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AND  
A POLITICO - GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS  
OF MALAWI'S BORDERLANDS

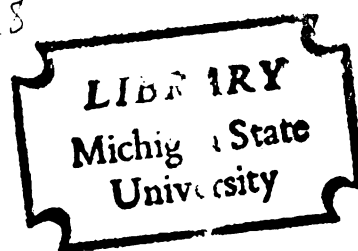
Two Research Papers for the Degree of M. A.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
BRUCE P. BROWNE  
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A POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS  
OF MALAWI'S BORDERLANDS

By

Bruce P. Browne

A RESEARCH PAPER

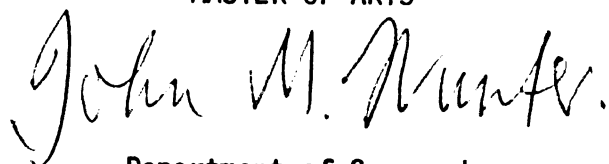
Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John M. Munter".

Department of Geography

1972

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express sincere appreciation to Dr. John M. Hunter under whose guidance this study was made. Appreciation is also expressed to Ms. Susan Fidelman for all the time and assistance she gave reviewing my paper.

A particular work of gratitude is expressed to the people of Malawi who provided the author with invaluable bits of information during the author's two years of residency in that country.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Political geographers have devoted a substantial amount of their literature to the study of boundaries, emphasizing the "developed" regions of the world. Geographers study boundaries because they are lines on the landscape which mark either the de facto or the de jure limits of political sovereignty, one quality of areal differentiation.<sup>1</sup>

Semple's Influences of Geographic Environment is one of the earliest boundary studies. Her main point is that it is unnatural for boundary lines to be fixed; rather, they fluctuate continuously. Semple's view was developed from Ratzel's organismic state theory.<sup>2</sup>

Much of the literature on boundaries was written during and after World Wars I and II. Holdich,<sup>3</sup> Fawcett,<sup>4</sup> Curzon,<sup>5</sup> and others classified

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. V. Prescott, The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1965), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>J. Mingni, "Boundary Studies in Political Geography", Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53 (September, 1963), p. 407.

<sup>3</sup>T. H. Holdich, "Political Boundaries", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 32 (1916), pp. 497-507.

<sup>4</sup>C. B. Fawcett, Frontiers: A Study in Political Geography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918).

<sup>5</sup>Lord Curzon, Frontiers, The Roman Lectures, Oxford, 1907.

boundaries as either "good" or "bad" from the military standpoint. Lyde<sup>6</sup> and Brigham<sup>7</sup> offered alternative methods of classification.

"Before and after studies" on boundary changes in Europe, following the disorganization of spatial relations caused by World Wars I and II, provided much useful information. S. W. Boggs,<sup>8</sup> Richard Hartshorne,<sup>9</sup> August Losch,<sup>10</sup> Stephen Jones,<sup>11</sup> J. R. V. Prescott,<sup>12</sup> and A. E. Moodie<sup>13</sup> were the most prominent contributors during this period.

This approach started a shift of emphasis away from boundary location and history, to a more functional approach to the geopolitical analysis of boundaries.<sup>14</sup>

The functions of boundaries, as S. W. Boggs has pointed out, are not static, but rather change over time.<sup>15</sup> It is possible to look at

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<sup>6</sup>L. W. Lyde, Some Frontiers of Tomorrow: An Aspiration for Europe (London: A. and G. Black, 1915).

<sup>7</sup>A. P. Brigham, "Principles in the Determination of Boundaries", Geographical Review, Vol. 7 (April, 1919), pp. 201-219.

<sup>8</sup>S. W. Boggs, International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

<sup>9</sup>R. Hartshorne, "Suggestions on the Terminology of Political Boundaries", Abstract, Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 26, (March, 1936), pp. 56-57.

<sup>10</sup>A. Losch, The Economics of Location (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

<sup>11</sup>S. B. Jones, Boundary Making: A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors and Boundary Commissioners (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1945).

<sup>12</sup>Prescott, op. cit., footnote 1.

<sup>13</sup>A. E. Moodie, The Geography Behind Politics (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1957).

<sup>14</sup>Mingni, op. cit., footnote 2, p. 407.

<sup>15</sup>S. W. Boggs, "Boundary Functions and the Principle of Boundary Making", Annals, Association of American Geographers, (March, 1932).

boundary functions from two viewpoints. First, all boundaries define the limits of states, marking off, for example, the area or application or distinct legal and economic policies. An additional function may be seen in those boundaries which separate adjacent states or widely differing policies or conditions.<sup>16</sup>

Boundaries exist on both a physical and sociocultural plane. They can be categorized as morphological, anthropogeographic, geometrical, or genetic. Morphological boundaries generally follow various physiographic features in the landscape: mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.

A second major category, referred to as anthropogeographic is based upon the human occupancy of the land: i.e. ethnic, historical, linguistic, or economic grouping.

The third category is made up of those boundaries which may be best described as geometric. They may follow lines of latitude or longitude, or may have been defined as an arc drawn by a compass.<sup>17</sup>

In the analysis of sociopolitical conflict, however, the relationship between the boundary and the cultural landscape at the time the boundary was established was the important point to consider. Thus a fourth, genetic category can be included, composed of antecedent, consequent, and superimposed boundaries.<sup>18</sup>

Antecedent boundaries exist wherever political jurisdiction has been formally allocated before human settlement has taken place or

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<sup>16</sup>H. J. De Blij, Systematic Political Geography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 207.

<sup>17</sup>De Blij, op. cit., footnote 16, pp. 247-249.

<sup>18</sup>Hartshorne, op. cit., footnote 9, pp. 56-57.

before major sociocultural features, such as industrial growth, markets, or regions of circulation and movement have had time to develop.

Consequent boundaries are those delimited after such features have already emerged, and coincide with social, economic, cultural, or linguistic discontinuities.

In contrast, superimposed boundaries are those which do not coincide with such discontinuities. It is quite apparent that under this scheme conflict potential is found to the greatest degree in superimposed boundaries.<sup>19</sup>

### African Boundaries

African international boundaries are often assumed to be different from those of other continents: they tend to be regarded as artificial and arbitrarily imposed, with the implication that their validity is questionable.<sup>20</sup> It has been predicted that the artificiality of African boundaries harbors the seeds of ". . . many a troublesome irredenta in the future."<sup>21</sup> How has this situation come about?

It has been suggested that the notion of political boundaries in Africa is a unique one, introduced into the indigenous societies by the European colonial powers. Traditional evidence, from even such nomadic societies as the Somali or the Masai provides a strong contradiction: individual African societies appear to have controlled a sphere of

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<sup>19</sup>De Blij, op. cit., footnote 16, pp. 250-251.

<sup>20</sup>S. Touval, "Reaction to a Colonial Legacy", International Affairs, Vol. XLII (October, 1966), p. 641.

<sup>21</sup>R. Emerson, From Empire to Nation (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 106.

influence made up of a specific territory in which they lived, planted crops, grazed their cattle, or hunted. This specific territory was either defined by natural features or simply understood.<sup>22</sup> I. M. Lewis indicated that the people of Somalia often used cuttings on the bark of trees to show the territorial limits of ethnic occupance. It is to be noted, however, that territory was as much a fundamental concept within traditional African societies as it is within the modern Western states.<sup>23</sup>

The majority of present day Africa's boundaries were delimited by European states in the two decades following the Berlin Conference of 1885. The speed with which the partition took place necessitated that boundaries be easily defined and quickly agreed upon. Delimitation agreements were negotiated before detailed knowledge of either the terrain or the peoples in the interior of the continent was available. However, despite the popular criticism that colonial boundaries were imposed on the cultural landscape in total disregard of local conditions, it has been shown that in some instances, e.g. the Kingdom of Buganda, consideration, though insufficient, was given.<sup>24</sup>

As pointed out by K. M. Barbour, little regard was given to the physiographic features of the continent. He estimated that at the time

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<sup>22</sup>C. G. Widstrand, African Boundary Problems (Uppsala: Scandavian Institute of African Studies, 1969), p. 10.

<sup>23</sup>I. M. Lewis, Peoples of the Horn of Africa (London: International African Institute, 1965), p. 421.

<sup>24</sup>L. Kapil, "On the Conflict Potential of Inherited Boundaries in Africa." World Politics, Vol. XVIII (July, 1966), p. 66, and S. Touval, "Treaties, Borders, and the Partition of Africa", Journal of African History, Vol. II, No. 2, (1966), p. 279, and J. R. V. Prescott, "Africa's Major Boundary Problems", The Australian Geographer, Vol. 63, No. 3, (1962), p. 3.

of political independence, for most African countries in the late 1950's or early 1960's,

. . . approximately 40 percent of the boundary mileage in Africa was defined according to parallels and meridians, 30 percent by straight lines, arcs or circles and so on; and the balance of 26 percent, by reference to topographical features such as rivers, streams, watershed, mountains, and valleys.<sup>25</sup>

A substantial number of ethnic groups were divided by these superimposed boundaries. The approximation of K. M. Barbour, arrived at by superimposing a political map over Murdock's ethnic distribution map, showed at least 187 ethnic territories dissected by boundaries.<sup>26</sup>

During the colonial period, these boundaries took on the distinct function of bringing about a minimum amount of friction, as the various colonial powers avoided the exercise of authority up to the absolute territorial limits, in order to alleviate possible border disputes. Movement across African boundaries was a simple matter.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to this "laissez-faire" policy, however, the independent African nations which inherited these boundaries unadjusted have taken a more critical view. Perennial concern with boundary questions is characteristic of many recently independent states in Africa. Current boundary problems on the continent provide evidence that some adjustment may be necessary if boundaries are to harmonize with political policies and attitudes.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>K. M. Barbour and R. M. Prothero, Essays on African Population (London: Routledge, Kegan, and Paul, 1961), p. 305.

<sup>26</sup>Barbour, op. cit., footnote 25, pp. 312-313.

<sup>27</sup>Kapil, op. cit., footnote 24, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup>J. R. V. Prescott, op. cit., footnote 24, p. 3.

Because African boundaries were externally superimposed, it was expected that they would be challenged by African nationalists after independence.<sup>29</sup> These sentiments were brought out in declarations made by national leaders at the All African Peoples Conference held in Accra, Ghana in 1958. The conference report

. . . denounces artificial frontiers drawn by imperialistic powers to divide the peoples of Africa, particularly those which cut across ethnic groups and divide people of the same stock.<sup>30</sup>

African attitudes towards their boundaries seem to be somewhat ambivalent, however, for although these boundaries are still being condemned as imperialist impositions, they have also been accorded legitimacy. It seems that most African nations are committed to the preservation of the status quo.<sup>31</sup>

### Statement of the Problem

Political geographers have done few case studies of boundaries in Africa, and almost none involving the impact of a superimposed boundary upon the spatial organization of traditional populations. A limited number of documented case studies have been done on superimposed boundaries resulting in conflict, such as the Togo-Ghana situation. Little investigation has been done on those colonially imposed boundaries where indigenous peoples have been divided, in which conflict has not developed

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<sup>29</sup>Touval, op. cit., footnote 20, p. 642.

<sup>30</sup>C. Legum, Pan Africanism (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962), pp. 229-234.

<sup>31</sup>Widstrand, op. cit., footnote 22, pp. 104-108.

The problem to be investigated in this study, therefore, is in what ways superimposed boundaries have affected the spatial organization patterns of the country of Malawi.

The reason why Malawi has been chosen for this investigation is that it provides a unique composite of three boundaries, each in its own distinct stage of development.

The northern lakeshore boundary with Tanzania is presently in dispute; Malawi's western "watershed" boundary with Zambia has remained without any appreciable conflict; and the nation's southern boundary with the Portuguese-ruled territory of Mocambique still maintains a colonial status.

### Objectives and Hypothesis

The immediate concern of this research is to investigate the superimposed boundaries of Malawi, by demonstrating a time-space relationship between these boundaries and the resulting spatial organization. An analysis of three time periods has been included in this study: the precolonial period during which the traditional patterns were preeminent; the colonial period, during which the imposed patterns were interjected; and the post colonial period, during which contemporary patterns emerged.

For each of these time periods an attempt will be made to recreate the patterns of organization, i.e. political, economic, and social structure of the society, and the spatial organization--trade, settlement, and migration. An attempt has been made to illustrate the time-space relationship of these patterns in regard to the changing functions of Malawi's boundaries.

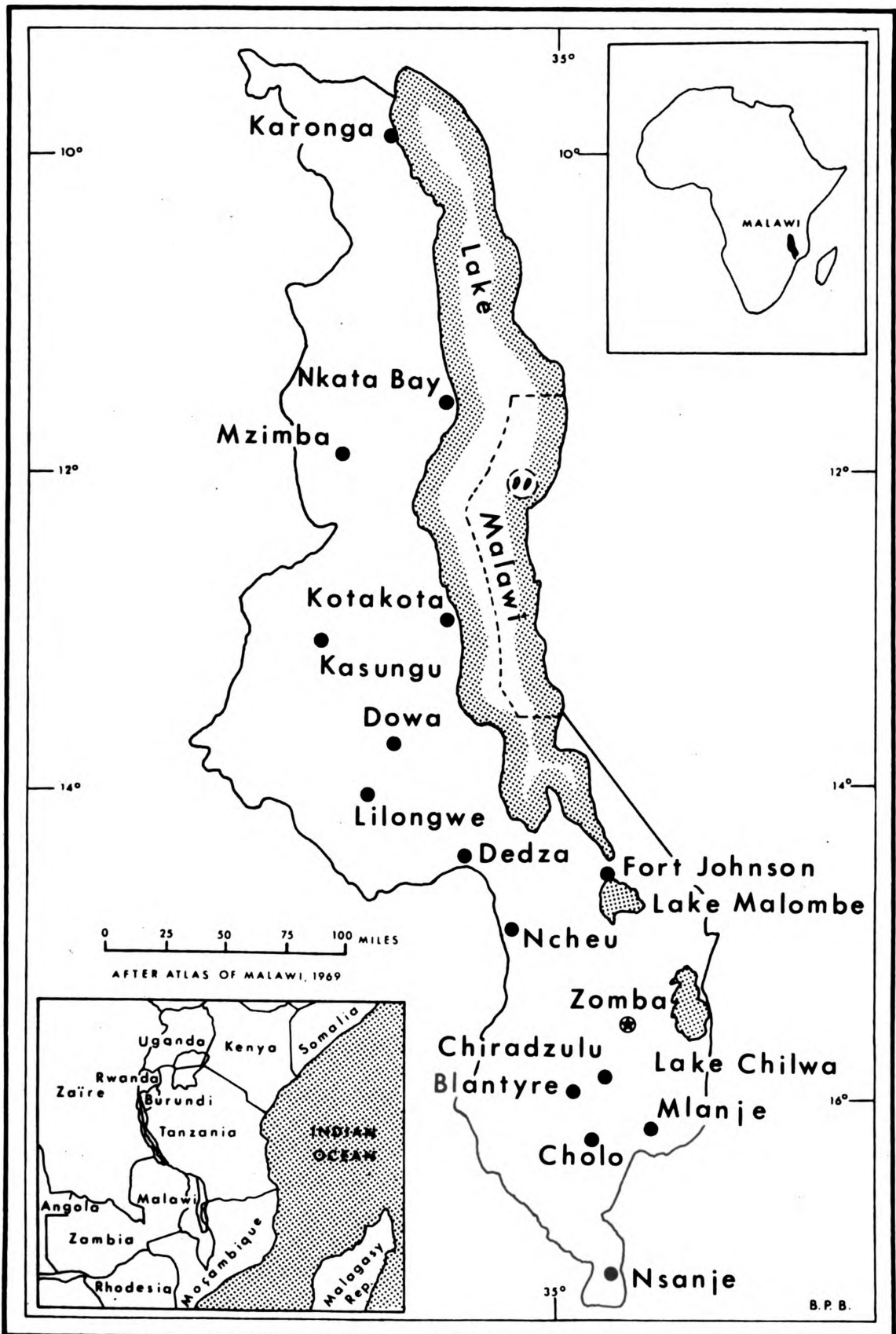


Figure 1

The working hypothesis of this study is that the political processes involved in Malawi for each specific period of time (precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial), in regard to its boundaries are reflected by the type of spatial patterns i.e. trade, migration, settlement, and economic, which result.

### Methodological Considerations

A general lack of methodology exists for boundary studies, especially for the analysis of the "underdeveloped" world where boundaries have been imposed by a colonial power upon an alien indigenous population. Even the studies done in the "developed" world emphasize the morphological and the empirical rather than the general and functional aspects of boundaries. There is a definite need for a model which takes into consideration those variables peculiar to former colonies where European concepts of territoriality have been imposed upon alien, traditional variables.

Derrick J. Thom, in a recently completed Ph.D. thesis has produced such a paradigm for the analysis of superimposed boundaries. By using this paradigm, which illustrates a time-space relationship, one can analyze the way in which superimposed boundaries produce certain spatial patterns during a specific time period. The methods to be used in this study are somewhat analogous to the work done by Thom, but a different area, the borderlands of Malawi, will be investigated.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Derrick J. Thom, The Niger-Nigeria Borderlands: A Political Geographical Analysis of Boundary Influence upon the Hausa, 1970. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University.

First, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the preexisting patterns of the indigenous population in terms of organization and circulation. "Terms of organization" refers to the flow of trade, the migration of people, and patterns of settlement. Reconstruction was accomplished by a period of intensive library research making use of anthropological, historical, and historical-geographical studies on Malawi.

Second, an investigation will be made to indicate the effect that the partition of Africa and the subsequent period of colonialism has had on the traditional spatial organization of these societies. Again library research was employed: foreign office reports, newspapers, historical biographies of the colonial officers responsible for the delimitation, maps, and geographic data published by the British Colonial Office.

Finally, the postcolonial patterns of spatial organization will be examined using census data, newspapers, and a wide variety of current studies done by the various ministries within Malawi.

Field research for this study relied on the author's two years in Malawi (1968-1970) which have proved to be very valuable in the understanding of the internal dynamics of the political, social, and economic factors affecting the boundaries.

## CHAPTER II

### PRE-COLONIAL MALAWI<sup>1</sup>

Since the precolonial histories of the peoples inhabiting the borderlands of Lake Nyasa<sup>2</sup> are so tightly interwoven, they will be treated as one entity instead of being separated into discrete units.

#### "Malawi" People: Southern and Central Malawi<sup>3</sup>

During the sixteenth century a group of Bantu cultivators moved into the area north of Lake Nyasa. These "Malawi" peoples came from the Luba country in the Lake Kisale region of what is now Zaïre.<sup>4</sup> Their descendents occupied the greater part of central and southern Malawi and the adjacent territories of present day Zambia and Mocambique. They separated themselves into six major groups known today as Chewa, Zimba, Nyanja, Manganja, Nsenga, and Chipeta.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The name Malawi was adopted at the time of independence in 1964. Prior to that time (1893-1907) it was known as British Central Africa, and (1907-1964) as Nyasaland Protectorate.

<sup>2</sup>Until 1965 Lake Malawi was referred to as Lake Nyasa. Tanzania still does not recognize the alteration, and continues to use the name Lake Nyasa.

<sup>3</sup>These are the Mocambique borderlands.

<sup>4</sup>The term "Malawi" peoples refers to those peoples who speak dialects of Nyanja.

<sup>5</sup>J. G. Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (London: Praeger, 1968), pp. 37-39.

