustaining, money-making base. By 1991, many Zambians were poorer, partially healthy and partially fulfilled (see chapter three). The economic vision had turned into hopelessness. Many Zambians were only left with the good old days of bread and butter. Looking back, Zambia did not have a long-term plan for survival in a hostile world. Between 1964 and 1974, it had enough

financial resources, but did not have the vision and capacity to plan for the long term future. It only planned for the immediate future, possibly fifteen to twenty years. Its plan was mainly consumption-oriented. It consumed more than it generated financial resources.

There was no adequate plan for savings, re-investment, capital formation, diversification, and incisive penetration of world markets. Besides, nationalisation was not reviewed to see if it can be reformed in order to instill economic life in loss-making parastatals (see chapter three). Zambia had lost its economic opportunities for a more prosperous, more healthier, more fulfilled citizenry. The *telos* of stewardship is prosperity, health, and fulfilment of household members. Human life is compromised when these are not delivered to human persons.

The initiative to ensure that companies, including parastatals, respected the rights of workers was taken by the labour office of the Ministry of Labour (principle 3(B)(vii)). The labour office usually dealt with isolated cases of employer-employee relationships such as racist treatment and ill-treatment. It was the trade union movement led by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) which tried to ensure that rights of workers were respected and that commutative justice was upheld. Its activities were well-known among many Zambians. From the 1970s through the 1980s, ZCTU grew to become a force to reckon with and one of the strongest trade union movements in Africa. In fact, it did add its voice to the multi-party talks which started at the beginning of the 1990s (see chapter three). During its operations, it met government wrath in the form of imprisonments and intimidations in some cases. With the economic crisis, it could only manage to clinch minimal conditions of service for majority workers. Nonetheless, what was good was that trade unions were given the freedom to speak on the conditions of workers. Household economics ensures that rights of workers are enhanced and respected. A motivated worker is an asset not only to the company household, but to the national household as a whole.

Nationalisation was inclined towards fulfilling social objectives of the majority. Its major weakness was the lack of a self-sustaining economic base to maintain these objectives over a long period of time.

6.2.1.2.2 Privatisation

Privatisation means “selling public assets (corporations) to individuals or private business interests” (Todaro 1997). It is generally understood as “a way by which the government divests its involvement in running business to the private sector” (Contact Business Services 1998:66).

This programme coincided with the change of government at the end of 1991 (see chapter three). It was part of what came to be known in Zambia as “the new culture”. To implement this programme, government created the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA) through an act of parliament: THE PRIVATISATION ACT NO.21 OF 1992, which was later amended by the PRIVATISATION ACT NO. 9 OF 1996 (see Government of Zambia *Privatisation Act no. 9 of 1996*, 1996b). It was underpinned by a capitalist individualist philosophy.

Among other things, ZPA was charged with the task of “ensuring efficient and effective divestment of government from direct participation in commercial and industrial activities” and “to transfer all financial ownership and management responsibilities to the private sector” (Contact Business Services 1998:47). The private sector was understood to be the most potential engine for economic growth and development.

Between 1992 and 1999, the government moved to change commercial and industrial activities from the public sector to the private sector (see chapter three). In fact, the speed at which privatisation was implemented was extremely high. In addition, the method which was used to carry out privatisation was extremely strict. Looking back to this period, the relevant questions are: What were the achievements and failures of privatisation? In which ways did privatisation contribute to human and social dislocation?

And most importantly, viewed from the standpoint of stewardship principles, how successful was privatisation? This section attempts to address these questions and others.

The acknowledgement by privatised companies that both technical and moral choices were good for business decision-making was poor (principle 3(a)(I)). Decisions were usually made on the basis of the technical efficiency of business which had no moral respect for society and the environment. That is to say, while businesses were prospering, they were contributing to massive human and social dislocation in Zambia and to the continued undermining of the environment (see chapter three and *State of Environment: Zambia* 1994). Massive human and social dislocation was done through mass retrenchments and job freezes (see *The Post Privatisation Impact Assessment Study*, draft report, by Contact Business Services, 1998). The environmental issue was not part and parcel of the main reports on privatisation review by ZPA. There was no effort to significantly analyse the impact of business operations of newly privatised companies on the environment. In fact, the 1994 *State of Environment: Zambia* report did not mean anything for privatisation. This is because it was never integrated in the formulation and eventual implementation of privatisation. Privatisation was seen as a pure financial and business programme which had nothing to do with the environment of Zambia. But the environment, as well as society, have everything to do with privatisation. A denigration of these segments does not augur well for good stewardship of business.

The affirmation of stewardship as a premise for productive, distributive and consumptive forces was very poor in privatised companies (principle 3(A)(iii)). Their business operations were a continuation of the principle of scarcity – which continued to pose as a threat to the social and environmental imperatives in Zambia. Unless privatised companies learn that stewardship rather than scarcity is the most desired “starting point” for economic development, social brutalisation and environmental degradation will continue unabated.

During privatisation, the prioritisation of economic goods not threatening to human survival was now given in the hands of the market mechanism (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(d)). Neither the government nor the Zambian people had any say, whatsoever, in deciding what consumer goods were brought into the market. A liberalised economy opened the Zambian national household to all sorts of consumer goods, some of which were of very poor quality (see, for example, *The Post* news coverage, November 1991–April 1994). Any business person was free to bring in or manufacture anything sellable. The results were catastrophic, including: the continued entrenchment of the notion of scarcity which does not distinguish between real needs and unnecessary wants; the buying of consumer items not on the basis of value, but price; and the weakening of the Zambian market due to, *inter alia*, a bias towards trade and services rather than production and manufacturing. Stewardship insists that the market cannot be given the sole authority to determine the production and importation of goods which are less threatening to human survival. Somehow, the human factor – through a responsible government (Wogaman 1986), nation-building businesses, and a versatile civil society – must be built into the system. Failure to do this results in society spending more money on luxuries and superfluous items than on the most basic items. Stewardship does not encourage orgies of senseless materialism (Weber 1930), but promotes the meeting of peoples' survival needs (Polanyi 1945 and Hinkelammert 1986). Hence the need to prioritise economic goods which are less threatening to human survival by means of an adequate market mechanism guided by social authority (Polanyi 1945).

The awareness that some things or “goods” cannot be produced and quantified, for example, human solidarity and community, was greatly reduced in privatised companies (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(e)). Privatisation laid a lot of emphasis on marketable goods and services (see *The Post Privatisation Impact Assessment Study* 1998). Private companies did not pay attention to the question of unproducible and unquantifiable human “goods”. These were relegated to the inner core of one's private sphere, especially at home. The role of a worker was, first and foremost, to contribute to the production of quantifiable goods and services, and not so much to worry oneself about human sociality and moral gain (see and c.f. moral criteria in chapter five). The result was, *inter alia*, the privatisation of the Zambian worker who became dichotomised between virtues of privatisation at

work and virtues of traditional communal life at home. This way of thinking compromises human fulfilment. From experience, life does not consist in the production and use of quantifiable material things only. In fact, human beings usually get fed up with this way of living. Their fulfilment is dependant on striking that creative balance between quantifiable economic goods and unquantifiable “goods”. Material life without true human sociality and moral gain is totally empty. This is true not only for the business household, but for the national household at large.

During privatisation, the overall government intervention in the Zambian market was very poor (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(a)). All financial and monetary transactions were left to the rule of market forces. For a brief moment, government achieved some level of macroeconomic stability. This could not be maintained for a sustained period of time due to, *inter alia*, Zambia’s huge debt burden, a very poor balance of payments situation, and a contracted manufacturing base (see chapter three). The results included very high food prices, very high inflation, and the shrinking formal sector employment (see *Economic Report*, 1999). All of these and others, compounded the already worse situation of many Zambians. The government had lamentably failed to positively intervene in the market for the sake of the most ordinary of Zambians. All monetary, fiscal and market instruments were tried to no avail. Many Zambians were now exposed to significant market exclusion. It became common knowledge among Zambian people that 1992 to 1999 was, indeed, a period of tatters. The imperatives of stewardship are very clear: *the market should not be left to itself, but be guided by that flexible, positive and responsible intervention of government* (see moral criteria from shared human experience in chapter five). The sacred task of government is that many citizens should be able to participate in the market constructively in order to get their life-support necessities.

