

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BEER-HALL SYSTEM BY THE MINING  
COMPANIES ON THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN COPPERBELT,  
1925-1964

By

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## DEDICATION

To my father and mother who laboured to give me the financial, material and moral support for me to go through the three levels of formal education; to my children and all the children of the world to display the will to succeed in the face of adversity; and also to the Northern Rhodesian African Copper Miners for contributing so much to the struggle for African majority rule.

**DECLARATION**

I MWANSA J. CHISHA do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

SIGNED: .....

DATE: .....

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Mwansa J. Chisha is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements of the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

**EXAMINERS**

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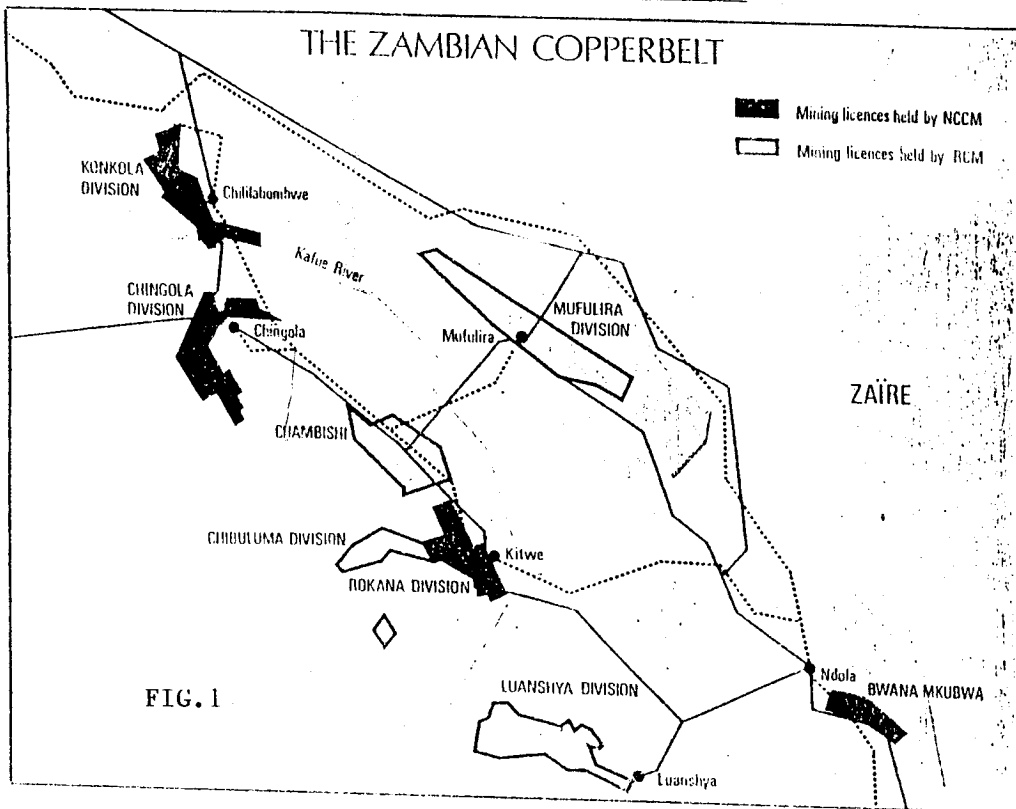
## ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.C.	-	Anglo American Corporation
N.C.C.M.	-	Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines
N.A.Z.	-	National Archives of Zambia
N.V.S.S.	-	Native Voluntary Savings Scheme
R.A.C.M.	-	Roan Antelope Copper Mines
R.C.L.	-	Rhokana Corporation Limited
R.S.T.	-	Rhodesia Selection Trust
Z.C.C.M.	-	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines.

## ABSTRACT

This study focuses its attention on how the Mining Conglomerates on the Rhodesian Copperbelt promoted and sponsored the African Welfare Programme. Welfare Work in this study is looked upon as a way of trying to keep mining employees contented and not to speak out their grievances. In this sense the Welfare provided was considered to be palliative and was supposed to have been a barrier against the participation of African mine labourers in political matters. It was in this way that beer contributed to the popularity of a specific Mining Company and also provided recreation and helped to reduce scurvy amongst the African mine labourers. African mine labourers were frequently attracted to Beer-Halls because insufficient welfare facilities were available for other leisure time activities.

This study puts in perspective the manner in which the Mining Conglomerates in various degrees tried as much as possible to avoid the responsibility of providing proper Welfare to their African employees and tried to extract maximum assistance for these purposes from local councils. In essence, therefore, it is a study in the Capitalist paradigm of cost minimisation and profit maximisation.



SOURCE: ZAMBIA'S MINING INDUSTRY. NDOLA: RCML, 1978, P.5.

### LOCATION OF AFRICAN MINE COMPOUNDS IN LUANSHYA

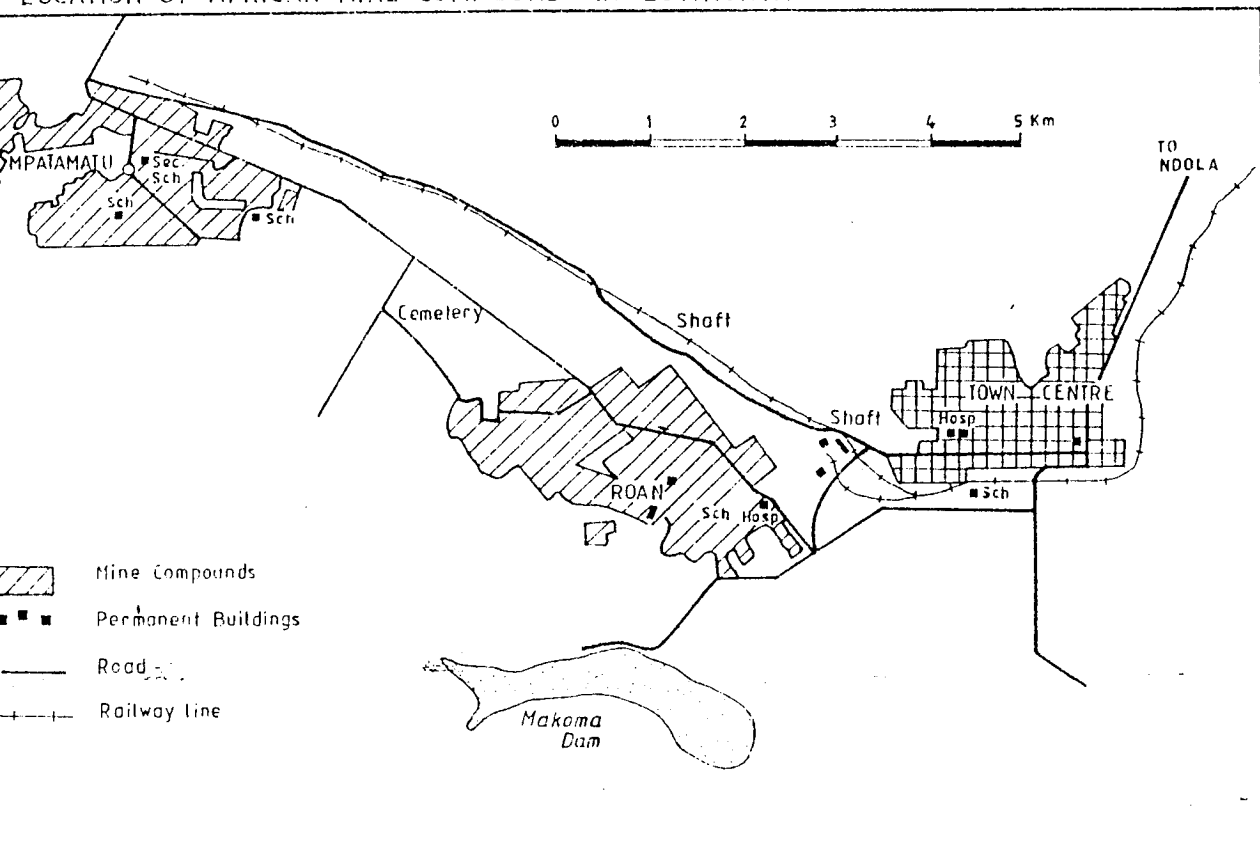
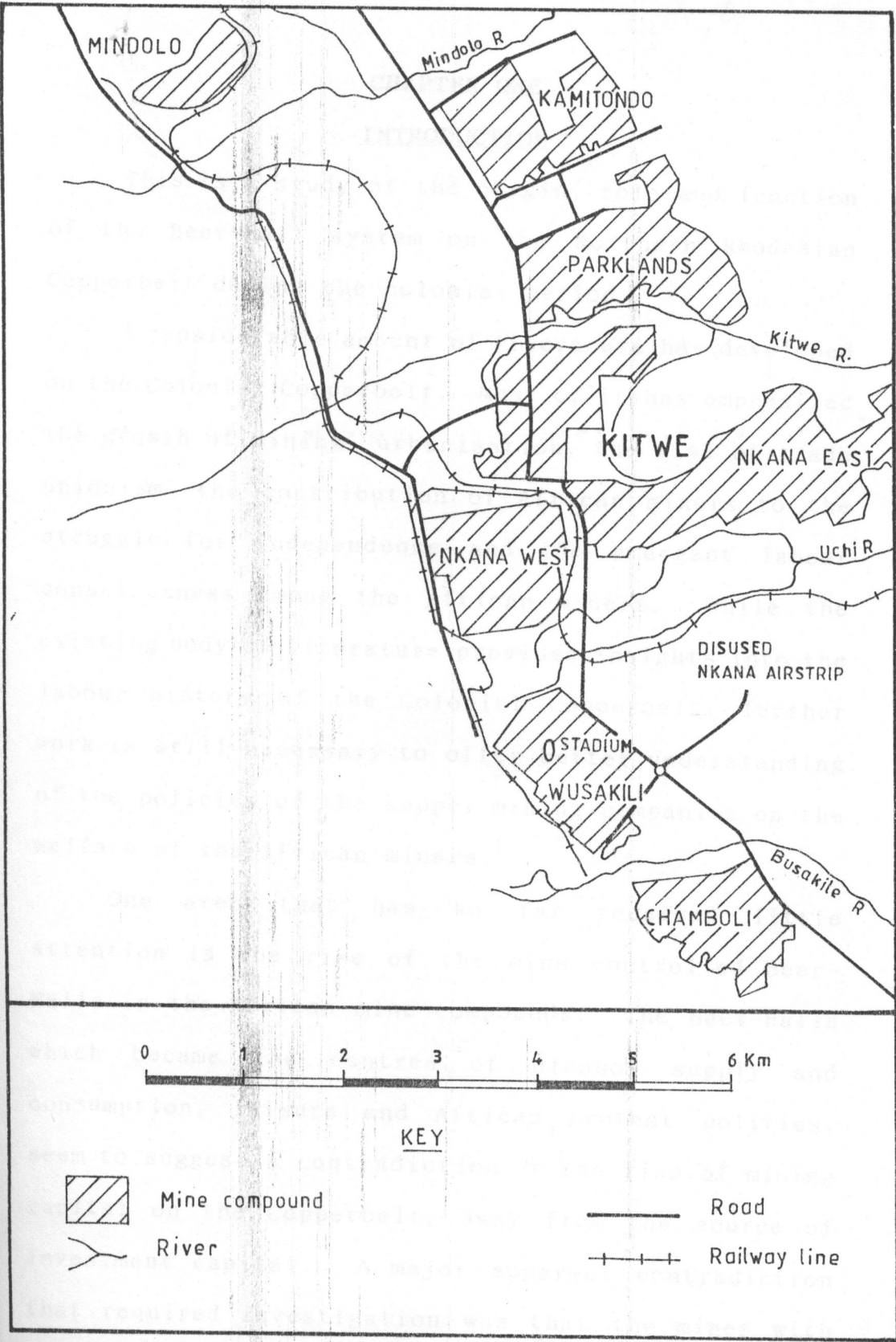


Fig.3 LOCATION OF AFRICAN MINE COMPOUNDS IN KITWE



Adapted from 1:50,000 Sheet No.1228C3

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the origin, role and function of the Beer-Hall system on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt during the colonial period.

A considerable amount of literature has developed on the Colonial Copperbelt. Most of it has emphasized the growth of mining, urbanisation, the rise of trade unionism, the contribution of African miners to the struggle for independence and the emergent labour consciousness among the African miners. While the existing body of literature provides insights into the labour history of the Colonial Copperbelt, further work is still necessary to offer better understanding of the policies of the copper mining companies on the welfare of the African miners.<sup>1</sup>

One area that has so far received little attention is the rise of the mine controlled Beer-Halls in the African mine compounds. The Beer-Halls which became the centres of alcohol supply and consumption, leisure and African protest politics, seem to suggest a contradiction in the rise of mining capital on the Copperbelt, away from the source of investment capital. A major apparent contradiction that required investigation was that the mines with their strong emphasis on industrial discipline and control of workers at both the work place and residential areas were nonetheless eager and anxious

to promote alcohol consumption in Beer-Halls constructed in the compounds for the workers. Despite strong opposition by the Christian missions and Africans to the promotion of alcohol consumption, the Mining Companies went ahead with their policy. Consequently, many Beer-Halls were constructed immediately the mines started developing on the Copperbelt.<sup>2</sup>

The Rhodesian Selection Trust (R.S.T.) that represented American capital and pioneered mining and provided American management staff at Roan Antelope and Mufulira mines in the late 1920s and early 1930s emerged from the American prohibition environment whereby the manufacture, transportation, sale, import and export of intoxicating drinks were constitutionally proscribed from 1920 to 1933 after passing the Volstead Act in 1919.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this background, the Rhodesian Selection Trust pioneered the construction of Beer-Halls about half a decade before prohibition officially ended in 1933. In this case, therefore, the promotion and encouragement of beer consumption seemed to be a contradiction of the perceived necessary and conducive alcohol free environment for the development of mining capital and an orderly civil society.

The major assumption of this study is that the mines introduced Beer-Halls partly as a way of social control and partly as a strategy of raising revenue

for the provision of a variety of social facilities for the African miners.<sup>4</sup> This is shown by the fact that the Beer-Halls were created within the paradigm of cost minimisation and profit maximisation of the mining system.

### Historical Background and Area of Study

In the early stages of the development of the copperbelt mines, the ordinary people who brew and sold African beer were women either married to African mine workers or residing close to the mine compounds. By 1930, however, the mining authorities saw the revenue potential of beer brewing and selling. It was realised that from beer brewing and selling, the Mining Companies could be able to provide social welfare for its African employees. The Beer-Hall profits could also be used in financing those leisure projects which were supposed to be in African interests.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the promotion of beer drinking was encouraged by the mining authorities due to the fact that African beer was considered a supplementary food and anti-scorbutic.<sup>6</sup>

The first Beer-Hall in Luanshya was opened in 1929. As early as 1935, Beer Halls were making appreciable profits. In 1937 at Luanshya for example, Beer-Hall profits amounted to £6,000.<sup>7</sup> It is estimated that by 1961 Beer-Halls were making profits of up to £350,000 per year.<sup>8</sup> As already alluded to, these profits were allocated for amenities, for

example, recreation rooms, sports grounds, libraries, swimming pools and cinema halls. However, they were not spent on education.

To consolidate the administration's hold on the brewing and sale of African beer the colonial government in 1930 enacted the Native Beer Ordinance. Several amendments were later made to this Ordinance to suit the changing times. However, throughout the colonial period, this Ordinance became a symbol of political and economic oppression. It was no longer legal for any African to brew and sale African beer. This became the sole responsibility of the local authorities, in our case, the Mining Administration.<sup>9</sup>

The enactment of the Native Beer Ordinance led to more Beer-Halls being constructed on the colonial Copperbelt. These Beer-Halls were supposed to be the sole brewers and sellers of African beer. Additionally, all beer consumption was to take place only at these Beer-Halls. Apart from selling beer, the Beer-Halls also sold snacks and mineral water. When there was a relaxation in the Native Beer Ordinance, Beer-Halls also started selling bottled beer and wine. Beer-Halls were also places for ball-room dancing and other recreational activities. Some Beer-Halls had even foot ball grounds on premises. In essence, the Beer-Hall was the centre of all social activities for the African in general.

essence, the Beer-Hall was the centre of all social activities for the African in general.

The conclusions of this study generally apply to all the mining towns on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt. However, for purposes of clarity, our *attention has been deliberately focused* on Roan Antelope Mine and Nkana Mine as these two mines could be considered as prototype. For one thing, they were both never closed down during the Colonial period. The other reason is that Roan Antelope Mine belonged to the Roan Selection Trust, a Consortium with strong American connection. On the other hand Nkana Mine belonged to the Anglo-American Corporation which had strong South African connections. It will be interesting to note the different management styles between Roan Antelope and Nkana Mines. It is in this respect that the policy of stabilisation was first mooted and accentuated at Roan and was eventually accepted by Nkana. However, both the Roan Selection Trust and Anglo-American Corporation were unanimously agreed that an African should never be allowed to permanently settle on the Copperbelt in particular and urban areas in general. It will be also interesting to find out whether the African Welfare programme was more advanced at Roan than at Nkana. This is in view of the fact that Roan was the first mine to accentuate the policy of stabilisation.

It was in light of the above that we shuttled between the small mining town of Luanshya and Kitwe to conduct oral interviews in order to put our argument in proper perspective. This study can be justified on several grounds. Firstly, it will be an addition to the growing literature on the Zambian Copperbelt. Whilst most of the existing works dwell on the rise of the working class on the Zambian Copperbelt, this study will concentrate on the leisure patterns of the workers centred upon the Beer-Hall. Secondly, the value of this study lies in its potential to reveal the relationship between work and leisure in a colonial industrial setting. Thirdly, the study offers an opportunity to understand the reaction of the African mine workers to controlled leisure facilities in an emerging colonial industrial situation.

In our allusion to the core chapters of our dissertation we notice that the second Chapter discusses the Ordinances and Regulations which were enacted as from 1930 to 1964 in order to sideline the African peasant beer brewer. It were these laws which, for the first time in the history of this country, made it illegal for Africans to brew beer in urban and peri-urban areas. However, these laws were not intended to only gain the monopoly of opaque beer brewing and supply, but went deeper than that. For example they were also intended to separate the

different races from socially mixing. The same chapter tackles the Colonial State and the Mining Conglomerates' policies on African stabilisation, urbanisation and detribalisation. These policies are conceptualised in the realm of the provision of the African Welfare Programme to the African mine workers in particular and Africans in general.

The third chapter elucidates on how the profits made out of Beer-Hall beer sales were utilised. In reality the Beer-Hall profits were utilised liberally on a wide range of capital projects and recurrent expenditure which did not necessarily benefit the African mine workers on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt.

The fourth chapter deals with the establishment of mass brewing plants in the country. Northern Breweries, a Company producing bottled beer, was established at Ndola in 1952 while Henrich Syndicate, for the production of opaque beer, was established in 1955 at Kitwe. The establishment of these two brewing concerns precipitated unprecedented high levels of beer consumption among Africans on the Copperbelt. It is in this vein that problems attendant to excessive beer drinking have been tackled.

The fifth chapter mainly tackles the African reaction to the Beer-Hall Systems. This chapter reveals the apparent hatred harboured by most African mine workers against the system. Most Africans and

observers saw no justification in encouraging beer drinking in order to get the fiscal requirement for the provision and promotion of the African Welfare Programme. Initially Africans advanced peaceful solution to the impasse on how best Beer-Hall profits could be expended. They only became violent when they realised that their pleas for human decency and fair play were falling on deaf ears. The violence and riots which emanated from the Beer-Halls contributed to the crumble of the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia.

### Literature Review

In spite of the important social role which the Beer-Hall played in the lives of the African mine workers, the historiography on the development of the Zambian Copper mines has dealt with the subject in a negligible manner. The emphasis of many researchers has been on capital and labour and the schisms between the two antagonists. Whilst other researchers have focused on the nationalist struggle against colonial rule, others have usually stressed labour migration and the circulation of population between urban and rural areas.<sup>10</sup> Consequently we know more about the productivity of the mines, labour migration and stabilisation and the struggle for independence. Yet, we know very little about the Beer-Hall system which in reality was part of the productive machinery, albeit in a subtle and camouflaged manner.

In retrospect, Spearpoint has written a useful article on the development of Beer-Halls in mining compounds and how the profits from beer sales were expended.<sup>11</sup> Spearpoint has also pointed out that because African beer had a low alcoholic content, Africans therefore drank a lot in order to get intoxicated. Habitual drunkards, however, eventually lost employment. Spearpoint has focused his attention on Beer-Halls at Luanshya and the period covered is not long. Our study will go up to 1964.