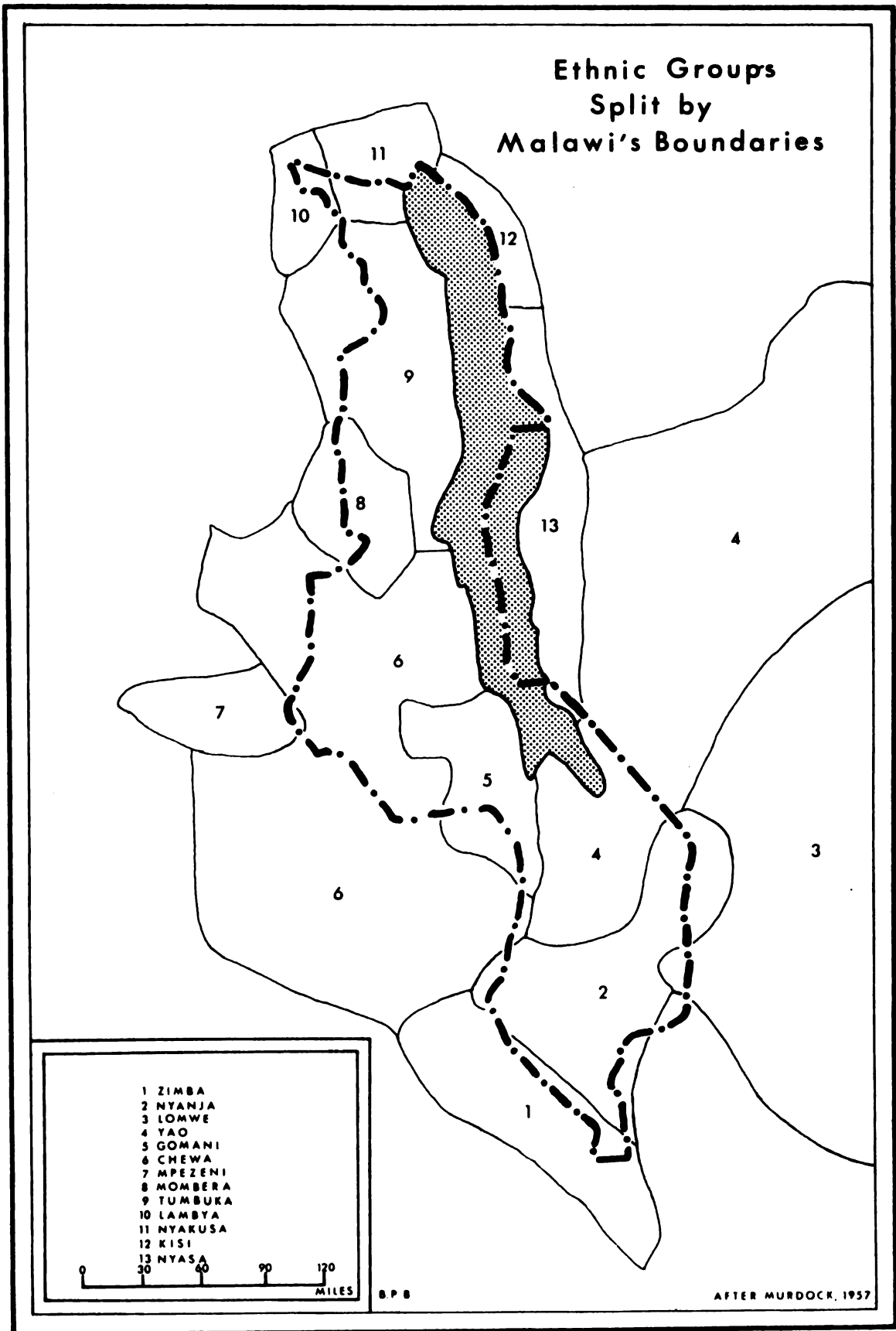


Figure 2

The traditional economic system found among the Malawi peoples depended primarily upon a shifting system of agriculture. They cultivated a wide assortment of crops including corn, millet, beans, sorghum, groundnuts, rice, cassava, and tobacco. Those groups near the lakeshore fished, while those located inland herded sheep, goats, and cattle in the tsetse-free areas. The Malawi people were also known as ironworkers, cotton-spinners, and weavers.<sup>6</sup>

All of these peoples reckoned their descent matrilineally, and marriage was matrilocal.<sup>7</sup> At the head of each group was a chief, who occupied an hereditary office consisting of royal, priestly, and judicial functions. The people under a chief's control depended largely upon his judgement in war and in economic matters for their general welfare.<sup>8</sup>

#### Tumbuka People: Northwest Malawi<sup>9</sup>

The Tumbuka people, one or the associated clans of the Malawi peoples, moved into northern Malawi during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their main characteristic was the lack of centralized chiefdoms.<sup>10</sup> The traditional economic system of the Tumbuka was similar to that of the Malawi peoples to the south, except for a greater dependence on cattle. Their system of descent also varied from the other Malawi

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<sup>6</sup>M. Tew, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 38-40.

<sup>7</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 6, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup>p. E. Tindall, A History of Central Africa (London: Longmans, 1967), p. 50.

<sup>9</sup>These are the Zambian borderlands.

<sup>10</sup>Pike, op. cit., footnote 5, p. 58.

people in that it was based on the patrilineage and marriage was patrilocal.

The political organization of most of the area inhabited by Tumbuka was characterized by a lack of centralized authority. Judicial and social problems were handled by a council of elders.<sup>11</sup>

Nkonde Nyakusa People: Northern Malawi<sup>12</sup>

In the extreme northern corner of Malawi, lying partly in Tanzania, a small enclave of Nkonde and Nyakusa people is found. These people are distinct in origin from the Malawi and Tumbuka peoples, bearing a strong cultural relationship to such Tanzanian ethnic groups as the Kinga and Safwa, representatives of the southern vanguard of the Sukuma-Nyamwezi expansions from the lake regions of East Africa around two centuries ago.<sup>13</sup>

The traditional economy of these people was dependent on cattle ownership; consequently milk and its products were important articles in their diet. A variety of crops were cultivated on a limited shifting basis, however it was the cultivation of bananas (Nkonde literally means "bananas") which was the mainstay of their existence.<sup>14</sup> European travelers often described this region as an "Arcadia" because of its intensive, well organized and productive cultivation system.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 6, pp. 58-61.

<sup>12</sup>These are the Tanzanian borderlands.

<sup>13</sup>Pike, op. cit., footnote 5, pp. 50-53.

<sup>14</sup>S. S. Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland* (Zomba: Government Printer, 1932), p. 202.

<sup>15</sup>Pike, op. cit., footnote 5, p. 52.

Descent, here too, was reckoned patrilineally. Political power was under the control of a hereditary chief who had paramount authority. His approval was essential for the installation of subchiefs, from whom tribute was usually exacted. Nkonde chiefs had considerable autonomy; prestige was primarily based on a chief's religious power over the people.<sup>16</sup>

### The Ngoni-Yao Invasion

Two events had a profound effect on the organization of ethnic groups in the Malawi area. The first was the Ngoni invasions; the second was the increase of numbers involved in the slave trade, an increase necessary to satisfy the demands of the East African coastal trade as well as local domestic slavery. The combined result of these two events was the devastation of large areas of land.<sup>17</sup>

The origins of the Ngoni invasions are to be found in northern Natal. In the early nineteenth century, the Zulu under the inspired leadership of Shaka Zulu were creating havoc in Natal. The pastoralist Ngoni, under the guidance of Zwangendaba were forced to leave the area. They crossed the Zambezi in 1835 and proceeded north, stopping, fighting, and moving until finally in 1853 they settled in Malawi.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps the slave trade was responsible for even more destruction than the Ngoni invasions.<sup>19</sup> Arab caravans, led by Swahili-Arabs from Zanzibar and the Tanzanian coast penetrated to the lake region in a

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<sup>16</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 6, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup>Tindall, op. cit., footnote 8, pp. 67-69.

<sup>18</sup>Pike, op. cit., footnote 5, pp. 53-57.

<sup>19</sup>A. J. Hanna, The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (London: John Murray, 1966), p. 63.

seemingly endless procession. The Swahili-Arabs established slaving stations throughout the lake region at such places as Karonga in the North, and Nkhota-kota and Makanjira in the South.<sup>20</sup> Also involved in the coastal slave trade were the Yao, an ethnic group which had settled the southern shores of Lake Malawi by the late 1860's. The Yao preyed upon weaker peoples, taking captives and exchanging them for other commodities with the Arab traders. Violence, chaos, and treachery marked relations between ethnic groups during this period of Malawi's history; clans split into smaller units, and culture regressed.<sup>21</sup>

Thus on the eve of the colonial penetration, it is difficult to assess exactly how much destruction of the traditional patterns of organization had already taken place, but the amount must have been considerable.

#### Spatial Patterns of Circulation: Local Trade

A certain amount of trade and barter, involving especially salt and articles made of iron, was engaged in between ethnic groups. The Yao, for example, traded salt and cattle with the Manganja and Lomwe in exchange for tobacco and iron hoes.<sup>22</sup> However, most ethnic groups were self-sufficient for all practical purposes. No periodic local markets were held in the Malawi area at this time.

#### East African Coastal Trade

A great deal of trade was carried on with the coastal regions East Africa. Most of the Malawi peoples had long been in contact with

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<sup>20</sup>Hanna; op. cit., footnote 19, pp. 32-33.

<sup>21</sup>O. Ransford, Livingstone's Lake: The Drama of Nyasa (London: John Murray, 1966), p. 63.

<sup>22</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 6, p. 8.

the Swahili-Arab and Portuguese traders who travelled inland from the coast, and who increasingly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, built trading settlements in the interior regions.<sup>23</sup> The Swahili-Arabs dealt mainly in silk, cotton cloth, beads, and wire, which they were eager to exchange for ivory or slaves. Slaving expeditions were among the most important activities of the Yao chiefs. It has been estimated that caravans of up to 5,000 slaves passed through Mwembe, a main staging point, and Mataka on their way to Kilwa.<sup>24</sup>

#### Migration and Settlement Patterns

During the nineteenth century, as the slave trade increased and the Yao and Ngoni invasions proceeded to engulf the area, two forms of settlement patterns developed.

The indigenous people often moved to more remote areas of the country in order to stay out of the way of the destruction taking place around them. The disruption of traditional organization was so complete in some places that the people were forced to seek safety in rocky crevice shelters, caves, or by building whole villages over wooden piles out onto the lake itself.<sup>25</sup> The second form of settlement pattern, which emerged especially among the Chewa people, was the grouping together or village sites so that help could be sought more easily;

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<sup>23</sup>Tindall, op. cit. footnote 8, pp. 60-61.

<sup>24</sup>W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscence: 1871-1895 (London: Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1926); p. 127.

<sup>25</sup>Ransford, op. cit., footnote 21, p. 137.

Chewa villages, formerly small and scattered about the countryside, now became larger and more nucleated.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>J. G. Pike and G. T. Rimmington, Malawi: A Geographical Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 147.

### CHAPTER III

#### COLONIAL

The arrival of David Livingstone in the Nyasa Basin during the late 1850's signalled the beginning of British intervention in Malawi. Livingstone's publications brought this area to the attention of the British public. As a result, an assorted group of hunters, travellers, and explorers made their way to Malawi. Throughout the 1860's and 1870's various missions established headquarters in the Nyasa area: the most important of these was the United Mission to Central Africa, under Scottish control. In 1878 the African Lakes Company, a Scottish commercial venture, began operations.<sup>1</sup> By the late 1880's with the "scramble" for Africa in full swing, the German, British, and Portuguese governments were all converging on the Nyasa area. The existing British interests in Nyasa, official, commercial, and Christian, were united in pressing for the imposition of some form of British authority over Nyasa.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, after a short period of relatively intense activity, culminating, during the early 1890's, in the delimitation of Nyasaland's boundaries, a calm arose over the Land of the Lake.

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<sup>1</sup>G. Jones, Britain and Nyasaland (London: George Allen and Urwin, Ltd., 1964), pp. 28-30.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 30.

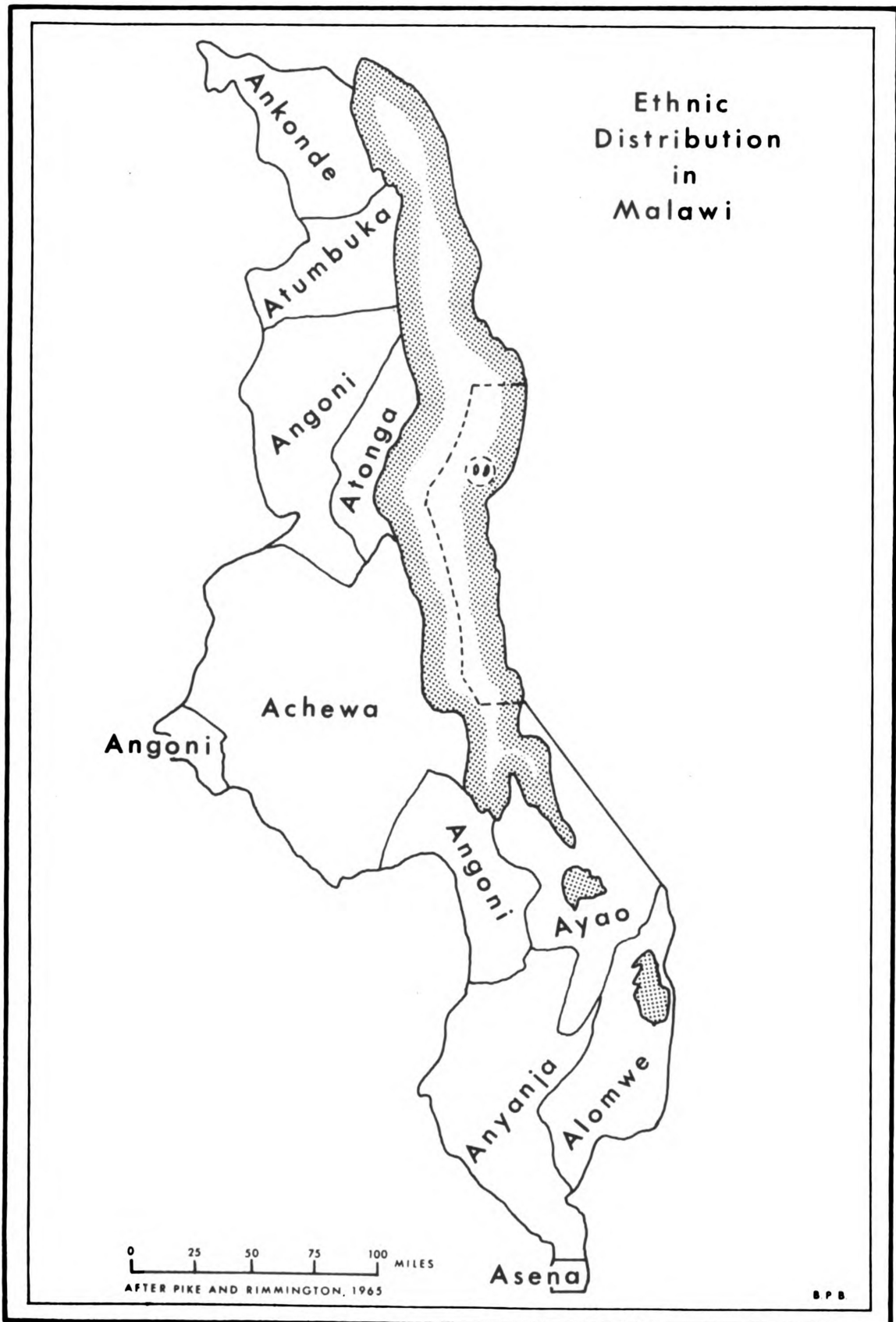


Figure 3

### Post Colonial

This calm ended with a sharp suddenness, not only for Nyasaland, but for the entire African continent, for in the relatively brief period between 1957 and 1966, Malawi, like 37 other countries in Africa, became independent. Independence was matched only by the partition of Africa in the late nineteenth century for dramatically transforming the continent.

Malawi obtained full independence on July 6, 1964, only three short months before internal political dissent began to ferment. By September of 1964, a crisis was reached with the dismissal of six cabinet ministers who subsequently became refugees in neighboring Zambia and Tanzania. Both the Zambian and Tanzanian governments extended tacit support to the political refugees, an act eventually leading to the deterioration of diplomatic relations between the countries.

## CHAPTER IV

### MALAWI-MOCAMBIQUE BOUNDARY

In the late 1870's only the British had established missionary and commercial interests in the Nyasa Basin.<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese, from their stations on the Zambezi made a number of moves to frustrate British interests in this area. One of the most irritating was the charging of transit duties and tariffs on British goods moving up the Zambezi River to the Nyasa area. In response to this situation, Sir Robert Morier, the British ambassador to Lisbon, established a policy that was to be the keystone of British policy in regard to German and Portuguese incursion into the Nyasa region. Morier stated,

With regard to the vast interior of the African continent, respecting which no treaties exist, they [previous treaties] do not admit the idea of sovereignty can be dissociated from that or bona fide occupation and de facto jurisdiction of a continuous and non intermittent kind.<sup>2</sup>

Two attempts were made by the British to obtain some type of treaty to help establish navigation rights on the Zambezi and Shire Rivers. The 1879 and 1884 treaties were rejected by both the British and the Portuguese as a result of conflicting territorial interests.<sup>3</sup>

With the intervention of King Leopold of Belgium and Bismark of Germany in the Congo Basin area, it became necessary in 1885 to call an

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<sup>1</sup>G. Jones, Britain and Nyasaland (London: George Allen and Urwin, Ltd., 1964), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>A. J. Hanna, The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 100.

<sup>3</sup>Hanna, op. cit., footnote 2, p. 101.

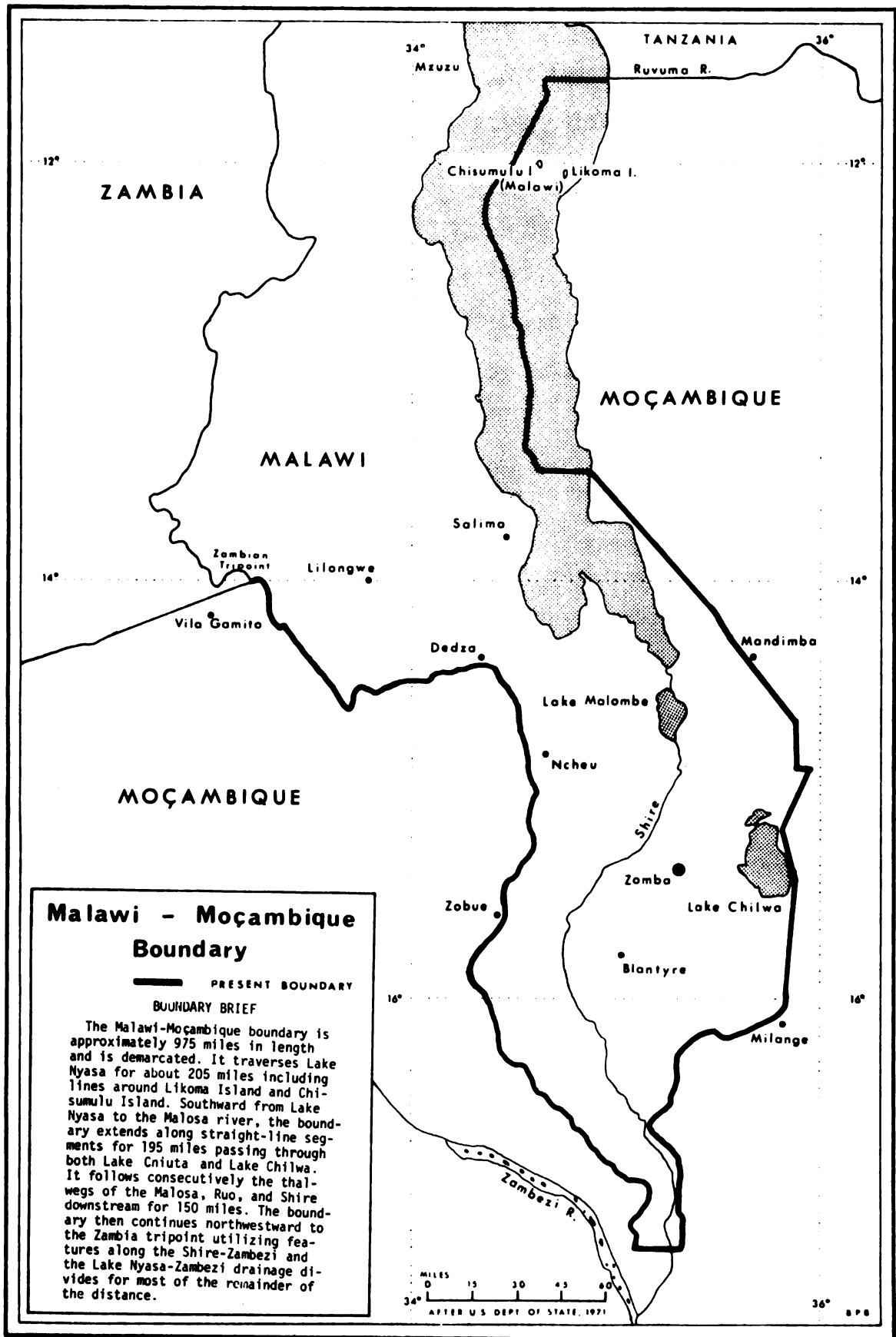


Figure 4

international meeting (the Congress of Berlin) to help establish the territorial aspirations of these competing colonial interests. Under Article I of the treaty passed at this conference, it was stated that "The trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom of the Congo Basin." This included the Zambezi and Shire Rivers.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the late 1880's British policy regarding the Nyasa Basin was noncommittal. As expressed by Prime Minister Salisbury in an address to the House of Lords,

It is not our duty to do it. [Declare a protectorate over Nyasaland]. We should be risking tremendous sacrifices for a very doubtful gain . . . I think that the religious and commercial operations on Lake Nyassa form a spectacle on which Englishmen can look with pride. Yes it is one of these achievements which our race has formed and will sustain rather by the action of the individual of whom the state is composed than by the political machinery of the state.<sup>5</sup>

By the late summer of 1888, Salisbury changed his mind, and by November, 1888, he appointed Harry Johnston, an aggressive and determined imperialist, as the new consul to Mocambique.<sup>6</sup> In the same month as Johnston's appointment, the Portuguese were preparing a military expedition in the Mocambique Nyasa area. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir J. Ferguson, made the following comment on the situation:

Her Majesty's government are watching with some anxiety the progress of an armed expedition into the neighborhood of British settlement, and they have warned the Portuguese Government of the existence of British interests on the Lake.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Sir E. Hertslett, The Map of Africa by Treaty, Third Edition (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1907), pp. 471-472.

<sup>5</sup>Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 328 (July 6, 1888), p. 549.

<sup>6</sup>Jones, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup>Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 333 (March 14, 1889), pp. 1660-1661.