Non-market society-enhancing virtues (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(b)) is related to the principle that some things cannot be produced and quantified (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(e) which speaks more about internal dynamics of business on the one hand. The inter-business

situation, that is, the situation between various businesses, on the other hand, did not lead to a significant encouragement of non-market society-enhancing virtues. This situation was guided by pure market values such as competition, profit-maximisation, and efficiency, among privatised companies (see *The Post Privatisation Impact Assessment Study*, 1998). Each company competed for its survival in the market place. Privatisation laid a lot of emphasis on self-initiated financial progress for each company. The role of government was simply to stand near “the business ring of business boxers” and watch the business game take its course. Business success depended on the ability of a company to sell its products on the Zambian market and make a profit. The business field or ring was extremely brutal. There was no mercy at all – you simply die or live. Those privatised companies and the existing private firms which did not have the so-called competitive edge sunk and drowned (see chapter three). Not even government was able to save and resuscitate them. The most affected ones were those sold to Zambians through management-buy-out schemes. Those which survived were mainly multinationals whose services and goods, for example, were usually subsidised in their countries of origin (see, for example, *The Post* news coverage November 1991-December 1998). This was extremely disadvantageous to local firms. Successful companies were praised for bringing about a new culture of business characterised by market improvement in business. Unsuccessful companies were accused of all sorts of failures ranging from financial inadequacy to inefficiency.

Government should have been more assertive in enhancing non-market society-enhancing virtues among privatised companies. Instead, it chose to create a business colony of winners and losers who were simply guided by market virtues, much to the disadvantage of society at large. The entire economic life was handed over to foreign multinational companies (see *Status Report* as at 31st March 1999). Government should have been more caring and friendly to the failed privatised local firms as well as other private firms (see *Privatisation News* issue No.4, 1999). Sarcasm and condemnation should not have been heaped on local business. They occupied a very special place in the Zambian national household. They should have been brought nearer and helped in every way possible, for example, through re-instituting feasibility studies for defunct privatised

local firms. Their operational problems should have been seen as a challenge rather as a hindrance to privatisation. Multinationals have a limited mandate and their contributions should not have been taken for granted. Their contribution to the economy was needed, but in the long run, it is Zambians themselves who should be in the forefront of business. They should have been empowered to mature as private business people who would have patriotically contributed to various sectors of the economy, including hotels and tourism, manufacturing and banking. Stewardship demands that as government seeks to create adequate space for the setting up of foreign multinationals, it ought to be more listening, more sympathetic, and more supportive to private indigenous businesses. It does not do any good at all to be indifferent to your own people and be hospitable to your guests. On the whole, one would say that healthy market values and appropriate non-market values are an integral part of the inter-business household, with very serious implications for the national household at large (see Atherton 1992 and c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995).

The affirmation that just incomes are inter-linked to participation in the market was not guaranteed (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(c) (see *The Post Privatisation Impact Assessment Study* 1998). In fact, privatised companies catered for a small number of Zambians who were retained after privatisation. Even then, the drawing of hefty wages was not guaranteed. In some cases, as already noted, some workers were not paid according to their contracts. It is managers in privatised companies who benefitted greatly through hefty financial packages. The majority of the Zambian workers in privatised companies as well as private companies did not draw substantial incomes. Their situation was even compounded due to high inflation. There will be no economic justice in the national household as long as workers' incomes are not inter-linked to their significant participation in the market. The imperatives of commutative justice are that workers are paid adequately in order to live well. A situation where workers' contracts are not respected borders on worker ill-treatment and commoditisation of labour. Workers are humans who contribute to the company's well-being. So, according just incomes to them enables them to be progressive, happy, and assertive, and thus, become instruments of nation-building.

During privatisation, a recognition of concern for the unemployed and the incomeless was at its lowest ebb in privatised companies (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(d)). Even the creation of the National Social Safety Net by government which targeted a few retrenched workers, did not alleviate significantly the position of the unemployed and the incomeless (see chapter three). The distribution of goods and services was done on the basis of economic prices across the board. Both the poor and the rich were subjected by privatised companies to buy goods and services at the same economic prices. This worked to the disadvantage of the poor majority due to a lack of real formal sector employment and real income. These included:

- ❑ women and their children, who were uprooted from their traditional roles of home-based and community-based care-givers to the roles of being disadvantaged street vendors in a very hostile economic situation;
- ❑ groups of street kids, who were uprooted from a traditionally hospitable, caring, value-based Zambian home due to parental irresponsibility, parental death, and economic brutalisation, to the ethos of street life characterised by mediant living, homelessness, and scavenging;
- ❑ groups of unemployed youths and adults who lost hope in life; and
- ❑ groups of disadvantaged persons such as the blind, the lame and victims of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, who felt totally neglected by society.

On the whole, each person was to fend for his or her own survival. As already noted, many Zambians who were unemployed and incomeless turned to the *utuntemba* economy, the underclass of the business world, consumption-oriented, which came about as a result of human survival instincts (see chapter three). There was so much human suffering never seen in the history of Zambia since independence. And yet, a small group of the Zambian bourgeoisie were wallowing in great financial power.

Social justice insists that the unemployed and incomeless ought to be enabled to have access to the basic necessities of life (see *Economic Justice for All* 1986 and Meeks 1989). This requires a creative partnership between government and business. To insist

on hardcore private capitalism is a recipe for the compromise of human dignity. Everything must be done by government to ensure that the unemployed and incomeless are not excluded from life necessities by very harsh capitalist tendencies.

During privatisation, the liberalisation of the economy, including trade and financial liberalisation, significantly exposed Zambia to the potential manipulation of market forces (see chapter three) (principle 3(A)(iii)(2)(e)). For example, in the area of financial liberalisation, a company could bring into Zambia foreign exchange and take it out anytime. From time to time, this disrupted the strength of the Zambian Kwacha. Zambia is a poor country and was still developing her market. In such a scenario, she needed every foreign exchange she could master in order to instill confidence in the local currency and stabilise its economy. There was no need to remove all safeguards and controls on financial transactions. A weak economy needs to defend itself against market manipulation. One way to do this is by a step by step liberalisation of the economy. If there is no such a defence, it is the most vulnerable members of the national household who suffer through excessive consumer prices.

There is no evidence to suggest that privatised companies were inclined to selling products which were harmful to Zambians through direct consumption (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(a)). However, Zambia exposed herself to the danger of harmful consumables and edibles. Zambia did not possess sufficient capacity to screen, for example, each and every food item or health product which was manufactured and imported in Zambia. Most of these items and products, if not all, did not bear the stamp of the Zambia Bureau of Standards – exposing Zambians to the risk of food poisoning, contamination, and disease. It is only in isolated cases such as in the event of cattle diseases that the manufacture and importation of beef products were banned with the approval of this bureau. A good number of products which entered the Zambian market, including beer, cigarettes, perfumes, and vegetables, were not screened at all. In some cases, health products were sold by unlicensed dealers (see, for example, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation news coverage, December 1997). In the area of the environment, no significant steps

were taken to redress the problem of environmental degradation. For example, privatised mining companies and those which were being prepared for privatisation continued to contribute to the gradual pollution of air, land, and water, through gas emissions, solid wastes, and chemicals (see *State of Environment: Zambia* 1994).

A good steward does not compromise human life and the environment as he or she produces items for direct human consumption and for general use. Instead, he or she seeks human well-being and environmental wholeness.

During privatisation, many Zambians were intensively learning ways of avoiding wastage and extravagance (Principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(b)). Their material resources were thinner and there was no way they could use their resources unwisely. In good and bad times, a good steward does not waste his or her resources nor spend them on luxuries. For he or she knows that they are meant for long-term sustenance.

It is a well-known fact that privatised companies contributed to the expansion of the range of economic goods in the national household of Zambia (see chapter three). The economy did not lack the most desired economic goods, including sugar, salt, mealie meal, TVs, VCRs, fridges, stores, automobiles, and clothing. These were in abundance. On paper they were enough for the Zambian people (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(c)). However, as already noted, very few Zambians did have significant access to them. It is a mark of bad stewardship to have enough goods in one's economy which cannot be accessed by many (see moral criteria from shared human experience in chapter five). Good stewardship makes available sufficient resources to all household members for their livelihood, sustenance, and fulfilment.

The situation of posterity was even made worse during privatisation (principle 3(A)(iii)(3)(e)). They were not even included in major reports on privatisation (see, for example, the *ZPA Status Report* 1999b). During the period under review, Zambia did not gather sufficient resources – monetary and material – for the future consumption of

posterity. It continued to rely on international capital and foreign control (see *Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure*, 1st January – 31 December 1999b). Besides, there were no significant steps taken to redress the gradual degradation of the environment for the sake of posterity, except for isolated cases which were followed up by the ECZ, for example, calling certain companies in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt to account for industrial effluents (see Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation news coverage, January-June 1997). Unless something happens, the future of Zambian posterity is bleak – they will be born in a materially and financially impoverished country with potential environmental risks. A good steward is accountable to posterity. He or she endeavours to hand over prosperity and a good environment to the next generation of household members.