Godfrey Wilson points out that some mining companies included beer in the rations they gave to their African employees. Wilson also discusses the organisation of the Beer-Hall, that is, in terms of the maintenance of discipline and order.<sup>12</sup> Although Wilson's works are focused on Kabwe they could be also applied to our study in the sense that Kabwe mine was owned by Anglo-American, the same company which operated Nkana and Nchanga mines.

Epstein mentions Beer-Hall boycotts by Africans. These boycotts were against the seemingly segregative and exploitative nature of the Beer-Hall system.<sup>13</sup> Epstein shows how illicit brewing of African beer was suppressed. This was in accordance with the Native Beer Ordinance of 1930 which aimed at the monopolisation of African beer brewing and sales. Though Epstein only briefly mentions Beer-Halls, nonetheless acknowledges the important social role the

Beer-Halls played in the lives of the African miners.

Powdermaker also briefly mentions Beer-Halls and how they supported the African Social Welfare programme.<sup>14</sup> However, she gives some useful insight on the uses of beer. For example she stresses the point that the reduction of anxiety is the primary psychological function of drinking alcoholic beverages and other factors such as beer being a food and the reduction of fatigue are secondary.

Berger gives a brief description of the physical appearance of Beer-Halls and also acknowledges the fact that Beer-Halls were busy social centres but does not, inter alia, discuss how the Beer-Hall profits were actually used to promote the African Social Welfare programme. Neither does she discuss the reaction of African mine workers against the Beer-Hall system.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, Chauncy Jr. and Parpart have focused their attention on how women were exploited in the process of wealth extraction and merely make passing general references to women as suppliers of illicit alcohol to African miners.<sup>16</sup>

Ambler's article was very valuable to this study. Ambler gives reasons for the restrictions the colonial government imposed on alcohol consumption and sale.<sup>17</sup> He also points out that the Native Beer Ordinance of 1930 was modelled on the apartheid system of pre-independent South Africa. The article shows how the

14. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, p. 110.  
15. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 110.  
16. Chauncy Jr. and Parpart, *op. cit.*, p. 110.  
17. Ambler, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

NO

African nationalists in the 1950s and early 1960s made political capital out of the segregative nature of the Beer-Hall system. African agitations, against the Beer-Hall system, eventually led to Africans being legally allowed to drink bottled beer and wines. According to Ambler the Beer-Hall system was immediately legislated against when Zambia gained her independence in 1964. Ambler ably tackles the problem of the Beer-Hall system in Zambia in general. However, our study will focus on the Beer-Hall system as it affected the Mining Companies and the African mine workers in the process of cost minimisation and profit maximisation. Having pointed out the general reference of Ambler's article, this study will, to a large extent, depend on the article's pioneering contribution.

Matongo has also shade some light on how Beer-Hall profits were utilised.<sup>18</sup> He maintains that despite all the criticisms levelled against the Beer-Hall system profits from beer sales remained the only source of funds for the provision of African Social Welfare and amenities for African mine workers. On the other hand the Social Welfare programme for European Mine Workers was heavily subsidized by the Mining Companies. Another interesting point made by Matongo is that the authorities got the notion that beer brewing and sale was profitable from early migrants who brewed their own traditional beer. The

copy of the article  
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1930 Native Beer Ordinance tried to squeeze these traditional beer brewers out of business. Matongo's work is useful in that he ably shows how the mining authorities at Roan and on the copperbelt in general promoted European Social Welfare and neglected that of the African.

The Orde-Browne Report gives us useful information on the buying and selling of African beer in the Beer-Halls.<sup>19</sup> The report not only tabulates the criticisms levelled against the Beer-Hall system but also says that Beer-Halls made appreciable profits which were allocated to the promotion of amenities. However, the Orde-Browne Report seems to contradict itself by stating that the Beer-Halls were highly popular among Africans and that they seemed to supply African requirements very satisfactorily.

The Forster Report of 1940 gives us information that in 1940 there were Beer-Halls at Roan, Nkana and Mufulira but not at Chingola. This report strongly disagreed with the practice of using Beer-Hall profits on the promotion of social welfare. The Report stated:

We cannot agree that these beer-hall profits should be the sole source of Welfare expenditure for this involves either the encouragement of beer-hall sales or a decreased Welfare expenditure ... the provision of proper recreational facilities should lie with the mine managements quite regardless of any profits from beer-halls and more particularly so in view of the prosperous condition of the copper industry".<sup>20</sup>

The Chicken Report of 1948 is also useful to our study as it gives a description of a Beer-Hall plus the reasons why many Africans were against the Beer-Hall system. The report also points out that even some Europeans were against the Beer-Halls.<sup>21</sup> The Chicken Report noted that the mushrooming of illicit beer brewing was attributable to fewer legal drinking places for Africans. The report also recommended for the gradual abolition of Beer-Halls and replacing them with small canteens. This was a very important point which the report suggested as after independence the Beer-Halls were gradually phased out and were replaced by taverns which were smaller compared to Beer-Halls. The report also called for the delinking of Beer-Hall profits and African social welfare provision.

The Report of the Committee Appointed to consider the provisions of the Liquor Licensing Ordinance has also some useful bearing on our study. The report points out that Africans were officially allowed to drink bottled beer and wines in November, 1946. The report also recommended that Africans be allowed to own liquor licences and the installation of a brewery for African beer at Kitwe which was going to supply the whole of the Copperbelt.<sup>22</sup>

There are also some useful points contained in the report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Financing of Services and Amenities provided for Africans in Urban Areas.<sup>23</sup> Among these points are

that the total sales of beer were in the range of 13 million gallons and that African drinking was encouraged for financial reasons. The report also suggested that there should be a provision in future of a sufficient number of smaller drinking establishments as opposed to few large Beer-Halls.

After going through the literature concerning beer and selling, it is evident that most people were against linking Beer-Hall profits with the promotion of African social welfare. In the eyes of many people, it was morally wrong to use Beer-Hall profits for the promotion of African social welfare. In retrospect also they considered the Beer-Hall as a symbol of racial segregation and economic exploitation.

#### Data Collection and Analysis

This study was conducted in three phases. Phase one was undertaken in the University of Zambia Library and, the National Archives of Zambia. In the University of Zambia Library Secondary Sources such as books, Journals, articles, dissertations, thesis, staff off-prints, seminar papers and student research project reports were consulted. Colonial reports, departmental annual reports of the concerned ministry of mines and newspapers were also consulted in the UNZA Library. In the National Archives of Zambia British South Africa Company and Mining Companies Reports,

Secretariat files and Commission of Inquiries Reports were scrutinised.

The second phase of the research involved consulting mining records in Ndola. There is a library belonging to the mines in this town. Oral interviews were also conducted with some retired miners in Luanshya and Kitwe.

The last stage of our research was the interpretation of data and the writing of the dissertation.

## ENDNOTES

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3. Charles M. Dollar (ed.), American: Changing Times, 2nd Edition, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979) pp.760-763.
4. The Orde-Browne Report, p.23.
5. Report of the Financial Relationship Committee, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949), p.28.
6. The Orde-Browne Report, 1938, p.73.
7. The Orde-Browne Report, 1938, p.74.
8. Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Financing of Services and Amenities provided for Africans in Urban Areas, 1961, p.21.
9. Report on An Inquiry into the Prevalence of Illegal Brewing and its Causes and Effects Near the Railway Line in Northern Rhodesia - The Chicken Report, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948=, p.6.
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19. The Orde-Browne Report, 1938, p.74.
20. The Forster Report, 1940, p.35.
21. The Chicken Report, 1948; Report of the Financial Relationship Committee (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949), pp. 6-16.
22. Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Provisions of the Liquor Licensing Ordinance and its Subsidiary Legislation in their Application to Coloured Persons and Africans, 1956, 1959, p.4.
23. Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Financing of Services and Amenities Provided for Africans in Urban Areas, 1961, p.12.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ORIGINS OF BEER-HALLS ON THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN COPPERBELT 1925-1940

#### Historical Background to the Establishment of the Copperbelt

The term Copperbelt was coined in 1905<sup>1</sup> to refer to a strip of sulphide copper bearing rock stretching from Chililabombwe to Bwana Mkubwa. This strip is about 60 kilometres wide and 200 meters long. In 1923 the British South African Company (B.S.A.C.) was granted exclusive prospecting rights over large areas of Northern Rhodesia. In 1925 sulphide ores were found at a depth of 100ft. It should be noted that sulphide ores have a low content of copper than oxidised ores. However, with the advancement of technology in the late 1920s it became possible to profitably mine sulphide ores. As a result mines were sunk at Luanshya, Nkana, Mufulira and Chambishi.<sup>2</sup>

Initially, Nkana Mine had an acreage of 2,500 and Roan Antelope Mine had 7,840.<sup>3</sup> By 1957 Nkana Mine Township which had an acreage of 3,860 was established on 1st January, 1930. Roan Antelope established a year earlier on 1st January, 1929 had an acreage of 8,480.<sup>4</sup> In 1931 Nkana Mine Township had an African population of 7,889 while that of the combined Luanshya Township, Roan Envelope Mine Township and Roan Antelope North was 7,796.<sup>5</sup> Throughout most of the colonial period, Roan Antelope and Nkana were the two most important mines on the Copperbelt.

Construction work at Roan ended in May 1931 while at Nkana it ended in December 1931. Copper was first produced at Roan in October 1931, at Nkana in March 1929, at Mufulira in October 1933, at Nchanga in August 1939 and Bancroft in January 1957. Because of the 1929-1932 Depression almost all the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia closed down except for Nkana and Roan. As the economic situation of the world improved, some of the mines which had been closed were reopened. Mufulira Mine was reopened in 1933.

The companies behind all the copperbelt mines were Anglo-American Corporation and the Rhodesian Selection Trust. Roan Antelope and Mufulira Mines belonged to the Rhodesian Selection Trust Limited while Nkana, Nchanga and Bancroft were properties of Anglo-American Corporation. Rhodesian Selection Limited was established by Alfred Chester Beatty in 1913 in London. Beatty was an American magnate and consequently Roan and Mufulira mines management style was based on the American mode of management. On the other hand, Anglo-American Corporation was a South-African Company but largely financed by capital from the United States, Britain and Continental Europe.<sup>6</sup> Anglo-American Corporation was established by Ernest Oppenheimer in 1928. It is not surprising, therefore, that Anglo-American Corporation management style was mostly adopted from South Africa.

-1917

## The Rise of the Compound System on the Copperbelt

In 1929, the Northern Rhodesian Government passed the Employment of Natives Ordinance which stipulated that all employers of 300 employees and over had an obligation to establish compounds for their employees.<sup>7</sup> In the light of this, mining companies started establishing compounds. With the passing of the Mine Township Ordinance in 1932 Mining Companies started establishing Townships or compounds. In 1933, Mindolo Mine Compound was established. Nkana Mine Township was established in 1935 while Wusakile Compound was begun in 1940.<sup>8</sup> Roan Antelope Mine Township was already in existence in 1935. Compounds were designed for strict social control and were designed on military lines. It should be noted that the compound system originated from South Africa.<sup>9</sup> According to Parpart, the entire compound structure was designed to control the daily lives of African miners and their dependants. A high fence surrounded each compound and carefully guarded gates monitored the flow of persons in and out of the facility.<sup>10</sup> These compounds were closed self-sufficient communities of African workers. At the head of a mine compound was a white compound manager. Most of the compound managers had a military background. They had a working knowledge of the African language predominant in the area the compound was located and usually spoke Kitchen Kaffir or Chikabanga.

Chikabanga was a mixture of Zulu (70%) English (24%) and Afrikaans (6%).<sup>11</sup> The compound manager was assisted by compound policemen. The most significant physical feature was a large Beer-Hall which was either situated in or on the edge of the compound. The Beer-Hall was part of the Labour Stabilisation policy which the Mining Companies started implementing from the late 1930s to 1964.

Beer-Halls were previously owned by private enterprise on the Copperbelt. However in the late 1920s and early 1930s the Government bought these Beer-Halls from private enterprise. The Government did not actually operate these Beer-Halls but leased them to individuals. These individuals were usually the previous owners of the Beer-Halls. At Roan, for example, the Government bought the Beer-Hall from Mr. F.W. Sauerman at a cost of £2,539.2.11. When the Government gave the Beer-Hall to the Luanshya Management Board, Mr. Sauerman was appointed Manager.<sup>12</sup>

### The 1930 Native Beer Ordinance

The law controlling the brewing and sale of native beer was introduced in Northern Rhodesia in 1914 with a provision that an African could possess or brew beer for his own consumption or that of his friends. In other words, under Proclamation 22 of 1914 it was no offence to brew beer or to supply beer to any person except by way of sale or barter.<sup>13</sup> Even

after the passing of the 1914 Proclamation a number of people were issued with permits to brew and sale beer. Mining companies initially issued opaque beer as part of rations.

Right from the start, Africans were not allowed to drink bottled beer, wines and spirits. The control of the sale of other intoxicating liquors, that is bottled beer and wines, was brought into force in 1916. Another law, against the distillation and sale of spirits to Africans, was brought into force in 1919.<sup>14</sup> It was argued that the introduction of hard liquor would make the African unruly and difficult to govern and in the process would inevitably lead to the demoralisation and impoverishment of African Societies. However, the main idea behind these laws was to reduce competition between beer and manufactured articles, especially those made out of cotton.<sup>15</sup>

In 1930 the Northern Rhodesian Government in collaboration with the mining companies passed the Native Beer Ordinance. This law was specifically enacted to limit the competition between African brewers and Management Boards. Even after the passing of this discriminatory legislation permits were issued to a few Africans to brew and sale opaque beer. Further legislation in the 1930s outlawed the sale and brewing of opaque beer except by local authorities.<sup>16</sup> The various Ordinances had the object not only of

destroying African opaque beer sales but had also the purpose of channelling the production of beer into compounds where it could best be controlled.

### The Establishment of Beer Areas in Northern Rhodesia -

1934

A Beer Area was an area in which beer was not manufactured or possessed without a permit. Beer Areas covered a radius of about 6 kilometres to 16 kilometres.<sup>17</sup> Beer Areas were established in 1934 when the Native Beer Regulation was formulated. These Beer Areas were established in Urban areas. In these Beer Areas only Local Authorities were permitted to make, possess and sell beer. There were four types of Beer Areas.<sup>18</sup> These were: Areas where a Local Authority was authorised to make and sell beer under regulations 2,3(1) and 6 of the Native Beer Regulations; Areas where a Management Board was appointed and authorised to make and sell beer under regulations 2,3(2) and 6 of the Native Regulations of 1934; Areas where a Management Board was appointed and authorised to issue permits to make or possess (but not to sell beer) under Regulations 2,3(3) and 10; and Areas where no beer could be made or possessed under the Regulations.

As already pointed out, the main aim of the 1934 Native Beer Regulation was to stop the brewing of beer by Africans. The monopoly of manufacturing and selling of opaque beer was firmly placed in the hands

of Local Authorities. It should be remembered also that prior to this date it was the Northern Rhodesian Government which ran the newly established Beer-Halls. The Government continued constructing Beer-Halls near mine compounds and Local Authorities provided management.<sup>19</sup> Each compound had a Beer-Hall in or at its edge.

According to Cartmel-Robinson, Mining Companies were not allowed to establish commercial enterprises within mine townships. This was stated in the following terms:

The feature of Mine townships from their inception is that, generally speaking, no trade or business outside of mining undertaking may be carried on within a Mine township without consent of the Governor. The underlying object is that a mining company is itself prohibited and all other persons are prohibited from competing in Mine townships with trades and business established in neighbouring public townships.<sup>20</sup>

The above laws initially prohibited Mining Companies from involving themselves in the management of Beer-Halls before 1953. However, profits gained from Beer-Halls were used on the sponsoring of African Welfare programmes in mining compounds. In fact, most of the Beer-Hall patrons in the early development of the Beer-Hall system were African miners.<sup>21</sup> The nature of the job of miners led to heavy drinking. In most cases African miners were coerced into beer drinking by the mine managements.

### Guard Areas

The enactment of the Native Beer (Amendment) Ordinance of 1941 led to the establishment of Guard Areas. The Guard Areas were established on the fringes of Beer Areas. The objective behind their establishment was to further stamp out illicit beer brewing in urban and peri-urban areas. In Guard Areas Africans were allowed to manufacture opaque beer for home consumption. However, one had to get a permit from the District Commissioner in order for one to sell beer.<sup>22</sup> No permits were required in Guard Areas to make or possess opaque beer. Guard Areas usually covered a 50 kilometre radius outside Beer Areas. These Guard Areas were mainly found in rural areas and along high ways. In addition the sale of opaque beer outside the Beer Areas was controlled by Native Authorities under the Native Authority Ordinance No.7 of 1936.<sup>23</sup>

### The Government and Mining Companies Policies

The policy of Britain towards her colonies during the pre-war years was to see that the colonies were self-sufficient. Britain wanted all her colonies to be financially self-supporting.<sup>24</sup> In this regard, therefore, Britain expected all her colonies in general, and Northern Rhodesia in particular, to sponsor the welfare programmes for its African populace. Consequently, Britain gave minimal financial assistance to her colonies for the promotion

of the social welfare programme. In the light of this, the Northern Rhodesia Government used both direct and indirect taxation. The sale of beer was meant to promote the social welfare programme for Africans. Since direct taxation was unpopular among Africans, the Northern Rhodesian Government usually employed indirect taxation to sponsor the African Social Welfare programme. Unfortunately, most of the profits made out of beer sales were repatriated to Britain. As much as forty-five percent to seventy-five percent of revenue made out of liquor sales was repatriated to Britain.<sup>25</sup>

The metropolitan policy of economic self-sufficiency permeated to the satellites. Consequently, the Northern Rhodesian Government formulated the following guideline:

... general policy... [which was] to preserve as far as possible the connection of labourers with their homes (villages), to arrange for them to return periodically for a considerable time after a service of 18 months or two years and to send their children to villages when they reach(ed) the age of ten.<sup>26</sup>

This was a deliberate escapist policy designed to avoid providing basic needs and amenities to Africans. This also fitted in very well with the British policy of Indirect Rule as formulated by Lord Lugard. This policy also became popularised by the slogan 'Urbanisation without Detribalisation'.<sup>27</sup>

In the late 1920s, and early 1930s, Mining Companies followed the policy of migrant labour. The migrant Labour System was in the early years of the Copperbelt thought to be cost effective.<sup>28</sup> However, from the mid-1930s onwards, Mining Companies abandoned the migrant labour system in favour of the stabilisation of labour.<sup>29</sup> The stabilisation of labour meant reducing the labour turn-over and encouraging long-service, while at the same time avoiding detribalisation and urbanisation. Stabilisation was soon noticeable at Roan where by the late 1930s, the turnover rate was reduced to three percent while at Nkana it was ten percent.<sup>30</sup> However, stabilisation of labour did not mean that the mining companies were prepared to spend more on their employees. Mining companies still worked on the British principle that the African mine worker should be self-supporting. The mines were going to use profits made out of Beer-Hall profits to promote African Social welfare. Ferguson noted that:

The Mining Companies... favoured through out 1935-1945 a long term and at least partially stabilised work force made up of men who would stay in town, ... and work for long periods of time, though without costs and the danger of permanent urban settlement.<sup>31</sup>

The principle of cost minimisation could be clearly seen in the way houses for African miners were built. Before 1940 mine compounds were considered to be labour camps. Even the houses which were built after

1940 to the mid-1950 were sub-standard. For example, houses which were built at Wusakili had no windows and were tin roofed.

Worse still, African mine compounds like Wusakili, were located in a windward direction close to sources of smoke and gas emanating from mining operations. Under the Action for Smoke Damage (Prohibition) Act mining companies were indemnified, as they still are, against any legal action brought against them for polluting land and the atmosphere in smoke areas.<sup>32</sup> Harries-Jones observed that:

Nowhere in [N.Rhodesia]... was evidence of white dominance so visible as in the physical layout and administration of the country's urban townships... styles of housing, the provision of amenities and educational facilities were separated.<sup>33</sup>

#### The Disbursement of Profits Made Out Of Copper 1930-1940

In 1937, Northern Rhodesia was the fourth largest world's copper producer producing 210,000 tons out of the world production of 2,240,000.<sup>34</sup> In 1937 the mines made the highest profit since the 1928-1932 world depression. However, about sixty per cent of the profits from the copper industry went into the coffers of the British Government and the British South African Company. Between 1930 and 1939 the Northern Rhodesia Government got no more than £136,000 from the Colonial Development Fund. On the other hand, the B.S.A.C. got £3 million in royalties during

the same period.<sup>35</sup> Some of these proceeds could have been diverted to the improvement of the African Welfare Programme.

From the early days of the copper industry in Northern Rhodesia African mine workers were the lowest paid workers.<sup>36</sup> As can be noted the African Welfare Programme in Northern Rhodesia was based on racial segregation. Africans and whites had separate social welfare programmes. These meagre wages remained constant until 1940.<sup>37</sup> The African mine workers were expected to buy supplementary food and to pay direct and indirect taxes out of their low wages. African labourers' food rations were not only inferior but inadequate.

