Introduction *

How Tribalism Developed in Northwestern Zambia

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One of the axioms of early colonial administrators of Africa, which has carried over into the present, was that the continent which they actively began to govern in the early twentieth century contained a vast number of discrete tribes each with its separate name, language, political structures, and cultural values. Since one of the defining characteristics of the tribal form was its illiteracy, tribal societies fell outside of the interest and self-perceived competency of historians who reinforced the assumptions of their anthropological colleagues that tribal societies were essentially ahistorical or, grudgingly, "ethno-historical". Nevertheless wholly or partially inaccurate historical assumptions about "tribes" came to form an important part of British administrative policies in Central Africa and many of these assumptions continue to inform (or misinform) our thinking about the nature of African rural societies and the most effective way of encouraging economic development. In the Upper Zambezi region of Northern Rhodesia, it was often assumed that tribal animosity was a cause rether than an effect of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Nor did administrators realize the ways in which local societies were becoming tribalized (in the negative way we now understand the term) through the very processes of modernization which, in British eyes, morally legitimized the colonial state.

While we now have a far more refined understanding of the historical processes which created African societies, popular views of

* Over the years many people have contributed to my understanding of the history of Upper Zambezi societies, most significantly Mose Kaputungu Sangambo, Nelson Cikomo, Amon Nguvulu and Yowano Mbaulu and all of the Luvale, Luchazi and Lunda who volunteered their time and knowledge. I owe a special debt to Dr. Wim van Binsbergen with whom I discussed much of what is written here when we were both conducting fieldwork in Zambia. I wish also to express my gratitude to the Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Fellowship Program; the National Science Foundation; Washington, D. C., the Ford Foundation via the Center for African Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; WOTRO, the Netherlands Institute for Tropical Research and the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia for supporting the fieldwork upon which this article is based.

Africa often characterize modern African politics in terms of primordial allegiances played out on newly independent stages.[1] In the last decade anthropologists and historians have largely demolished the old concept of the tribe and provided new insights into our understanding of ethnicity and its exteme form, tribalism.[2] There is no doubt that tribalism is an important factor in modern African societies and therefore it is particularly important to understand the historical circumstances and political relationships which encouraged its development. This essay is about the emergence of "tribalism" in the Upper Zambezi region of Zambia among Luvale and Lunda speaking peoples between c. 1830 and 1964 when Northern Rhodesia became the Republic of Zambia.[3]

The chiLuvale and chiLunda speaking peoples of the Upper Zambezi certainly had a developed ethnic self-awareness prior to their contact with European mercantile capital (through participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the "legitimate" trade which accompanied it) in the early nineteenth century. This ethnic differentiation, based on differences of language (or at least dialects), historical traditions, small differences in material culture and cosmology had evolved in the Upper Zambezi during the nearly thousand years of Bantu. What changed so dramatically during the years of colonial rule was that relatively fluid ethnic concepts were transformed into new, harder, exclusive, tribal concepts. Tribalism was stronger and more pervasive at Independence in 1964 than at the onset of colonial rule in 1907. Tribalization replaced ethnic awareness in the Upper Zambezi in three overlapping phases. The first was the period of mercantile capital exemplified by the slave trade (c. 1830 - 1907) and of Luvale domination of firearms. Second, the early administrative policies undertaken by the colonial

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1 Journalist David Lamb's widely read THE AFRICANS (New York, 1984) places great emphasis on the element of tribalism in contemporary African politics.

2 See for example, John Lonsdale, "When did the Gusii (or any other group) become a Tribe?" review essay KENYA HISTORICAL REVIEW V, 1 (1977), pp. 123 - 133; Archie Mafeje, "The Ideology of "Tribalism"", THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES, 9, 2, (1971), pp. 253 - 61; J. Clyde Mitchell, "Tribe and social change in South Central Africa; a situational approach", in P. C. W. Gutkind, THE PASSING OF TRIBAL MAN IN AFRICA, Leiden (1970), pp. 83 - 101; Elizabeth Colson, "Contemporary tribes and the development of nationalism", in J. Helm ed., THE PROBLEM OF TRIBE (1968), pp. 201 - 6; Ian Phimister and Charles van Onselen, "The political economy of tribal animosity; A case study of the 1929 Bulawayo location "Faction Fight", JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDIES, 2 (1979), pp. 1 - 43; Wim M. J. van Binsbergen, "The unit of study and the interpretation of ethnicity", JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDIES, 8 (1981), pp. 51 - 81.