The acknowledgement that government was an accountable custodian and manager of a country's resources was somewhat poor during the time of privatisation (principle 3(B)(i)). In most cases, the emphasis was on financial resources. The rest of resources were left up to the private sector to be transformed into money. The Zambian government usually mobilised its revenue through taxation and foreign sourcing (see *Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure*, 1st January-31st December 1999b). Between 1992 and 1999, the ZRA gathered much money through direct and indirect taxation. And between the same period, the international community showed adequate financial solidarity through loans and grants. The custodian and manager role over these resources was, however, overshadowed by very strong capitalist individualist tendencies within government (see chapter three). In such a scenario, social spending was not guaranteed, except for a few isolated cases of school rehabilitation and road repair and building. The bulk of Zambia's meagre resources, in the eyes of the international community, was spent on the top-brass of the Zambian government, including the Office of the President, Cabinet, and Zambian Missions abroad (see *Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure*, 1st January-31st December 1999). The rest of the Zambian community, who included the majority, were simply asked to work hard and find their daily bread. One of the problems of Zambia was that the political structures were extremely weak. Between 1992 and 1999, the ruling party was a *de facto* one-party government which had no effective oppo-

sition in parliament to call government, with more than eighty percent of parliamentary seats, to accountable custodianship and management. Consequently, government spent money the way they liked without incisive scrutiny by opposition parties or independent members of parliament.

It was necessary for Zambia to have had a strong opposition voice to legally monitor financial spending of public money and level out excessive capitalist trends. Opposition politics ought to be an integral part of a liberal democracy. Its sacred role is to act as public watchdog on national resource mobilisation, resource expansion, and resource utilisation. It has to hold government to accountability on behalf of people. Any government is nothing, but simply a group of individual human beings who have the potential for injustice due to group interests. Because of this human inclination to unjust group interests, parliamentary democracy becomes a necessity in modern nation states (c.f. Niebuhr in Stott 1990:57). It helps a country excel to a strong state and mature household.

The affirmation of good management of talents and skills of citizens was poor during privatisation (principle 3(B)(ii)). This is because the entire educational system from the educational headquarters to primary structures became affected by large-scale inertia and demotivation of educational personnel (c.f. Mwanawina in Adepoju, editor, 1993). A once respected cadre of educational experts, lecturers, and teachers, especially between 1964 and 1984, became a target of public scorn and ridicule due to poverty (Bwalya 2000). Their problems started to increase in the mid 1980s onwards. Their situation was made worse during the era of privatisation. Government was not willing to spend sufficient resources on educational personnel to boost their morale. The results were well-known, including extensive brain-drain and resignations of Zambia's best educational minds, especially among university professors and lecturers. During this period, the educational system survived due to the dedication of a few educational personnel who worked under very trying conditions.

A good steward does not tamper with the educational system of the national household. He or she attempts to manage well the talents and skills of household members through a good education which is underpinned by a highly motivated cadre of teaching professionals. If the educational infrastructure is destroyed, then the artistic, cultural, moral, technological, and scientific development of the nation is equally destroyed. In such a situation, a country becomes vulnerable and cannot fare adequately in the community of other nations.

As already noted previously, stealing from the public household as one of the gravest public offences (principle 3(B)(iii)) is related to government as accountable custodian and manager of a country's resources (principle 3(B)(i)). On paper, the admittance that stealing from the public household is one of the gravest public offences was somewhat average. The laws of Zambia continued to uphold very serious penalties against theft by public servant. In practice, during this period, there was an avalanche of continuous public accusations about corruption by public officers. In spite of these accusations, there had not been any successful prosecutions of public offenders, except in extremely very few cases where corrupt public officers were brought before the courts of Zambia. Part of the problem was that admissible evidence was not brought before the public courts. The other is that parliament, which was dominated by members of the ruling party, did not have adequate clout to institute independent investigations into accusations of corruption by public officers. Further, legal bodies such as the Anti-Corruption Commission of Zambia had the track record of catching mainly the "small fish".

As already noted in principle 3(B)(i), the national household must be protected against misuse, misappropriation, and misapplication of public resources. Everything should be done to ensure that the "rule of law" insulates the entire national household from theft by public servants.

Similarly, the acknowledgement that senior government officials' remuneration be proportionate to levels of progress in a country (principle 3(B)(iv)) is related to government

as accountable custodian and manager of a country's resources (principle 3(B)(i)). During privatisation, acknowledgement that senior government officials' remuneration should be proportionate to levels of progress in a country was extremely poor. There was no effort to match this remuneration with the average life of the most ordinary of Zambians. From time to time, the government leaders came under fire from some opposition leaders for ostensibly showing symbols of prosperity while the majority were suffering (see, for example, *The Post* Newspapers coverage, between July to August 2000).

It is not that government leaders were not entitled to a particular standard of life, but their entitlements should not have been extremely disproportionate to the standard of life of household members. The point is, responsible moderation in taste, especially amidst meagre resources, should have been exercised so that leaders did not appear far removed from the rest of household members. Everyone within the national household should feel a sense of belonging due to proportionate spending on all household members. Disproportionate sharing of the "national cake" causes feelings of being unwanted among certain sections of the national household. The entire household should grow together in proportionate material progress.

The affirmation of a prosperous, healthy, and fulfilled citizenry as the *telos* of the political economy was very poor during privatisation (principle 3(B)(v)). This was a far-fetched economic vision for many Zambians. Privatisation encouraged widespread poverty, ill-health, and a lack of fulfilment among the Zambian people (see chapter three). Zambia pursued the notion of post-care economics whereby the political economy cared first and significantly for the efficient functioning of capitalism (c.f. Goudzwaard and De Lange 1995). As noted already, many Zambians were considered after economic programmes were made and thus, became victims of significant market exclusion due to, *inter alia*, unemployment, excessive inflation, and excessive consumer prices. In such a situation, it was very hard to see light at the end of the economic tunnel of Zambia.

The sacred goal of any political economy is to ensure that the majority of people's basic needs are met and that they excel to higher heights of prosperity, good health, and fulfilment.

The overall situation of average workers was made worse by a failing economy during privatisation (principle 3(B)(vii)). In some cases, as noted already, there was a lack of constructive representivity in some privatised firms (see *The Post Privatisation Impact Assessment Study* 1998). Some workers lived under constant fear of victimisation, a lack of respect by employers, and job insecurity. Even the trade union movement could not conclude sufficient conditions of service due to a failing economy (see chapter three). The rights of workers were not fully guaranteed. Private business people had the legal right to "hire and fire" and to pay according to their decision. The market economy was given the authority to guarantee workers' rights. It is only in very few cases that workers enjoyed very good conditions of service (for example, Bonnita Zambia limited (see *Privatisation News* Issue No.4 1999a). The widespread cry by most Zambian workers in privatised and private firms was their deteriorating socio-economic situation.

Stewardship insists that government has a moral obligation to ensure that workers rights are protected. Government should not just give legal rights to businesses to determine the overall rights of workers. It must ensure that their rights to safety, security, life, and self-actualisation are defended and protected by law.

Privatisation was orientated to fulfilling the objectives of a market economy. Its major flaw was the lack of reconciling these objectives with basic social needs of the majority.

6.2.1.3 An aggregate evaluation of economic development programmes

Viewed from stewardship principles, the period under review indicated some traces of stewardship at various times and in various ways. Nonetheless, the total sum of economic development programme formulation did not achieve fully the desired social and

environmental imperatives. Much more was need to be done to ensure these imperatives were protected.

In the first economic period, there was a deliberate movement to ensure that social life was enhanced. Unfortunately, this was not matched by a strong money-making base. In the second period, even though government tried to expand the range of material goods, these were beyond the significant reach of the majority. This was mainly due to high inflation, poor salaries and unemployment. In both periods, environmental issues were considered as an appendage to the main political task of ensuring that there was economic activity in the Zambian household. Zambia only established ECZ twenty years after independence. The result was a gradual deterioration of the Zambian environment.

In ensuring that social imperatives were protected, the first period was better than the second period. During the first period, the basic needs of the majority were met. The second period tried as much as possible to instill economic activity in the national household. Unfortunately, this was done at the very expense of the majority Zambians. Most of them were substantially excluded from the market – thus making them vulnerable. In this way, social imperatives were not dearly protected in the first period.

Specific economic development programmes which were discussed had characteristics which generally conformed to the moods of the two economic periods. Nationalisation, though meant to fulfil laudable social objectives, became a national problem in the long run. *Inter alia*, government took a long time to review it and ensure an adequate functioning of the market. Privatisation, though meant to realize noteworthy economic objectives, significantly contributed to human and social dislocation. This was through such things as mass retrenchments and shrinkage of formal sector employment. Besides, all attempts at macroeconomic stabilisation did not yield positive outcomes. There was more human suffering during privatisation than during nationalisation.