Two important events took place in May, 1884, which had great impact on the subsequent course on Salisbury's decisions regarding the Nyasa region. Cecil Rhodes, chairman of the British South Africa Company, offered financial support for any British activity in the area, and Rankin, a British engineer, found that the Chinde River, one of the many outlets of the Zambezi River into the Indian Ocean, was of sufficient depth to be used as a means of communication between Nyasa and the Coastal area; thus avoiding Portuguese influence at Quelimane became possible.<sup>8</sup> According to Harry Johnston,

No greater discovery in the history of British Central Africa has been made than that of the navigability of the Chinde River from the Indian Ocean to the main Zambezi.<sup>9</sup>

On January 11, 1890, Lord Salisbury, under the influence of a strong Scottish commercial and missionary lobby, in combination with rising anti-Portuguese public opinion, sent an ultimatum to Lisbon requiring their withdrawal from the Ruo River area of southern Nyasa, their approaching military expedition under the leadership of Serpa Pinto, or strong military action would be taken by the British.

#### The Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1890

An agreement was finally reached concerning the Portuguese and British spheres of influence in the Nyasa Basin on August 20, 1890. By

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<sup>8</sup>Hanna, op. cit., footnote 2, p. 112.

<sup>9</sup>H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa (New York: Edward Arnold, 1897), p. 79.

<sup>10</sup>Hanna, op. cit., footnote 2, p. 112.

the terms of this agreement, the Portuguese had conceded the right of free navigation on the Zambezi and Shire Rivers and had accepted that this boundary would invalidate their claims to the Shire Highlands region in Southern Malawi.

1. [The boundary] . . . follows the course of the River Rovuma from its mouth up to the confluence of the River M'Sinje, and thence westerly along the parallel of latitude to the shore of Lake Nyassa.
2. [The Boundary] . . . follows the eastern shore of the lake southwards as far as the parallel of latitude 13° 30' south; thence it runs in a southeasterly direction to the eastern shore of Lake Chiuta, which it follows. Thence in a direct line to the eastern shore of Lake Chilwa, or Shirwa, which it follows to its south-easternmost point; thence in a direct line to the easternmost affluent of the River Ruo, and thence follows that affluent, and, subsequently, the centre of the channel of the Ruo to its confluence with the River Shire. From thence it runs in a direct line to a point halfway between Tete and the Kabra-bassa Rapids.<sup>11</sup>

Neither the British public, especially Cecil Rhodes, nor the Portuguese public found the 1890 agreement acceptable and in order to prevent any further difficulties between the two countries in regards to Nyasaland, a modus vivendi was enacted on November 4, 1890 to last for a period of six months.<sup>12</sup>

#### The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891

Finally the British and the Portuguese reached an agreement on June 11, 1891, after considerable pressure from international opinion to do so, and the long Anglo-Portuguese dispute came to an end. It retained

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<sup>11</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 1006.

<sup>12</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 1014-1015.

that part of the 1890 Convention which defined the boundary from the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa up to the Sire-Ruo confluence, but from that point onward a new boundary was included.<sup>13</sup>

From the confluence of the Ruo and Shire the boundary will follow the centre of the channel of the latter river to a point just below Chiwanga. Thence it runs due westward until it reaches the watershed between the Zambezi and the Shire, and follows the watershed between those rivers and afterwards between the former river and Lake Nyassa until it reaches parallel 14° of south latitude.<sup>13</sup>

The major change made was that the British lost all the area between the Zambezi and the new boundary, since the previous agreement had extended British control to the Zambezi. This loss was due to an exchange made between Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company and the Portuguese involving the former Portuguese territory of the Manica Plateau. The peculiar shape of the southern part of Malawi results from this compensation to the Portuguese.

#### Demarcation and Early Changes

Extensive changes were made in the delimitation and demarcation of the Mocambique-Nyasaland boundary after the initial delimitation of 1891, and the demarcation agreement of 1906 confirming the demarcation work done by the Joint Boundary Commission of 1899-1900; however, the important factor is that all the subsequent changes were made using the guidelines set down by the 1891 agreement.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 1017.

<sup>14</sup>International Boundary Study: Malawi and Mocambique (Washington, D. C. : Department of State, 1971), No. 112, p. 3.

Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1954

Significant changes were made from the 1891 treaty as a result of an agreement reached by the British and Portuguese Governments on November 18, 1954. This treaty resulted in a net territorial gain of 2,496 square miles of land and water surface for Mocambique. Of this 2,496 square miles, 2,471 from Lake Nyasa, 23 square miles by the re-demarcation of Lake Chilwa, and two miles of land in the vicinity of Nsanje made up the rough composition. Nyasaland received eight square miles of Portuguese territory in the Dedza area of the Tete District of Mocambique.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the most important changes are included in Article I:

1. . . . The frontier on Lake Nyasa shall run due west from the point where the frontier of Mocambique and Tanganyika meets the shore of the Lake to the median line of the waters of the same Lake and shall then follow the median line to its point of intersection with the geographical parallel of Beacon 17 as described by the Exchange of Notes of the sixth of May, 1920, which shall constitute the southern frontier.
2. The Government of the United Kingdom shall retain sovereignty over the islands of Chisamulo [Chisumulu] and Likoma . . .<sup>16</sup>

The Arrangement of 1954 also redemarcated the boundary eastwards from the Lake Nyasa-Zambezi drainage divide to the Shire River.<sup>17</sup> The demarcation of this 868 mile boundary was completed in 1956, and it is the only Malawi boundary clearly and permanently demarcated.

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<sup>15</sup>International Boundary Study, op. cit., footnote 14, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup>International Boundary Study, op. cit., footnote 14, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup>International Boundary Study, op. cit., footnote 14, p. 3.

These extensive revisions were the result of a decision made by the British Colonial Government in 1950, to investigate the drainage system of Lake Nyasa and the Shire River valley. The main problem under consideration was finding a means of controlling the level of the Lake, which has seasonal variations of three to four feet. Over long periods of time, however, the cumulative rise or fall may be greater; between 1896 and 1964 the Lake has fluctuated from just under 1,538 feet to over 1559 feet, a range of over 19 feet.<sup>18</sup> This project also aimed at the construction of harbors, regulation of the flow of the Shire River, the development of power in the cataracts of the Shire, and the reclamation and irrigation of flooded land in the lower Shire area.

Since Nyasaland and Mocambique shared a common lake shore and, in parts, river boundary, it would be necessary to get international cooperation in order to enact such a scheme.

The Portuguese quickly realized that this would be a good opportunity to gain territory on Lake Nyasa since the original boundary was established along the eastern shore of the lake. They agreed to participate in a joint Shire Valley project, providing the lake shore border between the countries be changed to the median line of Lake Nyasa.

By participating in this project, the Portuguese were required to contribute one-third of the cost of a preliminary survey which was estimated at £ 300,000: thus, for the sum of £ 100,000 Mocambique gained some 2,471 square miles of lake territory.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>J. G. Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (London: Praeger, 1968), p. 12.

<sup>19</sup>P. Keatley, The Politics of Partnership (London: Penguin, 1963), pp. 136-138.

### Effects of the Boundary Arrangement

A special feature about the Nyasaland-Mocambique boundary is that during its colonial history it has had two different colonial masters on either side: consequently, more emphasis was placed on the delimitation and the demarcation of its borders. By 1960, after numerous surveys and treaties, there are few places which cannot be accurately defined.

### Political Reorganization

With the introduction of at first, direct rule, and then later on in the 1930's, indirect rule, the traditional political structures of the ruling chiefs in the area of the Malawi-Mocambique border were profoundly altered.

### The Yao

Prior to the introduction of British and Portuguese rule, no formal territorial administration was ever established by the traditional Yao chiefs.<sup>20</sup> The status and power of the Yao chiefs depended upon the number of followers that they controlled. The acquisition of followers was usually the result of an individual chief being powerful through his activities as a trader. Throughout the nineteenth century the increased volume of trade, especially in slaves, made possible an increased growth in the scale of the Yao political units since a chief was now able to obtain great numbers of followers to widen his particular area of control.<sup>21</sup> With the introduction of British and Portuguese rule

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<sup>20</sup>E. Alpers, "Trade, State, and Society among the Yao in the 19th Century", Journal of African History, Vol. X, No. 3, (1964), p. 415.

<sup>21</sup>Alpers, op. cit., footnote 20, p. 420.

on the Yao, the slave trade was suppressed, thus reducing a chief's basis of power, and political control began to be concentrated in the hands of the British colonial officials at Zomba.

### Spatial Reorganization: Migratory and Economic

The introduction of colonial rule established peace throughout Nyasaland. With the ending of the slave trade and its concomitant interethnic warfare, many new opportunities for travel became available, since men could now move from place to place without fear. It was only natural that many former warriors should seek the adventure of emmigration, since there was little need to defend their homes.<sup>22</sup>

During the entire period of British protection, there were substantial movements of population from Mocambique. This was primarily the result of conflicting economic and political policies in the two areas. Migration was especially high from 1925 to 1946 when a succession of droughts took place in the Mocambique area of Nyasaland adjacent to Mlanje District illustrated the amount of ethnic migration which took place. In 1934 the Nyasaland Government instigated a program of well-digging in this region which profoundly affected the ethnic composition of the area. Of the Lomwe and Yao within the region, three quarters live in areas which have been supplied with wells since 1934. Slightly more than one-third of the Nyanja live in villages supplied by wells. This migration was primarily the result of differential supply of amenities made available to Nyasaland people in an area of water shortage; the Lomwe and Yao crossed the Mocambique border to make use of such facilities.

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<sup>22</sup>Jones, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 6.

TABLE 1  
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CHIGARU

|        | 1926           | 1955      |
|--------|----------------|-----------|
| Nyanja | 55%            | 15%       |
| Ngoni  | 30%            | 20%       |
| Yao    | 5%             | 33%       |
| Lomwe  | 5%             | 25%       |
| Others | <u>&lt; 5%</u> | <u>7%</u> |
| Total  | 100%           | 100%      |

Source: Figures adapted from C. A. Baker, "Chigaru: A Study of Its Population", The Nyasaland Journal, Vol. XI, No. I (January, 1958), pp. 62-63.

A periodic stream of Lomwe and Makua people from Mocambique emigrate into Nyasaland every year to seek casual labor on the various cotton and tea estates round in Nyasaland. Most of these migrants are seasonal, returning home after having earned enough to meet their goals.<sup>23</sup>

This is one of the only areas of Nyasaland where immigration has taken place on a large scale. It is due to the fact that the Mlanje-Cholo area is the one region in the country where extensive capital investments were made for the development of tea plantations. It is also interesting to note that Mlanje District has the lowest amount of emigration taking place in the country.

#### Settlement Patterns

Both external and internal migrations affected the type of settlement pattern which developed in Nyasaland during the colonial

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<sup>23</sup>C. A. Baker, "Chigaru: A Study of Its Population", The Nyasaland Journal, Vol. XI, No. 1 (January, 1958), pp. 62-63.

period. Dedza District in the central region of Nyasaland serves as an excellent example of the changing nature of these patterns.

Between 1918 and 1923 a series of migrations from Mocambique Territory began. The migration at first consisted of individuals joining relatives and friends in existing village settlements. However, later movements, dating from 1924, saw a tremendous migration, often consisting of whole communities; this migration greatly enlarged the number of villages located in this district. Between 1923 and 1927 the number of villages found in the area of Dedza increased from 299 to 346.<sup>24</sup> These migrations were primarily the result of the policies followed by the Mocambique Government, including the alienation of land for European use, and the establishment of forest reserves.

The influence of the migration of Nyasaland workers to South Africa, Rhodesia, and Zambia may also be noticed in the type of structural changes taking place in individual houses being constructed. These houses often tend to be of larger and better construction than the traditional structures. This may be seen as a compromise between European and African construction patterns, resulting from the influence of the migration experience: many of the men have lived and worked in European homes. When the newly arrived migrant returns from his travels, he often has sufficient savings to build a new house. Since under the traditions of the extended family he is responsible for the welfare of not only his immediate family, but also other relatives as well, it is usually not long before these other relatives begin building houses around his. In this

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<sup>24</sup>J. G. Pike and G. T. Rimmington, Malawi A Geographical Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 149.

manner, the original house becomes the center of a new cluster, which may later splinter into the formation of a whole new village.

Migrating to other countries to seek wage employment was primarily the result of the colonial rule; it vastly changed many facets of the spatial structure of traditional settlement patterns.<sup>25</sup>

### Problems of a Landlocked State

Malawi is one of the thirteen landlocked states created in Africa as a result of the colonial partition; thirteen is the number of landlocked states found in all the other continents of the world combined.<sup>26</sup> Malawi is totally dependent on Mocambique for access to the sea, either through the port of Beira which still handles the greatest amount of Malawi's import and export trade, or through Nacala which has recently been connected to the country with the completion of a rail line in July, 1970.<sup>27</sup>

This situation has required Dr. Banda, a political realist, to establish formal diplomatic relations with the Portuguese controlled government of Mocambique. He has continued to strengthen the mutual economic links that were forged by his colonial predecessors, much to the dismay of many of the independent Black-ruled countries to the North. In fact, Dr. Banda has pursued his economic support of Mocambique by coming

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<sup>25</sup>Pike and Rimmington, op. cit., footnote 24, pp. 753-1541.

<sup>26</sup>E. H. Dale, "Some Geographical Aspects of African Landlocked States", Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 58, (September, 1968), p. 486.

<sup>27</sup>E. S. Munger, "Trading with the Devil", Fieldstaff Reports: Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1964), pp. 4-5.

out in complete support of the Cabora Bassa Hydroelectric schemes, which is one of the keystones for future Portuguese control of Mocambique. Dr. Banda paid an official visit to the site of the Cabora Bassa Project in September, 1971, becoming the first independent Black African leader to pay a state visit to Mocambique.<sup>28</sup>

#### Liberation Movements and the Malawi-Mocambique Boundary

Since 1963, FRELIMO, a revolutionary liberation movement, has been actively campaigning, especially in the northern provinces of Mocambique, in order to overthrow and eliminate the colonial rule of Portugal. This sporadic insurrection has caused an occasional border crossing involving Portuguese troops, but in general the 800 mile border has remained free of any major difficulties as a result of these incursions.

Malawi has, to the utter despair of FRELIMO, cooperated with the Portuguese, in order to cut down the amount of guerilla activity taking place on Malawi's territory; this is especially true in the hilly region around Fort Johnston, which would offer ideal sanctuaries for the activities of the guerilla forces.

The government of Malawi has even gone so far as to place two gunboats on Lake Malawi in 1971, under the control of Portuguese naval officers in order to police the activities of FRELIMO along the lakeshore. This is felt in some quarters to be a move by Dr. Banda to help eliminate the chances of any form of invasion taking place across the lake from

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<sup>28</sup>Deadline Date on World Affairs "Malawi" (Greenwich, Connecticut, McGraw Hill, Inc., 1972), p. 18.

Tanzania, where numerous hostile anti-Banda political exiles are re-residing.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to this support of the Portuguese Government, Malawi, as stated earlier, has also come out in full support of the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric scheme. This project lies in Tete district and has become the center of a new military offensive at FRELIMO, which has vowed that this project will not be completed. As a result of military activities by both FRELIMO and Portuguese military personnel in the fall of 1971, a steady stream of refugees fleeing this war-torn district have sought refuge in nearby Malawi. This flow of refugees is especially in the Mwanza-Chikwana region, where as many as 3,000 refugees have already crossed the border.<sup>30</sup>

Dr. Banda has spoken out in support of these people, since he feels that the boundaries between Malawi and her neighbors are of an artificial nature to begin with. The President has recently stated,

The people in Mocambique are our own people, flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. When they are in trouble they have every right to find refuge in Malawi. We could not possibly turn them away.<sup>31</sup>

Since Malawi achieved independence in 1964, it has increased its political and economic contacts with Mocambique. Because of its severe economic dilemma, it has become increasingly isolated from the independent Black-ruled countries to its north.

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<sup>29</sup>Guardian Manchester, August 19, 1971, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup>African Research Bulletin: Social and Cultural Series, Vol. 9, No. 1 (January 15, 1972), p. 2292.

<sup>31</sup>African Research Bulletin, op. cit., footnote 30, p. 2307.

## CHAPTER V

### MALAWI-ZAMBIA BOUNDARY

As a result of increasing pressure from both internal and external sources to declare Nyasaland a protectorate, in 1888 Prime Minister Salisbury appointed Harry Johnston as the new consul to Mocambique.<sup>1</sup> Johnston, with the financial backing of Cecil Rhodes and with the approval of Prime Minister Salisbury, began making treaties in the Nyasa area throughout 1889 and 1890.<sup>2</sup>

During 1890 and 1891 relations between Cecil Rhodes and Johnston became less cordial as they both came to realize that they had differing opinions of how this area should be brought under their control. Rhodes thought that the territory should be in the sphere of the British South African Company, while Johnston felt that it should be accorded protectorate status under the auspices of the British government.<sup>3</sup>

Powerful Scottish missionary and commercial interests objected strongly to the placing of Nyasa under British South African Company rule. Salisbury, under the constraint of conflicting political pressures, opted for the declaration of protectorate status upon Nyasaland.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>G. Jones, Britain and Nyasaland (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1964), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>H. H. Johnston, The Story of My Life (Indianapolis: The Bobb Merrill Company, 1923), p. 239.

<sup>3</sup>R. Oliver, Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp. 179-180.

<sup>4</sup>Jones, op. cit., footnote 1, pp. 52-53.

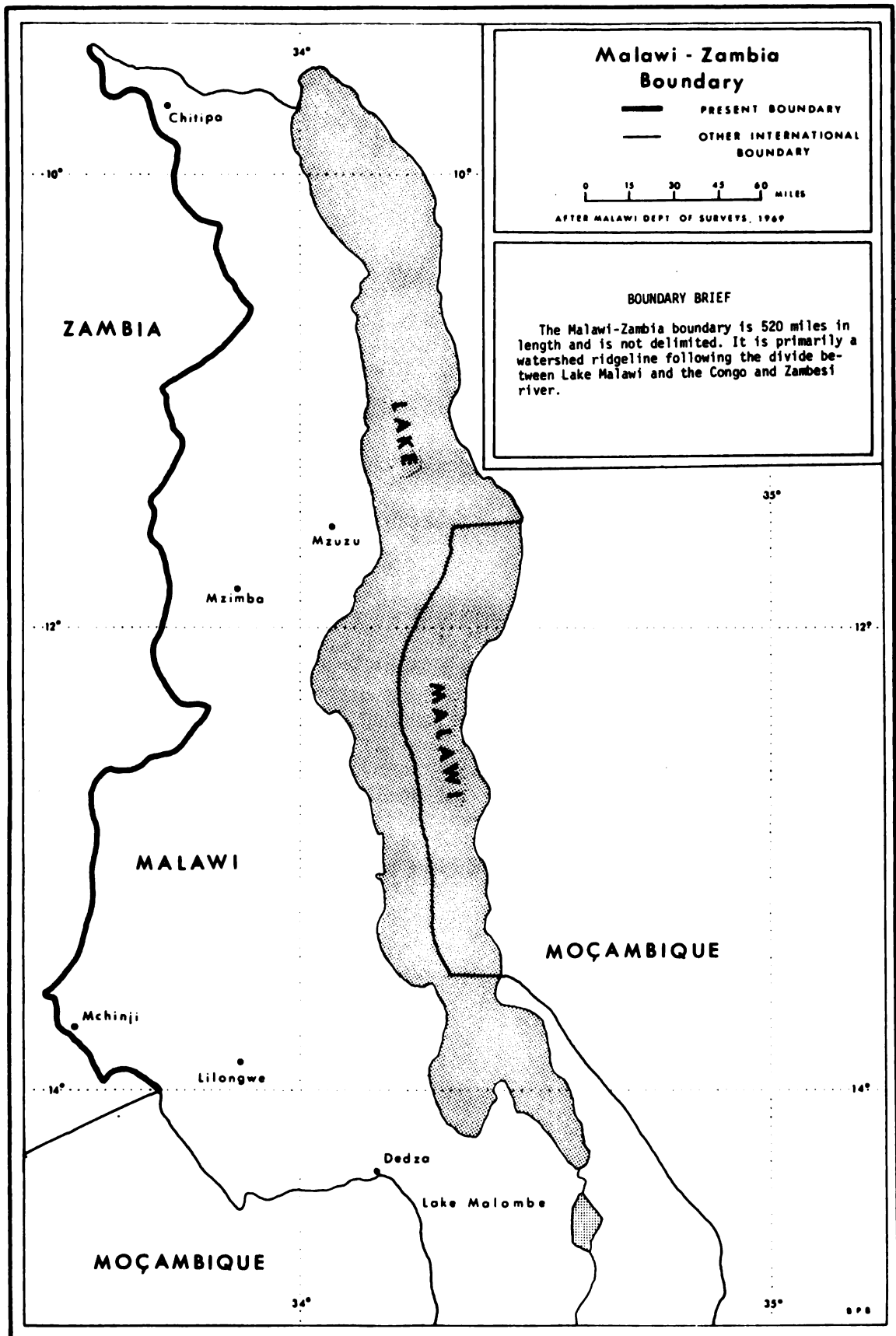


Figure 5

The London-based board of directors for the British South Africa Company hit upon the plan that the "area of Glasgow influence" in Nyasaland should be annexed and administered by the Imperial Government, while the British South African Company would seek an extension of its charters in the unclaimed regions to the west.<sup>5</sup> The company even offered to subsidize Johnston, who was to become Commissioner of British Central Africa, in order to be assured of a stabilized form of government for its eastern border.<sup>6</sup>

In February 1891, Rhodes and Johnston finally came to an agreement concerning the delimitation of the boundary between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland:

The territory defined by the name [Nyasaland] will be bounded: where it adjoins the chartered territory, by a frontier which, starting on the south from a point where the boundary between the British and Portuguese spheres is intersected [as defined by the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of August, 1890] by the boundary of the Berlin Act [Article I Part 3, 1885] will follow that line to the point where it meets the geographical line of the Congo Basin and then will follow the latter line to the point where it reaches the boundary between the British and German spheres.<sup>7</sup>

The Northern Rhodesia-Nyasaland boundary was primarily a watershed rideline with ill-defined features.