3 Robert Papstein, THE UPPER ZAMBEZI; A HISTORY OF THE LUVALE PEOPLE, 1000 - 1900, Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978.

government (1906 - 1930s). Third, beginning in the 1920s, the introduction of western education and the integration of the Upper Zambezi into the emerging capitalist economy of Southern Africa.

Luvale and Lunda speakers have occupied the Upper Zambezi since the seventeenth century. The area is remote from the lines of rail, urban-industrial centers, markets and the services of the colonial and Zambian states. People of the area have thus had the opportunity to maintain a vigorous commitment to their own culture while, at the same time, engaging in labour migration common to rural communities in the whole of southern Africa. In 1948, C.M.N. White, a British civil servant who lived in the region for many years and who wrote extensively about Lunda, and especially, Luvale language and customs, estimated the population at about 30,000 Lunda; 60,000 Luvale; 40,000 Luchazi and 20,000 Chokwe.[4] The population has increased significantly since the late 1940s, but White's figures - although estimates - give an informed idea of the scale of Upper Zambezi societies during the peak of the colonial period.

There is a remarkable structural symmetry between the Luvale and Lunda which makes them, on very important levels, societies which could (and did) coexist amiably.[5] They themselves believe, quite rightly, that they share different aspects of a common historical tradition linked to the ancient Ruund empire in Zaire.[6] Linguistic similaries make communication relatively easy between all the societies of the region. My own observertions confirm White's often stated view that, with relatively minor variations (i.e. a Luvale "way" versus a Lunda "way") a highly similar material culture exists throughout the Upper Zambezi. Lunda and Luvale cosmology is also remarkably similar. Both groups have freely intermarried. There is certainly no social-political-structural feature which should necessarily bring Luvale and Lunda polities into conflict.

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[4] C. M. N. White, "The Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale [sic] Peoples", OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE, No. 3, 1948, p. 5.

[5] See A. Delille, "Besnijdenis bij de Aluunda's en de Aluena's in de streek ten Zuiden van Belgish Kongo (grensstreek Belgish Kongo-Angola), ANTHROPOS XXV, 5 - 6 (1930), pp. 881 - 8. Also C. M. N. White, "Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale People", RHODES-LIVINGSTONE OCCASIONAL PAPERS, No. 3, 1948.

[6] Mose Kaputungu Sangambo, THE HISTORY OF THE LUVALE PEOPLE AND THEIR CHIEFTAINSHIP, A. Hansen & R. J. Papstein eds., (Los Angeles, 1979) pp. 35ff.

The traditional economies of the Luvale and Lunda are also complementary. The Luvale tend to favour the grasslands and thin cryptosepalum woodlands, which predominate west of the Zambezi river with the vitally important exception of the extremely fertile soils of the Chavuma area which straddles the Zambezi where it flows from Angola into Zambia. As hunters, with little if any interest in fishing, the Lunda speakers preferred to settle in the denser, once game-rich forests found on the eastern bank of the Zambezi. Lunda speaking farmers are also attracted to the fertility of the Chavuma area as are the more recent Luchazi and Chokwe speaking immigrants from Angola. Chavuma is the most agriculturally productive part of Zambezi District, possibly of the entire Northwestern Province.

An ethnically heterogeneous population has inhabited Chavuma since the late eighteenth century. Luvale and Lunda oral traditions do not mention any political conflicts between the two groups until the late 19th century when a series of "wars" broke out called the Wars of Ulamba.[7] The traditions of both Luvale and Lunda tend to emphasize their peaceful coexistence in the Upper Zambezi while at the same time setting forth somewhat different interpretations of the origins of political authority, the antiquity of Luvale and Lunda political titles and vastly different interpretations of modern settlement patterns. And yet local politics are now dominated, to their last detail, by Luvale and Lunda tribal strife; a tribalism which has reached such intensity that States of Emergency have been declared in Zambezi District in the 1940s and 1950s and nearly in 1980.

The upper Zambezi slave trade 1830 - 1907

Participation in the Atlantic slave trade began in the Upper Zambezi in the mid-eighteenth century, reached its peak in the 1830s - 1840s and slowly died out by the turn of the twentieth century.[8] In 1907, slaves in the part of the Upper Zambezi under British administration were officially freed by the new colonial administration but a system of debt slavery continued on a limited scale for decades and

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[7] Sangambo, HISTORY, passim.