On the whole, apart from the usual failures and weaknesses in the implementation of economic development programmes, adherence to scarcity in both periods contributed to the compromisation of social and environmental principles. The socialist collectivist

model failed to sustain social life over a long period of time to due to poor *chrematistics*; the capitalist individualist model significantly dislocated human life as a result of strict adherence to the market economy; and both models continued to harm the environment gradually. Unless meticulous care is taken in the implementation of economic development programmes, and most importantly, unless the philosophy for economic development changes from scarcity to stewardship, the compromisation of social and environmental imperatives will continue.

Zambia should choose: *either* to protect social and environmental imperatives through the ethic of stewardship *or* harm them through the ethos of scarcity. The ball is in its hands.

6.2.2 A summary of the evaluation by the checklist of a set of principles

The following section summarises the discussion about economic development programmes through the checklist of a set of principles. As already noted, principles were applied to social life, the environment, and economic life. Economic principles are simply social and environmental principles adapted to the economic realm. To avoid unnecessary repetition, social and environmental were discussed in the light of economic development programmes as a whole; where as economic principles were discussed in the light of specific economic development programmes (nationalisation and privatisation). Further, to avoid additional textual repetition, economic principles which might have repeated some of the issues touched on in the discussion of social and environmental principles were not discussed. Similarly, any economic principle that might have repeated some of the issues in the discussion of either business role or government role was left out. Those principles which were not discussed are: an adequate balance between *chrematistics* and *oikonomia* (principle 3(A)(ii)), an awareness of limited natural resources for productive use (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(a)), a no compromise stand on environmental

sanity (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(b)), a move towards the meeting of basic needs for the greatest number (principle 3(A)(iii)(1)(c)), a movement towards ensuring that community, the environment, and a sustainable future are not harmed (principle 3(B)(vi)), an affirmation that the weakest members of society be the basis of all economic programmes (principle 3(B)(viii)), an acknowledgement of a comprehensive view on human life (principle 3(B)(ix)), modeling the entire political economy on the broad framework of stewardship (principle 3(B)(x)). These are vital principles which spell out the roles of business and government in economic life. As already, they were not discussed because they could have essentially repeated the material which was discussed in the text of this chapter. Nonetheless, they form part of the overall checklist below which spells out clearly what ought to be the roles of business and government in ensuring that social and environmental imperatives are entrenched in an economy. The grading system (A to D) which is linked to the prevailing conditions in the Zambian context, as discussed in the previous section, is used. It gives approximate grades on the basis of how economic development programmes fared when subjected to the criteria of stewardship principles.

Type of principles	Required principles	Economy/Economic development programmes as a whole										Specific Economic programmes																														
		Evaluation grades										Nationalisation					Privatisation																									
		1964-1991					1992-1999					Evaluation grades																														
		A	B	B	C	D	E	A	B	B	C	D	E	A	B	B	C	D	E	A	B	B	C	D	E																	
3	APPLICABLE TO THE ECONOMY																																									
3A	Business	i) an acknowledgement of both technical and moral choices																																								
		ii) an adequate balance between <i>chrematistics</i> and <i>oikonomia</i>																																								
		iii) an affirmation of stewardship as a premise for productive distributive and consumptive forces																																								
		iii) (1) Productive machinery principles																																								
		iii) (1)(a) an awareness of limited natural resources for productive use																																								
		iii) (1)(b) a no compromise stand for environmental sanity																																								
		iii) (1)(c) a move towards the meeting of basic needs for the greatest number																																								
		iii) (1)(d) a prioritisation of economic goods not threatening to human survival																																								
		iii) (1)(e) an awareness that some things cannot be produced and quantified																																								
		iii) (2) Distributive mechanism principles																																								
iii) (2)(a) an affirmation of positive government interventionist role in the market																																										

Key:

A	=	Exceptional
B+	=	Very good
B	=	Good
C	=	Average
D	=	Poor
E	=	Very poor

Source: Musonda Bwalya, June 2001.

NB

- All the principles can be used in the evaluation of either economic development programmes as a whole or specific economic development programmes. However, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, social and environmental principles apply more to the evaluation of economic development programmes as a whole. Economic principles apply more to the evaluation of specific economic development programmes. After all, economic principles are simply social and environmental principles adapted to economic life.
- Where a principle does not apply, the grade will be “non-applicable” (n/a)
- Aggregate grade was obtained by an approximation between the highest grade and the second highest grade awarded for economic development programmes as a whole and specific economic development programmes.

6.3 GUIDELINES FOR CHURCHES PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE APPROPRIATION OF A THEOLOGICAL-ETHICAL FRAMEWORK

This section gives some suggestions and proposals on how churches can participate in the economic development of Zambia. It argues that unless churches appropriate a theological-ethical framework which has been developed in the previous chapter within their ecclesial structures, their participation is weakened.

It is divided into two main segments namely: endogenous guidelines and extragenous guidelines. That is to say some guidelines apply to the internal existence of churches; other guidelines apply to the external existence of churches².

The Zambian church stands on a threshold of a new beginning to offer something which is solid, tested, and strong for adequate economic development. It is, indeed, something which is new and innovative. And that thing is the broad framework of stewardship.

The Zambian church should be willing to pose it as a feasible challenge to society. The content of this broad framework is very clear: *human beings ought to manage well the resources of the earth for the sake of all humans and non-humans and to the glory of God the creator, the provider, and the sustainer of all things*. This calls for a new way of thinking and doing things.

On both the philosophical and practical levels, never again should humans be excluded from life-sustaining realities and should the environment be destroyed in the name of profit-maximisation, cost-minimisation, and externalisation. This means a new way of producing, distributing, and consuming which respects both human life, non-human life, and the environment (see the checklist of a set of principles above). It involves a partnership between government, business, the environment and society at large: government

² See and c.f. Wilkinson, editor (1980) and Pemberton and Finn (1985) on some of their suggestions about ecclesial involvement in stewardship issues.

ensuring that macroeconomic factors are positive and that human life and the environment are not harmed; business producing economic goods which do not injure people and the environment; the environment renewing itself year in and year out with vitality; society growing together towards a prosperous, healthier, fulfilled, and a sustainable future.

In this regard, the Zambian church has a role to play to contribute to the facilitation of movement from scarcity to provision, from begging to sufficiency, for all. This is the essence of stewardship.

The Pastoral Letter by the Catholic Bishops of Zambia: The Future is Ours which had relevance for Zambian churches and which called the church to be a model observed that:

We recognise that in the promotion of this new culture of responsibility and accountability, the Church itself should be a model for society. We cannot call others to virtues which we ourselves do not make an effort to practice. Hence we pledge to take steps toward greater openness and honesty about the decisions, actions and finances of our church (February 1992:4-5).

This is precisely the point: the church cannot call the Zambian government to model its political economy on stewardship without setting an example.

It has to be a model for society if it has to make any substantial in-roads into the political economy of Zambia. Stewardship has everything to do with decisions, actions, and finances of Zambian churches. Unless these are done and managed according to stewardship principles within ecclesial structures, the churches' participation in the economic development of Zambia will be weakened. For this reason, the appropriation of a theo-

logical-ethical framework for economic development which draws its strength from the stewardship philosophy is of such great importance.

Certainly, Zambian churches have participated in economic development and have exercised a certain measure of stewardship of resources since independence (see chapter four of this thesis). This segment seeks to strengthen their participative role. It emphasises that it is not enough to practice ecclesial stewardship within ecclesial structures. What is enough is to enhance this notion and offer it to the political economy of Zambia. It is a notion which ensures that social and environmental imperatives are defended. The benefits will be to the Zambian community, the Zambian environment, and the Zambian sustainable future.

6.3.1 Endogenous guidelines

6.3.1.1 Appropriation begins within ecclesial life

Certainly, the philosophy of stewardship has to be appropriated within ecclesial life. The church should be an embodiment of stewardship principles. This involves the following areas of church life.

6.3.1.1.1 Constitutional appropriation

It is a requirement by Zambian law that each church which is to be formed must submit its constitution to government. Most constitutions tend to spell out matters of church governance and teaching. Stewardship in relation to economic development is completely left out. It is incumbent upon each church to include the stewardship of resources – institutional, community, and national – in its constitution. They have to spell out in very clear terms what is meant by stewardship in all its broad and specific connotations.

6.3.1.1.2 **Doctrinal appropriation**

Most church doctrines are biased towards spiritual and other-worldly subjects such as the fall, atonement, sacraments, the second coming of Christ, and the last judgement. No significant attempts are made to spell out in very clear terms, for example, on how God saves us in this concrete earthly world.

In their teachings, churches must begin to realise that humans are not only heaven-bound, but that they are meant to live to the full in this material world also. And that life has to do with concrete issues such as the economy. For this reason, churches must endeavour to develop an adequate doctrine of stewardship of earthly resources.