Approval for this agreement was given on April 2, 1891, by the British Government. Closely following this agreement came the declaration of a protectorate over Nyasaland by the Foreign Office on May 14, 1891.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Oliver, op. cit., footnote 3, pp. 187-189.

<sup>6</sup>Oliver, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup>Sir E. Hertslett, The Map of Africa by Treaty, Third Edition (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1967), (3 volumes), p. 278.

<sup>8</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 7, Vol. I, p. 286.

### Demarcation

Throughout the early years of the twentieth century, apart from minor cadastral surveys along the 520 mile border, no concentrated effort has been made by either country to demarcate the boundary.

### Effects of the Boundary Arrangement

The Nyasaland-Northern Rhodesia boundary had the same colonial master on either side: a British protectorate had been declared on one side, while the other side was under the control of the British South African Company, which had its board of directors in London.

Before the superimposition of these artificial boundaries, natural and geographic features as well as ethnic affinities and trade routes linked most of the peoples of Nyasaland with Northern Rhodesia. However, after the delimitation process took place, the indigenous populations were forced to reorganize themselves politically and spatially.

### Political Reorganization

The introduction of British direct rule considerably reduced the prestige of the traditional political authorities. The effects of direct rule were largely negative and disruptive, taking little or no account of the indigenous political requirements, and quickening the process of ethnic disintegration.<sup>9</sup>

The British colonial government of Nyasaland soon regretted the growing disintegration which was taking place and several modifications

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<sup>9</sup>R. I. Rotberg, The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 48.

of the system were made with the introduction of indirect rule in 1933. This represented an attempt to transform the traditional power structure of the indigenous government, investing it with political, administrative, and judicial powers so it could complement the colonial rule.<sup>10</sup>

### The Ngoni

In order that some understanding of the meaning of colonial rule for the indigenous political and social structures, a discussion of the Mpezeni Ngoni, who straddle the Nyasaland-northern Rhodesia border, will be presented.

Prior to the advent of British colonial rule, political power existed through the attachment of large numbers of people to royal villages. As a result of the Mpezeni Ngoni being defeated by the British troops in 1898, a dispersal of the population began to take place, as there no longer were strong centers of political authority to attract people. In addition to the pains of political and territorial disorganization caused by defeat, the confiscation of their cattle profoundly modified their social organization: the customary form of wealth used in economic and marriage transactions was lost.<sup>11</sup>

With the introduction of first direct and later, indirect rule, the authority and power of the chiefs were disrupted, bringing into existence a great deal of enmities between chiefs and subchiefs. The reduction of the economic and political power of the chiefs resulted in

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<sup>10</sup>M. Tew, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 88.

<sup>11</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 10, pp. 96-98.

the need for extensive migration in order for the local inhabitants to achieve some form of economic viability. A profound political, social, and economic revolution was inflicted on these people.<sup>12</sup>

Spatial Reorganization: Migration, Settlement, and Economic Patterns

Since both sides of the boundary were under the control of the British, the people residing in these border areas were not subjected to very much interference in their daily movement patterns. In fact, with the establishment of peace in the protectorate, the indigenous population began to visit other districts, and eventually other countries, in search of employment.

This need to travel in order to seek employment was partly the result of a three shilling annual hut tax which was introduced in 1892. In 1902, the hut tax was doubled to six shillings per year, at the same time offering a fifty percent rebate to those people who were willing to work for Europeans at least one month a year. This was a move by the colonial government to help alleviate the chronic shortage of laborers for the newly developing plantations in the southern part of the protectorate.<sup>13</sup> Northern Rhodesia also introduced a hut tax in order to stimulate the migration of laborers to the Rhodesian mines, especially the Copperbelt region of Northern Rhodesia. There was no easy way for the people of Nyasaland to avoid the payment of this tax since both sides of the border had established similar practices.

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<sup>12</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 113.

<sup>13</sup>Rotberg, op. cit., footnote 9, p. 43.

The reasoning behind the introduction of this tax was expressed by H. Duff, an early colonial administrator in Nyasaland:

If we owe a duty to the native, they owe a duty to us. We are performing our part of the contract loyally, and we have a right to expect that they shall assist us with their labour in performance of designs which tend to the mutual benefit of all concerned.<sup>14</sup>

It soon became evident that in order to meet this and other financial obligations, the men of Nyasaland were required to leave their country in droves.<sup>15</sup> This was especially true of the Tumbuka, Ngoni, and Chewa people who straddle the Northern Rhodesia-Nyasaland boundary, since this area has traditionally been the least developed part of Nyasaland.

The Bell Report, a study of labor migrations published in 1938, gives an indication of the amount of labor migration taking place among the Chewa People of Nyasaland.

TABLE 2  
LABOR MIGRATION AMONG CHEWA - 1938

| Districts in which<br>Chewa constitute a<br>high percent of the<br>population |     | Adult males<br>fit to work | Percent of<br>emigrants | Number of<br>emigrants<br>not heard<br>of since 1930 |
|---|-----|----------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Lilongwe  | 88% | 45,850                     | 12.3                    | 2,503  |
| Mchinji   | 85% | 12,054                     | 37.0                    | 914  |
| Nkhota Kota   | 72% | 20,964                     | 43.0                    | 3,975  |
| Dowa  | 66% | 31,232                     | 19.0                    | 3,017  |
| Kasungu   | 64% | 9,783                      | 43.8                    | 1,332  |
| Dedza   | 38% | 30,514                     | 19.6                    | 1,090  |

Source: Mary Tew, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 43.

<sup>14</sup>H. L. Duff, Nyasaland, Second Edition (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), p. 363.

<sup>15</sup>A. J. Hanna, The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 103.

The social and economic results of this extensive migration of people from the borderlands were profound. It drove men permanently from the borderlands in a search for employment which had soon extended to cover the whole area of southern Africa. Dissatisfaction with rural village life led to the rupture of traditional village settlement and social life, and family and marriage ties disintegrated. The authority of the elders was also severely undermined, as the young men, upon returning to their villages, were no longer so amenable to the dictates of custom or to the advice of their elders as before.

#### Presidents Kaunda and Banda:

##### A Diplomatic Border

In the comparatively brief period of time between 1957 and 1964, Malawi and Zambia, like 35 other African nations became independent. The speed of independence were matched only by the partition of Africa in the late nineteenth century, for dramatically transforming the continent.

Since both of these countries had been under British colonial rule, there had been little difficulty in coordinating political decisions between them prior to independence.

After the achievement of political independence, diplomatic relations between Malawi and Zambia have progressively deteriorated. These strained relations began in September, 1964, when a Malawi cabinet crisis resulted in the flight of three of Malawi's political leaders to Zambia. The Zambian Government extended tacit support to the refugees, and between 1964 and 1967, periodic abortive invasions were made into Malawi, directed

in some capacity or another by the ministers.<sup>16</sup> The reaction of the President of Malawi, Dr. Banda, was

Instead of just giving people political assylum, which is recognized and accepted under international law, . . . [Zambia] allowed these people to engage in active bitter, subversive activities against the government of this country . . .<sup>17</sup>

At the root of the problem are the conflicting political ideologies advocated by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Dr. Banda of Malawi. In Kaunda's way of thinking, Banda has let him down on the principles of Pan-Africanism. The Zambian president has little regard for Dr. Banda's pragmatic approach to the White-controlled governments in southern Africa.<sup>18</sup>

A dichotomy in the form of a "diplomatic border" has developed between the two leaders in regard to the thrust of their foreign policies. Kaunda looks to the north, especially to Tanzania, where President Nyerere shares similar political outlooks. This is being expressed in increasing economic cooperation between the two countries. The Tan-Zam Railway Project, which will link landlocked Zambia with the port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, is one of the most notable manifestations of this policy. President Banda, on the other hand, has directed the foreign policy of his landlocked nation towards the south, especially to Mocambique and South Africa, in order to stabilize his country's precarious economic

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<sup>17</sup>Hansard Debates of Parliament: Malawi (Zomba: Government Printer, December 12, 1967), p. 134.

<sup>18</sup>The New York Times, June 1, 1967, p. 18.

existence. The President has said on numerous occasions,

I would do business with the Devil himself to further the interests of the four million people of my country.<sup>19</sup>

He capped this show of cooperation with South Africa and Mocambique by being the first independent Black African head of state to visit both of these countries.

Despite the political antagonism between the two countries, it has not been easy to disengage political relationships, for since the last decade of the nineteenth century, working through the Central African Federation, economic and political relations between Zambia and Malawi have been very cordial. Ethnic groups such as the Chewa, Ngoni, and Tumbuka, straddling the 520 mile border, tend to cause further cultural cohesion.<sup>20</sup>

The closest approach that Malawi and Zambia have reached towards an open dispute over the delimitation of their boundary occurred in 1967 and 1968, as an offshoot of the ongoing Malawi-Tanzania dispute. In December, 1967, and again in the fall of 1968, Dr. Banda stated his views on what he considered to be the geographical, historical, and cultural truth about the Malawi boundary:

The natural boundary between Malawi and Zambia is the River Luangwa . . . not this artificial line of so-called water. Watershed, what is a watershed.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>E. S. Munger, "Trading with the Devil", Fieldstaff Reports, Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1969), p. 17.

<sup>20</sup>R. Hall, The High Price of Principles (New York: African Publishing Corporation, 1966), p. 35.

<sup>21</sup>Hansard, op. cit., footnote 17, p. 135.

This claim was based on the fact that such ethnic groups as the Chewa, Tumbuka, and Ngoni are all found within Malawi, and that the proper territorial limits extend roughly to the Luangwa River area.

The Zambian Government reacted to this statement of Dr. Banda's with a barrage of diplomatic replies, expressing more verbage than action. Kaunda stated: "Go ahead and declare war on Zambia. Let him come, we are ready."<sup>22</sup>

This, along with other complications, resulted in a breakdown of diplomatic relations between the two countries; relations were not renewed until March, 1971.<sup>23</sup>

Fortunately the crisis appears to have blown over, and as of 1972, the boundary between the two countries is still not demarcated. This may be partly the result of the two governments' realization that the various ethnic groups resideing in this area since before the imposition of the boundary may be severely confused if enforcement of the boundary were to be enacted now.

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<sup>22</sup>African Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, Vol. V (October, 1968), p. 1174.

<sup>23</sup>Hansard Debates of Parliament: Malawi (Zomba: Government Printer, July 2, 1971), p. 26.

## CHAPTER IV

### MALAWI-TANZANIA BOUNDARY

Throughout the late 1880's Germany and Britain were jockeying for acquisition of territory in Eastern Africa. Men such as Dr. Karl Peters, Cecil Rhodes, and Sir Harry Johnston were busily serving their respective countries by obtaining as much of this territory as possible.<sup>1</sup>

The present Malawi-Tanzania boundary is a remnant of these various diplomatic maneuvers. The Germans claimed the whole territory between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa as far as Lake Bangweuru, including the famous Stevenson's Missionary Road connecting Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa.<sup>2</sup>

The Germans realized the sentimental importance of this road to the British, as indicated in the following dispatch:

For England, there were, for instance, certain questions of sentiment, such as the mission roads to the west of Lake Nyasa, to be considered.<sup>3</sup>

This sentimental importance was to override any sociocultural consideration about dividing up the various ethnic groups found in this area. It is not that Prime Minister Salisbury was not aware of this situation, as pointed out in a letter addressed to him from J. W. Moir, an early missionary in Nyasaland: The road runs right through the very heart of

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<sup>1</sup>L. Raphael, The Cape to Cairo Dream (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 253-255.

<sup>2</sup>Raphael, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup>German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914 (New York: Harpers, 1928), Vol. II, p. 3.

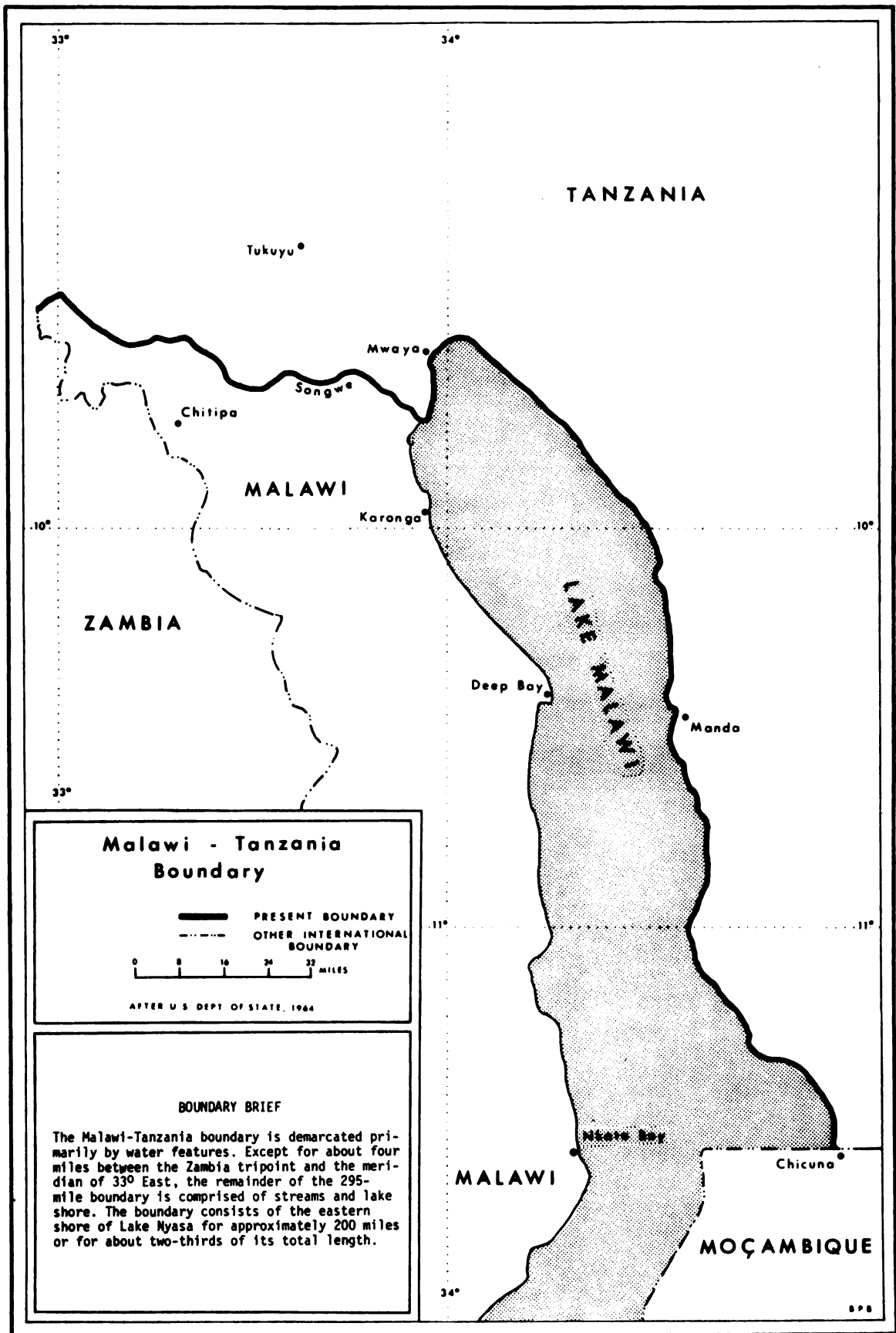


Figure 6

several tribes, and it would be absurd to allow one-half of such a tribe, because situated south of the road, to be British, while compelling the other half to submit to the Germans, of whom the natives know positively nothing." Such a boundary "would exclude the northern Wankonde, who have been uninterruptedly our friends for the last eleven years", and who had helped the British against the Arabs. As can be seen shortly, little notice appears to have been taken of this appeal.<sup>4</sup>

#### Anglo-German Treaty of 1890

The Anglo-German negotiations for the territory around Lake Nyasa as well as for other German and British spheres of influence throughout Africa, began in May, 1890.<sup>5</sup>

The basic premise on which German diplomats depended was what Barron von Plessen called "The Hinterland Doctrine," where one power without consent may not occupy unclaimed regions in its rear.<sup>6</sup> This applied directly to the area of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa.

The British, under the leadership of Prime Minister Salisbury, insisted on the "effective occupation" Principle, disregarding the "hinterland doctrine" which they had accepted in earlier agreements with Germany.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints #6146, African Lakes Company to Marquis of Salisbury, No. 69 (June 20, 1890).

<sup>5</sup>G. Jones, Britain and Nyasaland (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1964), p. 203.

<sup>6</sup>German Diplomatic Documents, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 259.

<sup>7</sup>Raphael, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 259.

Signed on July 1, 1890, the final agreement was called the Anglo-German Treaty. The British obtained the following concessions from the Germans:

1. A British Protectorate should be established over Zanzibar.
2. The western frontiers of the German and British spheres should be continued westwards to Lake Victoria and across it to the boundary of the Congo Free State so that Uganda should be included in the British area.
3. The Germans should abandon all claims to the regions north of the British sphere which would mean the end of the Witu Protectorate.
4. The Nyasa-Lake Tanganyika Boundary should read as such: To the south bay a line which starting on the coast at the northern limit of the Province of Mocambique follows the course of the River Rovuma to the point of confluence of the Msinje; thence it runs westward along the parallel at that point til it reaches Lake Nyasa; thence striking northwards it follows the eastern, northern, and western shores of the lake to the mouth of the River Songwe.<sup>8</sup> It ascends that river to the point of its intersection by the thirty-third degree of east longitude; thence it follows that river to the point where it approaches most nearly the boundary of the geographical Congo Basin defined in the first article of the Act of Berlin.

The Germans were willing to agree to these concessions in return for:

1. The coastal strip which the Sultan of Zanzibar still held in Tanganyika Territory.
2. Germany was granted free access from her protectorate in South-west Africa to the Zambezi River by a strip of territory which at no point would be less than twenty English miles in width. This was the Caprivi Strip.
3. The island of Heligoland in the North Sea became German territory.

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<sup>8</sup>Sir E. Hertslett, Hertslett Treaties (London: Butterworth, 1893), Vol. XVIII, pp. 455-461.

The key to the whole transaction was Heligoland. This small island with a population of only 2,000 people was obtained by the British from Denmark during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>9</sup>

Except on purely sentimental grounds, the value of this island to Germany was of recent origin. It had little economic or military worth and for many years past, no British Government would have refused a reasonable offer for it. The inception of the Kiel Canal in 1887 changed this. It was immediately recognized by German naval strategists as a valuable guardian to the future gateway of the German Fleet.<sup>10</sup>

On May 29, 1890, a telegram sent from the Berlin Foreign ministry indicated the new esteem the island was accorded,

The possession of Heligoland was of supreme importance to Germany, and by far the most serious matter in the whole negotiation. By the side of it our East African interests merely came forward as matters of concession.<sup>11</sup>

The Germans were so enamored of the idea of control of Heligoland Island that they made numerous concessions to Britain including the Stevenson Road area from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Nyasa. This clearly refuted the "Hinterland Doctrine" which had guided earlier agreements between the two countries.<sup>12</sup>

The delimiting of Lake Nyasa using the shoreline instead of the more commonly used median longitudinal axis was only mentioned in passing

<sup>9</sup>International Boundary Study: Malawi, Tanganyika and Zanzibar (Washington, D. C.: Department of State, 1964), No. 30, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>G. Cecil, Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932), pp. 290-291.

<sup>11</sup>Cecil, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 293.

<sup>12</sup>Raphael, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 258.

by the diplomats. The British were interested in obtaining an uninterrupted boundary between British and German territory in this area of East Africa, as the following correspondence indicates: "No gap is left in the boundaries. The German sphere is equally protected."<sup>13</sup> It was felt by Sir Henry Percy Anderson, who was chief of the African Department of Her Majesty's Foreign Service that

Special care has been taken in tracing the line of demarcation which is described in Lord Salisbury's dispatch as practically coinciding with the Stevenson Road. We have had the advantage of referring to the map of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau recently furnished for Her Majesty's Government by Consul Johnston.<sup>14</sup>

I have succeeded in securing a starting point on Lake Nyasa which is preferable to the Rukuru River: the River Songwe . . . The Songwe frontier has in the interior the advantage of being a natural line of demarcation . . . It is my hope that this line, which is in detail subject to rectification by common consent in accordance with local requirements, will be found geographically suitable.<sup>15</sup>

As can be postulated from the above quotations, the British were interested in obtaining natural lines of demarcation, thus the reason for using the eastern shoreline of Lake Nyasa. However, in the same treaty, the British and German Governments were careful in the case of Lake Victoria to use the first parallel of south latitude as the boundary, thus assuring access for both countries.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>British Parliamentary Paper. "Correspondence Respecting the Anglo-German Agreement Relative to Africa and Heligoland", 1890, c. 6046.