[8] Slave trading caravans were still operating in the Upper Zambezi as late as 1906 (National Archives, Zambia (hereafter NAZ) A/1/1/10, BSAC In-Letters, Salborne to High Commission Office, Johannesburg, November 15, 1909). See also Douglas Wheeler, THE PORTUGUESE IN ANGOLA, 1836 - 1891; A STUDY IN EXPANSION AND ADMINISTRATION, Ph. D. dissertation, Boston University, 1963.

has, in the past twenty years, made a resurgence due to the number of destitute refugees entering Zambia from war-ravaged Angola.

Because of their advantageous geographical location on the plains which fall away from the Angolan highlands to the west, the Luvale chiefs were the first in the Upper Zambezi to receive Ovimbundu traders in search of export slaves. As a general rule, the Ovimbundu were not interested in making the slaves themselves but preferred instead to buy them in exchange for guns, cloth and jewelry. I have discussed elsewhere the response of the Luvale chiefs to opportunities offered them by the slave trade and the links between Luvale expansion, guns and slaves.[9]

The slave trade gave to Luvale chiefs, and quite likely chiefly pretenders, the possibility of establishing a unique and unprecedentedly strong economic-military position in their competition for lands and followers. It is clear that the pre-existing system of household production was being replaced or at least augmented by elements of a new mercantile economy in ways which strengthened chiefs and created "big men" able to take advantage of international trade and gather followers with promises of security. In terms of Luvale-Lunda relations the relative Luvale monopoly of firearms and the aggressive, expansionist policy which Luvale chiefs were taking meant that any defenseless group was subject to enslavement. The subsequent systematic, large scale enslavement of the Lunda by the Luvale was less an indication of some ancient tribal animosity as it was an acknowledgement, in a new situation moulded by new economic realities, of the powerful versus the powerless.

Beginning in the 1890s, Luvale slaving parties, usually led by local chiefs or their agents, carried out a vigorous series of attacks against the Lunda which became glorified as the Wars of Ulamba. In an unprecedented request, the Lunda Chief Ishinde appealed to the Lozi Paramount Chief Lewanika, for help against the marauding Luvale. Lewanika, who undoubtedly saw an opportunity for expanding his influence from the south sent a military contingent against the offending Luvale chiefs which the Luvale beat off by a combination of military prowess and a fortuitous oubreak of disease among the Lozi. After the retreat of the Lozi, the Luvale continued to raid the Lunda who fled ever deeper into the forests. The gradual decline in the market for slaves brought the Wars of Ulamba to an end. Nevertheless it is still common, in the heat of modern politics,

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[9] Robert Papstein, THE HISTORY OF THE LUVALE PEOPLE, pp. 237ff.

for Luvale partisans to recall the Wars of Ulamba as "proof" of their "superiority" over the Lunda.

These economic changes in the Upper Zambezi emphasized, for the first time, Luvale and Lunda relations in terms of ethnic or tribal politics. However, the coming of colonial administration created even more serious - or at least more immediate - problems for both groups. While the Wars of Ulamba helped form each groups' view of the other, opposition to certain British administrative policies required a temporary common front and cooperation.

The early administration of Balovale Sub-District c. 1907 - c. 1930

When Balovale Boma (administrative centre) was opened in 1907, it was a Sub-District of Barotseland, the highly centralized Lozi state to the south. This was because the agreements Lewanika had signed with the British South Africa Company gave the Company the right to administer all of Bulozi and its "dependencies" which included, according to the Lozi, all of the Upper Zambezi. In the face of vigorous Luvale and Lunda objections, British administrators continued to support Lozi sub-imperialism. Each Lunda and Luvale chief was placed under the nominal control of a Lozi representative. The local language of administration was siLozi. All major decisions were referred to the Barotse Province headquaters in Mongu. And the Lozi were given essentially a free hand to "bring administrative order" into Balovale Sub-District.

At the same time as the Luvale and Lunda were cooperating to resist Lozi encroachments, they became aware that the British, Portuguese and Belgian governments had reached agreements concerning the borders of each colony and that both groups found themselves "legally" trisected between Northern Rhodesia, Angola and the Congo Free State. The trisection of the Upper Zambezi between three colonial powers and the subsequent restructuring of the hierarchy of local chieftainships when combined with the "recognition" of a very few chieftainships meant that the Lunda and especially the Luvale were given an almost wholly new political structure. Not only was the structure unprecedentedly pyramidal but the recognition of a few "official" chiefs meant that the titles would remain permanent. In effect, the British created positional succession in the Upper Zambezi.