6.3.1.1.3 **Liturgical appropriation**

Most liturgies tend to celebrate the supernatural as Christians relate to their heaven-bound spiritual journey in song, dance, prayers, and other symbols of religious faith. Christian liturgy is usually seen as a preparatory platform or as a means of grace to prepare faithful Christians for the imminent Kingdom of God. Praying for the political economy, let alone situating stewardship in the context of national resources, are usually seen as an appendage to the main ecclesial task of contributing to spiritual salvation. No serious attempts are made to extend the liturgical life of churches into the very context of national resources. Stewardship has to be appropriated within the liturgical life of churches extended to the life of the nation. One way is the organisation of regular prayers and festivities for those tasked with economic policy formulation in collaboration with relevant government bodies. This can be done by ecumenical bodies in Zambia for effective results. The other is to boost the economic life of business people within churches through regular church seminars and related activities. There ought to be a deliberate, ecclesial movement towards “the meeting of wealth and the celebration of divinity” in daily life. After all, human existence needs both material prosperity and spiritual enrichment.

6.3.1.1.3 **Administrative appropriation**

A good number of church leaders see themselves as spiritual leaders who are called by God to look after the spiritual needs of believers. They do not usually see themselves as people tasked to help all Zambians excel to material prosperity. This means the preparation of church leaders in theological colleges and seminars has to change completely. It has to include the right balance between purely theological subjects and secular subjects (which are informed by Christian teaching). This must certainly include an intensive and extensive course on stewardship of resources at various levels. This will enable church leaders as church administrators to see themselves as those tasked both with a pastoral role and a social task. Church leaders must be prepared for both the spiritual and material life. A heaven-bound church leadership has no relevance for the material intricacies of this concrete life.

6.3.1.1.5 **Appropriation into ecclessial resource management**

The philosophy of stewardship has to be appropriated into church structures which have to do with the management of all church resources. This includes the following:

6.3.1.1.5.1 **Resource gathering and expansion: towards the Biblical metaphors of sowing and planting**

It is usually an ecclessial tradition in Zambia to gather church resources from parishioners' contributions and from foreign grants. In these days of economic difficulties, church-giving by parishioners has declined significantly. The result is that a good number of Zambian churches have relied heavily on foreign aid. Between 1992 and 1999, some were beneficiaries of the Presidential slush fund which drew a lot of public criticisms as to its use. Zambian churches must mature in their resource gathering and expansion strategies by employing Biblical metaphors of sowing and planting which are part of stewardship (see, for example, Matthew chapter 13). A poor church cannot be

respected by the larger society. It has nothing to offer in terms of material sustenance and social upliftment of citizens. For this reason, churches should modernise and find ways to invest in areas where sowing and planting can be effected by practically employing the biblical imagery of sowing and planting. The message of this imagery is very clear: plant or sow good seed or tree in good soil, allow for times and seasons to pass, and harvest what is rightly yours and for others. Two of the areas are the agricultural sector and the housing sector. Through these ways, churches can generate enough resources and exercise their stewardship for their benefit and that of the nation at large. Churches must grow beyond mere Sunday collections and move to more profitable long-term projects. They must begin to believe and implement the philosophy of adequate *chrematistics* and substantial *oikonomia*.

6.3.1.1.5.2 Resource planning and utilisation

After resource gathering and expansion by means of sowing and planting, churches must ensure that they plan for the present and future needs. The present needs must be guided by the principle of the most deserving needs. This includes a feasible plan for church infrastructural maintenance, mission and evangelism, and expenses on full-time church staff. Take, for example, expenses on full-time church staff, a good number of Zambian churches are known to subject their staff to very poor conditions of service. How can churches be empowered to speak about economic justice when they themselves encourage unjust wages and conditions of service? It is incumbent upon Zambian churches to graduate from a colonial culture of dependent denominations to ones which are able to look after their personnel adequately. This includes a good living stipend, a good housing scheme and a good pension scheme. Church workers are human beings who have a sacred responsibility to exercise their stewardship and prepare for their families. Future needs include continued church work in society. This can be achieved through such things as good investment plans, savings and long-term reserves. Everything must be put in place to get the ecclesial financial house in order. All manner of wasteful and extravagant spending must be knocked out. This includes unnecessary annual meetings and travel within and abroad. The churches must be seen to plan and use wisely, appropri-

ately, and carefully the God-given resources for today and tomorrow.

6.3.1.1.5.3 Accountability and transparency

All resources of churches must be seen to be public funds and not for an individual. Their use should be done with accountability and transparency. Church resources should from time to time come under public scrutiny through appropriate committees and councils. Most importantly, their use must reflect the wishes and aspirations of all church members. The burden of accountability and transparency squarely lies on the shoulders of those church leaders who have been tasked to administer church resources, especially finances. They should foster good character so that the management of these resources is adequate. And those who access church funds for various uses should always ensure that they are not guided by selfish motives of personal gain. Administrators and users of ecclesial resources should ensure that the stewardly virtues of accountability and transparency are held to the highest degree. Churches cannot challenge government to accountability and transparency if their structures are rocked by unaccountable and untransparent decisions and actions. They have to be a model of accountability and transparency to society.

6.3.1.1.6 Appropriation is demonstrated in daily living

Members of the faith community ought to demonstrate stewardship in their day to day lives at home, at work, and in community with other people. This includes small things as proper disposal of waste products and tending gardens. They must demonstrate that they are called to stewardship principles. Other people must see them to live by stewardship ethos and thus set an example to others. The incarnation of stewardship principles by believers will ultimately lead to the changing of public mindsets and lifestyles for the benefit of the entire society.

6.3.2 Extragenous guidelines

The mission of Zambian churches ought to extend to the entire societal household of Zambia. This entails specific ecclesial tasks and responsibilities on behalf of society. These include the following:

6.3.2.1 Appropriation extends to the immediate community

Local churches ought to consider their immediate communities as their foci for mission. It is within such contexts that the message of the Kingdom should be lived out and incarnated. Good news, to have meaning and relevance, must be related to the problems of these contexts. This work of ecclesial relation involves the following.

6.3.2.1.1 The meeting of social and moral needs

It is not enough for the Zambian churches to be content with church services and prayers, while a large segment of Zambia's local communities are struggling for socio-economic survival and to find meaning amidst so much suffering. In Zambia, the urban shanty compound is a barometre of economic success. It is clear that it has been brutalised by harsh economic conditions. People who live in such situations are dogged by enormous health, educational, poverty and self-actualisation problems. They do not have appropriate housing, proper roads, safe water, and adequate sewage systems. Their story is a sad story of pain, tears, and death. Local Zambian churches must rise to the occasion and *embrace their socio-economic pain, tears, and death*. This can be done through enhanced practical solutions aimed at socio-economic upliftment, for example, road repair and housing development projects. Practical answers to their problems will lead to an enhanced moral understanding of the meaning of divinity in their midst. From small-scale projects, these must grow into large-scale, long-term, life-sustaining projects to the service of humankind and to the glory of God.

6.3.2.1.2 **The meeting of environmental needs**

Similarly, Zambian churches must rise to the occasion and address the problem of environmental degradation in their local communities. In Zambia, the commonest environmental hazard among the people is the poor disposal of waste products and rubbish. From time to time, churches have tried to organise clean-ups of cities in their local environments. But this has been a once-off project. Time has come to make it part and parcel of the inner ethos of city and town dwellers. Churches must be seen to contribute to a healthy and clean environment for all. This naturally calls for mobilisation of both financial resources and human beings in collaboration with city and town fathers and mothers. Churches which are not challenged by dirt and filth in their local communities, are contributors to environmental degradation.

5.3.2.2 **Appropriation extends to businesses**

Within their local communities are businesses houses which contribute to economic progress in various ways. These too should be called to social and environmental responsibility.

6.3.2.2.1 **Calling businesses to social responsibility**

Local churches should seek to develop a friendly rapport with local business houses. They should aim at developing a mature realisation that both entities are meant to serve the interests of society. Through church influence, it is very possible to influence business houses to contribute to social progress of local communities in collaboration with other social empowering bodies. This includes the setting up of schools, recreation centres and health centres for the sake of the people. The organisation of such facilities can be left in the hands of local communities in which local churches and other social bodies can participate. In this way, local people, local churches, local social bodies, and local businesses can grow together to one common purpose. Like churches, businesses should feel part and parcel of the lives of local people. They should consider themselves as those who have come to stay and contribute to the local economy. Through constructive

lobbies and other ways, local churches can do much to call local businesses to account for the local social situation.