<sup>14</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 8, p. 455.

<sup>15</sup>Command Paper, op. cit., footnote 13, c. 6046.

<sup>16</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 8, p. 456.

### Demarcation

Since from 1890 to 1918 the Nyasaland and Tanganyikan boundaries were under the control of different colonial rulers, demarcation work was given immediate attention to help eliminate any unnecessary conflict. The section of the boundary between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika was demarcated in 1898, using the protocol established in that year between the two colonial powers. The results of this mixed demarcation commission were embodied in the 1906 Anglo-German Agreement.<sup>17</sup>

The shoreline part of the boundary was not demarcated as it was felt that the lakeshore itself serves the natural function of demarcating this boundary. This has been and still is a problem, because of the large fluctuations of the water level of the lake. This phenomenon is not of recent origin, yet no attempt was ever made to redefine what is meant by the term "shore" since it is constantly changing.<sup>18</sup>

Germany, by the provision of Article III in the 1890 Agreement was allowed free navigation on Lake Nyasa:

The navigation of the lakes, rivers, and canals and of the parts of these waters is free to both flags.<sup>19</sup>

In 1893 the gunboat Hermann Von Wissmann, belonging to a German anti-slavery society was permitted to use the lake for the suppression of

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<sup>17</sup>Sir E. Hertslett, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1967), pp. 276-278.

<sup>18</sup>A. C. McEwen, International Boundaries of East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 100.

<sup>19</sup>Hertslett, op. cit., footnote 17, p. 904.

the slave trade. This ship was later taken over by the German Government and was captured by British forces in August, 1914.<sup>20</sup>

The status of the lakeshore boundary has not always been clear to the Nyasaland Government even though it had been clearly set down in the Anglo-German Treaty of 1890. In the British Central African Order in Council of 1902 the limits of the Protectorate were established as

. . . the territories of Africa situated to the west and south of Lake Nyasa, and bounded by Northeastern Rhodesia, German East Africa, and the Portuguese territories.<sup>21</sup>

The Nyasaland Order in Council, 1907, maintained the same territorial limits except for substituting the name Nyasaland Protectorate for British Central Africa. If one were to interpret this explanation exactly according to the way that it is stated, Nyasaland seems to consist only of the land area found to the east and west of the Lake itself

In 1933, an official Nyasaland Government handbook gave the following description for the boundaries of the North Nyasa district:

On the north by the Songwe River (and Tanganyika Territory) downstream, from the line of water parting between the watersheds of Lake Nyasa and the Zambezi River (which line forms the boundary between Nyasaland and Rhodesia) to its mouth and Lake Nyasa; thence by a straight line due east to a point midway between the western and eastern shores of Lake Nyasa.<sup>22</sup>

Murray's description reflected the official opinion of the Nyasaland administration regarding the median line of Lake Nyasa as the boundary

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<sup>20</sup>G. M. Sanderson, "Gunfire on Nyasa", Nyasaland Journal, Vol. X, No. 2 (1957), pp. 25-31.

<sup>21</sup>S. S. Murray, A Handbook of Nyasaland (Zomba: Government Printer, 1932), p. 101.

<sup>22</sup>Murray, op. cit., footnote 21, p. 200.

separating the two countries. This practice was followed from 1922 to 1938 with few exceptions, on all government maps produced of Nyasaland.<sup>23</sup>

From 1946 onwards, the Nyasaland Government once again returned to using the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa as the boundary between the two countries. This was also true between 1953 and 1963, while Nyasaland was part of the Federation.

#### Effects of the Boundary Arrangement on Political Reorganization

The Nyasaland-Tanganyika boundary went through two phases: the first was the establishment of British direct rule in the Protectorate of Nyasaland and German control in Tanganyika; the second was the establishment of British control over the mandated territory of Tanganyika in 1922 as a result of the German loss of her colonial possessions at the end of World War I. As had been the case with the ethnic groups living on the Nyasaland-Northern Rhodesia boundary, traditional political authority here also became greatly reduced.

#### The Nkonde

The Nkonde people live in the extreme northern region of Nyasaland bordering on Tanganyika. As a result of the introduction of British colonial rule, the onlets and nobles were recognized as village or principal headmen performing executive duties for the British Administration. The "Kyungu", recognized before the imposition of British colonial rule as a paramount onlet in the area, based his control on his religious powers. He was quickly relieved of his religious powers and soon was regarded as

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<sup>23</sup>McEwen, op. cit., footnote 18, p. 182.

merely one of the secular headmen of the area. The British realized that their system of direct rule was causing disintegration of the traditional power base of the country, and thus modified the system to a more indirect approach after 1933.<sup>24</sup>

However by 1933 the traditional system had disintegrated to such an extent that the full traditional constitution of the Nkonde could not be revived. This was especially true of the religious power that the "Kyungu" had once exercised; the spread of Christianity by the 1930's had claimed forty-five percent of the population. Even though the Nyasaland boundary cuts through the Kyungu's sphere of influence, he is still often consulted in ethnic affairs across the border.<sup>25</sup>

#### Spatial Reorganization: Migration

It appears that no great amount of permanent migration took place across the Nyasaland-Tanganyika boundary after the delimitation of that boundary in 1890. This was partly the result of the fact that the German and British colonial governments did not enforce strict boundary controls in this area.

It also appears that throughout the colonial period, long distance labor migrations among the Nyakusa, Nkonde, and Lambya peoples were not a serious problem. In this North Nyasa district, according to a study done in 1938, only 11.6% of the Nkonde<sup>26</sup> men were labor emigrants. This

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<sup>24</sup>M. Tew, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 88.

<sup>25</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 24, p. 84.

<sup>26</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 24, p. 79.

is due mainly to their situation near the Luba goldfields in southern Tanganyika, as well as to the extreme fertility of the soil on Nkonde farms.

### Trade Routes

The traditional trade patterns in existence with the East African coast still exerted great influence in northern Nyasaland. The importance of these long overland routes to the coast was primarily the result of insufficient means of transport and communication that existed with the more developed southern parts of Nyasaland.

### A Boundary in Dispute

Since both Malawi (as a Protectorate) and Tanzania (first as a League of Nations Mandate Territory from 1922 to 1946, and then as a U. N. Trusteeship Territory from 1946 to 1961), had both been under British colonial rule, there had been little difficulty in coordinating political decisions between the two areas.

In 1922, even before Malawi became independent, the political relations between the two countries, in regards to their inner-tied colonial boundaries, began to deteriorate. This was partly the result of the confusion about the lakeshore boundaries round between the two countries. The location of the lakeshore boundary has long been resented by the Tanzanians who reside along the lakeshore; they have long been pressing for an agreement to redelimit this portion of the boundary. Even before the Tanzania-Malawi boundary dispute in 1967, Tanzania had already contradicted herself several times in its official position on the boundary. The first of these positions concerning the validity of the colonially imposed lakeshore boundary was stated in 1962 by the Prime Minister of Tanzania,

The whole of the Lake falls within the boundaries of Nyasaland save for the area which is part of Mocambique.<sup>27</sup>

However in 1963, Nyerere himself stated,

The boundaries which divide African nations are so nonsensical that without our sense of unity they would be a cause of friction. We have no alternative but to start from the position which we inherited after the colonial partition of Africa. For us to start making claims on each other's territory would be to play into the hands of those who wish to keep Africa weak.<sup>28</sup>

After Malawi gained political independence, diplomatic relations between Malawi and Tanzania progressively deteriorated. These strained relations increased appreciably after the Malawi cabinet crisis in 1964, which resulted in the flight to Tanzania of three Ministers: Kanyama Chiume, Yatuta Chisiza, and Masuko Chipembere. The Tanzanian Government extended not only political asylum to the refugees, but apparently also assisted them in their campaigns to disrupt the government of Dr. Banda.<sup>29</sup>

The root of the problem, as in the case with Zambia, lies in the conflicting political philosophies advocated by President Julius Nyerere and Dr. H. K. Banda.<sup>30</sup>

The boundary dispute which took place in June of 1967 was a further extension of the already hostile conditions existing between the two countries. The dispute burst out into the open after Dr. Banda was informed of a newspaper article which appeared in The New York Times on June 2, 1967, while he was on an unofficial state visit to the United States. In this

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<sup>27</sup>Tanganyikan Parliamentary Debates (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, June 11, 1962), c. 264.

<sup>28</sup>F. Seth Singleton and John Shingler, Africa in Perspective (New York: Hayden Book Company, Inc., 1967), p. 271.

<sup>29</sup>Area Handbook for Tanzania (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Printing Office, 1968), p. 243.

<sup>30</sup>The New York Times, June 2, 1967, p. 18.

article President Nyerere stated, "I do not recognize Malawi's claim to the Tanzanian side of Lake Malawi." Nyerere insisted that the boundary was the median longitudinal axis of Lake Nyasa.<sup>31</sup> This was followed by a similar article on June 3, 1967, in the *Tanzanian Standard*.<sup>32</sup>

Malawi took the following stand as stated by President Banda in a speech given in Parliament in June 27, 1967. Referring to Nyerere's words, Dr. Banda said that he considered ". . . such a statement as adding insult to injury inflicted on Malawi by imperialism and colonialism. I consider such a statement as rubbing salt in the wound inflicted on the body of Malawi by imperialism and colonialism." Dr. Banda further related that, "To name only a few districts and provinces such as Songea, Mbeya, Tete . . . which geographically, linguistically, culturally, and ethnologically belong to Malawi, and which in our forefathers' time, in our ancestors' time were definitely Malawi, are outside our borders or outside our present boundaries. As everyone knows, practically every tribe in this country is split in two or three. For example, the Nyakusas and Tumbukas to the north . . ." He ended his speech by saying, "If any country has any just cause for territorial claim on any country, that country is Malawi."<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Banda made it quite clear in this address that he not only believes that Malawi should control the entire lake, but also gave out hints that Malawi would like to see her traditional boundaries returned to her as they existed before the Treaty of Berlin in 1885. He pictures

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<sup>31</sup>The New York Times, June 2, 1967, p. 18.

<sup>32</sup>Tanzanian Standard, June 3, 1967, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup>Hansard, Debates of Parliament, Malawi (Zomba: Government Printer, June 27, 1967), p. 443.

Malawi as extending from Nacala on the Mocambique coast, right across northern Zambia to include parts of Katanga and towns such as Mbeya in southern Tanzania. So far the president has not taken any serious actions, nor does he preach extension of Malawi's boundaries to his people.<sup>34</sup>

Fortunately for both countries, no armed conflict resulted from this boundary disagreement even though many threats were issued on both sides. It is obvious from the Anglo-German Treaty of 1890 that control of the lake belongs to Malawi. If relations had been better, it might have been possible that Tanzania would not have demanded modification of the border. Instead, possibly some political agreement could have been reached so that the inhabitants of the Tanzanian side of the lakeshore would be assured of their right to use the lake for fishing and other purposes.

However, as economic activity increases on the lakeshore, more problems regarding water rights and transportation needs will develop. This may become a serious problem if the two countries decide to enforce the boundary to its full territorial limits. Likewise, due to the large fluctuations of the lakeshore boundary, it may become necessary to demarcate the shoreline.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>E. S. Munger, "President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi", Fieldstaff Report: Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1969), p. 27.

<sup>35</sup>International Boundary Study, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 5.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper investigated the ways in which superimposed boundaries have affected the spatial organization patterns of Malawi. This was accomplished by analyzing the patterns of spatial organization through time to indicate the amount of adjustment that was required. Many important conclusions were brought out in the light of this investigation.

#### Precolonial

On the eve of the colonial penetration into Nyasaland, the political, economic, and social conditions found there were not tranquil or prosperous. The East African slave trade as well as the Yao and Ngoni invasions had profoundly altered the indigenous spatial organization of the society. Violence, chaos, and treachery marked relations between ethnic groups as the traditional zones of separation were broken down. The agricultural base of the economy became impossible to maintain, as violence swept the countryside. It is important to note that Nyasaland, already during the nineteenth century, been through as great a disruption of traditional spatial patterns as the colonial invasion would later bring.

#### Colonial

The imposition of the colonial boundaries on Nyasaland followed the typical pattern of imperialistic land acquisition which took place

throughout Africa in the late nineteenth century. Little regard was given to maintaining ethnic cohesion, natural lines of communication, or economic bases which had prevailed in the area. Important decisions were left in the hands of diplomats thousands of miles away in the capitals of the competing colonial powers. The introduction of colonial rule affected the traditional political and spatial organization. This required the acceptance of new forms of authority, settlement and migration patterns, and economic systems which in turn acted upon each other until today Malawi is one of the largest exporters of labor found in Africa today.

#### Postcolonial

A strange combination of its economic dependence on Mocambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa as well as its geographic situation affords Malawi a unique opportunity to exist as a sort of miniature buffer zone between the Black-ruled governments to the north and west, and the White minority ruled nations to the south. This economic dependence upon the White-ruled governments has caused Malawi a considerable amount of difficulty in regard to its northern and western boundaries. Throughout post independent Africa it was felt that such geopolitical abnormalities as The Gambia, the Caprivi Strip, Cabinda, the Somali problem, and the Spanish Sahara could be renegotiated to help rectify the illogical systems of boundaries resulting from the external partition of Africa. It would be an excellent gesture on the part of Malawi, not only to help alleviate strained relations with Tanzania, but also to serve as a model for the rest of Africa, to renegotiate her lake boundary with Tanzania. It was proven in 1954, when the same type of boundary issue was solved in

the case of Mocambique and the southern half of the lake, that little overt difficulty results from such a maneuver.

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NATION-BUILDING IN MALAWI

By

Bruce P. Browne

A RESEARCH PAPER

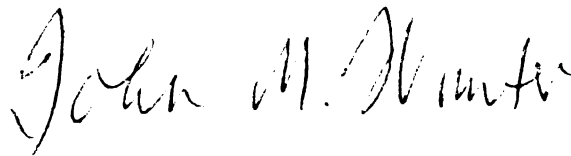
Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John M. Hunter".

Department of Geography

1972

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express sincere appreciation to Dr. John M. Hunter under whose guidance this study was made. Appreciation is also expressed to Mr. Robert Boeder for all the time and assistance he gave, reviewing my paper.

A particular word of gratitude is expressed to the people of Malawi-- who provided the author with invaluable bits of information during the author's two years of residency in that country.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The States of Africa today are a mixture of ethnic and linguistic pluralities, faced with the seemingly overwhelming task of forging cohesive viable nations. These States with ill-defined and conflicting boundaries are contrived geographic creations; the result of their colonial heritage. Add to this the forced draft pace, which compels these states to telescope centuries of nation-building into a decade and one can further appreciate their dilemma.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the present day leaders achieved their status by leading their respective nations to independence in the early 1960's. The facility with which these leaders were able to mobilize mass support for independence engendered a sense of national unity, which today cannot be duplicated in other areas of political and economic development. What have been some of the methods these leaders have chosen to obtain this unity?

There is a discernible trend throughout Africa for the establishment of either single party or military authoritarian states, which is regarded as a necessary step in the process of nation-building in pluralistic societies.

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<sup>1</sup>Arnold Rivkin, Nation Building in Africa (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969), p. 8.

This trend towards authoritarian rule is understandable in light of both the traditional and colonial heritage of these nations, for they were based for the most part on authoritarian structures. The contemporary growth of authoritarian institutions has resulted from highly centralized constitutional structures which the single party took over as independence. The party flag becomes the national flag, party leaders become leaders of government. The two main goals have been to concentrate and control power through the authorized set of institutions, and to prevent the growth of institutions outside the establishment.<sup>2</sup> One-party states, either de jure or de facto, are found in thirteen African countries, while military rule is presently controlling fourteen others.<sup>3</sup> According to Doro and Stultz in their book Government in Black Africa, "The most important mechanism to reduce the conflict between ethnicity and national integration is the nationalist party."<sup>4</sup>

These authoritarian governments are able to make the necessary decisions regarding ethnic or regional questions, by being in a position of undisputed authority.

When the voluntary ties of personal and party loyalty are not enough to maintain control the leaders do not hesitate to use the powers of government, laws, courts or politics in the interest of national unity.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Fred S. Singleton and John Shingler, Africa in Perspective (New York: Hayden Book Company, 1970), p. 271.

<sup>3</sup>Rivkin, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>M. Doro and N. Stultz, Governing in Black Africa (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 17.

<sup>5</sup>James M. Hooker, "Tradition" and "Traditional Courts," "Malawi's Experiment in Law," Fieldstaff Reports Central and Southern Africa, Vol. 15, No. 3 (March 1971), pp. 1-7.

However, the instability of many military regimes, as indicated by the number of coups and attempted counter-coups, have often prevented the implementation of major modernization programs so important for nation-building in these states.<sup>6</sup>

The single-party state and military regimes are not the only expressions of authoritarian rule involved in this aspect of nation-building. The tendency has been for governments even in multi-party states to dominate all other institutions in the societies.<sup>7</sup>

Along with this increasing trend of authoritarian rule has come the rise of a modern cult of personality among these charismatic leaders. Much of the effectiveness and respect for these leaders has been the result of using modern methods of propaganda to appeal directly to the African understanding of traditional authority; thus such leaders as Julius (Mwalimu) Nyerere and Jomo (Mzee) Kenyatta have become recognized as the de facto paramount chiefs of their countries.<sup>8</sup>

Besides political development, economic development has become indistinguishably interwoven with nation-building in Africa.<sup>9</sup> The process of economic growth facilitates nation-building, and nation-building sustains growth, and both go on in unison. There is a clear correspondence

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<sup>6</sup>Dorothy Nelkin, "The Economic and Social Setting of Military Takeovers in Africa," Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3, 4 (July, October 1967), p. 240.

<sup>7</sup>Nelkin, op. cit., footnote 6, p. 242.

<sup>8</sup>John Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 170-172.

<sup>9</sup>Rivkin, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 9.

between the stages of economic growth and the levels of nation-building. This is frequently what is meant by African leaders who talk of achieving "economic independence" for their countries so they may sustain their "political independence."<sup>10</sup>

The key to obtaining economic independence in most of these states is to enact agricultural and rural development schemes. The economic wealth of most of these states is in the soil. It is only by improving this sector of their economy that they will be able to successfully draw the 75 to 90 percent of African population found in the rural areas into the market economy and the modern sector of national life. Without their participation, as has happened in the past, nation-building efforts will not touch the mass of population, but only the urban elite.<sup>11</sup>

Most African countries are in a state of flux, for frequently the processes of nation-building remain in the same state as at independence for five or ten years. Arnold Rivkin best summarizes this situation by stating: "The impact of outside cultures; the unsettled "revolutionary" aftermath; the need for social, political and economic institutions - new ones - to control, regulate, guide, harness, and channel the "idea" and the goal of development; and the forces which they let loose. Which will maximize the benefit or minimize the loss not necessarily for the few but for the many all remain the problems and tasks of the new African states."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Rivkin, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 161.

<sup>11</sup>Rivkin, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 169.

<sup>12</sup>Arnold Rivkin, Nation by Design (New York: Anchor Books, 1968), pp. 33-34.

This paper will deal with an intensive investigation of the processes of nation building in Malawi. Malawi, a small landlocked country in Southern Africa, composed of a multitude of ethnic and linguistic groups, typifies the problems facing most countries in Africa which are seeking to overcome the problems of their pluralistic societies in order to build viable nations.

### Statement of Problem

There is something incongruous about the notion of nationalism within Malawi. There is no linguistic unity; matrilineal and patrilineal descent systems prevail. There is no religious unity; Christianity, Islam and traditional religions all compete and thrive. Historical and economic factors have further complicated the issue of nation building in Malawi.

The problem to be investigated in this paper is what dynamics of unification are being used to overcome the centrifugal economic, political and cultural pluralistic forces impeding the pace of nation building in Malawi. The question may be asked: Why should nation building be of any concern to the geographer? The author feels that since the nations of Africa have accordance legitimation to the artificially imposed boundaries left from their colonial legacy, they are forced to channel their efforts of nation building within the spatial limitations of these boundaries. As a result there is a need to understand what types of constraints and problems their spatial limitations have imposed upon nation building.