In 1923, in an attempt to bring administrative "order" into the District, which was regarded by both the British and Lozi as "wild" and ungovernable, the District Commissioner Bruce Miller decided the Zambezi river would be the dividing line between the Luvale and Lunda "tribes". The use of the Zambezi as an administrative border, based on wholly erroneous understanding of culture, ethnicity and politics was so compulsively appealing that virtually all District Commissioners attempted to apply it. But the use of the river as a tribal boundary would have resulted in the vast majority of the best arable land (in Chavuma, at the Angolan border) falling under Lunda authority.

The Luvale at Chavuma and elsewhere resisted every effort to force their proposed resettlement to the western bank and violence soon broke out between Luvale and those Lunda who, out of self interest, supported the plan. Even though the forced resettlement policy was never actually attempted again it became an article of faith among District Commissioners that the Luvale "properly" belonged on the west bank and the Lunda on the eastern side of the Zambezi. The committment to this point of view and formulation of local policies from this perspective has been the single most important stimulus to Lunda and Luvale tribal strife.

The evolution of the colonial political economy 1920 - 1960

The arrival of missionaries of the fundamentalist Christian Mission in Many Lands [Plymouth Brethren] was indirectly of critical importance in the development of tribalism in the Upper Zambezi, particularly between the Luvale and Lunda. The Luvale and Lunda recognized, between 1907 and 1923, that they lacked the organizational and literary skills to resist the injustices of colonial administration whether these concerned the dispute with the Lozi or the land resettlement plan, both of which demonstrated how easily they could be manipulated by a system neither understood nor could effectively influence.

In 1922, George Suckling founded the Chotokoloki Mission Station, an offshoot of the original Brethren station at Mwinilunga. Suckling was an outspoken, gregarious man who quickly became identified as the spokesman for Lunda and Luvale grievances and who found himself besieged with young men seeking religious training and the literate skills which accompanied it. Beginning in

the 1920s, a group of mission-educated Luvale and Lunda emerged as the most forceful group of opinion makers in Balovale. These forceful and articulate men carried an enormous burden during the colonial years. They began to use their newly acquired skills to give form and detail to the tribal world views emerging out of the tensions and structures imposed by British colonial administrative policies. While the immediate concern with history and custom can be seen as backward looking conservatism, it was anything but that; it became the most important and virtually the only tool over which the Luvale and Lunda had control and which they could use to influence policy. If local intellectuals could somehow enmesh the solution to local problems in an understanding of local history and custom, it could give them a powerful lever in affecting the outcome.[10]

The new intellectuals perceived that by embracing the new British created chiefly hierarchy and by emphasizing their ancient historical connections with the powerful Ruund state in Zaire they could most effectively counter Lozi imperial ambitions. The MacDonnel Commission, created in 1938 to investigate claims of autonomy from the Lozi, is the epic event of modern Luvale and Lunda history.[11] By this time both groups had a cadre of literate, experienced intellectuals who, in cooperation with local missionaries, orchestrated their testimonies to the Commission and who, in the preparation of masses of written materials - almost all of which was historical in nature - sought to demonstrate the independent origins and historical development of the Lunda and Luvale tribes. In doing this, they presented, consciously and unconsciously, a picture of ancient and centralized tribal polities which fit British preconceptions but which, in fact, had evolved relatively recently.

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[10] Mose Kaputungu Samgambo, Muwema Toloshi Pacienca and Thomas Chinyama are such figures. They realized that if the uniqueness of Lunda and Luvale history (respectively) could not be articulated it would be relatively easy for the combined interests of the Lozi and colonial administrators to sub-infeudate them to the Lozi. The most recent discussion of this can be found in Mabel C. Milimo, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LOZI AND THEIR SUBJECT TRIBES AND THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION 1890 - 1941, Ph. D. Thesis, Oxford University, 1981.

[11] REPORT OF THE COMMISSION (SIR PHILIP MACDONNEL) APPOINTED TO EXAMINE AND REPORT UPON THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE PAST AND PRESENT RELATIONS OF THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE BAROTSE NATION AND THE CHIEFS RESIDENT IN THE BALOVALE DISTRICT BOTH EAST AND WEST OF THE ZAMBEZI RIVER, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND THE METHODS BY WHICH THE TRIBES HAVE BEEN GOVERENED, AND TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE. (Lusaka, 1939). The full testimony taken during the enquiry can be found in NAZ, ZP/5/1/A; ZP/5/1/5. See also, BALOVALE COMMISSION, 1933 - 1939, ZP/1/1A/1B and ZP5/2-4, and BALOVALE DISPUTE, (NAZ) KDE 2/3/1-12.