... much of the food provided as mine rations was inferior ... [compound] managers often acquired mealie meal containing a high percentage of husks of [mealie meal] that was inadequately ground.<sup>38</sup>

African mine labourers were heavy drinkers. Consequently their meagre salaries were greatly affected as they spent most of their money on buying beer. It has been noted by most sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists that most of the lowly paid workers drink more beer than those who belong to the high income groups. Most of the African miners in Northern Rhodesia drunk heavily because they led a fragmented existence. Their children and wives were left in the villages and they were encouraged to drink by the mining managements. Some drunk out of

frustration. The end result was that most of the African mine labourers were constantly broke. Doyal has noted that:

The misery of material, social and environmental deprivation caused by the fragmented existence (e.g. wife and children in villages) took various forms e.g. a high incidence of alcoholism and mental disorders.<sup>99</sup>

From the foregoing it is clear that African mine labourers drifted into drinking because of the many problems associated with mine work and the general urban environment.

The Government, in collaboration with the Mining Conglomerates, put in place policies and enacted laws which were designed to eliminate the peasant African beer brewer. The policies and laws so designed were intended to generate funds for the promotion of the African Welfare Programme. In essence, therefore, the Beer-Hall was intended to be the main generator of funds for the African Welfare Programme.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### THE BEER-HALL - A TOOL OF EXPLOITATION AND SEGREGATION 1940-1964

As earlier mentioned in the previous chapter Beer-Halls were the nerve centres of any mining compound. A Beer-Hall acted as a form of social control over the African mine workers. It was at Beer-Halls that the behaviour of the African workers was monitored during their off-work hours. In a nutshell the African mine workers in particular, and all African workers in general, were monitored both at work and off-work.

The Beer-Hall was also part of the process of stabilisation. The African mine worker was expected to spend almost all his earnings on opaque beer and later on bottled beer and wines. This was in spite of the fact that most African mine workers were lowly paid. The Mine Managements did not like, and resented a labourer who did not drink opaque beer, in particular, and beer in general. The belief was that a labourer who did not drink beer was going to save his earnings and consequently be able, in a short time to flee from employment and back to his home village. Charles Van Onselen clearly elucidates this point when he says:

The brewing of beer within the [mine compound] had been encouraged in the first place not only because it cut out the peasant producer [of beer] but because it helped to stabilize the labour force, the encouragement of beer brewing was to make the mine popular and induce boys [that is, Africans] to remain ... the mine owners encouraged beer brewing because if

a labourer can find the means of spending his money he is likely to remain for a longer period.

At one level then, beer was simply one further way of reducing the labour turn over and also assisting the process of proletarianisation. Stabilization of labour led, inevitably to the increase in the productivity of a certain mine.

Since the food rations the African labourers received from the Mine Managements were not sufficient to sustain their lives, the mining authorities found it expedient to encourage their African workers to drink opaque beer. It must be noted from the outset that the mining authorities did not want their African labourers to drink bottled beer and wine due to the scientific proof that bottled beer and wines contained less food value than opaque beer. Even if opaque beer did not contain enough food value, as it did in many cases the husks contained in the beer were going to fill up the stomach of the labouring masses. In any case, the most touted virtue of opaque beer was its food value. Colonial officials, mining authorities and doctors were all agreed that opaque beer or African traditional beer contained some nourishing food elements. Wolcott observed that:

One gallon of good African beer contains approximately 2,800 calories and about 26.6 grams of proteins, as well as having a high vitamin content.<sup>2</sup>

It is in this context that when medical examinations were held each month the African labourer was found to

have gained in weight. This was despite the fact that the food rations provided were not enough and lacked certain essential nutrients which mine work demanded. It was in this respect that even though the Rhokana Diet Experiment<sup>3</sup> was not all that superior from the Government Food Scale, the mine workers at Rhokana, gained in weight after their stint at the mine. One mining document observed that:

Test figures have been taken out for the Balovale District which give a good indication of the comparative value of the Rhokana No. 1 and Rhokana 2 rations - the average loss of 1.92 lbs between engagement and completion of the first ticket experienced with Rhokana No.1, has been reduced to a loss of 0.42 lb. Similarly between engagement and the third ticket a loss of 0.86 lb has been converted to a gain of 0.32 lb and between engagement and the sixth ticket a loss of 0.50 lb has been converted to a gain of 1.40 lb.

The Government Scale for Rations in 1940 was that a labourer was to be given 1½lb mealie meal per day; meat was to be not more than 25% bone. Fish was to be 2lb per week as an alternative to meat. Vegetable protein - Beans 4oz per day or shelled grounds, peas 4oz per day. Animal fat, 4oz a day and vegetables 2lb per week; salt 3½ per week.<sup>5</sup> Clearly, this amount was not enough and consequently the African mine labourers had to supplement it by engaging themselves in heavy drinking of opaque beer or growing their own food. At Roan Antelope Mine the wives of miners grew vegetables on the plots allocated to them. They sold these vegetables to the Mining Company and in this way

supplemented the meagre earnings of their husbands. The extra income so gained was used to buy more food for the family. The single men at Roan, were often sick and were usually admitted to hospital because of lack of nutritious food. Chauncey observed that:

Women kept their husbands healthier than single men, twice as many single men were in hospital as married men.

In connection with the above argument is the fact that in the 1940s many children suffered and died from malnutrition. If the children had also engaged themselves in beer drinking, to supplement their food, they would have probably not suffered from malnutrition. One official noted that:

It was alleged that a married man had to spend from 5/ to 15/ a month out of his pocket to get sufficient food for his wife and children ... this pressed specially hard on those natives who only drew a minimum wage of 12/6 (15/- with war bonus) for surface workers.

Yet another official report noted that:

In the 1940s it can be recognised that large numbers of African children in the 9 months to 2 year age bracket suffered from a condition which was known as kwashiorkor. This was a protein deficiency [disease] resulting from a failure to assimilate sufficient protein from more or less a pure maize diet which was forced on the child when the original milk supply dried up.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mine Officials encouraged their African labourers to drink as much opaque beer as they could in order to assimilate the much needed nutrients like proteins,

vitamins and sugar. The vitamin content of opaque or African beer was important in reducing the incidence of scurvy.

Consequently, the African mine workers were encouraged to meet costs of improving their health through buying beer. This absolved the Mine Managements from the need to provide fresh vegetables while at the same time re-enforcing the other advantages of the plentiful beer supply which were related mainly to questions of social control.<sup>9</sup> In addition the availability of alcohol provided an outlet for boredom and frustration which might otherwise have exploded in more defined forms. Frustrations emanated from the fact that in the earlier days, African miners led a fragmented life in that they were separated from their families. Hence they frequented the Beer-Halls in order to get companionship. Worse still, the lowly paid African mine workers spent most, if not all, their meagre earnings on beer. By 1953 most of the African labour force in the mines belonged to the lowest categories of workers. As many as 56% of the total African labour force were in Group 1 and 22% were in Groups 2 and 3. Before the Guillebaud Award of 1953 the starting rate for Group 1 (surface workers) was 45/- per ticket and the maximum rate in the Group was 67/6 after just over five years of continuous service. The corresponding figures for Group 2 (surface) was 52/6

minimum and 70/- maximum after four years service. The minimum starting rate for Group 3 was 62/6 and the maximum was 77/6. In 1953 Group 1 surface workers were awarded 80/- minimum and 102/6 maximum while underground workers in the same category were awarded a minimum of 90/- and a maximum of 112/6 maximum. Group 2 surface workers were awarded 87/6 minimum and the maximum was 105/- while underground workers were awarded a minimum of 100/- and a maximum of 117/6. Group 3 surface workers were awarded a minimum of 97/6 and a maximum of 112/6 while underground workers were awarded a minimum of 112/6 and a maximum of 127/6.<sup>10</sup> Meagre as their salaries were, these were the people who were forced to buy beer in order to get profits for the promotion of the African Welfare programme.

Another reason for encouraging beer drinking, which was not only particular to mining, was that the encouragement of beer drinking was part of the colonisation process of Africa in general and Northern Rhodesia in particular. Beer like religion acted as a pacifier of the African people. The more one drunk the more one stopped thinking about his emancipation. Politically, economically, socially, psychologically or otherwise a person's brain retreated from the obvious because of too much drink.<sup>11</sup> In order to achieve complete pacification of workers some mining companies went to the extent of encouraging the taking of mild drugs like dagga. This was more pronounced in

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Southern Rhodesia than in Northern Rhodesia were mild drugs were given a blind eye. Charles Van Onselen shades more light on this:

...milder forms of drugs were not only tolerated but encouraged, since the consumption had the effect of increasing the process of proletarianisation.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of encouraging heavy beer drinking by Mining Conglomerates contradicted the conglomerates objective of maximum efficiency of its workforce. In some cases, however, the efficiency of workers was affected because of heavy drinking although opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls was of low alcoholic content. This was manifested in the fact that opaque beer which was consumed in vast quantities, especially over the weekends and holidays, made its contribution to reduced turn outs on Monday mornings. Lynn Pan has shade more light on this by saying that:-

In Zambia it has been reported that 30 per 1,000 workers in large mines were classified as problem drinkers in 1962. Another report says that 16% of consumers food budget goes on fermented beverages.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the problem of drunkenness, violence was the order of the day in Beer-Halls. In fact, violence became the accepted norm of Beer-Hall life. In 1960 a Government Report observed that:

Next in importance to unauthorised residence is the offence of disorderly behaviour ... there were 486 of these offences plus 52 cases of drunk and disorderly. A great many of these charges arise out of brawls and quarrels in and around Beer-Halls ... it is the crowded Beer-Halls and squabbles and fights which follow that provide the

Urban Native Courts with a considerable proportion of their cases.<sup>14</sup>

The same Report notes that there were 379 convictions related to disorderly behaviour in 1960.<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Patrick Kashinka of Kawama Compound in Luanshya pointed out that it was the regular fights in the Beer-Halls that discouraged him from frequenting the Beer-Hall at Luanshya. However, Mr. Kashinka sometimes went to the main Beer-Hall at Luanshya because it was the only place of social activity offered to the Africans then.<sup>16</sup> The Mine Managements, however, paid a blind eye to the violence emanating from Beer-Halls because Beer-Halls generated a lot of profit which went into the promotion of the African welfare programme. In the same way, the health of African labourers was sacrificed because of the profit motive. Doyal observed that:

...the advantages gained from industrial production must always involve to a greater or lesser extent, the destruction of human and physical resources .. and the extent of that destruction will reflect the priorities of society in which production takes place ... if ... it is ultimately profit rather than the concern to improve the overall living standards ... this will be reflected in various ways in the patterns of health and illness.<sup>17</sup>

It has already been pointed out that single men were frequently admitted to hospital because of some deficient in their food intake. It is better to prevent malnutrition than curing it. Pellagra, a disease attributable to heavy drinking could also have

been avoided if the companies had provided more nutrients than encouraging beer drinking.

### The Beer-Hall - The Centre of Social Control

The first Beer-Hall at Luanshya was built in 1929 and was run by private enterprise but followed defined Government Regulations. In 1931 it was taken over by Government which later handed it over to the Luanshya Management Board.<sup>18</sup> At Nkana the first Beer-Hall was built in 1934.<sup>19</sup> In the earlier days the Beer-Hall was the only place where an African could legally obtain beer. This became more pronounced after the passing of the Native Beer Ordinance in 1930. It would not be exaggerating to say that within a radius of 16 kilometres one would find only one Beer-Hall, especially before 1944. Some African mine workers had to walk a distance of 8 kilometres in order to reach the Central or Main Beer-Hall. In the earlier days no-off sales were allowed. Beer had to be drunk on the Beer-Hall premises. Consequently immense crowds congregated at these Beer-Halls. In the late 1920s one would find about 3,000 people at a particular Beer-Hall but by 1960 the same Beer-Hall entertained about 70,000 people.<sup>20</sup> As a result the Beer-Hall was a noisy, crowded and an unpleasant place. The Beer-Hall has been described in very unpleasant terms by both government officials and non-government officials. All of them were agreed that Beer-Halls were sordid and squalid. They were also agreed that

physically, a Beer-Hall, was the most imposing feature in any compound. The Orde-Browne Report says that:

A suitable enclosure close to a native quarter is set aside for brewing and sale of the native beverage under the supervision of a European. The Canteen provides seating accommodation around a bar where beer is sold. Behind these building are premises for the manufacture of beer... Outside [the Beer-Hall] are several small round shelters of summer house or kiosk type where parties of friends can secure a measure of privacy. Washing and sanitary accommodation is provided nearby; one or two police suffice to maintain order.<sup>21</sup>

The buying of opaque beer also did not follow the norms of civilized society. The customer obtained his beer by going first to a place similar to a railway station ticket office, which was generally fitted with grille barriers where he paid his money and in turn received a ticket. He took this ticket to another hole in another wall and exchanged it for a tin mug of beer which he then drunk.

The sanitary and washing facilities were neither sufficient nor satisfactory. For example, in 1951 Tribal Elders at Nkana complained that no suitable facilities for washing beer mugs existed at the Mindolo Canteen. They asked for a concrete slab to be provided at a stand pipe so as to have mugs properly washed and dried.<sup>22</sup> Not only were the sanitary and washing facilities unsatisfactory and inadequate, but the breweries where opaque beer was brewed were unhygienic. For example, the brewery for the Kitwe City Council was constantly condemned and was finally

closed down on 31st December, 1954.<sup>23</sup> This was the brewery which had been supplying opaque beer to all Beer-Halls in Kitwe. Beer-Halls in Mindolo and Wusakili and later Chamboli Mine Compounds were owned by Kitwe Municipal Council prior to 1955. At Roan the Beer-Halls were owned by the Luanshya Management Board up to as late as 1963.

It must be pointed out that throughout much of the colonial period the legal maximum alcohol content of opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls was low. The Mining Companies preferred a low alcoholic content of opaque beer on the following grounds: (i) to prevent drunkenness and (ii) to make profit through people buying more in order to become intoxicated.<sup>24</sup> As already noticed this was a deliberate ploy to recoup the wages given to the African labourers to make them stay at work for long periods of time. It was also a way of cost minimisation by making Africans pay for their welfare programmes. Profits made out of beer sales went to support the African welfare programmes in the mine compounds and local Councils' locations.

Another important fact which must be pointed out is that Beer-Halls operated during day time and no beer was sold at Beer-Halls during the night. One official document said that:

No sale of intoxicating drink shall be allowed between the hours of Noon to 3 P.M. and 6 P.M. to 5 A.M. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Friday of any week and between the hours of 12 noon to 3 P.M., 5 P.M. to 5 A.M. on

Saturdays and Sundays of any week.<sup>25</sup>

The above law was one way of monitoring the movements of Africans. Africans were supposed to be confined to their houses during the night so that there would be no way for them to go and harass the Europeans who lived in comfortable surroundings on the other side of the road. To make matters worse, for those African mine workers who were in night shifts, no off-sales were allowed. Beer had to be consumed on the Beer-Hall premises. Opaque beer could only be removed from a Beer-Hall when a special permit was granted by an administrator but only very few Africans had access to this privilege.

As already pointed out Beer-Halls, though large, were always crowded especially on pay days, weekends and holidays. This was because, for Africans, all social activities revolved around a Beer-Hall. To reduce overcrowding and some other unhealthy aspects of the Beer-Hall, it was recommended that subsidiary canteens should be established in mine compounds.<sup>26</sup> As a follow up to this, subsidiary Beer-Halls were established at both Nkana in 1944 and Roan in 1946. Agitations for the establishment of more subsidiary Beer-Halls continued but the Mining Conglomerates were totally against the idea of dismantling larger Beer Halls in favour of smaller taverns. They argued that smaller taverns would not only yield smaller profits but also that it would be difficult to control

Africans scattered in smaller establishments. Profit and security motives were the driving force for the preference of larger Beer-Halls by the mining conglomerates. In fact the larger Beer-Hall was only phased out when, in 1964, the newly installed Zambian Government slapped a levy on those still operating larger Beer-Halls. In order to avoid paying this levy the mining conglomerates started replacing the unpopular larger Beer-Halls with smaller establishments.

Prior to 1948 Beer-Halls only sold opaque beer to African mine workers and Africans in general. However, in 1948 the Legislative Council passed the Liquor Licensing (Amendment) Ordinance which permitted Africans to buy non-spirituos liquor on premises specifically licensed for that purpose. Before this, however, some Africans were given permits to buy bottled beer and wines, under the 1941 Amendment.<sup>27</sup> Africans had been denied the privilege of drinking bottled beer and wines because these were considered to be part of the European status symbol. Another reason for denying Africans access to European bottled beer was that bottled beer and wines contained less starches, vitamins B and sugar.<sup>28</sup> With the legalisation of bottled beer and wine what Lord Lugard had earlier predicted and feared came to pass. Lord Lugard had thought it possible that light beer containing not more than 6% alcohol might divert the demand among

Africans away from locally fermented beverages.<sup>29</sup> The legalisation of bottled beer had not only a heavy toll on African wages but also slowed down the consumption of opaque beer. For example in 1947 at Roan, Beer-Hall profits were £1736.8.7 but in 1949 the average monthly profit was £522.3.0.<sup>30</sup> It must be noted, however, that though there was a drop in the consumption of opaque beer the Managements still continued making a profit. At this time the price of a pint of opaque beer was 3d, and a bottle of wine was 5/-. Africans usually pooled resources together to buy a bottle of wine.<sup>31</sup> Most of them preferred to buy tots of wine which were cheaper compared to a bottle of wine. They also usually added wine to opaque beer to make it stronger. So when an African was seen staggering home, it did not necessarily mean that he had got drunk on opaque beer, he could have drunk something else. The aim was to get drunk quickly and in the process spend less money. In the late 1950s it became noticeable that the consumption of opaque beer picked up again. This was because in 1955 an amendment had been made to the Native Beer Ordinance No. 11 of 1930. Ordinance No. 7 of 1955, Section 6 of the Native Beer Ordinance was amended by deleting the words '4 per centum' wherever they appeared and substituted with the words '6 per centum.'<sup>32</sup> With the improvement in the strength and quality of opaque

beer, after 1955, many people reverted to drinking opaque beer in Beer-Halls.

### The Beer-Hall Profits and their Utilization

Government and Mining Officials were agreed that profits made out of the sale of opaque were immense and usually embarrassing to the mining companies.<sup>33</sup> The mining conglomerates got embarrassed because of the manner these profits were made. It was morally wrong to exploit people who were lowly paid in order to promote their (Africans) welfare programmes. The mining conglomerates justified the low wages they paid to their African employees by pointing out that the African workers were given food rations and accommodation. According to the Employment of Natives Ordinance of 1929 the Employer was supposed to provide accommodation for his employees, but the accommodation so provided was inferior or sub-standard. According to Heisler in this lay the origin of towns for Africans which were basically housing units provided for Africans, paid for by employers and closed to the unemployed.<sup>34</sup> The 1929 Ordinance blocked the initiative of Africans in Northern Rhodesia to build their own houses and instead Africans came to rely on their employers to provide them with accommodation.