### Objectives and Methods

The primary objective of this study is the investigation of cultural pluralism within Malawi, in order that the dynamics of unification

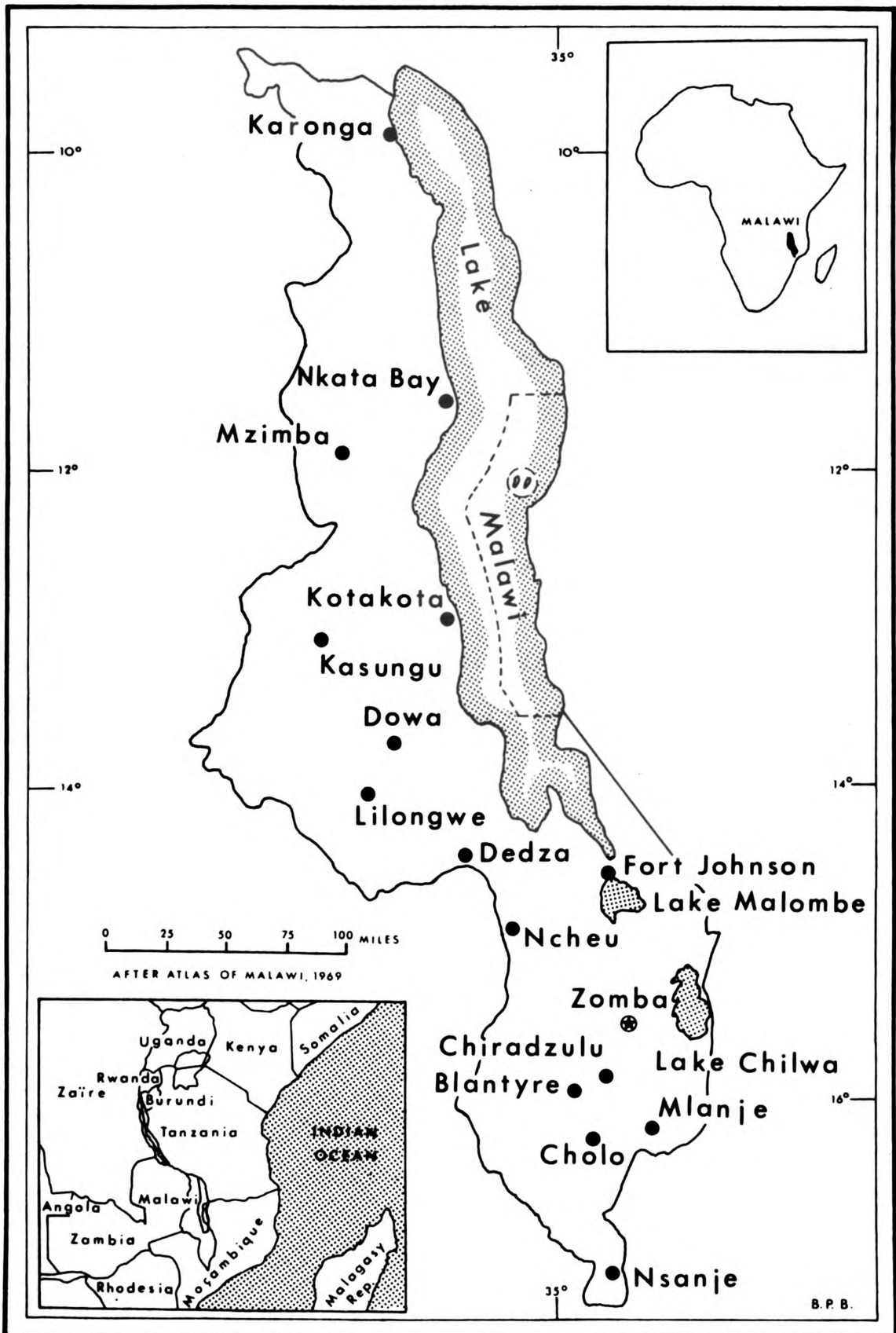


FIGURE 1

necessary for the incorporation of these peoples into a cohesive nation, may be understood. Because of the limitations of a purely cultural approach, political, historical and economic factors will also be taken into account.

This study is primarily descriptive in nature, since quantitative data is wholly inadequate to make any detailed analyses. In order to document the process of nation building in Malawi, the writer will depend on government documents, personal observations resulting from a two year stay in Malawi (1968-1970), newspapers and secondary historical, economic and geographic sources.

To facilitate the analysis the paper will be broken down into three main sections. The first will involve a basic introduction to the physical and historical background of Malawi. The second will look at the centrifugal, cultural, political and economic forces impeding cohesion. Finally, the ongoing process of unification will be analyzed to see what is being done within Malawi.

## CHAPTER II

### BACKGROUND ON MALAWI

Malawi is a small landlocked nation lying between 9 degrees 45 minutes and 17 degrees 16 minutes south latitude and 33 and 36 36 degrees east longitude. The name Malawi is the modern name for the area in Central Africa known in ancient times as "Maravi" meaning "reflected light", an obvious association with the spectacular effects of sunlight on Lake Malawi.

The country is a strip of land some 520 miles long varying in width from 50 to 100 miles. The land area is 36,381 square miles; the lake area, 12,298 square miles. This includes Lake Malawi's 11,460 square miles, which makes it Africa's third largest and one of the twelve largest lakes in the world.<sup>1</sup>

The main physiographic features of Malawi can be broken down into four basic units; plains, hills, plateaus, rift valley. The range of elevation of these features varies from 200 feet above sea level near Nsanje to a height of 9,847 feet at the peak of Mt. Mlanje.<sup>2</sup>

Lake Malawi is part of the southern extension of the East African rift valley system. One interesting characteristic of the level of the

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<sup>1</sup>Department of Information, Facts from Malawi (Zomba: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. vii.

<sup>2</sup>Anthony Young and Doreen M. Young, A Geography of Malawi (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1964), pp. 11-17.

lake is its seasonal variation of three to four feet. Over long periods of time, however, the cumulative rise or fall may be greater. Between 1896 and 1964 the lake has fluctuated from just under 1,538 feet to over 1,557 feet, a range of over 19 feet.<sup>3</sup>

The economic wastefulness of an uncontrolled lake level has long been appreciated by those responsible for the economic development of Malawi. Throughout the length of the Shire River Valley which serves as Lake Malawi's effluent the hydrological variation of the lake has been the cause of alternate periods of drought and flooding, afflicting among other things shipping and cultivation in the area.<sup>4</sup>

#### Natural Resources

The soils and vegetation of Malawi are typical of a tropical African country. Of Malawi's 23 million acres of land just over 6 million acres are currently under cultivation, with a further potential of approximately 7 million more. A large proportion of this latter area will require an adequate supply of water before the land can be utilized. The soils are of higher inherent fertility than those of other East and Central African territories and with proper management can be capable of providing high yields.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>John Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (New York: Preager, 1968), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>J. G. Pike and G. T. Rimmington, Malawi: A Geographic Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 116-117.

<sup>5</sup>Frank E. Read, Malawi: Land of Promise (Zomba: Malawi Government Information Service, 1966), p. 9.

Malawi's forests are an important national asset falling into two categories; production forest, and protection forests. The first yields forest produce under controlled management, while the latter protects the main water catchment areas of the country. Twenty-four percent or 8,936 square miles of the land of Malawi is forest.<sup>6</sup>

The mineral deposits of Malawi are neither extensive enough for major exploitation nor in areas of easy accessibility for transport. In 1924 large deposits of bauxite were discovered as a result of prospecting on Mlanje Massif. The estimated amount of these deposits is 65 million tons, averaging 42 percent alumina. The necessary electricity and transportation facilities are not presently available to exploit these resources.<sup>7</sup>

The only minerals at present being produced are construction stone, limestone, and clay. Known mineral deposits considered to be of some promise for future development are:

|           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| Apatite   | Mica         |
| Bauxite   | Monazite     |
| Coal      | Niobium      |
| Graphite  | Strontianite |
| Kyanite   | Titanium     |
| Limestone |              |

### Climate

There is one rainy season in Malawi. The dry season extends from May to October, but there is a wide diversity of climate over the four climatic zones.

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<sup>6</sup>Pike and Rimmington, op. cit., footnote 4, p. 196.

<sup>7</sup>Pike and Rimmington, op. cit., footnote 4, pp. 206-207.

- A. Hot, dry climate where the mean temperature is over 75°F and the rainfall between 25 and 35 inches. (Lower and upper Shire Valley, Central Karonga Lakeshore, Salima Lakeshore.)
- B. Hot, wet climate where the mean annual temperature is over 75°F and the rainfall between 50 and 120 inches (Lakeshore area near Nkhata Bay and in the extreme North.)
- C. Warm climate with moderate rainfall where the mean annual temperature is between 65°F and 75°F with at least one month in the year having a mean temperature below 65°F and the rainfall between 30 and 60 inches. (Middle altitude plateau areas in the Central and Northern regions, and the Shire Highlands.)
- D. Warm, wet climate with a mean average temperature below 65°F and a rainfall of 50 to 130 inches (the high plateau of Nkya, Vipya, Dedza, Zomba, Mlanje.)<sup>8</sup>

### History

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the only contact with Europeans that had been established by the various ethnic groups in Malawi was with the Portuguese and Arab slave traders. The extensive slave trading taking place throughout the area had reduced the indigenous political structure to near anarchy. The Yao preyed on weaker groups taking captives and exchanging them for other commodities with Arab traders. Violence, chaos, and treachery marked relations between various ethnic groups as clans split into smaller units and culture and social customs regressed.<sup>9</sup>

The arrival of David Livingstone in the late 1850's signalled the beginning of British intervention in the area. This interference

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<sup>8</sup>Facts About Malawi, op. cit., footnote 1, p. vii.

<sup>9</sup>Oliver Ransford, Livingstones Lake (London: John Murray, 1966), p. 63.

culminated in the establishment in 1891 of the Nyasaland Protectorate.<sup>10</sup>

The first commissioner was Sir Harry Johnston, who served in this capacity for a number of years. Nyasaland was never settled extensively by Europeans with the exception of a small group of tea and tobacco planters in the Southern Region. In 1945 there were only 1,948 Europeans in the country.<sup>11</sup>

The succeeding decades of the colonial period were a time of positive, but slow, development in Nyasaland. As the desire for independence was growing throughout Africa, the people of the lake also acquired their own nationalistic movement.

The British disrupted the tranquility of the Nyasaland Protectorate in 1953 when it joined with Northern and Southern Rhodesia to form the Central African Federation. This amalgamation was bitterly opposed by the large majority of Nyasas, who strongly feared white supremacy movements evident in both of the other Federation members.<sup>12</sup>

The internal pressure towards independence led to a constitutional conference held in London in August, 1960. Provisions were made for a legislative council, and in subsequent elections in 1961 the Malawi Congress Party led by Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, claimed an overwhelming victory, winning 22 of 28 seats.

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<sup>10</sup>Ransford, op. cit., footnote 9, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup>Central African Statistical Office, Statistical Handbook of Nyasaland 1952 (Salisbury, Southern Rhodesian Government Printer, 1952), p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>Patrick Keatley, The Politics of Partnership (London: Penguin, 1963), pp. 434.

The British Government in the following three years gave Dr. Banda greater governing powers enabling a smooth transition from colonial rule to self-government.

Further negotiations led to Malawi's full independence on July 6, 1964. Since independence Malawi has been a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, and on July 6, 1966, the country became a Republic.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Robert I. Rotberg, The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 315-316.

TABLE 1

## MODERN HISTORY CHRONOLOGY

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- 1958 N.A.C. (Nyasaland African Congress Party) boycotts national elections.  
 July 6: Dr. H. K. Banda returns to Nyasaland.
- 1959 March 3: State of emergency declared. Fifty-two die, between 600 and 1300 arrested and imprisoned without trial. (Britain's Devlin Commission, upon investigation, describes Nyasaland as police state. Enforcement by Southern Rhodesian troops.)
- 1960 N.A.C. becomes Malawi Congress Party (M.C.P.). Operates peacefully. MacLeod, British Council Secretary, rather than maintain control through force, releases Dr. Banda, inviting him to confer.  
 October: Monckton's Commission recommends fundamental reform of Federation. Nyasaland's new territorial constitution ratified.
- 1961 August: Election under new constitution. Malawi Congress Party wins 22 of 28 seats.
- 1962 Britain agrees to underwrite Nyasaland's budgetary deficit.  
 November and December: New constitution drafted. Right to secede from Federation recognized.
- 1963 May constitution is approved.  
 December 31: Dissolution of Federation.
- 1964 Malawi Congress Party wins all 50 seats in general election.  
 July 6: Formal Independence.  
 August to September: The "Cabinet Crisis."
- 1966 July 6: Malawi becomes a Republic
- 1967 Malawi becomes first Black African country to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa.
- 1970 Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa visits Malawi.
- 1971 August: President Banda makes state visit to South Africa.  
 September: President Banda makes state visit to Mozambique.
-

## CHAPTER III

### FORCES OF CULTURAL PLURALISM

The major ethnic groups in Malawi are all of "Bantu"<sup>1</sup> origin having established themselves in the area during the 16th and 17th century. The Yao and Ngoni can be excluded from this generalization as they did not arrive until the 19th century. With the exception of the Tumbuka and Ngoni who have patrilineal kinship system, the remaining ethnic groups have a common system of matrilineal descent.<sup>2</sup> This ethnic diversity has caused many problems in the establishment of a national identity since in a nation encompassing more than one society dissatisfaction and friction appears inevitable, if one law is applied equally to all societies. Feelings of ethnic identity are not as strong in Malawi as in other nations of Africa due to combination of historical factors. Important among others are the Yao and Ngoni invasions, the Arab Swahili slave trade and the introduction of British colonial rule. Nonetheless, ethnic differences especially as concerns education and employment, have caused feelings of dissatisfaction.

#### Linguistic Factors

As a result of this ethnic pluralism, a profusion of diverse Bantu languages are being spoken throughout Malawi. Chichewa is the

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<sup>1</sup>"Bantu" refers to a family of languages spoken for the most part throughout Central and Southern Africa, "Bantu" is not a racial grouping.

<sup>2</sup>Mary Tew, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 34.

most widely spoken language in the country, but it is little understood in many areas, even though multilingualism is widespread. This is especially true of the Yao, Ngoni and Tumbuka peoples. This puts the leaders of Malawi at a disadvantage since they cannot rely on the strong ties of common language (habits of thought) or culture (habits of behavior) to bind together these diverse peoples. If one accepts the notion of Karl W. Deutsch that: "Culture is an outcome of the ability of human beings to communicate among themselves through symbols."<sup>3</sup> Since the process of nation building can be looked at as the development of some form of common culture, a common form of communication is of prime importance in order for this culture to spread and be shared.

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<sup>3</sup>Philip L. Warner and Marvin W. Mikesell, Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 2.

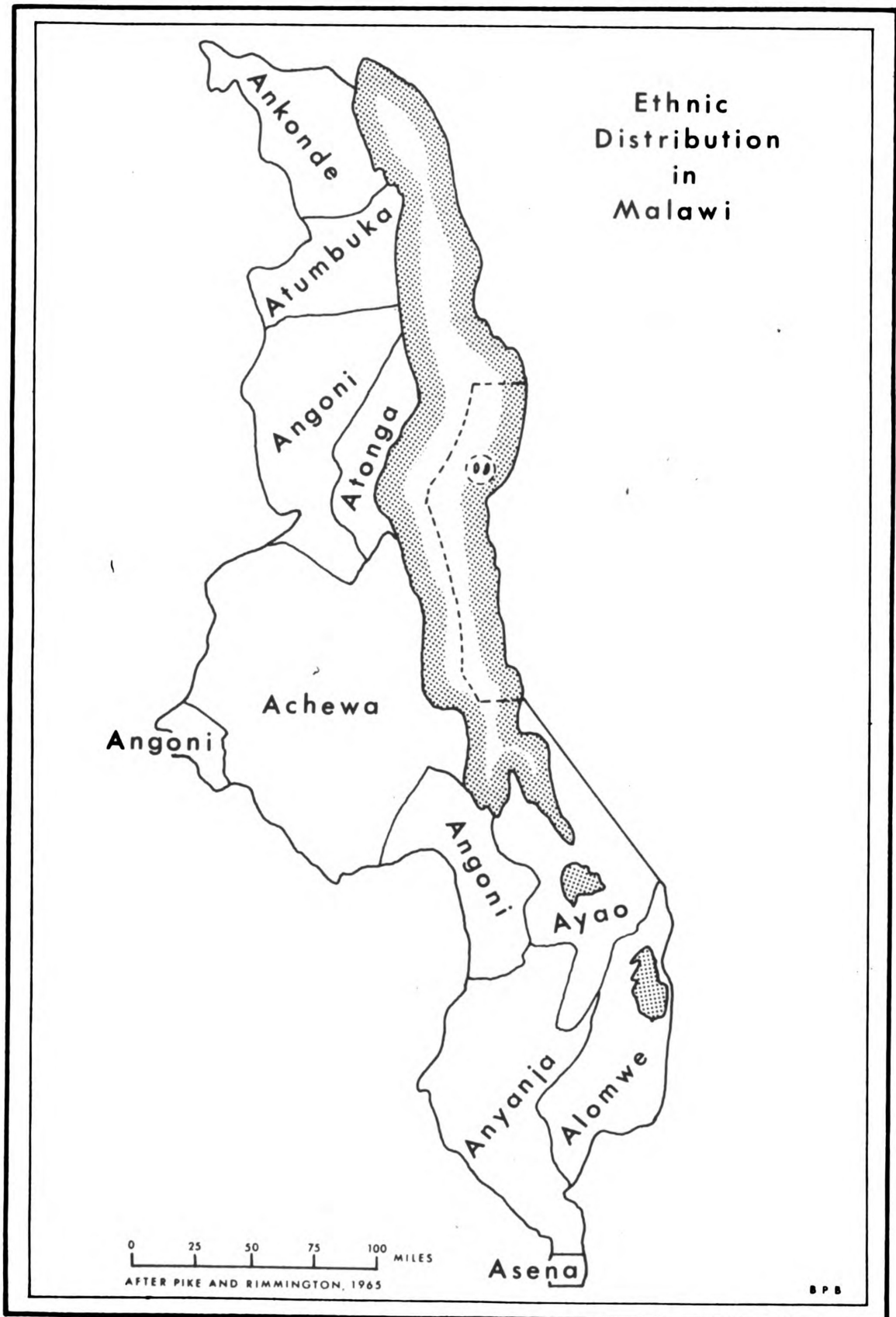


FIGURE 2

Based on Ethnic Group Breakdowns of 1945 Census. 1945 Total Population, 2,044,707. Annual Rate of Growth, 3.30 percent.

TABLE 2  
ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION IN MALAWI

| Ethnic Group   | Estimate<br>1971 | %     |
|----------------|------------------|-------|
| Chewa          | 1,336,680        | 28.2  |
| Lomwe          | 881,640          | 18.6  |
| Nyanja         | 725,220          | 15.3  |
| Yao            | 649,380          | 13.7  |
| Ngoni          | 450,300          | 9.5   |
| Tumbuka        | 265,440          | 5.6   |
| Sena           | 170,640          | 3.6   |
| Nkhonde        | 142,200          | 3.0   |
| Tonga          | 118,500          | 2.5   |
| Others         | 4,407            | ---   |
| Swahili        |                  |       |
| Wemba          |                  |       |
| Nsenga         |                  |       |
| Total Africans | 4,759,407        | 99.7  |
| Europeans      | 8,000            | .1    |
| Asians         | 12,000           | .2    |
| 1971 Total     | 4,797,407        | 100.0 |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Nyasaland (Salisbury: Southern Rhodesian Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 15.

### Religion and Education

Religion has also played a part in the forming of further pluralistic factions within Malawi as Table 3 indicates.

TABLE 3

| Malawi Religions                         | Composition<br>(1971)   |
|--|-------------------------|
| Roman Catholic                           | 803,330                 |
| Presbyterian Church of<br>Central Africa | 711,000                 |
| Seventh Day Adventist                    | 78,000                  |
| Diocese of Malawi (Anglican)             | 66,000                  |
| Zambezi Evangelical Church               | 330,000                 |
| Churches of Christ                       | 18,000                  |
| Seventh Day Baptist                      | 9,000                   |
| African Evangelical Church               | 6,000                   |
| Assemblies of God                        | 6,000                   |
| Moslems                                  | 500,000 to<br>1 million |

Source: John Paxton, (ed.), New Statesman Yearbook 1971-1972  
(London: MacMillian St. Martin Press, 1971), p. 476.

This multiple division of religious factions has had important political repercussions for the Yao, a predominantly Muslim group, and among the Tumbuka who obtained a decided jump in education due to the work of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in their region.

#### The Yao

The Yao conversion to Islam did not take place until the 19th century, long after their first introduction to the Arab traders at Kilwa and Zanzibar with whom they had carried on a vigorous trade in slaves for over 200 years. Earlier they had adopted Swahili customs such as modes of dress, food, house style, and the Islamic circumcision ceremonies.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Edward Alpers, "Trade State Society Among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century", The Journal of African History, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1969), p. 407.

Western acculturation among the Yao has been slow and even today most village schools still instruct youth in reading and writing Swahili using Arabic characters. All Islamic practices relating to prayers, feasting, and fasts are also strictly observed. The influence of Islam is strongest on the Lake Shore, especially around the old slave trading centers such as Nkhota Kota and Makanjira.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of their devotion to Islam, the educational advancement and political identification of Muslims with the rest of the nation has been retarded. The Fort Johnston and Nkhota Kota districts have been the centers for political discontent not only for the present day government, but throughout the period of British colonial rule. President Banda is constantly trying to ameliorate these conditions by meeting with various chiefs and Muslim Headmen.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that even today Fort Johnston still retains a European District Commissioner and Police Chief.