6.3.2.2.2 **Calling businesses to environmental responsibility**

Similarly, through constructive ways such as public meetings between local people, local social bodies, and local businesses, Zambian churches can do much to promote and encourage the spirit of environmental responsibility among businesses. It is not always helpful simply to be overly critical of businesses because of their degradation of the environment. It is good sometimes to get closer to them, understand their problems and seek ways on how environmental degradation can be reduced. Legalism might lead to mistrust, misunderstanding and hatred among all stakeholders. What is needed is a level-headed approach to the environmental problem so that jobs are protected, social programmes are enhanced, and the environment is preserved. A local community which grows together in all its dimensions should be the *telos* of the ecclesial interventionist policy on all environmental matters in relation to economic progress.

6.3.2.3 **Appropriation extends to government**

Certainly, Zambian churches have a moral responsibility to extend the appropriation of stewardship principles to government in collaboration with other social empowering bodies. In fact, it is government which is mandated to ensure that the political economy of Zambia is on the right track. Ecclesial influence in this regard is of vital importance.

6.3.2.3.1 **Calling government to the preservation of community, the environment, and a sustainable future**

This is probably one of the greatest challenges of the Zambian churches. The philosophy of stewardship which the Zambian churches might like to sell to government is very clear: *the orientation of the political economy towards community, the environment, and a sustainable future*. So far, the social and environmental indicators are known. Socially, the Zambian community has suffered massive human and social dislocation un-

known since the foundation of the nation with very serious moral consequences. Environmentally, there has been a slow, but gradual degradation of the Zambian environment since independence. If social and environmental imperatives are compromised, there can be no sustainable future for Zambia. The Zambian churches in collaboration with other social empowering bodies must rise to the occasion and help change government philosophy on political economy. Already, the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia has started to develop the policy mode of moral discourse by their understanding and analysis of economic policy in order to influence its outcome (see chapter four of this thesis). Such actions must be enhanced and encouraged among the Zambian churches. There must be a deliberate strategy to participate in economic decision-making bodies in various ways and thus influence the formulation and outcome of economic policy. The point is that while it should be appreciated that the Zambian churches are called to be prophets amidst structures of injustice, they are equally called to be policy-oriented in their moral discourse. In this regard, every opportunity must be used in order to participate in policy issues and thus, bring about appropriate Christian influence to bear on such issues. One of the ways is to participate in state economic committees such as the privatisation committee. The objective is to influence the political economy of Zambia in such a way that it is faithful to and preserves community, the environment, and a sustainable future.

6.3.2.3.2 Calling government to model political economy on the notion of stewardship

Similarly, the Zambian churches must not be ashamed to call on government to model the political economy of Zambia on stewardship. They must not be afraid of being accused of economic utopianism and of changing the economic *status quo*. Zambia is certainly not alone in its possible quest for new economic values which respect society and the environment. Already, there is a world-wide movement which is gathering momen-

tum. People all over the world are becoming tired of economic policies which exclude the majority of people and which degrade the environment. The notion of scarcity has been responsible for social exclusion and environmental degradation. As noted already, it must be replaced by a more socially-sensitive, and environmentally-friendly “starting point” for economic development.

Through constructive ways such as outlined above, the Zambian churches, together with social bodies of goodwill, can positively influence public opinion and move government towards the ethos of stewardship. The political economy of Zambia, apart from correcting its failures and gaps, needs a firm point of departure. And that point of departure is stewardship. Zambian churches have every reason to influence government to morally chose stewardship as the basis and model for the economic system of Zambia. That choice will lead to a household culture which ensures that each and every Zambian has enough to live on and to contribute to societal well-being anchored on environmental well-being.

6.3.3 Summary of the ecclesial appropriation process

The ecclesial appropriation process involves both endogenous and extragenous dimensions. Endogenously, it has to do with: constitutional appropriaton, doctrinal appropriation, liturgical appropriation, ecclesial resource management appropriation, and appropriation in daily living of members of the community of faith. Extragenously, it involves: an extension of ecclesial appropriation to the social and environmental needs of local communities; an extension of ecclesial appropriation to businesses – calling them to social and environmental responsibility; an extension of ecclesial appropriation to corridors of political power – calling them to the preservation of community, the environment, and a sustainable future and to the modeling of the entire political economy on stewardship.

The Zambian churches cannot call the Zambian government to new values when these values cannot be demonstrated within ecclesial structures. They have to be a model to

the Zambian household. Once this happens, they become living witnesses of the *basileia* vision of the fullness of life.

6.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to test the broad framework of stewardship in the context of Zambia by evaluating economic development programmes. In addition, it has attempted to suggest some feasible guidelines on how the Zambian churches can appropriate such a framework within their ecclesial structures.

The evaluation was done from the standpoint of a set of stewardship principles which was developed in the previous chapter. This chapter evaluated economic development programmes as a whole and specific economic development programmes (nationalisation and privatisation).

In evaluating economic development programmes as a whole, it was noted that between 1964 and 1991, the implementation of these programmes tended to mainly serve the interests of the Zambian people. Unfortunately, due to the economic crisis, these programmes could not be sustained over a long period of time. In contrast to the first period, the implementation of economic development programmes as a whole in the second period, 1992 to 1999, tended to serve the interests of the market.

In evaluating nationalisation, it was hinted that it was a good programme which helped to uplift the socio-economic lives of many Zambians. However, in the long run this programme became a dismal failure because, *inter alia*, government took a long time to review it and to diversify its economy. In the evaluation of privatisation, it was observed that its implementation tended to follow strict rules of a liberalised economy. Even though it helped to revive Zambia's industrial activities characterised in many cases by profit-making privatised companies, it significantly contributed to substantial market exclusion of many Zambians. This was due to, *inter alia*, a virtual lack of formal sector

employment opportunities and the massive depreciation of the Zambian Kwacha.

On the whole, it was hinted that, viewed from stewardship principles, much remains to be done to ensure that social and environmental imperatives are protected. Stewardship rather than scarcity is the best option to pursue if these imperatives were to be entrenched within the Zambian household.

And as such, Zambian churches must rise to the occasion to see how the philosophy of stewardship can be appropriated within their structures and extended outside of their structures. They cannot call others to a new way of living and thinking without being an example to the societal household. The ecclesial appropriation process should naturally move from church circles to situations of daily living, to businesses, and to the corridors of political power. Zambian churches should feel energised to influence social, political, and economic forces towards a more prosperous, healthy, fulfilled and sustainable Zambian society.

Stewardship principles have been tested within the context of Zambia. There is an urgent need to anchor Zambia's economic system on stewardship. Reasons for this are loud and clear. Zambians will have themselves to blame if social and environmental imperatives continue to be compromised by the notion of scarcity. They must choose that which affirms, enhances, and preserves life. And that thing is stewardship, for the *present* and for the *future*. Churches, as part of those institutions which wish and hope to positively influence the societal order of Zambia, have a moral and sacred obligation to contribute to societal processes that can change mindsets and lifestyles of humans for the sake of humans and non-humans.

Therefore, the time to begin to embody this new way of thinking and living is *now*. When this process begins to gain momentum, nationally, regionally and internationally, then humanity can have real hope for the day of inclusive and responsible livelihood which has eluded the human society, especially in the last two hundred years.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND THE WAY FORWARD

The doctoral thesis: *A theological-ethical framework for economic development: the case of Zambia* was divided into seven chapters namely:

- ❑ chapter one – introduction;
- ❑ chapter two – economics: a review of definitions and perspectives;
- ❑ chapter three – historical overview of economic development in Zambia;
- ❑ chapter four – the church as an institution: a historical survey of its response to economic development in Zambia;
- ❑ chapter five – the normative basis of a theological-ethical framework;
- ❑ chapter six – an evaluation of economic development programmes and guidelines for churches' participation in economic development in Zambia; and
- ❑ chapter seven – summary, conclusion, recommendations and the way forward.

Chapter one mainly discussed the problem statement and put forth the main argument and point of departure. It argued that beginning from scarcity as a point of departure for economic development has contributed to the compromisation of social and environmental imperatives both on global and local levels. This was the research problem which was evaluated from a theological-ethical standpoint in relation to the specific context of Zambia as the case study. It further argued about the need for theological ethics to provide a socially-sensitive and environment-friendly point of departure for economic development as an alternative for the notion of scarcity. Background and rationale, research objectives, methodology, structure of chapters, literature review, and study relevance were also presented.

Chapter two reviewed some of the main definitions and perspectives in economics. This was in order to establish the main root which runs through the science of economics and thus, seek a viable entry point for Christian theology to make its contributions. It was observed that the notion of scarcity defines the rules of economics and is used as a point of departure in solving the problem of relative scarcity. It underpins economic development, economic systems, and sustainable development. Nonetheless, its inadequacy was highlighted with the view to point to the need for a new point of departure. Under this chapter, issues of etymology, secular and Christian views, were also presented.