As already pointed out huge profits were made out of the sale of opaque beer. For example at Luanshya it was stated that for some years up to 1940 "... a substantial surplus had been accumulated, £13,360 of

which had been held in shape of deposits at the Bank."<sup>35</sup> In 1942 Beer-Hall profits at Luanshya were £7,184.19.4, and in 1943 it was £8,053.1.2. In 1944 the profit was £6,742.0.0. The fall in the profit margin in 1944 was attributed to the increase in illicit brewing.<sup>36</sup> The turnover in 1944 was the lowest since February 1939 when the African population was about half of that of 1944. The estimated profit for 1945 was £4,834.<sup>37</sup> This again showed a decrease in the profit margin. However, this was minus the 10% contribution to the Central Canteen Trust Fund. The Beer-Hall profits in 1946 increased to £9,361 but in 1947 the profit was £7,927.4.0. These figures were minus those of the profits made at the sub-canteen. The estimated income from both canteens was £23,568.<sup>38</sup> As at 24th March, 1947 the accumulated Beer-Hall Fund was £27,830, which was made up of £4,640 in building, Free of Interest Loan to the British Government of £15,750 and the remainder was in Capital.<sup>39</sup> On 29th May, 1946 the accumulated Beer-Hall Fund was £24,398.<sup>40</sup> In 1949 the total Beer-Hall sales were £22,036 and in 1950 they were £24,040.0.0.<sup>41</sup> By 1958 there was a great increase in the consumption of opaque beer at Roan. In 1958, a total of 752,730 gallons of opaque beer were consumed at a cost of £75,336. In 1959 there was an increase in opaque beer consumption at Luanshya in that 1,181,860 gallons were consumed at a total cost of £118,186.<sup>42</sup> There was no let up in the consumption

of bottled beer as in 1958 about £43,961 was realised from the sale of bottled beer.<sup>43</sup> In 1955 the consumption of bottled beer at Roan was £22,466 while in 1957 it went up to £27,370. During this period employee strength had dropped from approximately 10,000 to 8,000 which indicates that individuals were spending more money on beer than ever before.<sup>44</sup> In the same period at Roan 36,773 gallons of opaque were consumed in 1955 at a cost of £5,516 while in 1957 the figure went up to 438,768 gallons at a total cost of £43,876. This meant that nearly twelve times more beer was being brewed compared to the 1955 figure.<sup>45</sup> From a modest profit of £6,000 in 1957 out of the sale of opaque beer at Luanshya the profit margin had gone over £70,000 in 1957. It is no wonder, therefore, that outwardly the Mine Management felt ashamed and embarrassed of the huge profit margins made out of the sale of both opaque and bottled beer. It must be noted that even grain husks were sold to surroundings farmers. For example in 1943 at Luanshya a contract was signed between the Luanshya Management Board and a Mr. Kemp in which the Board agreed to supply Mr. Kemp grain husks for a period of three years at 10/- per month. Other farmers were even prepared to pay more for the grain husks. Messrs Spencer and Walton, for example, had offered to pay £15 for a year or £1.5.0. per month for the supply of grain husks from the Beer-Hall.<sup>46</sup>

Ironically the profits made out of the sale of opaque beer were not immediately spent on the promotion of African welfare but were instead put in a Bank Account. As early as 1933 it was noted that only £189.15.7 was spent on African Welfare from January to June of that year. The Report said:

Beer Hall Funds have been accumulating. The total in hand (as on 18th August 1933) was £941.10.7 ... up to June 30th a total of £189.15.7 was spent. [Consequently] £941.10.7 was clear balance.<sup>47</sup>

The hoarding of funds prompted another committee at Luanshya in 1937 to recommend that:

The Committee recommends unanimously that Welfare Funds should be spent and not hoarded and views with concern the fact that there has been expenditure of only £55 in the past year out of revenue of £3,200.<sup>48</sup>

These pleas however fell on deaf ears as the Management Board still continued to spend negligible amounts on African Welfare despite making huge and embarrassing amounts out of the sale of opaque beer. By the end of July 1947, for example, Native Welfare at Luanshya was allocated a sum of £360 out of the total expenditure of £3,395.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes the accumulated funds were converted into Government loans<sup>50</sup> instead of directly being used on African Welfare.

The Beer-Hall profits were spent on a wide range of recurrent and capital projects. In the early days it was not strange for an official to deep his hand in

the Beer-Hall coffers to buy trophies, medals and for the transportation of football teams or otherwise from one camp to another.<sup>51</sup> Medicine or drugs for the clinics and hospitals were also financed by Beer-Hall funds.<sup>52</sup> Not only were Welfare Sisters paid out of Beer-Hall profits but also the European Beer-Hall Manager and his assistants were paid out of the same coffers. In 1937 at Luanshya, for example, the Assistant Beer-Hall Manager was paid £35 per month with a rent-free house. The Assistant Beer Hall Manager's salary was later increased to £420 per annum rising by £25 per annum to £570 per annum.<sup>53</sup> In 1937 at both Nkana and Roan the Welfare Sisters were paid £250 per annum out of canteen funds.<sup>54</sup>

Beer-Hall profits were also spent on the construction of Welfare Centres and swimming baths, libraries, Stadia and children play grounds. By 1954, at Nkana, there were in existence well established African Welfare Centres in and adjacent to the two main African Townships of Wusakili and Mindolo. These centres were established primarily to supply welfare needs to African mine employees and their families. The buildings and equipment were owned by the Kitwe Management Board and all welfare in the district was run by them.<sup>55</sup> The construction of these buildings and the buying of equipment were financed by Beer-Hall funds. A similar situation pertained at Luanshya. The Luanshya Management Board gave grants to provide

amenities for Roan Mine Township. The estimated operating costs of running the three Welfare centres in the Nkana/Kitwe Area in 1951 was £9,900 per annum. To operate Wusakili and Mindolo the Kitwe Management Board spent £6,600 per annum. As already pointed out the above amount was far below the profits made out of the sale of opaque beer and bottled beer. The first swimming bath for Africans at Roan was constructed in 1939 at a total cost of £4,000. Part of the money for the construction of this bath came out of Canteen funds.<sup>56</sup> In fact, as late as 1960, it was stated that:

Social Welfare is financed from beer profits which in terms of the Native Beer Act of 1953 ... can be devoted only to social and other specified services. [Social] service includes the provision of entertainment for Africans,, including the purchase, construction and maintenance of sports grounds, play grounds, swimming baths and recreation halls and of their furniture and equipment. Baby food, subsidized milk, soup and other food and drinks are supplied. [Social] service also includes the erection and maintenance of beer-halls, beer gardens and breweries; the provision of medical services for Africans including equipment, medicines, etc. and making of loans or grants for<sup>57</sup> the betterment of African conditions.

It must be pointed out that the food given to children was not enough in the sense that even in the 1950s at Nkana for example, children were still showing signs of under-nourishment and malnutrition. The following memorandum clearly exemplifies this:

Soup and issues of fortified milk [are] at present being given to children showing signs of under-nourishment and malnutrition...<sup>58</sup>

One form of entertainment to which mining companies attached great importance was the Cinema. Films were a form of cheap propaganda and reduced tensions among African workers which could otherwise have been manifested in violent ways. According to Merle Davis the cinema was used in the teaching of every variety of subject such as, hygiene, sanitation, Government administration, religious and moral instruction, economics, agriculture, child nurture and utilisation, trade and commerce, Geography, travel, Natural Science, Physics, Biology and Physiology.<sup>59</sup> Charles Van Onselen points out that films, as a form of cheap mass entertainment, readily suggested themselves to mine managers. Not only was the cost moderate but if screened at peak drinking hours on a weekend evening, for example, they also had the beneficial effect of making in roads into total cases of early Monday morning blues. In addition films never usually led to direct violence.<sup>60</sup> In actual fact films shown to Africans were heavily censored. In this regard scenes of sex, violence, white women and men kissing and scenes representing antagonistic relations of capital and labour were erased from the films. In Northern Rhodesia, under the Theatres and Cinematograph Exhibition Ordinance, chapter 195, there were regulations establishing two separate Film Censorship Boards, that is, one for films to be shown to African audiences and the other for films for other races.

Since films on the European type circuits did not get censored by the Native Censorship Board, Africans could not see them and were not, therefore, admitted to the European type cinema.<sup>61</sup> Cinema shows, just like tea rooms, dry canteens and Beer-Halls were not a liability to the mine managements. For example, at Luanshya in 1946 admissions to cinema shows yielded £700 while sales from the Tea Room yielded £600.

It has also been shown that most Africans participated in traditional dancing rather than modern dances because of economic considerations. It was expensive to join modern social clubs.<sup>62</sup> The free entertainment provided by compound dancers like Mbeni, Nyau, Makishi, Kalela and Ndendeule became something of an occasion. In fact compound dancing came to form a part of early public relations programme for companies. Tribal dancing and sports, had the effect of diverting the minds of workers from the more serious issues of exploitation. Since dancing was largely ethnically based, it also had the effect of re-inforcing division amongst African mine workers along tribal lines instead of class conscious. The Mbeni societies with their emphasis on hierarchy, uniforms and drilling heavily influenced by military practices, were in line with compound life which also stressed discipline based on military principles.

In as far as sports were concerned the mining conglomerates emphasised those sports which were not

expensive to run. It was because of the principle of cost minimisation that football was encouraged among African mine workers. As Van Onselen pointed out, a patch of ground, set of goal posts and a ball did not figure largely in the expenditure of big mining companies like Roan and Nkana.<sup>63</sup> As already alluded to the main objective of sports were the reduction of conflicts among workers and in the process promoting productivity.

It should be noted that most social activities for African mine workers, especially in the early stages, were centralised. This meant that the social infrastructure was concentrated in one place. This was justified on the grounds that it was easier to control people concentrated at one place. At Luanshya all social infrastructure was found between the location and Roan Mine Township.<sup>64</sup> It was at this place that one found the Beer-Hall, Welfare Hall, football field, children creches and children playground, library, Hobbies and Crafts Centre. Even tribal dances were conducted at this centralised venue. The illiterates went to this place to have letters written for them to their beloved ones back home. The concentration of the social infrastructure was a deliberate policy to encourage the consumption of beer. One official complained against this outrageous policy and argued that "there is no need of encouraging consumption of native beer ... by making

it available at the Cinema, libraries and sports grounds."<sup>65</sup> The only alternative to the Beer-Hall or Recreation Centre was for the African to sit around his hut in the dust and the discomfort of his compound. This was why, when off shift, the African mine worker had to accept the Beer-Hall surroundings, which were sordid and unpleasant. To this effect, another Government Official complained that:

Beer-Hall premises should be clean, well kept, decently furnished ... tables and chairs should even be provided in the open and the surroundings which should be inside a fenced garden should be well planned and contain trees and flowers. Existing Beer-Halls at most<sup>66</sup> places are not suitable or very pleasant.

This was most discreditable on the part of the Mine Managements in the sense that most of the revenue for African Welfare was generated by Beer-Halls and as already pointed out most of the patrons were African mine workers who did not benefit much from the revenue generated.

### The Mining Companies' Policy on African Welfare

The Mining Conglomerates divided African Welfare into the following components:- (i) Medical Welfare (ii) Recreational Welfare Work (iii) Spiritual Welfare and (iv) Physical Welfare Work. Physical Welfare work included syllabi like Domestic Science, Lectures and Debates, hygiene, mental and moral development, house keeping, sewing, cooking and cleanliness.<sup>67</sup>

Medical Welfare was mainly focussed on miners and was intended to produce health workers. Spiritual

MWALISENI CLUB CANTEEN (ROAD, N.S.C.)

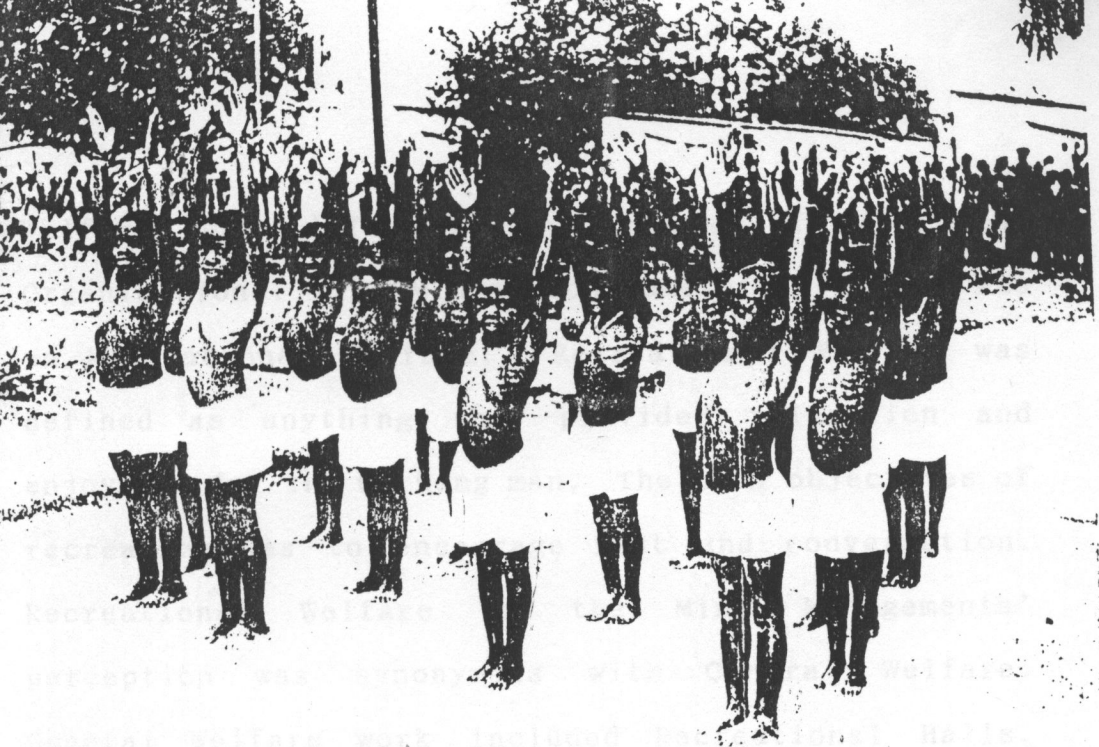


SOURCE: ZCCM ARCHIVES, NDOLA

AW AFRICAN BEER HALL  
1930



SOURCE: NAZ, LUSAKA



GIRLS CRECHE, Roan, 1995

SOURCE: ZCCM ARCHIVES, NDOLA

OPEN DAY 1955 COOKING COMPETITION (ROAN)



Welfare was left in the hands of Religious Organisations. The Mining Conglomerates' stress was on Recreational Welfare. Recreational Welfare was defined as anything that provided relaxation and enjoyment for the working man. The main objectives of recreation was to encourage rest and conversation. Recreational Welfare in the Mine Managements' perception was synonymous with General Welfare. General Welfare work included Recreational Halls, Sporting activities, Dry Canteens and Beer-Halls, libraries, hobbies and crafts, Scouts and Guides, Physical Training, Play grounds and Creches. All of these were usually found at one Central place. The provision of Recreational Welfare was supposed to be the sole responsibility of the Mining Conglomerates. Beer-Hall funds were liberally used to provide recreational facilities. The Mining Conglomerates sometimes, gave grants-in-aid or subsidies for certain welfare programmes like Medical Welfare. Grants-in-aid for specific purposes were considered to be the most valuable part of control since if it was misused the grant-in-aid or subsidy could be withdrawn.

In 1952 the Mining Conglomerates produced a policy document concerning African Welfare. This policy document, Number 985 of 1952, indicated the Conglomerates' intention of further abdicating their responsibilities towards their African employees.<sup>68</sup>

The basic policy recommended was that the Northern Rhodesian Government should set up a Department of Social Welfare which was going to be responsible for the financing of essential welfare work from Beer-Hall revenue. It was also recommended that Beer-Hall revenue should be put into Government General Revenue. This was intended to disguise the fact that funds supporting African Welfare were coming from the Beer-Hall revenue. Article 2d(i) recognised the fact that General Welfare or Physical Welfare like Hobbies and Crafts, Scouts and Guides and Women's work were of potential value from a contentment point of view but were of indirect value to the Mining Conglomerates. The training of the wives of miners in Home Economics would make it possible for productivity to be increased because the labour force would be well looked after by African wives and at the same time the meagre income of African mine worker would be supplemented. The trained wives would be able to make items such as dresses for sale. However, the Mining Conglomerates decided that General Welfare Activities should be conducted by Non-Governmental Organisations like the United Copperbelt Missions.

On the other hand Article 2(e) of the policy document stated that the Conglomerates were going to provide recreation amenities they considered necessary for their African employees. The African employees were going to be encouraged to take over the operation

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On the other hand Article 2(e) of the policy document stated that the Conglomerates were going to provide recreation amenities they considered necessary for their African employees. The African employees were going to be encouraged to take over the operation

of those amenities as soon as it was possible on contributory basis. The initial assistance would come from the Conglomerates but would be followed and maintained by contributions from the members of a particular group. As early as 1941 one senior Government official stated that:

...the Mine Managements have agreed to contribute on a 50-50 basis to any expenditure on recreational facilities on company ground... Funds which are not contributed by the Mine Managements will come from Beer Hall Amenity Funds.<sup>69</sup>

As already pointed out the Mine Management were abdicating their responsibilities further at a time when they were making huge profits out of the sale of Copper.

### The Establishment of the Social Welfare Department in Northern Rhodesia

The Labour Department was established in 1940. The Social Welfare Department was established on 1st January, 1952 with the intention of organising and co-ordinating numerous ~~social~~ activities in the territory. However, it was not intended that the responsibility for the welfare and recreation should be removed from Local Authorities.<sup>70</sup> It must be borne in mind that Mining Conglomerates were also Local Authorities. In fact the Government allowed the great mining Corporations to develop as 'imperial in imperio' and they unduly influenced the policy of the state. The policy of the Mining Corporations was to 'skim the cream' of the country's mineral wealth as

quickly as was possible and as cheaply as possible.<sup>71</sup> Consequently, the newly established Social Welfare Department's aim was to be very good to the greatest number of Africans but at a minimum cost.

The Department administered Grant-In-Aid provided to Local Authorities for the promotion of African Welfare. It was also the intention of the Department to pay greater attention to the care of children and child delinquency that had hitherto been neglected. Even the aged and handicapped were looked after by the Department. Those Africans who became problem drinkers were also handled by this Department.

When the Department was established in 1952 it consisted of a European Director and five European Officers. By 1960 there were twenty European Officers and thirty four African Social workers.<sup>72</sup> By 1962 the Mines had also established Welfare Departments which utilised Beer-Hall profits into the African Social Welfare programme. Prior to this the Mining companies had depended on Municipal Councils for the provision of welfare activities for all Africans resident on the Copperbelt. In urban centres the Department of Social Welfare stimulated the development of Welfare Services by means of the 50% grant-in-aid towards expenditure on approved Welfare Schemes. In the financial year 1959 to 1960, for example, the Department set aside £90,000 for these grants to Local Authorities on the line of rail.<sup>73</sup> However, this financial contribution

was not enough considering the fact that Beer-Hall profits were huge and Copper was also fetching good profits on the world market. In fact by 1963 Northern Rhodesia was the second largest producer of copper in the world.

The Role Played by Voluntary Organisations or Non-Governmental Oorganistion in the Provision of Social Services

The role of Voluntary Agencies in the provision of Social Welfare was actively encouraged by the Colonial Government. The Voluntary Agencies filled the growing gap in the Welfare Services which the Mining Conglomerates and Government could not fill. One of the earliest Voluntary Agency on the Copperbelt was the United Copperbelt Missions which started its operations in 1936. Although the Social Welfare programme had come to be regarded by the Mining Conglomerates as a necessary part of their responsibilities the role of missionaries and Voluntary Agencies was never surpassed.<sup>74</sup> However, the difference between the missionaries and others who sought to protect Africans and the Mining Conglomerates was that the former saw them as children to be taught and redeemed, while the latter saw them as a people to be exploited.

The United Copperbelt Missions, dealt with the spiritual and moral aspects of the mining compounds. Most of the members of the religious groups were

women. According to Bruce Kapferer this could be attributed to the fact that:

Women tend to be more active in religious affairs than men due to the greater insecurity experienced by women in town.<sup>15</sup>

To this effect Religious Groups assisted each other at times of social crisis such as illness and death. These groups also organised literacy classes so that members or new converts could study the Bible in their language.

As already pointed out the Voluntary Agencies involved themselves in areas which were neglected by the mining companies. The Mining Conglomerates were reluctant to spend money on women and children. A child was defined as any person below the age of sixteen years.<sup>16</sup> However, social services for women and children were considered important as women were looked upon as a stabilising force. The hope was that by enabling women to receive education in home care and child rearing they would be won over and thereby influence their men. It was also crucial to teach the children to accept their place in the productive process at an early age.

Voluntary Agencies did a lot to impart skills to both women and children. These were given skills in carpentry and bricklaying. The Prisoners' Aid Society also tried to reform delinquent children whose number had grown on the Copperbelt after the adoption of the stabilization policy from the late 1930s. For example,

in 1938 it was estimated that the number of children at Luanshya was 3,400 and at Nkana it was 2,300. It should be noted also that whereas in 1939, there were twenty five deliveries in the maternity home at Roan, in 1961 there were 2,273 babies born.<sup>77</sup> This clearly indicates that the Voluntary Agencies had a daunting task of providing general welfare for children and women at the close of the colonial period than at the beginning.

The heavy reliance on Voluntary Agencies and the Government on the provision of general welfare to African mine employees was strongly criticised. This was clearly stated in one official letter:  
...in spite of the extra cost to [the Mining] Companies outside authorities should no longer assume the main responsibilities for [the provisional of General Welfare]... Companies should undertake the provision of these...<sup>78</sup>

The Voluntary Agencies like the United Copperbelt Missions got grant-in-aid from Local Authorities to run their projects. In 1944 at Roan for example, £200 was paid to the Domestic Science Mistress, the Dominican Convent received £50 and Scouts and Guides received £70. In 1945 the estimates for Scouts and Guides was increased by £40 to allow for extra troops of Path Finders and club packs being formed.<sup>79</sup> However, the Voluntary Agencies, especially the churches, were roundly condemned for receiving financial assistance directly from Beer-Hall Funds. One official commented thus:

It was repugnant to good taste for welfare work to be paid out of funds derived directly from the sale of alcohol and this is particularly so in the case of welfare work performed by missions.<sup>80</sup>

The Missions, on the other hand, justified their actions by stating that it was better to receive from the Devil and giving it to God.