Both Luvale and Lunda set down, on paper and for the first time, comprehensive, tribal - rather than local - views of their histories.

Delayed by the outbreak of World War II, the MacDonnel Commission Report was issued in 1941 and sustained both Luvale and Lunda claims to their autonomy. Government responded by creating Balovale District and separate Luvale and Lunda Native Authorities (see below). As the Luvale and Lunda saw it, they had saved themselves, via their historical knowledge, from Lozi overlordship after a generation of struggle.

During the 1930s, the enormous copper mining industries of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo were developed. The new mines, plus the existing demand for industrial and agricultural labour in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Angola, greatly increased labour migration from the Upper Zambezi. We know very little about the effects of labour migration in rural Central Africa. Most of what appears here is impressionistic; my purpose in discussing it is not to set out the details or even the general impact of labour migration locally, but to suggest how labour migration functioned as an element in the development of Luvale and Lunda tribalism.

Although Luvale and Lunda did respond to the limited markets available to them in both Angola and Northern Rhodesia, during the colonial period these opportunities were limited by their isolation, small scale production and lack of efficient transport. The imposition of the hut tax payable in cash meant that labour migration was, for most men, the only source of cash. Like most rural male Africans, the men of the Upper Zambezi became labour migrants. Labour migration gave the Luvale and Lunda their first urban experience and those who migrated to the Copperbelt were shocked to learn that they were regarded as social inferiors by the more numerous Bemba and Lozi.[12] Upper Zambezi people spoke unfamiliar and difficult languages, they remained committed to customs which others found "bizarre" and their herbal and magical expertise often made others spiteful or fearful of them. Their lack of education and urban experience and their relatively small numbers made it easy for others, in the bitter competition for work, to view

[12] Clyde Mitchell, "Distribution of African Labour of Origin on the Copper Mines of Northern Rhodesia", RHODES-LIVINGSTONE JOURNAL, XIV (1954), pp. 30 - 42. I was told, in 1975, while teaching at the University of Zambia, that Luvale and Lunda, with very few exceptions, could not aspire to what were regarded as better jobs because they were ethnically stigmatized. Recently a Government Minister was forced to resign under a hail of Luvale protest because of remarks about menial jobs still held by the Luvale.

them as rustics fit only for the worst and lowest paid jobs. The Luvale in particular soon developed an urban reputation as menial workers. In general, Lunda and Luvale became very low status ethnic identifications in town. The political economy of the colonial state had encouraged the creation of tribal groups in the rural areas and it was inevitable that these identities should function within the industrial as well as the rural economy. This not only meant that rural peoples had to identify themselves with a "tribe" in order to "fit", i.e. have official, legal recognition in their local district, but it also meant that tribe (via the Pass System which allowed only so many tribesmen to migrate to town) was used to characterize workers according to their abilities - e.g. the "clever" Bemba or Lozi; the "backward, wild" Luvale or Lamba.

With the Lozi question barely behind them, the Luvale and Lunda became locked in administratively vicious and sometimes physically dangerous struggle over which tribe "controlled" Chavuma. Both Luvale and Lunda constantly petitioned Government to decide in their favour over Chavuma and presented elaborate historical documents (largely derived from materials presented to the MacDonnel Commission). Violence frequently broke out between Lunda and Luvale groups in the Chavuma area. As the Chavuma dispute festered, its influence was felt at every level of District administration as both sides tended to see every decision and every policy put forward in Balovale Disrtict as somehow related to Chavuma.

Critical institutions in the 1940s were the Lunda and Luvale Native Authorities.[13] There can be little doubt that the Native Authorities, which gave the "tribes" a "modern" administrative structure were moderately useful tools of Indirect Rule. Their name is something of a misnomer, however; perhaps Native Responsibilities is more descriptive of their functions; they never had serious authority. While their creators saw the Native Authorities as institutions of modernization, their effect on popular thinking was to encourage tribal structure. Ironically, the tribe became the very idea of modernization, via its Native Authority which influenced access to the clear benefits to be had in western style trading, agricultural improvements, transportation, medicine but most important of all, access to western education.