Chapter three was an attempt to illustrate how, from the standpoint of the notion of scarcity, relative scarcity has been dealt with within the specific context of Zambia. It took a historical approach to the issue in order to show clearly how the economy has evolved in the period 1964 to 1999. During this period, Zambia failed to solve the problem of relative scarcity. Besides, during this period, the adherence to the notion of scarcity as a point of departure contributed to the undermining of social and environmental imperatives mainly through market exclusion of people and gradual environmental harm. The main issues discussed were: visions of a reconstructed Zambia – a brief statement, political liberation, independence and decolonisation – setting the context for nation-building and economic development, economic development in the early post-independence era: 1964-1976, economic slide of the mid 1970s to 1979, structural adjustment in the 1980s: an overview, and structural adjustment and macroeconomic stabilisation in the 1990s: a brief presentation.

Chapter four was also an attempt to illustrate the response of Zambian churches to economic development. It argued that Zambian churches employed their pastoral and social tasks within a context which was defined by the ethos of scarcity. However, the Zambian churches are slowly coming of age in their moral response to economic development. They are no longer content with ethical and prophetic approaches to moral discourse. They are slowly trying to balance this with the policy approach, that is, they are trying to see how they can understand economic policy in order to influence the outcome of policy actions. This transition is being led by the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia. In addi-

tion, this chapter explored the historical background to the post-independence church in Zambia.

Chapter five spelt out clearly what ought to be the normative basis, that is, the moral foundation, upon which a theological-ethical framework for economic development ought to be based. It argued that Christian theology (including ethics) does have something to offer to the current debate on economic development through its insights and perspectives. These insights and perspectives include moral criteria from both Christian theology and shared human experience which can be explicated within the philosophy of stewardship as a general framework for economic development. Its main point was that there is every need to make a transition from scarcity to stewardship as an alternative point of departure for economic development. It is the ethic of stewardship which ensures that community, the environment, and a sustainable future are preserved. Human beings as those persons who have been given authority to rule over all what God has given to them should decide what is good for sake of the human family and the entire created order. It was strongly emphasized that not only should stewardship be seen as a point of departure, but as a model as well. In addition, a checklist of a set of principles was included.

Chapter six, firstly discussed stewardship principles which were developed in chapter five. They were discussed in the light of the economy as a whole and specific economic development programmes (nationalisation and privatisation) which were selected for illustrative purposes. An evaluation of these programmes reveals that even though one could see some traces of stewardship in the way they were implemented, much more needed to be done. Zambia can achieve this when it changes its philosophy of economic operation from scarcity to stewardship and when it implements its economic programmes with meticulous care. This approach will help her ensure that social and environmental objectives are sustained over a long period of time. Secondly, it highlighted the fact that Zambian churches should themselves be a model of the new way of thinking and living. They can do this by appropriating the philosophy of stewardship within their ecclesial structures. This ecclesial appropriation should not just end within ecclesial structures, but be extended to their local businesses, government and society at large. They have to

be instruments of new values which respect human life and the environment in the human quest for adequate economic development.

Chapter seven simply summarises, concludes, recommends, and points to the way forward. So far, the academic journey has been rigorous and tiresome. Time to show the main findings, to urge on official bodies, and share the vision for a more humane and sustainable future, has come.

In conclusion, the main finding of this research is that making the notion of scarcity a point of departure for economic development has contributed to human and social dislocation on the one hand and to environmental degradation on the other hand. In spite of the material progress that has been brought into being by scarcity-guided economic systems, especially the free market economy, this has been done at the very expense of human life and the environment. This ought not to be like this. Certainly, the notion of scarcity ought to be replaced by a society-enhancing and environment-friendly point of departure for economic development. And that point of departure is stewardship. It is not only a point of departure, but a model for economic development. It ought to define rules of economics so that social and environmental imperatives are entrenched in economic systems.

The ball is in the hands of humans. They have to decide to be good stewards of the resources of the earth for the sake of the human family and non-humans. They can no longer pretend that all is well. Something must be done so that all humans might have access to life-sustaining mechanisms and that the entire environment might continue to give life, beauty, and serenity to the entire created order. Therefore, it is the ethic of stewardship rather than the notion of scarcity which ensures inclusive, responsible, and accountable living and thinking for all by all. This ethic should inform economic theory and practice if human suffering and environmental degradation are to be arrested significantly.

In the light of the foregoing, the following recommendations are made for the specific context of Zambia:

- to ensure environmental sustainability in Zambia, it is recommended that: the legal framework be strengthened in order to begin to deal with both persons and companies who destroy and pollute the environment – both punitive and motivational measures should be used; the ECZ be empowered to do its constitutional work on behalf of the nation through a total overhaul to include the following: extensive and intensive scientific and technical training (covering all the relevant sectors of ecology), infrastructural and facility expansion (including state of the art information technology accessories and top of the range computers), improved terms and conditions of service to attract the best scientific minds and expanded and modernised laboratory institutions;
- to strengthen democracy and to ensure that government accounts for its activities in the national household, it is recommended that: legal bodies such as the Anti-Corruption Commission and the Human Rights Commission be appointed by an independent body and be answerable to parliament; presidents of all opposition parties (limited in number by national consensus and by law) be members of parliament as ex-officio members, and cabinet be appointed outside parliament;
- to strengthen the informal sector (the *utuntemba* economy), it is recommended that a constitutional body be appointed by government to look into issues of basic informal sector needs such as training, technical know-how, business structures, financial sourcing, and investment; and
- to effectively deal with the problem of unemployment in Zambia, it is recommended that the activities of NSSN be overhauled completely to enable it take a holistic approach to the problem including: joint problem-solving partnerships with NGOs, churches, and the private sector.

The way forward for a viable economic vision is clear: *the changing of life-styles and mindsets towards a more inclusive and sustainable economic future*. In this regard, Zambia churches, Christian and other like-minded economists have a valid contribution to make.

Zambian churches should continue to mature their moral approach to economic development by maintaining a balance between all modes of moral discourse (narrative, ethical, prophetic, and policy). They should not only seek to be narrators, ethicists, and prophets of Biblical morality, but seek also to understand the role of policy in nation-building and economic development. They ought to be willing to participate in policy through many opportunities accorded to them by businesses, the state and society at large. Through their participation, decisions with a moral perspective will be made by official bodies for the benefit of all citizens and the environment.

The philosophy of stewardship – based on the Biblical principles – has been developed. It is now incumbent upon Christian economists and other like-minded economists to develop this into a feasible framework for economic life. Their assignment includes the transformation of macro and micro economics from the criteria of scarcity to the criteria of stewardship. Issues such as taxation, investment, monetary and fiscal policy, and balance of payment, should all be analysed from the standpoint of this framework and be concretised. It is a difficult task, but worth trying. There is no other time to do it than now. Churches and other social groups of goodwill will certainly support such an intellectual and practical assignment aimed at social and environmental wholeness.

Human beings, the world over, are aching for a time of peace, fulfilment, prosperity, health, and sustainability. They are tired of economic systems which harm them and degrade their environments. They want to be valued, respected, motivated, and sustained within human households. Their quest for adequate economic development lies in the realisation of stewardship as the basis of the development process. It is stewardship which can ensure that moral imperatives – social, environmental and otherwise – are protected. Humans – in business, in government and in society at large – should rise together and chart the way forward towards global and local economies which respect human life and the environment. This movement, as already noted, involves change of mind, soul, and body and human structures for the sake of all humans and non-humans.

Therefore, “change, change, change” encouraged by conscientious groups and people is the way forward for a stewardship-guided society of human beings who seek adequate economic development.

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APPENDICES

In order to get substantial data on the economy of Zambia and the role of churches and NGOs in the economic development of Zambia, an extensive and intensive field research was done in Zambia between March and April 1998. This was mainly done through structured interviews. In some cases, interview sheets were simply sent to some people to use them as questionnaires. The following are sample interview sheets which were used for this process for target groups and persons.

APPENDIX 1

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SHEET FOR CHURCHES AND CHURCH ORGANISATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Faculty Of Theology

(Section B)

Department of Dogmatics and Ethics

South Africa

- 1 **Objective:** The objective of this structured interview is to collect data about the Role of Churches and Church Organisations in Economic Development in Zambia for the doctoral thesis: “A Theological-ethical framework for economic development: the case of Zambia”, tenable at the University of Pretoria in the Faculty of Theology (Section B), South Africa.
- 2 **Instructions:** Kindly fill in the gaps and answer the questions which follow. Submit or send this sheet to the person and address mentioned below.

Part A: Particulars of interviewee

Name title sex age (you may not show your age)

Residential address.....(where applicable)

Postal address.....

Telephone: businessresidential

Fax: businessresidential

E-mail businessresidential

Occupation

Marital status

Part B: Expression of views (tick where applicable) ✓

- a) Whose views are you expressing? Individual [] Group [] Both []
- b) Which organisation are you representing?
- c) In what capacity are you expressing the views?