In the pursuance of cost minimisation the Mining Conglomerates allowed the Voluntary Agencies to operate in the mining compounds. This was in spite of the fact that the Mining Conglomerates had deep suspicions that missionaries would cause dissatisfaction among the African Company employees by preaching political and economic equality, among the races. The missionaries, however, refrained from entering into political issues or to undertake social work of a nature liable to cause dissatisfaction among the African mine workers.

### The Provision of Medical, Housing and Educational Services Health

Mining Conglomerates encouraged the development of health services among its African employees. This was because mining officials feared that if there was any out break of contagious diseases, such as, tuberculosis, these would spread to the white community. Janet Seeley, in this regard, points out that:

The concern of settlers for African needs has outlined in field of health policy was partly due to white populations fear of

disease, if it were not controlled they would be affected.<sup>81</sup>

In addition mining officials were preoccupied with the improvement of health services among African employees because they wanted to prevent a rapid deterioration in the labour supply. To make sure that African mine employees were always fit they were subjected to monthly medical examinations which were paid out of canteen funds. The Forster Report of 1940 points out that:

The health of African workers in the mines is watched carefully. He is medically examined and weighed on engagement: thereafter he is weighed monthly and if there is a loss of weight shown he is sent to the Medical Officer for examination and ... treatment.<sup>82</sup>

The concern for proper medical facilities for Africans after 1940 can be attributed to the changed British attitude towards its colonial Empire. In 1940 Britain introduced social programmes under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. This Act relaxed the earlier British doctrine of colonial self-sufficiency in favour of assisted development. Many historians have attributed the change in British attitude towards its colonies from 1935 to 1950 to the following reasons (i) the levelling influence of the Second World War, that is the war cut across social boundaries (ii) the impact of the Depression of 1929 to 1932 (iii) Germany's request from 1935 onwards, for the return of her pre-1914 Colonies in Africa and (iv) the disturbances in colonies between 1935 to 1938

notably in Northern Rhodesia and the West Indies were among the reasons for Britain's changed attitude.<sup>83</sup> One definition of a Welfare State is that:

It is a term applied to a Social System whereby want, squalor, disease, ignorance and idleness are eradicated from the community by the provision of Social Services by the Central and Local Governments paid for out of general taxation and other public monies ...<sup>84</sup>

Doyal has argued that the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of the 1940s and 1950s must be seen primarily in the context of the economic and political development in Britain. He has pointed out that these Acts were intended to increase the economic exploitation potential of the empire by increasing the supply of raw materials to the British manufacturers while expanding the colonial demand for British manufactured goods. Consequently, financial support was given to schemes which would provide immediate and substantial orders for British goods and materials. In this way creating employment for the British both in Britain and in the Empire. Chronic unemployment and the possibility of social upheaval especially during the Second World War, were regarded by the British Government as a matter of major concern. Welfare Acts were intended to curb this by providing employment through the expansion of the export and import trade.<sup>85</sup>

In as far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned assistance could be sought under the Colonial

Development and Welfare Scheme Vote not only on health but also education. It was in this view that the said scheme, gave £2½ million to Northern Rhodesia for the implementation of Social Welfare in 1947. This was in spite of the fact that Northern Rhodesia had planned for £13 million for its Developmental and Welfare programmes.<sup>86</sup>

It must be noted that before 1940 Welfare and clinics in mining compounds were mainly financed by Beer-Hall profits. In fact Beer-Hall profits continued to play a major role in the promotion of Medical Welfare for African mine employees from 1925 to 1964. In 1940 the Mining Conglomerates and the government agreed to share the responsibility of providing Medical Welfare on a 50-50 basis. However, the 50% contribution by government was obtained from Beer-Hall funds. One Senior Mining Company Official wrote to show appreciation for the government's contribution towards Medical Welfare that:

.... the Government feels [Medical] Welfare work in Mine Compounds should be on a 50-50 basis, i.e., Canteen Funds pay half and the Mines pay the other half without actual Government expenditure entering into picture.<sup>87</sup>

It must be noted that before 1941 Canteen Funds were contributing approximately £6,000 per annum towards the running of clinics in African Mine Compounds.<sup>88</sup> Canteen Funds were not only spent on recurrent expenditure but also on capital expenditure for the building of clinics in mine compounds.

The first Hospital at Roan was built in 1928. Initially huts served as clinics for Africans.<sup>89</sup> In 1933 the government, out of Beer Hall profits, built a clinic at Luanshya to cater for both African mine employees and non-mine employees. This clinic was built in the Town Compound with two or three small wards for in-patients at an approximate cost of £600.<sup>90</sup> It must be remembered that the majority of patrons at the Central Beer Halls were African miners and, therefore, had to be appeased by the provision of medical services.

In Northern Rhodesia ante-natal, maternal and child health clinics were established after 1935 at Rhokana and 1937 at Roan Antelope.<sup>91</sup> By 1935 the Mining Conglomerates had come to accept the presence of women in the mine compounds. Women became part of the stabilisation process. Women maintained mine employees and they also supplemented the low wages of their husbands. The women also reproduced labour power for the mines. Consequently, by 1939 there was a large number of children in mine compounds. These children were a constant worry to both the Mining Authorities and the government since in most cases they were unoccupied because of a shortage of social amenities.<sup>92</sup> The mining companies supported only those children who were below the age of seven. Those above seven were presumed to be the responsibility of government. Generally, it was mining policy to

partially feed the women and children and it was expected that the husband would purchase the rest of the food. Even the soup rations given to children were paid for by government.<sup>93</sup>

Our argument that Medical Welfare in mining compounds was supported by Beer-Hall funds is also vindicated by the fact that at Luanshya it was the Luanshya Management Board that gave grants to the Clinic Fund for the execution of medical welfare. We must note that grants-in-aid were obtained from Beer-Hall funds. In 1938 the Clinic Fund at Luanshya was increased from £250 per annum to £300 per annum.<sup>94</sup> As on 29th October, 1941 the monthly proportion of contribution by the Luanshya Management Board was £600 per annum, representing £50 per month out of the net cost of £119.13.0.<sup>95</sup> On 9th May 1941 the Manager of Roan Antelope Mine acknowledged receipt of a cheque valued at £400.0.0, from government representing a grant-in-aid towards the erection and equipping of the Welfare Clinic in section 2 of the Mine Compound.<sup>96</sup> Apparently this was the second decent clinic to be constructed in the Mine Compound at Roan. Hitherto the African mine employees used to attend the Management Board clinic found between the Location and Roan Antelope Mine Compound. In 1942 the grant-in-aid to Roan Antelope Copper Mines (R.A.C.M.) was increased from £650 to £750 per annum.<sup>97</sup> The total operating costs of the African Welfare clinics in Mine Townships

at Roan for the First Quarter of 1944 was £1,014.13.11. The Government contributed £507.6.11 as its 50% obligation. The total operating costs of African Welfare clinics for the Second Quarter of 1944 was £1,122.0.5 and government contribution to this figure was £561.0.3. In the Third Quarter the total expenditure on African Welfare clinics for 1944 was £1,067.3.5. While in the Fourth Quarter it was £1,157.6.0 and the government's 50% contribution was £578.13.0. The government's contribution for the Third Quarter was £533.11.8.<sup>98</sup>

In April, 1952 there were only two clinics operating in the Roan Antelope Mine Compound. These clinics had been constructed in 1939 and 1940. However, in 1952 it was planned to construct a further four clinics to allow for approximately 1,000 families per one clinic.<sup>99</sup> To this effect the Acting Mine Secretary at Roan sought financial assistance for the construction of the proposed four clinics. He wrote that:

We are most anxious to build an additional clinic to serve sections 8 and 9 in the African Mine Township ... Section 8 consists of 1,004 married quarters and Section 9 of 270 married quarters ... on the understanding that the Government is prepared to bear 50% of the cost, as in the past, it is proposed to construct a complete clinic unit similar to that recently completed in Section 2 ... at an estimated cost of £3,000.0.0 [per clinic].<sup>100</sup>

By 1962, five large fully equipped clinics had been built at Roan, with government assistance, in the

African Mine Townships. It is also interesting to note that the first batch of pupil nurses started in 1955 at Roan.<sup>101</sup>

By 30th June 1951, Wusakili African Township had a newly completed clinic while the old clinic was used as a health centre. In addition Kitwe African Mine Township had also one clinic while Mindolo African Mine Township had two clinics.<sup>102</sup>

The government continued giving subsidies for the promotion of African Medical Services to mining conglomerates up to independence day. The government, through the Social Welfare Department, actually contributed 55% towards the Welfare of African mine workers. The government Grants-In-Aid were based on 50% going to pay the salaries of approved staff plus 5% going towards administrative costs.<sup>103</sup> In retrospect, however, it must be pointed out that medical facilities provided to African mine employees were inadequate and discriminatory. Non-Africans had better medical facilities than Africans. The policy of separate medical facilities for different races was even championed by Lord Lugard, the architect of Indirect Rule, who justified it on grounds of sanitation and health.<sup>104</sup>

As late as May 1953 non-Mine Africans in mining towns were not allowed to attend mine clinics. They had to travel to Ndola, where there was a Government Hospital, if they needed medical attention. It was

this factor which made the Mining Conglomerates to urge government to take over completely the provisions of medical services for all Africans.<sup>105</sup> By 1962, however, the Mining Conglomerates were treating all African women and children whether they were dependants of mine employees or not. We should remind ourselves that the Mining Conglomerates were only interested in children of their employees who were below the age of seven.

Some experts of social medicine have pointed out that hospital centred and highly technological dispensed medicine usually ends in failure since the great killers of children like diarrhoea, pneumonia and malnutrition are beyond the reach of this weapon.<sup>106</sup> They further argue that patterns of health and illness are to a considerable extent determined by the existence of a particular mode of social and economic organisation. Consequently class differences in morbidity and mortality are very pronounced. It follows, therefore, that those with lower incomes tend to have higher rates of morbidity and mortality. It is not surprising therefore that throughout the 1940s and up to 1964 most children in mine compounds suffered from malnutrition. Some African miners also suffered from scurvy.<sup>107</sup> Malnutrition and scurvy need only proper food and not a hospital.

## Housing

In line with Section 48 of the Regulations under the Employment of Natives Ordinance, 1929, the Mining Conglomerates were obliged to provide proper housing for their employees. In this lay the origin of compounds for Africans which were basically housing units provided for Africans paid for by employers and were closed to the unemployed.<sup>108</sup> The earlier houses built were of sub-standard and were styled on the South African barrack type of accommodation. In mine compounds houses were built in a row for easy control of the labour force. The houses built in the period between 1925 and 1945 were mostly single roomed and were meant for single men. However, these one roomed and round huts were also occupied by married men and their families. This was contrary to the law which said that where quarters for married employees are provided they should consist of not less than two rooms.<sup>109</sup>

It should be noted that in the late 1930s the number of married men increased in the mine compounds, especially at Roan. This was because of the adopted policy of stabilisation of labour which was stressed by all the Mining Conglomerates as from 1935 onwards. The stabilisation of labour meant that African mine workers were going to stay on the job for longer periods than hitherto. It meant that women had also become a permanent feature of compound life.

According to Ferguson the proportion of married workers was generally lower in the pre-war period than in the later years especially after 1950. More often than not the rate was less than 50% and sometimes closer to 20%, with great variation from mine to mine.<sup>110</sup> Even as early as 1927, some 20% of the 1,093 workers at Roan were registered as married. In 1937, there were about 50% to 60% married workers at Roan while at Rhokana there were between 40% to 50%. The number of children grew steadily as well. Consequently by 1938 half of the 419 children aged 6 to 8 who were enrolled in Copperbelt schools had been born in urban areas. The Mining Conglomerates employed many of them to sweep in compounds or to perform other odd jobs. Thus introducing them at an early age to industrial discipline the management found difficult to inculcate in older workers.<sup>111</sup> The policy of stabilisation as opposed to detribalisation and urbanisation implied that Mining Conglomerates were going to spend less on the construction of decent housing for its African employees. It should be noted that the term urbanisation has a demographic frame of reference and applies to the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. It can also have another meaning indicating a change of behaviour as a result of living in town. Similarly the term detribalisation has two connotations. It can be used in a demographic sense or sociological sense. However, stabilisation

is only used demographically in that the population becomes stabilised in town when people no longer make intermittent journeys, to their rural homes.<sup>112</sup> Since stabilisation was cheaper compared to urbanisation and detribalisation the Mining Conglomerates adopted it.

It should be remembered also that Mining Conglomerates were not averse to using Beer-Hall Funds in its programmes of constructing houses for its African employees. It is in this light that Kitwe Public Township was partly financed with funds from Beer-Hall Funds. The cost of erecting 150 married and 100 single African huts in the Kitwe Public Township was approximately £8,000. A further 700 huts were later built in the same Township.<sup>113</sup> While Kitwe Public Township was built in 1935, Mindolo was built in about 1933. Wusakili African Township was constructed in the period between 1940 to 1942. All these compounds were of sub-standard nature. They were most round cottages and many of the huts had no windows and were tin roofed. Tin roofed houses provide less weather protection. Asbestos roofing is better than tin roofed in that asbestos requires no painting and provides improved insulation against the heat and cold. It should be pointed out that standards of accommodation are judged on four main factors. These are (a) the size of the dwelling (b) the number of houses per acre (c) the standard of social services provided and (d) the materials in the construction of dwelling.<sup>114</sup> It is

in this respect that the earlier houses built in the period between 1925 to 1946 were of sub-standard nature. The British Government condemned these dwellings and called them Labour Camps or Military Camps. As from 1940 the British Government urged both the Mining Conglomerates and the Northern Rhodesian Government to build standard houses for Africans.

In 1947 the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council approved the Ten Year Development Plan. This Plan envisaged an expenditure of some £13 million over a ten year period, 1947-56. The actual expenditure was £47.5 million.<sup>115</sup> The Ten Year Development Plan was part of the British Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 and was therefore mainly sponsored by the British Government. Consequently, the Mining Conglomerates and the Northern Rhodesia Government went on a building spree from 1947 using the financial assistance which they received from the British Government.

In June 1946 the government established the Department of Local Government and African Housing as a tool for implementing the building scheme. As a result over 7,000 mainly two roomed houses with their own kitchen and sanitation were built in the period 1948 to 1952.<sup>116</sup> Between 1949 and 30th June 1953 the government built more than 37,300 houses at £12,200. These catered for not less than 33,300 Africans in authorised compounds. Housing annually increased at

the rate of 900 houses.<sup>117</sup> In addition to this twenty-nine superior type three bedroomed permanent houses were build for African graduates and other senior civil servants at about £1,500 each.<sup>118</sup> These were furnished with three beds with inner spring mattresses and built-in wardrobes. Not to be outdone, Local Authorities borrowed £2.45 million from the government. The loan was repayable over a forty year period and they built houses for both Africans and Europeans. It was in this light that Local Authorities built 855 European houses or flats. A total sum of £6,500,000 was spent on African houses throughout the country by Local Authorities. On the Copperbelt 2,270 houses were built in Luanshya, 3,576 houses in Kitwe, 6,759 houses in Ndola, 6 houses in Kalulushi, 1,233 in Mufulira, 6759 in Chingola and 813 houses in Bancroft.<sup>119</sup>

In 1949 a Building Society was formed with £20.25 million assets and £15.16 million mortgage advances. In 1955 the Northern Rhodesia Government started a Housing Loan Scheme which was supposed to be open to all races. In reality it was Europeans who benefitted most from the Government Housing Loan Scheme. The Northern Rhodesia Government encouraged European civil servants to purchase or construct their own houses and advanced a £1 million loan to Local Authorities for relending to private persons under the European Owner Housing Schemes.<sup>120</sup>

As already indicated the Mining Conglomerates joined the race of building and renovating houses for both its African and European employees. Consequently by 14th December 1959 there were 4,109 houses for Africans at Roan and 285 houses at the new Mpatamatu African Mine Township. There were 4,028 category 2 houses at Roan in 1959. These had one bedroom, one living room, and a kitchen. There were also 3,5,5A and Special houses which were 81 in number. This category of houses had two bedrooms, one living room and a kitchen. There were no three bedroomed houses for Africans at Roan in 1959.<sup>121</sup> The remainder of houses in Roan Antelope Mine Township were one roomed and had no electricity. On the other hand the new Mpatamatu Township had only two bedroomed and no three bedroomed houses by 14th December 1959. The estimated number of houses in Mpatamatu was 3,000 and a provision was made to install a 40 watt plug point per house.<sup>122</sup>

By 16th August, 1960, the total number of houses at Roan were 7,698. At least 4,849 were sub-standard. This figure did not include the 762 round huts which were still in existence in Section 1. Out of the total of 4,849 sub-standard houses 3,245 were one roomed and 1,604 were two roomed. The total number of semi-permanent houses was 1,129. These were two bedroomed houses made out of cement plaster. There were also 1,720 permanent houses divided as follows:

1,235 two bedroomed and either made out of concrete or brick; 449 three bedroomed and 36 Special three bedroomed houses.<sup>123</sup> The existing African housing at Roan by October, 1961 was 3,727.<sup>124</sup> This figure included only permanent and semi-permanent houses but not sub-standard housing. In December, 1964 African houses at Roan were 5,834. Of these 3,742 were made out of Kimberley brick, 156 of burnt brick, 610 no fines and 1,326 were of concrete block.<sup>125</sup> The 156 burnt brick houses were constructed between 1950 and 1952. Subsequently all housing at Roan was in concrete block except for 610 houses which were built between 1957 and 1958.

As already pointed out concrete blocks were less expensive than burnt bricks. At Mpatamatu by the end of 1964 there were 1,982 concrete block houses in existence. It should also be noted that by the end of December 1960 about 79.60% of the married African employees with their families were housed at Roan.<sup>126</sup> As a result of improved housing the labour turn over at Roan was greatly minimised. For example labour turnover in 1938 at Roan was 83%. This was reduced to 77% in 1947, 24% in 1952 and 20% in 1958.<sup>127</sup> It has been estimated that between 1948 and 1964 Mining Conglomerates and various public bodies built some 100,000 houses for Africans in urban areas at a cost of not less than £32 million. However, it should be stressed that the boom in construction a result of the

urging and financial assistance obtained from the British Government. The Beer Hall-Funds also played a part in these Capital and Recurrent Projects, especially in the early stages of the mining industry. The principle of getting money from Beer-Hall profits was openly admitted as early as 1934 when it was recognised that Beer-Hall profits could be legitimately be applied to the building of African Housing and other amenities.<sup>128</sup> It was even suggested that a Building Fund should be set up for purposes of building after the end of the Second World War. It was noted in 1936 that:

... a Building Fund should be started from Beer-Hall Funds for use after the war .. it was resolved to set aside a sum of £750 each year in a Savings Bank Account to be used for the above after the war.<sup>129</sup>

Whereas the Mining Conglomerates built mainly two bedroomed houses for its African employees European housing was getting a lion's share. Europeans had mansions of five rooms with a veranda, private sanitary arrangements and a good space for gardening. In fact a standard house for European employees was three bedroomed. In addition by 1959, European employees could purchase houses from the Mining Conglomerates under the Home Ownership Scheme. It was this disparity which led R.L. Prain to comment that:

... the difficulties of keeping our African labour contented and free from a sense of grievance, in the face of the violent contrast between European and African structures ... is sure to increase.<sup>130</sup>

In as far as housing was concerned, the long term aims of the Mining Conglomerates was to divest themselves of all residential property and of all responsibility for housing their employees and to arrange for the residential areas of their compounds either to be incorporated into the adjacent Municipal Townships or to be established as separate Public Townships.<sup>131</sup>

### Education

In as far as the provision of Educational Services were concerned the Mining Conglomerates strictly adhered to the terms laid down in the Employment of Natives Ordinance of 1929. This Ordinance clearly stated that the provision of academic or formal education was going to be the sole responsibility of the government. It was also resolved that the curricula was going to be manual centred. As regards the vocational training of Africans for the purposes of the conglomerates, it was recommended that while there was no job progression of the Africans this was not going to be undertaken as it would only create a sense of frustration. However, if job progression could be implemented it was recommended that it would be in the conglomerates' interests to give that type of specific vocational training which would fit Africans for such employment on the Mines as was available to them.<sup>132</sup> Apparently the Mining Conglomerates were not interested in giving education that would make an African critically

analyse issues confronting him. However by 1956 through the on job training and vocational training some categories of jobs on the mines were Africanised. To this effect Oppenheimer pointed out that:

... on the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia, where 24 categories of jobs previously done by Europeans have by agreement with the white Union, been handed over to Africans. Wages and conditions for these jobs have been fixed considerably below those normally received by Europeans but considerably above those obtainable in the past by Africans. In theory, all jobs on the copper mines are open to Black and White, but in practice certain jobs are regularly done by Europeans and others by Africans and the division is marked by a substantial wage differential.<sup>132</sup>

In the area of education both the Mining Conglomerates and the government were in synchrony. They were in agreement that only rudimentary education was going to be provided to the African in general. It is in this light that even in mining compounds it was the government and Voluntary Organisations that provided primary education and vocational skills. The government also provided technical education to adults to enable them be apprenticed in the mines.<sup>133</sup> The Mining Conglomerates were, however, interested in infant education. They provided nurseries for those children under the age of seven. At the Nursery Schools or Creches children were taught good behaviour, to sing, to keep themselves clean and to develop their intelligence through games.<sup>134</sup> Apparently Nursery Schools were going to inculcate into the young children discipline which was appropriate to an

industrial setting.