#### The Tumbuka

The Tumbuka ethnic group although making up only 5.6 percent of the population has had at times a strong hold on the political and administrative positions available in the country. The Northern region which is composed of about 50 percent Tumbuka and a disproportionately high percentage of literacy in comparison with the rest of the country.

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<sup>5</sup>Tew, op. cit., footnote 2, pp. 34-35.

<sup>6</sup>"Ngwazi Wishes All Muslims Joy During Ramadan Festival," Malawi News, February 5, 1965, p. 1.

TABLE 4

LITERACY OF AFRICANS BY PROVINCES AND AGE GROUPS:  
CENSUS, 1945

|                                     | Northern<br>Province | Central<br>Province | Southern<br>Province | All<br>Province |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| All Persons                         |                      |                     |                      |                 |
| Total Population                    | 290,725              | 750,372             | 1,003,610            | 2,044,707       |
| of whom --                          |                      |                     |                      |                 |
| (a) Read and write in English       | 6,894                | 4,215               | 8,501                | 19,613          |
| (b) Read and write in<br>Vernacular | 23,961               | 41,864              | 45,425               | 144,250         |
| (c) Total Literate                  | 30,855               | 49,079              | 53,929               | 133,863         |
| (d) Literate in Arabic              | 205                  | 858                 | 5,373                | 6,436           |
| Per 1,000                           |                      |                     |                      |                 |
| (a) Read and write in English       | 24                   | 5                   | 9                    | 9               |
| (b) Read and write in<br>Vernacular | 82                   | 60                  | 45                   | 56              |
| (c) Total Literate                  | 106                  | 65                  | 54                   | 65              |
| Persons Age 5 - 18                  |                      |                     |                      |                 |
| Total Population                    | 83,792               | 213,718             | 244,913              | 542,423         |
| of whom --                          |                      |                     |                      |                 |
| (a) Read and write in English       | 2,229                | 1,105               | 2,408                | 5,742           |
| (b) Read and write in<br>Vernacular | 8,999                | 11,595              | 12,796               | 33,390          |
| (c) total Literate                  | 11,228               | 12,700              | 15,204               | 39,132          |
| Per 1,000                           |                      |                     |                      |                 |
| (a) Read and write in English       | 27                   | 5                   | 10                   | 11              |
| (b) Read and write in<br>Vernacular | 107                  | 54                  | 52                   | 61              |
| (c) Total Literate                  | 134                  | 59                  | 62                   | 72              |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Nyasaland (Salisbury: Southern Rhodesian Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 19.

How had this situation come about? This was primarily the work of the Church of Scotland which established institutes as Livingstonia which served as a combined primary, secondary, teachers training and technical college.<sup>7</sup> It was largely because of the work of teachers and craftsmen trained at this institute that men from Nyasaland gained the reputation for being better educated than any other workers in Rhodesia, Zambia, or South Africa. Dr. Banda summed up the political implications of this institution by stating, "The seed bed from which grew the Nyasaland African Congress was the Livingstonia Mission."<sup>8</sup>

Through the independence movement in Nyasaland during the late 1950's and early 1960's, the Northerners were in the forefront of the intellectual and political leadership. Men such as Yatuta and Dunduzu Chisiza, Orton Chirwa, W. Kanyama Chiume organized the political machinery which was to be taken over by Dr. Banda upon his arrival in Malawi in 1958.

Cullen Young states in his book, History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga People,

Although the prime objective of the missions were evangelical and educational, there are grounds for suggesting that the emphasis placed on the personal responsibility of the individual by the protestant approach to religion, coupled with the early grounding in administering church affairs on a local basis provided by the church, helped to produce individuals in the northern region of Malawi who, because they were capable of taking a wider view of their interests and responsibilities than the purely tribal ones common enough elsewhere in Africa, were better equipped than most of their fellow countrymen to organize a political movement with a national basis.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Alexander J. Hanna, The Story of the Rhodesian and Nyasaland (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), pp. 237-238.

<sup>8</sup> Griff Jones, Britain and Nyasaland (London: George Allen and Urwin, Ltd., 1964), p. 97.

<sup>9</sup> T. Cullen Young, The History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples, 2nd edition, (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1970), p. XIV.

### Cabinet Crisis 1964

Three out of the nine cabinet ministers were from the North on July 6, 1964 when Malawi became an independent country.

By September of 1964, rumbles of rebellion disturbed the anticipated peace and quiet of the post-independence period. The cabinet crisis of September 1964 could be analyzed in several ways: among these are intellectuals resisting the domination of an older more conservative leader; and the Northern educated elite seeking political control of the country. Since the cabinet crisis there has been a discernible shift of political power from the Northern educated elites to the central and southern regions, and particularly towards the Chewa.<sup>10</sup>

A quick summary of the 1964 cabinet crisis follows:

1. The Ministers disliked the extent to which their own political power and sources of patronage were being diluted by Dr. Banda's appointments.
2. The cabinet ministers also championed the grievances of African civil servants who felt that the pace of Africanization should be increased.
3. An offer of a loan from the Government of Mainland China was refused and called a "naked bribe" by Dr. Banda.
4. Dr. Banda's policy towards Portugal and South Africa was questioned by his cabinet.<sup>11</sup>

The situation exploded in September, 1964, when Dr. Banda dismissed Ministers Chiume, Chirwa, and Bwanausi from the cabinet. As a gesture

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<sup>10</sup> Robert I. Rotberg, The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 317-320.

<sup>11</sup> John G. Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 165-167.

of solidarity Chokani, Chisiza, and Chipembere resigned as well. Thus, all the Northern Ministers (as well as Chirembere, a Yao) left the cabinet.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to compare the regional power shift and educational qualifications of the Malawi cabinet in 1964 to the present one.

It is evident that there has been a decided shift in power toward the Chewas whose main source of power is located in the central region. The president has also been very careful to make use of his party stalwarts in filling ministerial positions thus eliminating the threat of any type of intellectual coalition forming again to threaten either his internal or external political plans.

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<sup>12</sup>Rotberg, op. cit., footnote 10, p. 319.

TABLE 5  
CABINET 1964-1971

| Cabinet 1964   | Ethnic Group | Education  | Region  |
|--|--------------|------------|---------|
| <u>Kanyama Chiume</u><br>Minister, External Affairs                        | Tumbuka      | University | North   |
| <u>Orton Chirwa</u><br>Minister, Justice Attorney General                  | Tonga        | University | North   |
| <u>Yatuta Chisiza</u><br>Minister, Home Affairs                            | Tumbuka      | ---        | North   |
| <u>Masauko Chipembere</u><br>Minister, Education                           | Yao          | University | South   |
| <u>Willie Chokani</u><br>Minister, Labor                                   | Lomwe        | University | South   |
| <u>Augustine Bwanausi</u><br>Minister, Development Housing & Works         | Lomwe        | University | South   |
| <u>John Tembo</u><br>Minister, Finance                                     | Ngoni        | University | Central |
| <u>John Msonthi</u><br>Minister, Transport & Communication                 | Chewa        | University | Central |
| <u>Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda</u><br>Prime Minister                               | Chewa        | University | Central |
| <u>Cabinet March 1971</u>  |              |            |         |
| <u>A. K. Banda</u><br>Minister, Finance Information & Tourism              | Tonga        | ---        | North   |
| <u>M. M. Lungu</u><br>Minister, Education, Health, & Community Development | Tumbuka      | ---        | North   |
| <u>M. Q. Y. Chibambo</u><br>Minister, Northern Region                      | Tumbuka      | ---        | North   |
| <u>J. W. Gwengwe</u><br>Minister, Trade & Industry                         | Chewa        | ---        | Central |

TABLE 5 (con't.)

| Cabinet March 1971   | Ethnic Group | Education  | Region  |
|--|--------------|------------|---------|
| <u>J. D. Msonthi</u><br>Minister, Transportation<br>and Communication                        | Chewa        | University | Central |
| <u>R. J. Sembereka</u><br>Minister, Transport &<br>Communication                             | Yao          | ---        | Central |
| <u>J. T. Kumbweza</u><br>Minister, Central Region  | Chewa        | ---        | Central |
| <u>A. A. Muwalo</u><br>Minister, State Office of<br>the President                            | Ngoni        | ---        | South   |
| <u>G. Chakuamba</u><br>Minister, Southern Region   | Chewa        | ---        | South   |
| <u>Dr. H. Kumuzu Banda</u><br>President<br>Minister, External Affairs,<br>Works and Supplies | Chewa        | University | Central |

Source: Malawi Bibliographic Sketches (Blantyre: Peace Corps, 1968), pp. 1-8.

## CHAPTER IV

### ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF A LANDLOCKED STATE

The U. N. Economic and Social Council has listed Malawi among the 19 least developed nations of the world; less than 20 percent of the population is literate; the per capita gross national product is \$64.00; and manufacturing accounts for less than 10 percent of the total production. The low economic development of the country coupled with high population growth and density has forced Malawi into a difficult position in regard to labor migration and political relationships with white minority governments.<sup>1</sup>

#### Population

The estimated population of Malawi today is 4,740,000 with an average annual increase of 3.30 percent per year. This means that the population will double in less than 25 years, and it is estimated that by 1990 Malawi will have a population of nine million.

The president views the prospects of this doubling of population with favor. He does not feel that Malawi is overpopulated, especially when one considers new ways of using land and other resources. Consequently, the government and the ruling party are all officially opposed to birth control, to population planning, and the dissemination of educational information about sex.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Deadline Date on World Affaris "Malawi" (Greenwich, Connecticut: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1972), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>James R. Hooker, "Population Review 1970: Malawi", Fieldstaff Reports Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XV, No. 5 (December, 1970), p. 4.

With a land area of 36,481 square miles the population density of Malawi is 111 persons to the square mile of the land area. On the African continent only Rwanda, 270; Burundi, 237; and Nigeria, 160 have higher densities. The population density of neighboring territories is as follows: Zambia, 12; Rhodesia, 25; Mozambique, 22; Tanzania 25. Malawi's density of population is half that of western Europe and four times greater than the African continent as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 6  
PROJECTION OF POPULATION IN MALAWI (1945-1970)

| Year | De facto<br>Population | Average Annual<br>Increase |
|------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1945 | 2,049,914              | 2.23%                      |
| 1966 | 4,042,412              | 3.30%                      |
| 1975 | 5,410,000              | 3.30%                      |
| 1980 | 6,370,000              | 3.30%                      |
| 1990 | 8,810,000              | 3.30%                      |

Source: National Statistical Office, Malawi Population Census 1966: Provisional Report (Zomba: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 4.

TABLE 7  
REGIONAL POPULATION DENSITIES

|          |                     |
|----------|---------------------|
| Northern | 48 per square mile  |
| Central  | 108 per square mile |
| Southern | 169 per square mile |

Source: Frank Read, Malawi: Land of Promise, Government Printing Office 1969, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>National Statistical Office, Malawi Population Census 1966: Provisional Report (Zomba: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 5.

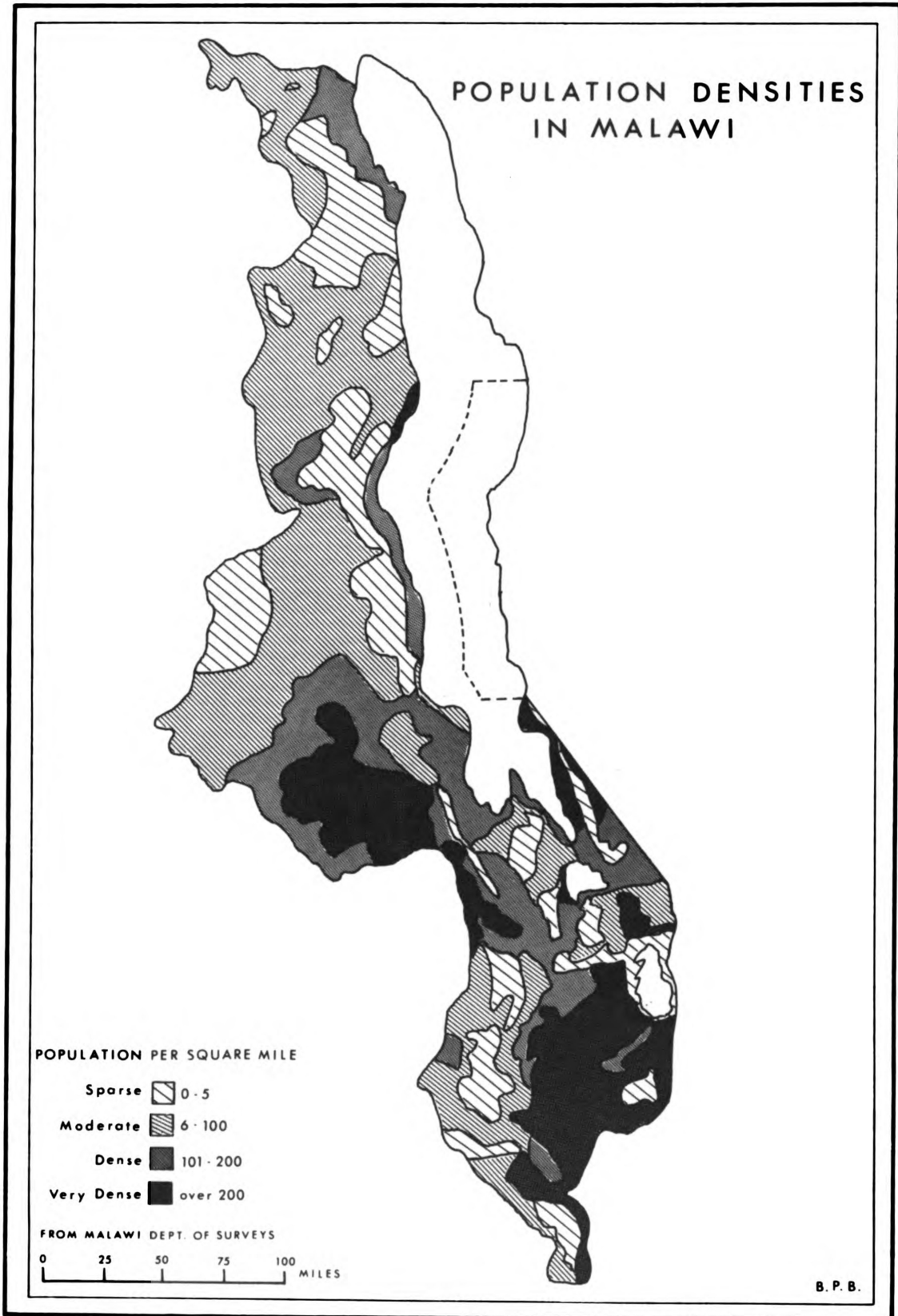


FIGURE 3

Certain areas of Malawi, such as Cholo and Mlanje districts in the southern region, have population densities over 300 per square mile. This is due to the easier accessibility and economic development of these areas.<sup>4</sup>

Urbanization in Malawi has progressed barely beyond the infantile stage of development. Out of the total population of four and three fourths million persons, 91.8 percent live in traditional villages; of the remaining 8.2 percent, only 5 percent are said to live in urban areas. Only Blantyre-Limbe with a population of 120,000; Zomba, the present capital, with a population of 20,000; and Lilongwe, site of the future capital, also with a population of 20,000, really provide an element of urban living in the sense of persons, homes, and work places being within a built-up environment.<sup>5</sup>

#### Economic: Labor Migration

The high population density and growth rate, coupled with meager economic resources, provide one with insight into the complex core of Malawi's problem. The only source of hope economically for Malawi is the development of the cash crop sector of their economy. By African standards the value of Malawi's cash crop production is very low. It exceeds only a small group of independent countries such as Togo, Gabon, Somali, whose economies have barely progressed beyond the subsistence level. Within the East Central African Region, Malawi's gross national product of \$302 million is but 1/5 of that of Zambia and 1/4 that of

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<sup>4</sup>Malawi Population Census 1966, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Frank Read, Malawi: Land of Promise (Zomba: Malawi Government Information Department, 1966), p. 16.

Tanzania. Malawi's gross national product expressed in terms of per capita income is \$64.00; one of the lowest in Africa.<sup>6</sup>

Malawians have reacted to the twin nemesis of raising population growth and limited economic opportunities by extensive labor migrations throughout the past seventy years.

The employment statistics from the Malawi Labor Department show only 135,600 Malawians were employed by industrial groups.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, it was estimated that approximately 260,000 males were in employment in neighboring territories. This was about 30 percent of Malawi's adult male population between the ages of (20-45). These workers provide about \$10 million in foreign exchange remittance yearly, which is equivalent to 25 percent of Malawi's gross revenue.<sup>8</sup>

Labor migration from Malawi is not a recent phenomena. As Sanderson stated, "By 1914 labor migration abroad had become an established part of Nyasaland's economic system and involves a considerable proportion of her male adult population."<sup>9</sup>

To summarize briefly, some of the effects of these extensive labor migrations from Malawi on the economic and social cohesion of the nation are:

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<sup>6</sup>John G. Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 217-214.

<sup>7</sup>National Statistical Office Compendium of Statistics for Malawi, 1966 (Zomba: Government Printer, 1966), p. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Hooker, op. cit., footnote 2, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>F. Sanderson, "The Development of Labour Migration from Nyasaland," The Journal of African History, Vol. II, No. 1-2, 1961, p. 264.



- A. Most men who go abroad learn skills which are irrelevant in the home environment;
- B. Young men who keep coming and going tend to regard the home periods as holidays;
- C. Many people are no longer available to attend to the routine tasks of traditional rural life. As a result both animal husbandry and agriculture have suffered;
- D. Migration results in many evils including broken homes, alcoholism, and prostitution.<sup>10</sup>

According to the Labor Department, even though a significant proportion of the able-bodied males emigrate from Malawi, this does not ease the pressure on the land since they rarely cut their connections with it totally. This makes it difficult to utilize the land efficiently and inhibits any attempts to consolidate holdings into economic units.<sup>11</sup>

#### Foreign Policy: "The Banda Way"

The foreign policy of most countries is usually an expression of their economic interests, influenced by various guiding principles; Malawi is no exception. The most important factor in her national interest is that Malawi is a poor, small, landlocked country which needs access to the sea. Malawi is also partly dependent upon her neighbors, particularly those to the south, for much of her communications and trade. Malawi serves as a buffer zone between the white-dominated rule of South Africa and Rhodesia, and the more radical black African states of Zambia and Tanzania.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>D. K. Chisiza, Africa: What Lies Ahead (New York: African American Institute, 1962), p. 60.

<sup>11</sup>Labour Department Reports 1961-1967 (Zomba: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 13.

<sup>12</sup>"A Black Ruler Tells Us Why Africa Needs Whites", U. S. News and World Report 1968, pp. 64-68.

These considerations have led Malawi to maintain friendly relations with Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia. Malawi has made it quite clear that she is not in sympathy with the racial policy of these countries. Her economic dilemma forces Malawi to maintain friendly relations with them.

In the words of Dr. Banda, "I would do business with the devil himself to further the interests of the four million people of my country."<sup>13</sup>

In the spring of 1967, Malawi enacted a trade agreement with South Africa in which preferential treatment would be accorded her cash crop exports such as tea, tobacco, cotton, and peanuts. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Banda established diplomatic relations with South Africa, the first black African country to do so.<sup>14</sup> These diplomatic moves by Dr. Banda were capped when in August of 1971, he made a five day state visit to South Africa, the first state visit by any black leader from the North. South Africa has also been instrumental in providing economic development loans for Malawi; the largest being a \$33 million loan for the construction of a new capital at Lilongwe in the central region.<sup>15</sup> The IMEX Corporation, a South African firm, will undertake the actual construction. Other major transactions have been undertaken with a Japanese business consortium in conjunction with a South African consortium for the

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<sup>13</sup>Edwin S. Munger, "Trading with the Devil", Fieldstaff Reports in Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (October, 1969), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>Jim Hoagland, "A Rule for Pretoria in Developing Black Africa," The Washington Post (August 21, 1971), p. 20.

<sup>15</sup>"Vorster Visits New Capital Site," Malawi News, May 22, 1970, p. 1.

construction of a 63 mile, \$20 million rail link connecting Malawi railways with the Mozambique deep water port of Nacala. The Malawi section of this rail line was officially opened in July of 1970. This will provide Malawi with another port in addition to Beira for its high bulk of agricultural cash crops.<sup>16</sup>

The new railway will eventually extend as far as the proposed Cabora Bassa Hydro-electric Project in Mozambique. It is this link which will make the whole project economically viable. Malawi's traffic alone would scarcely justify the expense, but the expectation of mineral and agricultural exports from northeastern Mozambique makes the scheme infinitely more attractive. Malawi will derive a great deal of revenue from the haulage of Mozambiquan goods through its territory.<sup>17</sup> Malawi has chosen to seek its transportation links with Mozambique, contrasting sharply with Zambia, who in conjunction with Tanzania is building the Tan-Zam railway with Chinese assistance in order to rid itself of the problem of exporting its goods through white rule Rhodesia and Mozambique. The implementation of the Cabora Bassa Hydro-electric scheme has other possible economic ramifications for Malawi. It is intended that some of the power will be used by the Richard's Bay Industrial Complex, to be established 100 miles north of Durban. Richard's Bay is planned as South Africa's biggest port. The first major development at Richard's Bay will be a \$24 million aluminum smelter, probably using the 65 million ton bauxite deposits

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<sup>16</sup>J. Perry, "Malawi's New Outlet to the Sea", Geography, Vol. 56 No. 251 (April, 1971), pp. 138-140.