Part C: Main interview

- a) **Historical role:** In which ways did your organisation participate in economic development from the time of the independence of Zambia in 1964

b) Economic difficulties

- When did your organisation begin to feel the impact of economic difficulties in Zambia?
- How did this trend affect your membership, the life and work of your organisation?
- Did this alter, in any way, the message of your organisation to society? (specify)

c) Government Economic Programmes

- First and second Republics: October, 1964 tot October 1991
 - What are some of the economic programmes implemented by government which you felt were good for the nation? (specify and give reasons)
 - What are some of the economic programmes implemented by the government which you felt were not good for the nation (specify and give reasons)

Part D: Economic solutions and involvement of churches and church organisations

1. In your own view, what should government do to achieve adequate economic development for all Zambians?
2. In which specific ways can churches and church organisations contribute to the solution of economic difficulties and attainment of adequate economic development?
3. In which specific ways can churches and church organisations influence government economic thinking and policy, thereby transform the social order?

Part E: Documents

1. Are there any documents or papers on economic development in Zambia in your organisation? (if so, specify their titles, when, why they were issued)
2. Should churches integrate economic development in their message and constitutions? (if so, state the reasons)

NB Feel free to use additional paper

Signature Date of interview

Submit or send to:

Musonda Bwalya

Faculty of Theology (Section B)

University of Pretoria, Pretoria 0002, RSA

tel 012 343-5230 (res); fax: 012 362-5168/5190 (off)

e-mail: s9830617@ student.up.a.c.za

**STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SHEET FOR INTERNATIONAL
BODIES, BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL HOUSES**

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Faculty of Theology

(Section B)

Department of Dogmatics and Ethics

South Africa

- 1 **Objective:** The objective of this structured interview is to collect data about the interpretation of the economy of Zambia by international bodies, business and financial houses which are linked to economic development for the doctoral thesis: “A Theological-ethical framework for economic development: the case of Zambia”, tenable at the University of Pretoria in the Faculty of Theology (Section B), South Africa.

- 2 **Instructions:** Kindly fill in the gaps and answer the questions which follow. Submit or send this sheet to the person and address mentioned below.

Part A: Particulars of interviewee

Name title sex age (you may not show your age)

Residential address (where applicable)

Postal address

Telephone: business residential

Fax: business residential

E-mail business residential

Occupation

Marital status

Part B: Expression of views (tick and answer where applicable - ✓)

- 1 Whose views are you expressing? Individual [] Group [] Both []
- 2 Which organisation are representing?
- 3 In what capacity are you expressing the views?

Part C: Main interview

- a) Give a critical view of Zambia's economic performance over the last 35 years.
- b) What are some of the achievements of economic programmes put in place by government for the last 35 years?
- c) In your own opinion, what has contributed to economic decline in Zambia?
- d) What should Zambia do to successfully restructure its economy?
- e) Any other comments?
- f) Documents: Does your body have any documents or papers on economic development in Zambia? (if so, specify)

NB Feel free to use additional paper

Signature Date of interview

Submit or send to:

Musonda Bwalya

Faculty of Theology (Section B)

University of Pretoria, Pretoria 0002, RSA

tel 012 343-5230 (res); fax: 012 362-5168/5190 (off)

e-mail: s9830617@ student.up.a.c.za

**STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SHEET FOR
GOVERNMENT BODIES, THE OPPOSITION, LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND
PROMINENT ZAMBIAN PERSONALITIES**

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Faculty of Theology

(Section B)

Department of Dogmatics and Ethics

South Africa

- 1 **Objective:** The objective of this structured interview is to collect data about the Evolution of the economy of Zambia from independence to date in order to assess the general impression emanating from government bodies, the opposition, local institutions and prominent Zambian personalities for the doctoral thesis: “A Theological-ethical framework for economic development: the case of Zambia”, tenable at the University of Pretoria in the Faculty of Theology (Section B), South Africa.
- 2 **Instructions:** Kindly fill in the gaps and answer the questions which follow. Submit or send this sheet to the person and address mentioned below.

Part A: Particulars of interviewee

Name title sex age (you may not show your age)

Residential address (where applicable)

Postal address

Telephone: business residential

Fax: business residential

E-mail business residential

Occupation

Marital status

Part B: Expression of views (tick and answer where applicable) - ✓

- a) Whose views are you expressing? Individual [] Group [] Both []
- b) Which organisation are you representing?
- c) In what capacity are you expressing the views?

Part C: Main interview

a) Historical background

- Can you say that the African tribes which occupied Zambia before the arrival of the British South Africa Company and British rule were self-reliant in the basic economic needs (give reasons)?
- In which ways did colonisation and the discovery of copper contribute to infrastructural and economic development in Zambia?
- What were the effects of this trend on the rural areas and consequently, the newly created urban areas?
- How did industrial capitalism brought by colonial masters affect the self-reliance attitude among Africans?
- Why do you think that the British concentrated more on developing copper mining than any other industry?
- In which ways did the British prepare Zambians for responsibilities in both industry and government?
- Was the preparation adequate? (give details)

b) Early years of independence

- Why is it that Zambia is regarded as one country which was enjoying one of the highest standards of living in Africa as from 1964 to early 1970s?
- What were some of the positive social programmes and infrastructural developments which were achieved by government immediately after independence?

c) Economic Difficulties

- What were the reasons which led to the decline of the economy in Zambia? (specify)
- How did globalisation affect the economy in Zambia?
- Comment on the merits and demerits of the following economic programmes which were and have been put in place by government during the following periods
 - 1964-1969
 - Nationalisation
 - Industrial and agricultural programmes
 - Consumer subsidisation and social programme
 - 1970-1990
 - Nationalisation (continued)
 - Industrial and agricultural programme (continued)
 - Consumer subsidisation and social programme (continued)
 - Structural adjustment in the 1980s
 - Auctioning of the Kwacha
 - National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP)
 - 1991 to date
 - Structural Adjustment in the 1990s
 - Liberalisation of the economy
 - investment programme
 - privatisation programme
 - industrial and diversification programmes
 - agricultural programme

- foreign exchange and trade policy
 - fiscal and monetary policy
 - social programme
-
- What were and are the achievements of the past and present economic programmes that have been put in place by government?
 - Which areas need attention?
 - What were and are some of the major difficulties emanating from the global economy which affected and have affected adversely economic development in Zambia?
 - In your own view, what should be the way forward for a more prosperous and developed Zambia?

NB Feel free to use additional paper

Signature Date of interview

Submit or send to:

Musonda Bwalya

Faculty of Theology (Section B)

University of Pretoria, Pretoria 0002, RSA

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STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SHEET FOR NGOs

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Faculty of Theology

(Section B)

Department of Dogmatics and Ethics

South Africa

3 **Objective:** The objective of this structured interview is to collect data about the role of Non-governmental organisations in Economic Development in Zambia for the doctoral thesis: “A Theological-ethical framework for economic development: the case of Zambia”, tenable at the University of Pretoria in the Faculty of Theology (Section B), South Africa.

4 **Instructions:** Kindly fill in the gaps and answer the questions which follow. Submit or send this sheet to the person and address mentioned below.

Part A: Particulars of interviewee

Name title sex age (you may not show your age)

Residential address (where applicable)

Postal address

Telephone: business residential

Fax: business residential

E-mail business residential

Occupation

Marital status

Part B: Expression of views (tick and answer where applicable) - ✓

- a) Whose views are you expressing? Individual [] Group [] Both []
- b) Which organisation are you representing?
- c) In what capacity are you expressing the views?

Part C: Main interview

a) Historical role

- When was your organisation formed and when did it start its work in Zambia?
- What is your target group and area among the population?
- What development programmes do you implement in Zambia?

b) Government Economic Programmes

- First and second Republics: October 1964 to October 1991
 - What are some of the economic programmes implemented by government which you felt were good for the nation (specify and give reasons)
 - What are some of the economic programmes implemented by the government which you felt were not good for the nation? (specify and give reasons)
- Third Republic: November 1991 to date
 - What are some of the economic programmes implemented by government which you felt were good for the nation (specify and give reasons)
 - What are some of the economic programmes implemented by the government which you felt were not good for the nation? (specify and give reasons)

c) Economic solutions and Involvement of NGOs

- In your own view, what should government do to achieve adequate economic development for all Zambians?
- In which specific ways can NGOs contribute to the solution of economic difficulties and attainment of adequate economic development?
- In which specific ways can NGOs influence government economic thinking and policy and thereby transform the social order?

d) **Documents**

- Are there any documents or papers on economic development in Zambia in your organisation? (If so, specify their titles, when, why they were issued)
- Have you included the concept of development in your mission statement and constitution? (If so, how are you interpreting it practically in relation to your specific work among people)

NB Feel free to use additional paper

Signature Date of interview

Submit or send to:

Musonda Bwalya

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