In 1948, in line with the Ten Year Development Plan (1947-56), trades and crafts schools which were Development Areas Schools were established in rural areas. No less than twenty trades schools were established during 1948 to 1955. The carpentry and Black Smith work course at these Development Area Training Centres were meant to assist Africans build better houses and to raise the standard of living in villages to ~~attract and~~ counter the drift of Africans to towns. The Development Areas Schools were incorporated in the 1957 Rural Housing Fund worth £210,000.<sup>135</sup>

Ironically those who were being trained in crafts and trades preferred to work in town than in rural areas. The Development Areas school proved a failure and several of them were closed in the early 1960s mainly because there was little financial assistance coming from the British Government to finance these schools. It was strange that the government tried to stress, in rural areas, skills which were mostly irrelevant to a rural setting. As early as 1941 the Northern Rhodesian Government was advised that:

... [it] should consider ... making provision of new industries and agricultural development out of the profits of the copper mines to overcome possible difficulties of leaner years ahead, or the exhaustion of deposits of the copper ore.<sup>136</sup>

Yet instead of embarking on the development of rural areas by establishing Agricultural schools, the government went for the easy option of developing urban areas which were largely meant for Europeans.

Hesler observed that:

When it was discovered [by the Northern Rhodesia Government] that Britain would contribute little finance for the development of [Northern Rhodesia] it was decided to displace the priority accorded to peasant areas in the development plans in favour of urban progress. This complete displacement in emphasis in development was the most profound in the imperial experience of [Northern Rhodesia].<sup>137</sup>

The above statement is a true reflection that Northern Rhodesia never benefitted from the huge profits made out of the sale of copper by Mining Conglomerates from 1938 up to 1964. At this point it ought to be noted that some schools in mining compounds were financed out of Beer-Hall Funds.<sup>137</sup>

#### The Establishment of the Central Canteen Trust Fund

As early as 1938 the Orde-Browne Commission recommended that profits from Beer-Halls should be used to introduce amenities in villages.<sup>139</sup> Consequently in 1940 and also in 1941 the Native Beer Ordinance was amended so as to provide for the Central Canteen Trust Fund. As from 31st December 1940 Local Authorities, in urban areas, were expected to pay 10% of the total profits accrued from the sale of opaque beer to the Central Canteen Trust Fund. This Fund was established with the object of providing, in rural areas amenities of a kind provided in urban areas from

local canteens.<sup>140</sup> The idea of getting money from Beer-Hall profits in order to develop rural areas were justified on the following grounds:

As to the equity of taxing one section of the population for the direct benefit of some other section, strong opinions have been expressed by various bodies but the fact still remains that the greatest proportion of canteen profits is made from money spent in towns by natives from rural areas (and who are generally only temporarily resident in urban areas) and it would therefore seem equitable and reasonable that rurals should benefit from benefits made from their own people.<sup>141</sup>

It was proposed that the Central Canteen Trust Fund would finance the construction of Recreation Halls, Libraries, football grounds and to give financial support to Girl Guides and Scout movements in rural areas. In addition projectors were going to be bought from this Fund. It was in this way that a library was established at Kawimbe Mission (Mbala) and a Girls' School at Chilubula Mission (Kasama).<sup>142</sup> In 1944 it was proposed that the levy from Canteen profits should be increased from 10% to 30% in return for which the government would take over the operation and financing of medical clinics in urban areas.<sup>143</sup>

The Native Beer (Amendment) Ordinance No. 48 of 1940 and the Native Beer (Amendment) Ordinance No. 32 of 1941, established the Central Canteen Trust Fund. The Luanshya Management Board, just like all Local Authorities on the Copperbelt paid the 10% levy into the Central Canteen Trust Fund. For example on 19th January 1944 the Luanshya Management Board paid £750

as its 10% contribution towards the Fund.<sup>144</sup> In 1946 the same Management Board paid £1,062.0.0 as its contribution to the Fund for the months of January to June and for 1947 it paid £1037.0.0. However, in 1948 and 1949 the Luanshya Management Board did not fulfil its obligation of paying the 10% levy. This was because there was a reduction during this period in opaque beer sales. In 1950, however, the Management Board paid £8,000 as the 10% levy to the Canteen Trust Fund.<sup>145</sup> It should be pointed out that the Mine Management had also representatives on the Management Boards or Councils on the Copperbelt. In 1953 the Central Canteen Trust Fund was abolished. This was contained in Ordinance No. 25 of 1953.<sup>146</sup> From its inception, the Central Canteen Trust Fund was unpopular in that it got money from people who were under paid. The African mine workers did not only pay for their welfare programmes but they also paid for their brethren in the rural areas. This was in spite of the fact that Mining Conglomerates were making huge profits from the sale of Copper.

#### Free of Interest Loan to Her Majesty Government

This loan was started to assist the British Government prosecute the Second World War against Germany and her allies. This money which went to the war effort came out of Beer-Hall Funds. It was decided by the Colonial Officials that no interest should be added to this loan. It is most regrettable

that this loan has never been repaid by the British Government.

The Luanshya Management Board, just like all Local Authorities on the Copperbelt and the rest of the country paid the imposed Free of Interest Loan to Her Majesty Government. By 9th September 1942, for example, the Luanshya Management Board had contributed £3,000 as a loan towards the prosecution of the war. By August 1943 the Management Board had paid £3,000 out of the Beer-Hall Account of £4,981.16.5. In fact by 7th October 1943 the British Government received £250 per month from the Luanshya Management Board out of Beer Hall funds for the prosecution of the war. Whereas the Imperial Loan from Luanshya alone in 1943 was £12,750 in 1944 it stood at £14,750.<sup>147</sup> As at 29th May, 1946 the total accumulated funds from Beer Halls at Luanshya was £24,398 out of which a sum of £15,750 was held in Free of Interest Loan by the British Government. It is interesting to note that the sum of £15,750 had not been settled.<sup>148</sup> At Roan, just like at any town on the Copperbelt, the majority of Beer-Hall profits were derived from African miners. However, the control of Beer-Halls during the most part of the colonial period was vested in various Management Boards or Councils as was set out in chapter 168 (Subsidiary), Sections 4 and 7, part of the Native Beer Regulations of 1930.

## Copper Production and Profits, 1940-1964

During the Great Depression of 1928 to 1932 and throughout the 1930s the mining and marketing of copper in Northern Rhodesia was greatly affected. However, the marketing of copper greatly picked up with the advent of the Second World War. This was due to the fact that copper was needed for military purposes. For example, it went into the making of shells and cartridges. Copper was also fashioned into electrical equipment and mechanical parts because of its anti-corrosion.<sup>149</sup> In order to maximise the copper profits the Head Quarters of Anglo American Corporation were transferred from London to Northern Rhodesia in 1951. The other reason for this transfer was to dodge the heavy taxation - liabilities which were imposed on conglomerates registered in the United Kingdom.

The profitability of the copper mines could be exemplified by the fact that in 1940 the total out put of copper reached 266,592 tons. In 1946 the production of copper increased to 182,000 tons valued at £12 million and in 1950 Northern Rhodesia produced 280,900 tons of copper.<sup>150</sup> The copper industry in 1953 accounted for approximately 26.2% of the net domestic product of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This percentage rose to 26.3% in 1954 and to 29.3% in 1955.<sup>151</sup> While in 1956 the net domestic out put attributable to the copper mining industry amounted to

69.7 million in 1960 the Copperbelt production exceeded that of Chile and accounted for 15% of world production and by 1964 Northern Rhodesia was the second largest copper producer in the world. At the time of Independence Northern Rhodesia was producing over 700,000 short tons of copper.<sup>152</sup>

In the boom year of 1956 the net profits of Rhokana were about £16 million while that of Roan Antelope was over £8 million. During the 1959 to 1960 period the net profit for Rhokana was £12 million and that of Roan was £4 million. In 1958 the combined profits for Rhokana, Nchanga, Roan and Mufulira was about £15 and in 1964 Rhokana's net profit was £8.6 million and those of the Roan Selection Trust Mines, that is Roan and Mufulira, totalled £4.7 million.<sup>153</sup>

Whereas huge profits were being made out of Copper the Beer-Hall profits were not enough to solely support the African Welfare Programme. In 1958 at Roan, for example, the Beer-Hall turnover was a paltry £43,858.17.8.<sup>153</sup> Strangely enough it was the paltry Beer-Hall profits on which the African Welfare programme was anchored.

In terms of wages, African mine workers were poorly paid but were still expected to buy beer in order to promote the Social Welfare programme. In 1938, for example, Africans were paid a total of £625,737 and in 1943 they were paid a total sum of £846,188. While in 1948 Africans were paid £2,532,546

in 1952 they received a total sum of £5,992,553. The number of African mine employees in 1938 was 36,910 in 1943 they were 38,619 African employees, in 1948 the figure was 72,227 and in 1952 the figure was 106,098.<sup>155</sup> Apparently the African employees were not getting any benefits from the huge profits made out of copper and to make matters worse, even their paltry wages were further eroded by their being coerced into buying both opaque beer and bottled beer.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE EFFECTS OF THE MASS PRODUCTION OF BEER 1940 - 1964

Prior to the establishment of Northern Breweries at Ndola in 1952 all bottled beer in Northern Rhodesia was imported. From 1939 to 1946 the Government imported a total of 2,199,943 gallons of bottled beer. In 1939 the Government imported 185,755 gallons but this rose to 371,655 in 1946.<sup>1</sup> Until 1941, no African was legally allowed to drink bottled beer, wines and spirits. Wine was defined as fermented liquor containing not more than 50% of proof spirit produced from grapes or grape mist.<sup>2</sup> In colonial parlance intoxicating liquor or liquor referred to any spirit, wine ale, beer, porter or any liquor containing more than 2% of alcohol.<sup>3</sup> In some cases opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls fell short of the definition of liquor as its alcohol percentage sometimes fell below the 2% prescription. The Colonial Authorities defined spirits as any fermented liquor containing a greater proportion than 40% of proof spirit.<sup>4</sup>

In 1941 an amendment to the Native Beer Ordinance allowed certain Africans to buy and drink bottled beer. The Africans so allowed were to be of good character, educated and with a good financial base.<sup>5</sup> These Africans were given Letters of Exemption, in order to buy bottled beer and wines. Some Africans, however, managed to illegally drink bottled beer by

buying it from fellow Africans in the employment of whites.<sup>6</sup>

In 1948, however, the Government amended the law regarding the sale of bottled beer and wines to Africans. After the Second World War Africans had mounted a vigorous and conscious assault on the racially inspired liquor laws with the challenge to the prohibition of African consumption of bottled beer and wine. Consequently Ordinance No. 11 of 1948 stated that:

Intoxicating liquor other than spirits may be sold for consumption either on or off premises to [Africans] on premises which are licensed only for such sale.

The Liquor Licensing (Amendment) Ordinance of 1948 did not, however, permit Africans to buy and drink spirits. Some Africans of good character and financial standing were given Letters of Exemption to buy spirits. The Letters of Exemption allowed Africans to buy only six bottles of spirits per month. The punishment for persons convicted of supplying spirits to Africans not entitled to them was imprisonment without option of fine for a first offence.<sup>8</sup> Colonel Stuart Gore-Browne, the white official representing African interests in the Legislative Council, was reluctant to see Africans, inter alia, on economic reasons, drink spirits like brandy and whisky.<sup>9</sup> The ban on spirit consumption by Africans was only lifted on the eve of independence in 1964. It should also be noted that bottled beer and wines consumption by

Africans was initially only allowed in Beer-Halls. The profits from the sale of bottled beer and wines went to promote the African Welfare programme. This was more so in the 1940s when there were major deficits in opaque Beer-Hall sales. These deficits were due to the African apathy to opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls.

The Mining officials were reluctant to allow Africans to buy light bottled beer and wines because doctors like Dr. Van Blommestein (Nkana) believed that bottled beer and wines contained a low food value compared to opaque beer. Mining officials also feared that a well developed taste for European bottled beer at 1/3 per bottle would rebound on them in due course as Africans would pressurise for higher wages to cover the cost of living. Despite the reservations from both the Mining and Government officials, Africans in 1948 were permitted to purchase and consume bottled beer and wines as money was very much needed for the promotion of the African welfare programme.

Actual selling of wine to Africans began in 1949 and at Mindolo it started on 10th July, 1950. The license to start selling bottled beer and wines to Africans at Roan was granted on 2nd December, 1948.<sup>10</sup> The price of wine in November, 1949 was increased from 3/- to 5/- per bottle at Nkana.<sup>11</sup> This was considered to be very expensive by Africans. Africans usually mixed opaque beer and wine to make opaque beer

palatable. In the long run, however, many Africans stopped drinking wines because it was usually found that the wines supplied to them were of inferior quality and moreover the wine bottles were sometimes unsealed to water down the wine.<sup>12</sup> Originally Africans were allowed to buy wines with an alcoholic content of between 8.8% of proof of spirit and 27.6% of proof spirit. However, the law was amended in July, 1952 (Government Notice No. 117 of 1952) to limit the strength of wines which could be sold to Africans to not more than 0.2% potassium sulphate.<sup>13</sup> It was the lowering of the alcohol percentage which contributed to the unpopularity of wines among the majority of Africans.

Africans liked the taste and the alcohol percentage of bottled beer. Consequently most Africans preferred bottled beer to opaque beer. This was due to the fact that the taste and alcoholic content of bottled beer was good. Bottled beer contained about 3.8% of alcohol.<sup>14</sup> This was in spite of the fact that bottled beer was more expensive than opaque beer. In fact, the apathy which was exhibited towards opaque beer was because of its poor quality. African miners were more interested in getting drunk quickly than in the food value found in any particular brand of beer. In 1955 bottled beer sold at Roan, amounted to £22,466. In 1957 this amount rose to £27,370. It was observed that during this period the

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employee strength at Roan had dropped from approximately 10,000 in 1955 to 8,000 employees in 1957.<sup>15</sup> This demonstrated clearly that individual African miners spent more on beer than ever before. There was no fall in the consumption of bottled beer by Africans at Roan and this applied to other Copperbelt towns. In 1958 bottled beer consumption amounted to £43,961 and in 1959 it was £32,674.<sup>16</sup> At this time several Africans could afford to buy bottled beer supplied in Beer-Halls due to the fact that about 40% of them were getting higher salaries.<sup>17</sup>

The popular demand for bottled beer led to establishment of Northern Breweries, for the production of bottled beer, at Ndola in 1952. The Government also enacted anti-dumping laws in order to protect the newly established bottling plant from foreign competition.<sup>18</sup>

#### Heinrich Syndicate Limited and its Impact on African Opaque Beer Consumption 1955-1964

By the end of 1953 both the Kitwe and Luanshya Management Boards had already established fairly extensive welfare facilities at strategic points for the use of both African miners and non-mine African employees. Most of the money for the construction of these Welfare facilities came from Beer-Hall profits. At Nkana Welfare Centres were found at Wusakile and Mindolo and later at Chamboli. In 1951 the estimated operating costs of running the three Welfare Centres in the Nkana/Kitwe area was £9,900 per annum.<sup>19</sup>

At the time of independence in 1964 African mine employees at Nkana were housed in three separate compounds, namely Wusakili, Mindolo and Chamboli. All the three compounds were incorporated into the Nkana African Mine Township Management Board by 1964. At Roan there were two African compounds by the end of 1964, namely Roan Antelope Mine Compound and Mpatamatu Compound. A great majority of African employees and all European employees were housed in Roan Antelope Mine Township.<sup>20</sup> In essence this meant that Roan Antelope Mine Township had two areas within it, one area was for Africans and the other was for whites. Roan Antelope Township and Mpatamatu had, by the end of 1964, their own Management Boards.

In April, 1953 Rhokana Corporation Limited took over the African Welfare Centres and buildings both in Wusakile and Mindolo Compound from the Kitwe Municipal Council. However, Kitwe Municipal Council continued to operate and control the Beer-Halls at these centres. This was in line with the Native Beer Ordinance of 1930 which gave the monopoly of manufacture, possession and sale of opaque beer to Local Authorities.<sup>21</sup> On 1st July, 1954 Rhokana Corporation took over the running of the two Beer-Halls at Wusakili and Mindolo. The Nkana Mine Township Management Board was given the responsibility of running the two Beer-Halls. In the same year the Brewery for opaque beer at Kitwe was condemned and was

closed down at the end of 1954. Under the Kitwe Municipal Council control the Brewery and Beer-Halls were making a monthly profit of approximately £480, which accrued to the General Revenue of the Kitwe Council.<sup>22</sup>

The Roan Antelope Mine Township Management Board took over the running of the two Beer-Halls in the Township from the Luanshya Management Board on 1st January, 1963.<sup>23</sup> The Luanshya Management Board retained the control of the large Central Beer-Hall. However, even at the Central Beer-Hall the majority of patrons were African Mine workers.

With the closure of the Kitwe Municipal Council Brewery on 31st December 1954, Rhokana Corporation opted for (Henrich Syndicate Limited of South Africa. The Corporation was, inter alia, influenced by favourable reports about the quality, quantity and price of the opaque beer supplied by Henrich Syndicate Limited. The Livingstone Municipal Council strongly recommended this Company to the corporation in the following glowing terms:

I am sure your [Corporation] will be interested to know that sales of this new beer have continued to soar from a little over 5,000 gallons sold in January [1954] to over 20,000 gallons this month [27th October, 1954]. Production has been so good and the beer so popular that the Council has decided to purchase another complete unit, capable of manufacturing a further 1,500 gallons per day, bringing our capacity to 2,500 gallons per day.<sup>24</sup>

It should be noted that the development of the new process of brewing opaque beer in Southern Africa was largely because of the research and enterprise of Henrich Syndicate Limited which held patents for opaque beer brewing. Some officials of the company served on three international technical committees, namely the Cereal Research, Malting and Fermentation, and Brewery Equipment Committees. The Company was also in touch with all international research in brewing and malting and made important contributions to such research. The Company's interests extended further than those of the usual commercial undertaking.

In the contract signed between Rhokana Corporation and Henrich Syndicate Limited it was agreed that the brewing concern would produce opaque beer on behalf of the Kitwe Municipal Council and that it was going to supply the whole Copperbelt using its own transport without any additional charge. The brewing concern also agreed to supply and erect at each retail depot storage tanks fitted with meters at no extra cost. The tanks remained the property of the Company. In the past it was the bad storage facilities and lack of research to improve the quality of beer that contributed to the unpopularity of Beer-Halls.<sup>25</sup>

The Company also undertook to produce opaque beer at a charge of 1/6 per gallon. This was cheaper

compared to 2/3 per gallon which the closed down brewery belonging to the Kitwe Municipal Council had been charging. In addition to paying £5 per month to the Kitwe Municipal Council for the opaque beer brewing permit the Council also collected 1/2d per gallon of beer sold in the Mine Beer-Halls.<sup>26</sup> The original purpose of the 1/2d levy by the Kitwe Municipal Council was to reimburse the Council for the administrative and technical work involved in connection with the supply of beer. However, this was a form of compensation following the transfer of Beer-Halls from the Council to that of the Mine Township Management Board. In this way the Kitwe Municipal Council received approximately £5,000 per year from the Rhokana Mine Township Management Board. Since monthly sale figures were submitted to the Municipal Council and invoices were based on these invoices, there was no cheating on the parties involved. This arrangement applied to all the Copperbelt towns. This arrangement meant that African Mine Workers continued to pay for the provision of Welfare facilities in areas they did not reside, such as, Municipal Areas and rural areas.