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13 Kussum Datta, THE POLICY OF INDIRECT RULE IN ZAMBIA (NORTHERN RHODESIA), 1924 - 1953, Ph. D., University of London, 1976. B. C. Kakoma, COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE MWINILUNGA DISTRICT, 1900 - 1939, M. A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1971.

In 1948, tribal politics received an enormous stimulus when Government announced the beginnings of limited primary school education.[14] Schools in Luvale areas were to be taught in chiLuvale; schools in Lunda areas in chiLunda. Even though Chavuma had been declared a chiefless area, not belonging exclusively to either Luvale or Lunda chiefs, it was still administratively regarded as "Lunda" following the long standing policy of using the Zambezi river as the "tribal" boundary. ChiLunda was chosen as the only official language of primary instruction.The majority Luvale population believed that such a decision would ultimately mean the installation of a Lunda chief which would in turn mean Lunda preference in land use, fishing and hunting rights, trading licenses and the other opportunities political control could manipulate. In 1949, violence between Lunda and Luvale had reached the point where the District Commissioner in Balovale declared a State of Emergency in Chavuma and troops were brought in to reestablish order.

It is difficult to imagine the importance local people attached to primary education in the 1940s. Those who became local teachers, school inspectors, teachers' assistants became the "new men", and this first group who had gained education became the opinion makers and heroes of Luvale and Lunda society - coexisting with the hunter heroes and chiefs of the past. Western education, acquired formally or informally, was also a means of entry into the newly emerging capitalist economy. The language policies of Government contributed to the existing political and land problems of Chavuma and since there was no easy, mutually acceptable solution, Government sought to ignore and delay. By the mid-1950s, the Luvale, fed up with what they regarded as broken promises and delays actually installed a chief in Chavuma. In response, the Lunda threatened to go to war if Government did not remove the illegal chief; again a State of Emergency had to declared.

By the 1950s, Luvale and Lunda tribalism was fully developed. This reached into every aspect and every corner of the District and beyond. Luvale traders were boycotted by Lunda and vice-versa. Travel in one another's territory was unsafe and the same people who had sat together to prepare evidence for the MacDonnel

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[14] The influence of western style primary education for ethnic/tribal creation is a main theme of David Wilkin, TO THE BOTTOM OF THE HEAP: THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION IN NORTHWESTERN ZAMBIA, Ph. D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1983.

Commission and who had celebrated their victory now no longer spoke to each other.

Conclusion

What I have tried to describe in this brief essay are the outlines of how two tribes, the Luvale and the Lunda, have arrived at their contemporary political structures and self-identities. Not only have the Luvale and Lunda taken up more centralized political structures, new symbols of power and authority, and expanded a historical tradition from a local to a tribal level in order to explain and justify these innovations, but they have, unfortunately, also come to regard these new forms of tribal identity as exclusive and their only effective way of asserting influence into local, provincial and national affairs. There is no question but that there are Luvale and Lunda tribes today and that tribalism - however it may be defined - is a central factor in local and national politics. However, it is instructive to note that regionalism, ethnic separatism and what would be defined in Africa as "tribalism" is a widespread phenomenon in some of the oldest western states as well.
Tribalism in Africa certainly cannot be resolved by ignoring existing tribal differences: rather it is essential to understand their historical evolution and meaning. One of the most important intellectual cohesions for the national state is its sense of common history - not that each ethnic group or region has shared the same experience, but that for a multiplicity of historical reasons they now share borders and institutions which serve their citizenry. Once schools began to teach Zambian history or Central African history, the issue of ethnic representation became a crucial one. If the Luvale and Lunda and the other peoples of the Upper Zambezi find no place in their national school books; rather, if they are required to learn the histories of other peoples who they regard as competitors in the search for jobs, status, economic opportunity, the idea of the History of the Nation has little local meaning.

The Luvale and Lunda recognize to some degree that they have been tribalized in the negative sense. They face the dilemma of wanting to know and be proud of their local history and to show to following generations and the world at large how they have evolved as a society. At the same time they recognize that history cannot be solely concerned with local issues and that their "tribal"

consciousness as Luvale and Lunda must also include a national Zambian consciousness.[15]

[15] Sangambo's HISTORY (see note 6) was published in English rather than Luvale so that it could be read by "the Nation". While it is an important primary source for pre-colonial history, it is also an attempt by the Luvale to make their local history a part of Zambian national history.