<sup>17</sup>Perry, op. cit., footnote 16, p. 138.

found at Mt. Mlanje in Malawi. The new rail line running to Nacala could be used to extract this mineral.<sup>18</sup> This blatant cooperation with South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese has caused a multitude of diverse reactions, both within the country and without. The Organization of African Unity has repeatedly threatened to expel Malawi. Malawi's relationship with Zambia and Tanzania has also been severely strained due to the president's policy decisions. One of his sharpest critics is President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Dr. Banda in his customary manner answered this criticism during a speech to the Malawi Parliament:

As for my critics in neighboring countries, I treat with utter contempt because they are physical and moral cowards and hypocrites . . . while they are decrying South Africa, they are doing so on stomachs full of South African beef, mutton and pork . . . They are doing so while allowing South African financiers and industrialists to invest heavily in their mines, industries, and agriculture.<sup>19</sup>

The opposition within the country has been repressed by the strong arm of the ruling Malawi Congress Party and its paramilitary youth wing, the Young Pioneers. All outward condemnation of Dr. Banda's policies has been summarily dealt with. There is constant friction within the country, especially among the educated elite. As was the case in the 1964 cabinet crisis disagreement over the President's foreign policy, may rise again as one of the major rallying points for future opposition to Dr. Banda's rule.

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<sup>18</sup>Richard Hall, The High Price of Principles: Kaunda and the White South (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1969), p. 243.

<sup>19</sup>Hall, op. cit., footnote 18, p. 37.

## CHAPTER V

### DYNAMICS OF UNIFICATION

Various factors stimulated nationalism in Nyasaland. The first to take effect was the imposition of British colonial rule over Nyasaland. Mr. D. K. Chisiza has acknowledged the importance of the establishment of Western types of government in the area:

The carving up of the continent into territories with different names, the establishment of central governments and the nationalist activities of recent years have all combined to infuse into the minds of Africans of each territory that they are a people apart, that they form in fact a separate nation.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning the people of Nyasaland were forced to break down many of their indigenous political and economic structures to exist within the colonial framework. The idea of being a resident of Nyasaland instead of a particular ethnic group began to become popular even in the 1930's and 1940's. This is an important base to work from in order to quicken the pace of nation building. It was always British policy in Nyasaland to encourage nationalism. The question is how far and by what means these historical factors have produced social change in Nyasaland.

Nineteenth and twentieth century Nyasa ethnic societies encountered a bewildering maze of social changes. The first change was ending the slave trade and imposing peace after the British declared a protectorate

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<sup>1</sup>Griff Jones, Britain and Nyasaland (London: George Allen and Urwin, Ltd., 1964), p. 96.

over Nyasaland in 1891. This dissolved the strict group discipline needed for self-defense which was a necessity throughout the slave trading epoch of Malawi's history. The development of the monetary process further eroded the power of the local community over the individual. The third major change was the search for employment in order to raise one's living standards, which in the case of Nyasaland meant emigration. This made for more individuality than was normal in traditional African society.<sup>2</sup>

Schapera in his studies concerning the effects of labor migration on the ethnic identification produced the following results:

- A. The emigrators resent being called upon for traditional labor;
- B. They neglect their tribal duties;
- C. They are insolent toward the chiefs and elders;
- D. They are disrespectful of traditional forms of control.<sup>3</sup>

The immigration experience clearly impelled the Nyasas to change the object of their loyalty from ethnic to national groups. The factors of social change so far mentioned (peace, the monetary process, employment and immigration) each encouraged the growth of an individualism which contrasted sharply with the old traditional dependence on friends and relatives.

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<sup>2</sup>Jones, op. cit., footnote 1, pp. 84-87.

<sup>3</sup>D. K. Chisiza, Africa: What Lies Ahead (New York: The African-American Institute 1962), pp. 60-61.

When the Nyasas reached the Rand in South Africa or the copperbelt in Zambia they lost their ethnic identification and began to think of themselves as Nyasas. The two world wars provided experience similar to emigration. One-third of the fit male population was on national service during the second world war, and once again the various ethnic groups referred to themselves as Nyasas.<sup>4</sup>

### Economic Development Plan

1965 - 1969

The key to obtaining further social cohesion within Malawi rests on its ability to become economically self-reliant. If Malawi is able to obtain this stage of development, she will be in a much better position to slow the centrifugal forces which are impeding cohesion and quicken the pace of nation building.

The 1965 - 1969 development plan had four major objectives:

1. Increase agricultural production for export as well as domestic consumption.
2. Improve internal communications with a view to reducing transport costs and thus increasing the competitiveness of the country's agricultural exports on the world market.
3. Expand secondary schools and post-secondary education.
4. Stimulate the private sector of the economy, in particular, the industrial group.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Jones, op. cit., footnote 1, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup>Malawi Development Corporation (Zomba: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 1-6.

Malawi is presently running in the red to the tune of close to \$7.3 million a year. This deficit is only offset by yearly grant-in-aid funds from the British government, which for the next three years will amount to \$4.3 million for 1971 and 1972, \$3.1 million for 1972 and 1973, and \$3.1 million for 1973 and 1974. After 1974 this practice will be discontinued. Since 1964 Malawi's economy has grown at an annual rate of 5.6 percent (4 percent in 1970), which together with its annual population increase of 3.3 percent means that economic development has been less than dynamic.<sup>6</sup>

### Agriculture

Malawi's main exports are tobacco (40 percent), tea (30 percent), peanuts (10 percent), cotton (8 percent), other (12 percent) for a total of \$62.9 million.<sup>7</sup>

As the president tirelessly remarks, "Malawi's gold is in its soil."<sup>8</sup> Agricultural development is being stimulated in four ways. The first is through a pilot land re-organization scheme designed to check the pattern of shifting cultivation and maintain individual plots to large enough size to allow for crop rotation and greater efficiency.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Malawi Information Service, This is Malawi (Zomba Government Printing Office, Vol. 6, No. 4 (April, 1970), p. 20.

<sup>7</sup>John G. Pike, Malawi: A Political and Economic History (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 173-174.

<sup>8</sup>James R. Hooker, "Population Review 1970: Malawi", Fieldstaff Reports Central and Southern Africa, Vol. XV, No. 1 (December, 1970), p. 3.

<sup>9</sup>James R. Hooker: "Food Without Money" Fieldstaff Reports Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 1-13.

The largest of these schemes being financed by the International Development Agency (Aid), is a \$7.2 million land re-organization project around Lilongwe involving half a million acres and 200,000 people. Another project being developed is a cotton scheme in the lower Shire Valley: it will cover 13,000 acres and will cost the International Development Agency some \$4.8 million.

Secondly, the development of a government controlled marketing system to purchase cash crops from growers is increasing the confidence of the villagers that they are receiving a fair return for their crops. The Farmers Marketing Board has been set up with main storage and handling depots throughout the country.

Thirdly, education in agricultural practices has a high priority. Government agricultural schools continue to improve and the education of agriculture officers is being broadened at all levels.

Fourthly, increased participation in the money economy is encouraged by levying of head taxes, and stimulating consumer wants and expectations.

Concurrently, every effort is being made to diversity production through the development of animal husbandry, fisheries, and forestry as well as intensifying the search for exportable mineral resources.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Edwin S. Munger, "Trading with the Devil", Fieldstaff Reports Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (October, 1969), pp. 11-12.

<sup>11</sup>Malawi Development Corporation, op. cit., footnote 5, pp. 5-6.

### Communication

As agriculture, industry, and trade develop, the need for economic and efficient means of communication become imperative. The construction of a good internal transport system to encourage mass travel will further facilitate social cohesion within the country as diverse ethnic groups find it easier to intermingle with each other.<sup>12</sup> Receiving priority in this respect is the new Lakeshore Highway which is being constructed in sections to extend down the entire length of the Lake. The Liwonde, Lilongwe, and Mchinji Roads are also of major significance as they will provide easy access to the southern and central regions.<sup>13</sup> This policy of improved communication applies not only to internal communication, but also to external import and export routes. As far as external communications are concerned, the construction of the rail link connecting Malawi with the Port of Nacala in Mozambique, will provide cheaper export rates for the country's high bulk agricultural cash crops.<sup>14</sup>

### Education

Malawi may be alone on the continent in the relatively low priority it now attaches to education, except in the agricultural field. Of the

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<sup>12</sup>Chisiza, op. cit., footnote 3, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup>Frank Read, Malawi: Land of Promise (Zomba: Malawi Government Information Department, 1966), p. 43.

<sup>14</sup>Read, op. cit., footnote 13, p. 49.

\$21 million spent on development in 1964, only \$1.7 million found its way to education.<sup>15</sup> Even though, Malawi has attempted to expand the number of spaces available in secondary schools from 7,913 in 1965 to 12,310 by 1971.<sup>16</sup>

Everywhere in Malawi there is a tremendous hunger for education and the government is making every effort on a limited budget to increase the number of primary and secondary places as well as adapting the educational system to the needs of a developing country. For example, since October 1969, Malawi has incorporated agricultural studies in all schools throughout the country. This action should eventually lead great numbers of educated Malawians into the cash crop economy. The government has also developed a school broadcasting system enabling even the most isolated sections of the country to obtain educational instruction.

The educational system has also provided two other significant contributions to the breaking down of cultural pluralism within the country. By mixing students between regional schools in the country, various ethnic groups have been able to exchange ideas and intermingle in a classroom situation.

Another important nationalization effort is the attempt by the school system to lay the groundwork for the establishment of a National Lingua Franca. In 1972 it is necessary for primary and secondary school students to pass an examination in Chichewa in order to progress on to

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<sup>15</sup>Read, op. cit., footnote 13, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup>Read, op. cit., footnote 13, p. 59.

the next level. Prior to 1971 the students were allowed to be tested in the language of their choice. This produced some resentment in the country especially among the Tumbuka, who feel it is a means of discrimination against them.<sup>17</sup>

### Industry

The fourth and final goal of the 1965-1969 development plan is the establishment of import substitution manufacturing enterprises. The object is both to strengthen the balance of payments by preventing hard currency from leaving the country, and to increase employment opportunities. So far this has proven successful in a whole host of items ranging from transistor radios to the production of their own beer, gin, hoes, sugar, shoes, clothing, tea, and other food stuffs.<sup>18</sup> A good part of this secondary industry growth is readily dependent on agriculture. Thus the development of agriculture will also increase industry.

Some acquisitions have also been made by the government controlled Malawi Development Corporation. The largest retail and wholesale companies in the country have been bought up. This was a result of an announcement made by Dr. Banda in January of 1968, "that Africans must play a greater part in the country's commerce which is 99 percent controlled by foreigners who send money outside of Malawi."<sup>19</sup> President Banda emphasized that, "The ownership changes did not constitute nationalization, but represented a partnership between private enterprise and government agencies."

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<sup>17</sup>Chisiza, op. cit., footnote 3, pp. 14-15.

<sup>18</sup>Read, op. cit., footnote 13, pp. 73-77.

<sup>19</sup>Deadline Data of World Affairs "Malawi" (Greenwich: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1969), p. 17.

This was a reaction to the almost total monopoly that Malawi's 12,000 Asians had on the wholesale and retail trade. On January 14, 1969, the President declared that Malawi's Asians would not be forced to take out citizenship or join the Malawi Congress Party, and that residents and citizens should not fear being expelled from the country as long as they obey local laws. However, by 1970 the government had already passed a law to have the Asian traders hand over their rural businesses to Africans; possibly an omen of things to come.<sup>20</sup>

#### New Capital Project: Lilongwe

The largest development project currently being undertaken by the Malawi government is the construction of the new capital at Lilongwe in the Central Region. This will replace the existing capital at Zomba located two hundred miles to the south. This project was originally termed as economically unfeasible by a British team of experts, who felt that Malawi was far too poor a country for such grandiose ambitions.

President Banda denies that building a new capital is a "boondoggle", feeling that Lilongwe can serve Malawi much as Brasilia serves Brazil. Dr. Banda feels that the establishment of a new growth point in the center of Malawi will lead to a better balanced development of the country as a whole. He also asserts that Malawi cannot afford to lose the opportunity of associating the development of the new capital city with the large scale agricultural scheme, being undertaken by the International Development Agency in the Lilongwe district.

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<sup>20</sup>Deadline Data, op. cit., footnote 19, p. 17.

The actual construction of the capital is being financed by South African capital and know-how amounting to \$33 million. Time alone will tell if the prohibitive costs of these projects will reap the predicted benefits for Malawi.<sup>21</sup>

### One Party Rule

When Malawi became a republic in July, 1966, Dr. Banda expressed his feelings about ethnic diversity within his country:

I value my being a Chewa only as much as my being a Chewa enhances my being a Nyasa . . . Beyond that I do not value my being . . . from Kasungu. My being from the Central Region, I value more my being a Malawian. We have no longer a collection of tribes in this country. Now we are a nation.<sup>22</sup>

Dr. Banda today is the unchallenged spearhead of Malawi and life president of the ruling Malawi Congress Party, as well as life president of Malawi (as of July 6, 1971). Malawi has been a one-party state since the Republican Constitution of 1966 was promulgated.

The watchwords of the party are: unity, loyalty, obedience, and discipline. Of the one-party states in Africa, the Malawi Congress Party is one of the more formidable.<sup>23</sup> It is so powerful in fact, that in the last election scheduled prior to independence in the spring of 1964, the arrangements never got beyond the registration of voters and nomination of candidates by the Party. The Central African Examiner in

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<sup>21</sup>Frank Read, Malawi: Land of Promise (Zomba: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 9-17.

<sup>22</sup>Malawi Information Service, This is Malawi (Zomba: Government Printing Office), Vol. 2, No. 7 (July, 1966), p. 15.

<sup>23</sup>Arnold Rivkin, Nation Building in Africa (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969), p. 142.



an article which appeared in 1964, presented an explanation for the non-election:

In these efforts of nation-building, political unity is essential for all sections of the population. Malawians should perhaps be grateful there will probably be no elections. There are so many other things to do.<sup>24</sup>

In April of 1971, Malawi experienced its first party elections, since 1964.

Malawian exceptionalism once again came forward as the election never really went beyond the nomination stage. President Banda in March, asked each district headquarters to nominate suitable candidates for the approaching election. By April, a long list had been compiled and was sent to the presidential headquarters in Zomba. On April 11, the President called a rally in Blantyre where the names of the candidates chosen to be party candidates would be read off. This was the election as the names read off by Dr. Banda were the members who would constitute the New Parliament.<sup>25</sup>

The methods and organization used by Dr. Banda to achieve the political support of the masses have been similar to those used by authoritarian leaders in other newly established African countries. Much of the comprehension and respect for the president as a political leader stems from the tremendous propaganda campaign maintained both before and after his return to Malawi in 1958. This public relations barrage appealed directly to

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<sup>24</sup>Central African Examiner, Vol. 7, No. 10 (April, 1964), p. 34.

<sup>25</sup>James R. Hooker, "Malawi's General Election", Fieldstaff Reports Central and Southern African Series, Vol. XV, No. 5 (June, 1971), p. 4.

the African understanding of traditional authority. Dr. Banda assumed some of the outward trappings of a traditional chief by brandishing a fly whisk about. He thus became recognized as the de facto paramount chief.<sup>26</sup> His charisma with the people grew after he obtained independence, and he repeatedly harks back to the accomplishment in public speeches and articles published in the government newspaper, The Malawi News. An example of this is,

The dynamic leader, father, and founder of the nation, the first prime minister of Malawi, the life President of the Mighty Congress Party Ngwazi (Saviour), Dr. Kamuzu Banda who gave up his prosperous medical profession to fight imperialism and colonialism.<sup>27</sup>

By such mass media techniques he has been able to maintain a bond of loyalty between himself and the populace.

This is further strengthened by the Israeli-trained Young Pioneer Organization who provide an army of skilled manpower to teach villagers improved methods of agriculture and rural development. They also serve in a disciplinary role by discouraging discontent with official government party policy. Young Pioneer activities have been included as a required course of study, meeting three hours each week in every secondary school in the country. There are also Malawi women and youth league organizations to further provide support for the president. The Malawi Army, composed of 1,500 soldiers and commanded by a former British officer, Colonel T. P. J. Lewis, is a further prop for the Ngwazi.

The president by maintaining iron fisted control of the party machinery is able to organize all state, cultural, social, and political

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<sup>26</sup>Pike, op. cit., footnote 7, pp. 170-171

<sup>27</sup>Malawi News, September 28, 1964, p. 1.

activities to encourage national consciousness within the country. His easy access to the state controlled radio and newspaper has greatly facilitated his ends.

What have been some of the effects of Dr. Banda's authoritarian one party rule in Malawi? For the first time in Malawi's history the various ethnic groups in the country have some sense of nationhood. This has been accomplished by totally controlling the country's political and economic machinery. Throughout the country, especially among the Yao and Tumbuka, one hears grumblings of discontent against the president's political maneuvers, but of what numbers and strength this is, one can only postulate.

A second trend discernible in Malawi's political climate has been an increasing tendency to react in an xenophobic manner. For example, the Malawi News warns students of the University of Malawi in an article appearing in February 1967, "that they will be expelled if they follow the stupid and foreign ideologies and theories of subversive lectures." The article adds that some students were critical of African one party governments.<sup>28</sup> At the opening of the Malawi Congress Party on May 26, 1967, Dr. Banda states that he had dismissed eight students from the University because of their criticism of the country. He added that the University "must fit into the circumstances and conditions in Malawi; not those in America, Britain, France, or Germany." Furthermore, lectures should not try to indoctrinate Malawi students with foreign ideas. "Any teacher who comes here with

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<sup>28</sup>Deadline Data on World Affairs; "Malawi" (Greenwich Conn: McGraw Hill Inc., 1968), p. 8.

his funny ideas of democracy and personal liberty, out he goes. We have our own ideas of personal freedom."<sup>29</sup> The banning of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect in 1967 was undertaken because Dr. Banda claimed they were "dangerous to the state."<sup>30</sup>

These actions can be understood in light of the political establishment in Malawi. The aim of the Malawi Congress Party is unity, obedience, discipline, and loyalty; and its policy has been relatively non-ideological as Malawi's nationalism does not have strong Pan-African sentiments. As I have tried to point out, Malawi desires to be pragmatic about survival, and that has been the course of action throughout the short history of the nation.

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<sup>29</sup>Deadline Data on World Affairs: "Malawi", (Greenwich Conn: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1968), p. 9.

<sup>30</sup>"A Black Ruler Tells Us Why Africa Needs the Whites", U. S. News and World Report, LXIV, (May 13, 1968), p. 68.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our business is now to build our country, let us build it by hard work, cooperation and understanding among all people.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Banda in this statement clearly expresses the goals of nation building in Malawi. Probably the greatest problem facing Malawi and independent African nations today is that of cultural diversity and pluralism. Even though pluralism provides african countries with a vast wealth of culture, it poses difficult problems for the building of the local ethnic identity. A feeling of unity is a prerequisite to the development of Malawi.

This situation was brought on by the European partitioning of the African continent in the late nineteenth century. The "countries" that resulted may best be described from the African viewpoint as " . . . conglomeration of "tribes" which often had nothing in common."<sup>2</sup>

Malawi typifies this situation with nine major ethnic groups and with at least ten languages being spoken within a population of 4-3/4 million people.

The government of Malawi inheriting such diverse conglomerations, still had to work within the preexisting spatial limitations that had set up during colonial times.

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Read, Malawi: Land of Promise (Zomba: Malawi Government Information Department, 1966), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>F. Seth Singleton and John Shingler, Africa in Perspective (New York: Hayden Book Company, Inc., 1967), p. 268.

With the arrival of independence in Malawi, competition for political power seemed to emerge and to be divided along ethnic and educational lines. This was especially the case when the cabinet crisis of 1964 disrupted the functioning of government in newly independent Malawi.

Theoretically, the Malawi government had a number of options open to them in attempting to deal with problems of cultural pluralism. Proportional representation might be the chosen target. A situation of balanced heterogeneity should result insuring everyone's interests, but the difficulties involved in the implementation of this policy made it an unrealistic goal. Cultural fusion, expatriation, encapsulation of smaller cultures within the majority one, and even extermination and genocide provided other theoretical alternatives.

In Malawi, as in most African countries, single pattern has emerged: that of authoritarianism either by military distatorships or by the rise of de facto or de jure one-party states.

Authoritarian governments may be viewed as almost paternalistic: they alone, it seems, have the power to deal with the problems of cultural diversity.

There are three main reasons why Malawians have so willingly accepted authoritarian rule as the dominant pattern. First, a traditional historical basis exists for authoritarianism in the precolonial authority patterns of chiefs, elders and even herds of families. Secondly, the colonial experience of authoritarian government reinforced the precolonial

basis. Finally, there is a need in African for firm control to bring together the diverse factions within a nation and to provide the stability necessary for economic growth and national development.

For the present the answers to Malawi's serious problems of economic and cultural diversity and pluralism appears to lie in the formation of authoritarian one party rule.

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