Africans were quickly attracted to the new opaque beer because of its good quality and its low price. In 1955 the legal maximum alcoholic content of opaque beer had been increased to 6% from 4% in spite of the Mining Conglomerates' protestations. The

Mining Conglomerates wanted a minimum of 3% and a maximum of 3.5% alcohol content of opaque beer.<sup>27</sup> The rise in African opaque beer consumption was reflected in the following figures. In 1955 at Roan 36,773 gallons of beer were consumed at an equivalent value of £5,516. In 1957 this was transformed into 438,768 gallons, equivalent to £43,876.<sup>28</sup> This was twelve times more than was sold in 1955. By the end of 1959 there was a 100% increase in the consumption of opaque beer and a great decrease in the consumption of bottled beer was noticeable. The approximate average spending on beer per employee was £2 per month.<sup>29</sup> The takings at Beer-Halls at Roan for the first week of September were almost double that of the previous month, being £7.653 as against £4.296. The increase in opaque beer sales amounted to almost 2% of the total Metal Bonus paid to the African employees at Roan. Opaque beer sales and consumption continued to soar from 1955 up to December, 1964. At Nkana, African Mine employees housed in Wusakile, Mindolo and Chamboli in July 1964, consumed a total of 179,635 gallons, divided as follows: Wusakile 80,572 gallons, Chamboli 49,639 gallons and Mindolo 49,424 gallons. In August 1964 they consumed a total of 198,689 gallons divided as follows: Wusakili 88,231 gallons, Mindolo 57,607 gallons and Chamboli 52,851 gallons. In September of the same year 227,632 gallons of

opaque beer were consumed. The grand total during these three months was 605,956 gallons.<sup>30</sup>

As the Mining Conglomerates superficially professed embarrassment over the consumption of opaque and bottled beer by African miners, the Africans were undergoing physical deterioration because of massive beer consumption. At Nkana, it was noticed that there was a significant increase in the amount of drunken behaviour in the compounds and an upswing of absenteeism resulting from drunkenness.<sup>31</sup> The alarming high levels of beer consumption in Beer-Halls must be seen against the background that during this period, employee strength had dropped. As already pointed out as at December, 1957 employee strength had dropped from approximately 10,000 to 8,000 at Roan. In spite of the reduction in the African mine workers, consumption of both opaque and bottled beer kept rising. The Mining Conglomerates were repatriating profits made out of copper and were instead utilising profits made out of Beer-Hall profits to sponsor the African Welfare Programme.

#### The Impact of High Prices of Beer on the African Cost-of-Living 1930-1964

The high price of opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls was one of the major contributing factors to the disillusionment and alienation of Africans against both the Government and Mining Managements.<sup>32</sup> It was not unusual for a person to spend 10/- per night on opaque beer. This was a big toll on an African

labourer whose average wage was 1/- per day. Consequently many African miners were usually in debt or their wives were involved in vegetable selling in order to supplement the meagre family income. It was not unusual for miners' wives to be involved in the illicit brewing of beer.

During the Second World War the Cost-of-Living on the Copperbelt rose to unprecedented levels whereby the Mining Conglomerates had no alternative apart from giving their African employees a cost-of-living allowance. Economists have pointed out that the cost-of-living and wages are virtually one and the same problem. It is said that if the cost-of-living is reduced and the standard of living is kept at the same level then there would be no need of pushing wages up.<sup>33</sup> However, during the 1940s on the Copperbelt, the cost-of-living kept rising thereby eroding the standard of living of the people.

The increased cost-of-living, vis-a-vis the high prices of beer, had a telling effect on the meagre African income. This was manifested in the fact that the list of short and long khaki trousers which cost 120/- before the War, cost 150/- in 1941 and 180/- at 31st May, 1941. As at 31st December 1942 at Nkana the price of articles like dresses and blankets had risen to 210/6. Prices kept on rising. Before the war an African who went into a store with £1 to spend could buy a good blanket for 5/-, a 2 pocket shirt for 3/-,

a pair of shorts for 4/-, 4 yards of print cloth for his wife and a blouse for 1/6, still leaving himself 2/6 to spend perhaps on beer.<sup>34</sup> However in 1942 an African in similar circumstances would have been lucky if he could have bought a blanket at £1 and if he did so then the quality of the blanket would have been greatly inferior to the pre-war standards. To make matters worse the government imposed a ban on second hand clothes which previously were brought from Mokambo or Elizabeth Villa.<sup>35</sup>

It has already been pointed out that as early as 1932 Africans were covertly avoiding the Beer-Halls in preference to illicit brews which were cheaper but stronger. In early 1947, at Luanshya Africans overtly boycotted stores because of high prices charged in them. Consequently, the Mine Management revised salaries of its African employees. However, the increase in wages was still below the cost-of-living then obtainable on the Copperbelt. For example the minimum basic rates for daily paid employees as of March, 1949 ranged from 26/6 to 44/6 per shift plus the cost-of-living allowance. In 1947 the government estimate of the minimum annual income required in urban areas was £28 or £2.6.8 per month. However, this was substantially less than Saffery's estimate of £6.11.7.<sup>36</sup> The high cost-of-living was not only of potential danger but was also a source of growing bitterness among African Mine employees.

The first cost-of-living allowance of 2/6 was given in 1940. In 1942, 2/6 was increased to 5/- and in December this figure was further increased to 7/6 per ticket. The cost-of-living allowance kept on rising as in February, 1947 it was increased to 10/- but in 1948 it was consolidated into basic pay. In 1950 it was increased according to scales. Groups 1, 2 and 3 were given 2/6 while Groups 4, 5 and 6 were given 5/-. Groups 7, 8 and special were given 7/6.<sup>37</sup> Unskilled workers belonged to Groups 1, 2 and 3 while semi-skilled workers belonged to Groups 4, 5, 6 and 7. The rest of the Groups had skilled workers. Most of the Africans belonged to Groups 1, 2 and 3. The number of African miners in the three lowest grade categories, i.e. 1 to 3, decreased from 74% in 1953 to 60% in 1958 to 31% in 1959. The number of skilled workers, that is Grade 8 to 13 increased from 1% to 4% of the African work force. The index continued to rise as in May, 1955 the allowance payable was : Groups 1, 2 and 3 equalled to 9/6 and Group 4 got 19/-, Group 5 and 6 got 28/6 while Groups 7, 8 and Special got 38/-. In July, 1955 the above amounts were consolidated into basic pay and a flat rate allowance of 14/- per ticket for all employees was introduced.<sup>38</sup> On 1st July, 1961 cost-of-living payments were abolished but the basic rates of all staff employees were increased in accordance with the cost-of-living

categories into which such rates fell as at that date.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to the cost-of-living allowance various bonuses were paid as from the 1950s onwards. An efficiency bonus of 10/- per ticket, was paid to underground workers and 5/- per ticket in case of surface workers. Holders of Special qualifications were also given bonuses. Holders of First Aid Certificates or Blasting Licences were given 2/6 per ticket while those with Boss Boy's Certificates were given 5/- per ticket.<sup>40</sup>

In spite of the various bonuses and increased wages given, the standard of living of Africans was still unbearable. The Mining Conglomerates were still following the policy of profit maximisation and cost minimisation. It was believed that Africans could supplement their low wages by drawing their subsistence from the land. This argument had earlier been formulated by Lord Hailey in his African Survey.<sup>41</sup> This philosophy was rigidly followed by both the Mining Management and government officials throughout the Colonial period. It was this belief which made the Mine Managements to dish out inadequate food rations to their African employees.

It was noted that increased wages and bonuses on the Copperbelt led to more beer consumption. In 1964 the price of opaque beer was increased from 3d per pint to 4d per pint.<sup>42</sup> The new price of opaque beer

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sold in Beer-Halls came into effect on 1st July, 1964.

The coercion and enticement of Africans into beer drinking had a telling effect in that many children in the 1940s and 1950s on the Copperbelt suffered from malnutrition because salaries were channelled into high consumption of both opaque and bottled beer. One informant said that he used to conduct what they called Chilimba in order to cushion the impact of the high prices of meat, clothes and beer in the period under review especially from 1940 up to the early 1960s.<sup>43</sup> Chilimba was a system whereby an African employee gave part of his salary to another employee at the end of the ticket. He was also given part of his friend's salary the next month. If there was good understanding between the friends the exchange went on for a long time. Some times this arrangement was conducted among three or four people. This is how some people survived the hard economic realities of the Copperbelt during the period under review.

#### Some Diseases and Problems Associated with Excessive Beer Drinking

The major reason for the establishment of Beer-Halls on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt was to give a semblance of village life to the new and lonely African recruits. In the early days and throughout most of the period under review the Beer-Hall was the only form of recreational Centre for the African Mine workers. The Beer-Hall not only became a place where one could sublimate his pent up feelings but also

where one could obtain additional food to supplement his meagre food rations provided by the Mining Authorities. In the process of being coerced and enticed into opaque beer drinking many African mine workers had, by 1935, become addicted to beer drinking.

As long as Beer-Hall profits remained the main source of the Welfare Programme in the African Compounds the Authorities paid no attention to the dangers inherent in excessive beer drinking as witnessed on the Copperbelt in the period under review. It has been pointed out that in traditional African society beer was rarely drunk. In traditional African society beer was usually drunk on social occasions and in small quantities. The average consumption of beer, for example, on any one night in traditional society, would be somewhere near one and a half pints per head for older men and women, one pint for younger men and about half a pint for a young girl.<sup>44</sup> By December, 1964 African mine workers at Nkana were, however, drinking more than 227,632 gallons of opaque beer per month.<sup>45</sup>

As early as 1932 there were beer addicts or alcoholics among African mine labourers.<sup>46</sup> By 1960 alcoholism had become a source of worry to a few concerned people in Northern Rhodesia. Alcoholism is defined as drinking which chronically interferes with the physical, personal or social function of an

individual. It is in this respect that absenteeism from work could be associated with alcoholism.<sup>47</sup> It has been observed that in traditional Zambian society there is no word in any local language which can be used to translate alcoholic or alcoholism. However, the habitual drunkard was described as Bachakolwa. This clearly indicates that in Northern Rhodesia, alcoholism came with the commercialisation of beer drinking on unprecedented levels repugnant to the moral values of African traditional society.<sup>48</sup>

In scientific terminology habitual excessive drinking refers to twelve intoxication per year or to be under the influence of liquor more than once per week. Episodic excessive drinking constitutes intoxication as frequently as four times per year. On the other hand an alcoholic exhibits withdraw symptoms such as the early morning shaking of hands, lack of appetite or nausea first thing in the morning, daily drinking or heavy drinking for periods of three months.<sup>49</sup> Alcoholism has been classified as a disease in itself. This especially applies to those individuals who demonstrate a loss of control over their drinking. Many African miners exhibited loss of control over their drinking as manifested in frequent Beer-Hall brawls and rowdy behaviour. In most cases, on the Copperbelt, violence emanated from Beer-Halls and then spread to the streets and compounds.

There are several stages involved before one becomes completely dependent on alcohol. The first stage is the Alpha stage. During this stage there is no loss of control and alcohol is used to cope with problems of life, for example, problems of leading a fragmented life in an urban setting or with problems associated with underground work. In the second stage, known as Beta, there is also no dependency on alcohol but the obvious physical problems associated with excessive beer drinking are apparent. When one exhibits physical dependence on alcohol and loses control over his drinking then he has reached the third stage known as Gamma. Those who become completely depended on alcohol even for short periods of time have reached the fourth and last stage known as Delta.<sup>50</sup> On the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt one could find all the stages tabulated above.

Apart from psychological problems associated with excessive beer drinking there are also physical problems attendant to excessive beer drinking. In fact many miners died because of excessive beer drinking.<sup>51</sup> One official remarked that:

Is it not significant that 'Nutritionally' speaking we know more about vitamins than about consumers, more about factories than workers, that we understand more about fuelling machines than about fuelling the bodies of the nation's children.<sup>52</sup>

The consumption of alcohol not only causes pellagra but it also causes gastritis and epigastric pain and ulcers. Pellagra is the roughening of the skin

because of excessive beer drinking. Gastritis is the inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach which can be acute or chronic. Acute gastritis is caused by excessive alcohol intake over a short period. This can lead to bleeding in the stomach. Chronic gastritis is caused by taking alcohol over a long period. This is manifested by epigastric pain; vomiting, loss of weight and loose stool. It can also lead to ulcer formation which in turn can lead to gastro-intestinal bleeding and stenosis, that is the closure of the pyloric part of the stomach.<sup>53</sup> Ulcers can also cause malignancy which leads to the formation of cancer. The Mining Authorities quickly dismissed those who became unfit.

It was in the realisation of the apparent dangers inherent in excessive beer drinking that some concerned citizens, towards the end of the 1950s, formed an organisation called the Nkana/Kitwe Society on Alcoholism. On 30th July, 1963 the Society was incorporated into the Northern Society on Alcoholism. On 13th October, 1964 the organisation became known as the Zambia Nation Council on Alcoholism and Addiction.<sup>54</sup> During its life time the organisation played an important role in trying to assist the public to understand the harmful consequences of excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages.

The excessive beer drinking which characterised the period under review had a telling effect on the

monetary and physical well being of the Africans living in mine compounds. This was manifested, inter alia, into many children being malnourished because large parts of the family incomes were spent on either opaque or bottled beer. It was during this period, that is from 1948 on wards, that societies like Alcoholic Anonymous were formed in order to tackle problems associated with excessive beer drinking.<sup>55</sup> The Department of Social Welfare also became active in despatching to rural areas those Africans who had become a liability to the Mining Conglomerates because of excessive beer drinking.

The Mining Conglomerates coerced and encouraged their African mine employees because the African Welfare programmes almost entirely depended on the Beer-Hall profits. The Government also largely depended on Beer-Hall profits for the promotion of the African Welfare Programme and to cover up its budgetary deficits. Indirect taxation was preferred to direct taxation. It was, therefore, the Mining Conglomerates' appetite for profit maximisation and the government's liquidity problems that led to unprecedented African beer drinking on the Copperbelt, in particular and Northern Rhodesia in general.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE AFRICAN RESPONSE TO THE IMPOSITION OF THE BEER-HALL SYSTEM, 1930-1964

It has been pointed out that any industrialisation process inevitably engenders protest from the existing or potential labour force. This is manifested in various forms according to the range, volume and rate of impact of the economic development being undertaken. These protests are likely to take the form of reluctance to work and passive or overt revolt against industrial discipline which end up in an unorganised walk outs, absenteeism and sudden stoppages which may be accompanied by acts of violence, rioting, sabotage or other forms of revolt.<sup>1</sup> In the same vein when an institutional system of society is regarded as an illegitimate barrier to the achievement of culturally legitimised goals, the stage is set for revolt as a mode of adaptive response. If the revolt becomes widespread in a substantial portion of society, the potential for revolution aimed at restructuring society is created.<sup>2</sup>

The Beer-Hall System was unpopular among Africans as they saw in it a tool for colonial economic exploitation and the European aspiration for political domination. Africans first opposed the Beer-Hall System because it disrupted the tradition patterns of social drinking and prevented the ritual use of alcohol for occasions such as funerals, cleansing, inheritance and worship. It was this disregard for traditional uses of beer that led some

Africans to believe that Beer-Halls disrespected traditions for beer consumption.<sup>3</sup> Most of Africans were against the commercialisation of beer drinking in order to generate profits for the promotion of the African Welfare Programme. One African complained bitterly against the link between Beer-Hall profits and the African Welfare Programme in the following manner:

We have no water, no lights, no schools and no lavatories but municipals say that they will build us a big Beer-Hall. If we drink beer to give profits one day there will be water supplied to us in taps. How much beer must I drink before my children can drink water?

As can be seen the link between Beer-Hall profits and the provision of Welfare facilities was greatly resented by almost every African.

Another complaint against the Beer-Hall System was the poor quality of beer sold in the Beer-Halls. At opening time opaque beer was good, but after a few hours it suddenly went bad. The Beer-Hall manager at Wusakili explained that the poor quality of beer was because of thunder and lightning.<sup>5</sup> Yet the bad quality of opaque beer resulted from dilution and adulteration. In June 1947 at Roan, for example, two African employees were apprehended whilst committing theft. Used tickets were being conveyed to the ticket office for re-sale. To cover up this, beer was diluted with a sufficient quantity of water and the money gained on re-sale of

tickets was pocketed.<sup>6</sup> It should be pointed out that one had to have a ticket before being supplied with opaque beer. The poor quality of opaque beer was also because of the poor quality of grain used in the brewing process. Sometimes beer went sour because of poor storage.

In addition, the opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls though of poor quality, was exceptionally expensive compared to the cost of manufacture and administration. This is reflected in this report which said:

... it is obvious that canteen profits are sometimes unreasonably high and it must be accepted that such excessive profits are due entirely to the retail cost of beer which is sold at a price that has no reasonable relationship to the cost of production.<sup>6</sup>

The Authorities expected to get enough money to sponsor the African Welfare Programme through the high prices slapped on opaque beer.

The high prices and the poor quality of opaque beer sold in Beer-Halls prompted some African miners at Roan to write letters of complaints to the Luanshya Management Board. In 1944, for example, Jack Mbalakwe wrote a letter of complaint to the Management Board. In the same year anonymous letters written by Africans were received by the Board complaining about the quality of beer.<sup>7</sup>

The lack of variety also discouraged many would be patrons of the Beer-Hall. Variety refers to opaque beer being brewed by different people. The beer sold in Beer-Halls was brewed by one brewery plant which, in the early

Halls was brewed by one brewery plant which, in the early years, was found behind a particular Beer-Hall. The lack of variety of beer meant that Africans had no choice in the type of beer they had to drink.<sup>8</sup> This meant that whether the beer was weak or sour they had to buy and imbibe it. One of the greatest attractions of illegal beer was the free cup the potential customer was given to taste. If he did not care for the particular brew after tasting he was free to go elsewhere.

The Beer-Hall System was also criticised on the ground that the hours in which opaque beer was legally sold were not enough. The Beer-Hall was only open during the day and off-sales were not encouraged. Beer had to be consumed at the Beer-Hall premises and the Beer-Hall was usually open from 10.00 hours to 12.00 hours in the mornings and then from about 14.00 hours to 18.00 hours in the afternoons. Those African miners who were in the day shift found it difficult to obtain beer lawfully. To this effect Management Boards and Municipalities were urged to consider the hours in which Beer-Halls could operate so as to make them convenient for even those miners who were on night shift.<sup>9</sup> It was also recommended that off-sales should be allowed and encouraged. In this way the miners on night-shift could find opaque beer reserved for them by their wives.

Africans were also bitterly against the sense of supervision which was apparent in the Beer-Halls. Council or Management Board policemen were placed at strategic points, ostensibly to control the crowds. The presence of policemen, in the Beer-Halls, implied that the African was not responsible enough to look after himself even during his off-duty hours when he was supposed to enjoy himself. It was annoying to discover that even during his leisure time he was closely monitored as if he was still at work.<sup>10</sup>

Since the Beer-Hall was the only place an African could legally obtain beer, the African was thus forced to walk a considerable distance in order to obtain a mug of beer. Consequently, he was compelled to over indulge. Some Africans lived about 8 kilometres away from the only source of legal beer and this meant that they walked a long way after getting drunk.<sup>11</sup> Ironically enough there was a stiff law against those African who were found in a drunken state. In 1948, for example, it was suggested that maximum fines for drunkenness should be increased to £5, £10 and £20 respectively for the first, second and subsequent offenses within twelve months of the first conviction.<sup>12</sup>

The Beer-Halls were always over crowded. It was the major place where one could find entertainment. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new comer to town

always gravitated to the Beer-Hall. In sociological terminology the Beer Hall acted as a medium or place of socialisation to town life.<sup>13</sup> People also complained of the proliferation of crime like swindles and gambling. The Beer-Hall was also blamed for immorality which sometimes led to child neglect and the breaking up of families. The elderly and traditionalists also resented the fact that children and women were allowed into these Beer-Halls. This is what led to complaints that the Beer-Hall provided for traditional drinking in an untraditional way.

By 1960 there were marked differences in the salaries of Africans. Chipungu observed that African miners' wages rose over the years from about 10/- for surface labourers and 15/- for underground miners in the early 1930s to a minimum monthly pay of about £26.12.0 (including bonuses and overtime pay) by 1962. As a result of job reclassification and certification on the basis of skills, some African miners received as much as £42.15.0 per month by the early 1960s. However, this salary differential was not taken into consideration by the authorities as all Africans were still expected to consume their beer at one place, that is, the Beer-Hall. This was not only a source of complaints by the newly established elites but was also a source of brawls. The lowly paid, who were still in the majority (about 60%

still belonged to this category in 1960) envied those, for example, who made it a habit of buying bottled beer and wines. We should point out that bottled beer was sold in Beer-Halls from 1948 onwards. The system of lumping all social groups together was resented by the elites who felt that their prestige in society was being downgraded. Epstein defined prestige as the esteem and regard which are accorded to a person (or groups) by virtue of his personal qualities, his special abilities or his general mode of behaviour and way of life. For example, dressing or one's ability to imbibe large quantities of beer.<sup>14</sup>

Amongst members of a class or social group there is a ready and mutual acceptance of one another as social equals. Members of the class interact more frequently, exchange visits, develop common interest and activities which mark them clearly from other classes. However, the Beer-Hall system lumped all the social groups or classes together. The highly paid Africans bought more beer and could even afford to buy bottled beer. In this way the elites were considered boastful by the lowly paid Africans. The educated and highly paid Africans complained against the dilapidated nature of Beer-Halls and were against the idea of sitting on the floor. Some Beer-Halls had no chairs at all and were very noisy

because of the loud speakers which constantly blared with popular songs.

The Africans did not just complain against the Beer-Hall System. They took practical measures to show their displeasure. One of these practical ways was to stop buying the poor quality and sour opaque beer sold in the hated Beer-Halls. At Luanshya, for example, it was noted that opaque Beer-Hall sales started to gradually decrease. In December, 1943 it was noted that Beer-Hall sales had dropped from £1,386 in October to £1,060 in December. In February, 1946 the total sales had been £1,307 while in March there was a decrease of approximately 20%. In November, 1946 the drop in the sales of opaque beer was still felt and one official complained that:

... the turnover for October for both Canteens (that is the Main and Sub-Canteens) was £1,600 (this was below estimates)... it therefore seems probable that the Welfare expenditure [for Africans] will necessarily have to be considerably reduced. (Instead of a turnover of £1,000 per month from the sub-canteen only an average of approximately £700 was realised).<sup>15</sup>

The official complaint clearly indicates that once Beer-Hall sales fell, expenditure on African Welfare also dropped.

Throughout the colonial period, the Mining Companies and the Northern Rhodesia Government did not change their stand over their principle of using Beer-Hall profits for

the provision of African Welfare. The Mining Companies saw no valid moral or practical reason why reasonable profits from Beer-Hall profits could not be used to finance Welfare programmes for Africans to supplement other sources like the Native Voluntary Savings Scheme. The Mining Companies further pointed out that the method of financing Welfare Services was no more immoral than the high taxation of liquor and tobacco for general purposes including Welfare costs, which was a normal and essential feature of the revenue structure of most states. Private enterprise, it was argued, would only benefit a few individuals instead of benefiting the general African population.<sup>16</sup> In line with this argument Roan Antelope Mine used to contribute £1,500 per month as its contribution towards the promotion of the African Welfare programme in the mine compound.<sup>17</sup>

The high prices of opaque beer in Beer-Halls was justified on the ground that it was a way of minimising drunkenness. The weakness of opaque beer was also justified on the same grounds. However, the high prices charged produced huge profits and weak beer drove many Africans into drinking cheaper but stronger brews like Skokian. This prompted one official to state that:

It is weak beer that makes Africans thirst for Skokian ... for the African, with his limited earnings, there can be nothing better and cheaper than his own beer made slightly stronger.<sup>18</sup>

It has been proved that the Colonial Government and the Mining Companies largely depended on Beer-Hall profits for the promotion of the African Welfare Programme because Beer-Hall Profits were easier to obtain than money from direct taxation and the profits from Copper sales. Lynn Pan observed that:

... it might be said that the revenue from alcohol duties was one of the crucial props on which colonial empires in Africa were built and maintained. This was for several reasons. First was the cardinal principle of the pre - 1914 policies of metropolitan countries that colonies should pay for themselves and grants-in-aid from the mother countries were minimal. Secondly, the imposition of direct taxation as a source of revenue was unpopular among [Africans] ... and governmental efforts to tax directly were generally and repeatedly unsuccessful. Thirdly, European economic investment was conditional upon the freedom to repatriate profits so that most of what money there went abroad. Custom duties were therefore of prime importance for the financial solvency of colonial Governments and those levied on alcohol were clearly crucial.<sup>19</sup>

This explains why Mining Companies liberally used Beer-Hall profits to sponsor African Welfare programmes in spite of the criticism of the Beer-Hall System. However, Africans in general had come to realise that the mining industry was making huge profits out of the sale of copper and wanted these profits to be spent also on the promotion of the African Welfare programme.<sup>20</sup> They, therefore, saw no reason of putting on a fatalistic outlook. They became primed and geared to fight the

exploitative and dominating Beer-Hall System up to the last drop of their blood.

### The Rise of Illicit Brewing of Beer, 1930-1950

The enactment of the 1930 Native Beer Ordinance was intended to wipe away the competition between peasant and commercial manufactures of opaque beer.<sup>21</sup> The 1930 Ordinance allowed only local authorities to be sole brewers and sellers of opaque beer. The ordinance also defined the place where the beer was to be consumed as the Beer-Hall. To this effect each Beer-Hall had its own brewery where African women were employed to brew the much required beer.

The penalties for contravening the Native Beer Ordinance were heavy. Any person contravening the provision of the said Ordinance or any Regulations concerning the brewing of opaque beer was on conviction liable to a fine not exceeding £10 or in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months. A second conviction attracted a fine not exceeding £25 or imprisonment not exceeding six months.<sup>22</sup> Amendments were made from time to time to increase the penalty for contravening the Regulations on opaque beer brewing. Many Africans were fined or imprisoned for simply being found in possession of sprouted grain. One District Commissioner justified this by stating that:

Sweet beer ... is sometimes made from sprouted grain. It would be very difficult to discriminate, however, [due to the fact that sweet beer can be fermented into strong beer].<sup>23</sup>

The above quotation clearly indicates that Africans were not trusted and were always held in suspicion in as far as the consumption of beer was concerned.

It was for this reason that off-sales were not allowed because it was difficult to distinguish the lawfully obtained opaque beer from the illicitly brewed article. Further, even the lawfully obtained beer could be kept longer to raise its alcoholic content by either adding fermented grain or other materials.<sup>24</sup> Thus any servant of a Council Management Board and any member of the police was empowered to seize any opaque beer or malt (that is any kind of grain or other vegetable product in the process of fermentation) in any state of its manufacture or utensils for making beer found within the Beer Area under circumstances showing the contravention of the African Beer Regulations.<sup>25</sup>

The passing of the Native Beer Ordinance, 1930 did not, however, put an end to the manufacture and sale of opaque beer by the peasant producers. In fact, the competition between the commercial and peasant producers became stiffer than ever before. In 1946 Colonel Stuart Gore-Browne admitted the difficulty of eliminating peasant producers of beer.<sup>26</sup> Home brewing was and has

remained a cottage industry providing a source of income particularly to the elderly, single or widowed women with no other means of livelihood. Illicit brewing has similarly been attributed to the need by some Africans to bring their wages up to the subsistence level and to maintain reasonable standards of living.<sup>27</sup>

The increase in the number of African illicit brewers on the Copperbelt, most of whom were wives of African miners,<sup>28</sup> led to the 1941 Native Beer (Amendment) Ordinance. It was intended to overcome the difficulty of controlling excessive beer drinking by Africans in the industrial areas who frequently purchased beer not from the controlled Beer-Halls, but from the neighbouring villages or from the Mikotokoto.<sup>29</sup>

The passive resistance against the Beer-Hall System is demonstrated by the drop of opaque beer sales at Luanshya. The Board Meeting of the Luanshya Management Board held on 10th March, 1943 noted that illicit brewing in the Mine Compound was on the increase. Prior to this date illicit brewing was top of agenda at Board Meetings.<sup>30</sup> On 15th December, 1943 the Finance Committee of the Luanshya Management Board noted that Beer-Hall sales had dropped from £1,386 in October to £1,060 in November, 1943. The major contributing factor was the dreaded illicit brewing in the Mine compound and elsewhere. The turnover at the Beer-Hall as at 29th

March, 1944 was £1,022.15.8. This was the lowest taking since February, 1939 when the population was half of what it was in March 1944. On 28th June, 1944 it was again noted that the Beer-Hall was not doing business as was expected and that takings were £4,000 down for May, 1944 as compared with 1943. From January to May, 1944, at Luanshya, 273 persons were charged with illicit brewing of beer and 95% of these cases were from the Mine Compound.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the 1940s Beer-Hall sales continued to drop. For example throughout 1946 the sub Beer-Hall at Roan recorded a steady decline in sales. This decrease was attributed to illicit brewing. As a result of the drop in Beer-Hall sales the Luanshya Management Board did not contribute the 10% levy to the Central Canteen Trust Fund in 1948 and 1949.<sup>32</sup> The reduction in Beer-Hall sales meant that the expenditure on African Welfare was also automatically affected. Beer-Hall sales were the major source of the African Welfare programme.

The drop in Beer-Hall sales had by 1948 reached a critical stage whereby the government appointed a Commission to investigate reasons for the drop in Beer-Hall sales.<sup>33</sup> This Commission was also given the responsibility of finding out ways of rectifying the worrying situation. The Chicken Report gave its findings in 1948. The Chicken Report roundly condemned, inter

alia, the principle of using Beer-Hall profits for the promotion of the African Welfare programme. The major recommendation of the Chicken Report was that the large Beer-Hall should be abolished and replaced by smaller Beer-Halls or taverns.

During the late 1930s and throughout the period under review Africans resented the idea of the Mining Conglomerates' and the Colonial government's that the Beer-Hall System should be the major source of revenue for the provision of the African Welfare programme.

#### The Role Played by African Welfare Societies 1930-1948

African Welfare Societies emerged on the Copperbelt from 1930 onwards. These were voluntary organisations which were dedicated to the promotion of Welfare among its members. Most members of these Societies were of a younger generation and were better educated. They were more conscious of the problems of urban life and of the rapidly developing pattern of relations between races. These societies aimed at being the link between the Government and the Africans<sup>34</sup>.

The first branch of the African Welfare Society, on the Copperbelt, Luanshya in 1932 and its first Chairman was Dauti Yamba.<sup>35</sup> During 1946 various African Welfare Societies throughout Northern Rhodesia came together to form the Federation of Welfare Societies. The Federation of African Welfare Societies was transformed into the

Northern Rhodesia Congress in 1948. In 1951 this organisation was in turn transformed into the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress.

During their existence African Welfare Societies, advocated for the reduction of drinking hours. African Welfare Societies also wanted women and men to have separate drinking places or Beer-Halls. According to them this would have gone a long way in reducing vices perpetuated at Beer-Halls.<sup>36</sup> The separation of drinking places would not have been workable in the sense that the Mining Managements had started employing women in the various mining operations. In 1946, for example, there were 210 women as compared to 26,206 men employed at Roan and Nkana. However, in 1951 there were only 112 women employed in the Copperbelt mines as compared to 33,336 men.<sup>37</sup> In spite of the many problems associated with women at Beer-Halls, there was no need of separating them since even at work the sexes were not separated.

The African Welfare Societies made suggestions which were intended to make the lives of Africans bearable at Beer-Halls and in African housing units. But these suggestions usually fell on deaf ears as Mining Authorities were mainly interested in making more profits than in bettering the lives of the African labourers.

## The Impact of the 1935 and 1940 Strikes on the Provision of African Welfare

The Mining Conglomerates' stress was in the provision of recreational facilities. The Beer-Hall was the major recreational facility. Many Africans desired other ~~social~~ facilities like improved housing and better medical facilities. It was the shortage of welfare facilities like libraries which forced many African miners to resort to beer drinking. Both the 1935 and 1940 Copperbelt demonstrated the fact that African miners were dissatisfied with the inadequate provision of social services on the Copperbelt.<sup>38</sup> The most serious disturbances took place at Roan.

The Forster Report of 1940 observed that had adequate steps been taken to provide effective means of dealing with the Welfare grievances, it would have been possible that both the Government and Mine Managements would have been better placed to deal with the acute situation which arose in 1940. Consequently, the riots of 1940, which also encompassed a shortage of African Welfare programmes, would have been avoided.

The 1935 riots on the Copperbelt had a great impact on the Northern Rhodesia Officials' and British thinking. This was because the colonial neglect of African Welfare was blatantly exposed to the outside world. For the first time in 1935 the Northern Rhodesia Government

received unfavourable publicity overseas whereby papers like the Time launched bitter attacks on the country's negligible African Welfare programmes.<sup>39</sup> The Copperbelt riots contributed to the formulation and launching of the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme. In the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme of 1940, Britain made available up to £5 million per year for ten years for schemes of any kind that were likely to promote the development of resources of any colony or welfare of its people. It was due to this scheme that Northern Rhodesia, in the late 1940s and the throughout the 1950s witnessed an unprecedented housing programme. More and better houses, were built for Africans in this period than in any other period in the history of this country. However, education remained largely neglected.

#### The Effects of African Boycotts and Riots 1955-1964

It is perplexing to observe that the usual official comment which was given was that an African strike would probably start with a very short warning.<sup>40</sup> From this naive statement one could conclude that there was a breakdown of communication between the Authorities and Africans. This was in view of the fact that Africans had for a long time overtly complained about the Beer- Hall System but to no avail.

It should be pointed out that it was not only the Beer- Halls that Africans complained against. They also

complained about Welfare in general. In July-August, 1956, Africans at Mufulira did not only boycott the Beer-Hall but they also boycotted the Main Welfare Centre, football and the cinema.<sup>41</sup> This boycott began on 30th July, 1956 and during the first four days the boycott of the Main Welfare Centre was a 100% successful. Africans were protesting against the poor recreational and Welfare facilities provided for them.

It has been pointed out that as the Beer-Hall profits increased towns became ever more dependent on beer sale revenues and thus became vulnerable to boycotts. Africans by 1955 had come to realise that if they struck against the Beer-Hall System then the whole edifice of the Colonial System would crumble. In fact most of the Copperbelt riots started in and around Beer-Halls.<sup>42</sup>

As from early 1962 to the middle of 1963 there were major disturbances on the Copperbelt which resulted into the death of about ten people and damage to property worth £2,500.<sup>43</sup> One of the long term causes of these disturbances was the Beer-Hall System. The many people found at the Beer-Hall were easily mobilised by political agitators to fight against the entire colonial edifice. The other reasons for these disturbances on the Copperbelt were due to a critical shortage of housing,

inadequate education and lack of employment, especially among the youth.

The Beer-Hall System posed a great danger to both the Mining Conglomerates and the Government. It was in this light that a suggestion was advanced for the immediate dismantling of the large Beer-Hall in preference for smaller taverns.

### The Collapse of the Beer Hall System

When the Chicken Report of 1948 strongly recommended ~~for~~ the abolition of the Beer-Hall System, it was the Mine Managements who were in the forefront of vigorously opposing the popular verdict. The Mining Authorities, however, carried the day and the larger and imposing Beer-Hall remained a symbol of segregation and exploitation.

In 1964 the Government decided that the old and larger Beer-Halls should be replaced by less degrading drinking establishments to be known as Taverns.<sup>44</sup> While the old Beer-Halls usually catered for 70,000 people the new taverns were going to cater for 200 persons and allowed for a turn over of about 85,000 gallons per year. This was below the Mining Management's estimation of 200,000 gallons per year and a clientele of approximately 3,500 at a time.<sup>45</sup>

As was expected the Mining Conglomerates were strongly against the elimination of the Beer-Hall. The

reasons they gave was that the smaller taverns were uneconomical, the control of Africans in the scattered taverns would be difficult and the distribution of beer would be expensive. It was feared that the uneconomic nature of the smaller establishment would affect the provision of African Welfare.<sup>46</sup>

In the face of the intransigence exhibited by the Mining Conglomerates the Government slapped a levy on opaque beer sold in the old and larger Beer-Halls. The opaque beer sold in the smaller taverns was exempted from this levy. This was a deliberate move to force the Mining officials to dismantle the hated Beer-Hall and replace it with the pleasant and dignified smaller taverns. The levy which was imposed on Beer-Halls came into effect on 1st July, 1964. In order to accommodate this levy the price of opaque beer was increased on 1st June, 1964 from 2/- to 2/8 per gallon. The levy was the difference between the previous retail price of 2/- per gallon plus excise duty of 5d and the new retail price of 2/8 per gallon.<sup>47</sup> In effect the levy was 3d per each gallon sold. The levy went into a new established Fund known as the African Beer Levy Fund. It should be noted that the new retail price also embodied the 1/2d per gallon levy paid to the Local Municipal Councils.

By the end of 1967 Rhokana Corporation had constructed a total of twelve taverns and six off-sales

points at a total cost of £120,645. However, all the money used in the construction of these taverns and this applied to all the new taverns on the Copperbelt, came from the profits made out of beer sales. In fact the Mine Managements borrowed money from the African Beer Levy Fund to build the taverns. The old Beer-Hall in Chamboli Compound was converted into a Community Centre while those in Mindolo and Wusakili were converted into markets. At other mining towns the old Beer-Halls were converted into smaller taverns.

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## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

It has been established that Beer-Halls were primarily introduced on the Copperbelt, in particular and in urban centres in general in order to give a semblance of village life to the migrant workers. In addition Beer-Halls acted as a form of social control. It was at Beer-Halls that the behaviour of the African mine workers was carefully monitored and their frustrations carefully channelled into actions which were not a danger to the smooth operations of the Mining Conglomerates. The Mining Conglomerates did not want anything to interrupt their maxim of cost minimisation and profit maximisation. The Beer-Hall, as a form of recreation, was intended to keep the labouring masses contented and docile. It has also been established that the Beer-Hall System was imposed on the African Mine workers in the sense that they were not consulted as to what form of recreational activities they preferred most.

The passing of the Native Beer Ordinance in 1930 and all the Amendments which followed were primarily intended to eliminate competition between the peasant opaque beer brewers and the commercial and monopolistic Local Authorities' opaque beer brewers. The Native Beer Ordinance of 1930 gave sole responsibility to Local Authorities to manufacture, sale and distribute opaque

beer in a given Beer Area. In 1941, in a further attempt to eliminate peasant or home brewers, the government established Guard Areas. The Guard Areas were established on the fringes of Beer Areas.

The aim of the restrictions on opaque beer brewing and sale was that Local Authorities had to have money in order to sponsor the African Welfare programme. The profits made out of beer sales did not all go to the promotion of the African Welfare Programme in the Mining compounds. We have already noted that some of the Beer-Hall profits were used to support the British war efforts during the Second World War. The establishment of the Central Canteen Trust Fund in 1940 saw some Beer-Hall profits being channelled to improve the rural areas of Northern Rhodesia. This was in spite of the fact that the Mining Conglomerates were making huge profits out of the sale of copper. It has been established that if the profits made out of Copper were devoted to the revenue of Northern Rhodesia, it would have been more than enough to pay for the necessary social services. Consequently the dependence on Beer-Hall profits encouraged beer drinking. This was regardless of the many problems attendant to beer drinking.

It has established that from 1930 to 1955 Africans passively boycotted the Beer-Halls. This was manifested in the fact that opaque beer sales drastically dropped.

The drastic drop in opaque beer sales greatly alarmed both the Mine Managements and the government whereby in 1948 they appointed a Commission to find out the reasons behind the drop in Beer-Hall sales and the proliferation of home brewing. The Chicken Report of 1948 made its findings and recommendations. It became apparent from the Report that most Africans were against the Beer-Hall System.

In order to attract the disillusioned African mine workers back to the Beer-Halls the Native Beer Ordinance was amended in 1948 in order to allow Africans to buy and drink bottled beer and wines. The profits made out of the sale of bottled beer and wines went towards the promotion of the African Welfare programme.

It must be noted that most Africans were lowly paid and could therefore, afford to buy bottled beer and wines. Consequently the government and the Mining Conglomerates invited Henrich Syndicate Limited to establish an opaque beer brewing plant at Kitwe in 1955. The opaque beer brewed by this South African Company was far superior compared to the local opaque brews. As a result, Africans were attracted back to the Beer-Halls and in the process the much needed money for the promotion of the African Welfare programme was again assured.

It has also been established that the encouragement of beer drinking did not only lead to many Africans becoming addicts but also that many children on the Copperbelt became malnourished. This was because money for children and mothers was spent on beer. On the other hand, the African mine workers gained weight from drinking a lot of opaque beer. The Mining Authorities were not particularly concerned with what happened to the children and mothers as long as the fathers looked healthy and produced the much needed copper.

It should also be stated that Mine Managements received a 50% grant-in-aid from the government for Medical Welfare for its African employees. This meant that Medical Services in mining compounds were equally offered between the government and the Mining Conglomerates. However, the 50% Government contribution came from profits made out of Beer-Hall sales. The 50% Government contribution went to buy, for example, drugs and the support of medical examinations. The Mining Conglomerates' contribution was in form of buildings and usually these buildings or clinics had been constructed out of Beer-Hall profits. Baby food, subsidized milk, soup rations and other food and drinks supplied to Creches all were bought out of Beer-Hall profits.

The Employment of Native Ordinance and Regulations of 1929 stated that the provision of education was going

to be the sole responsibility of Government. The Mining Conglomerates, throughout the period under review, strictly followed this clause as contained in the 1929 Ordinance. The government built schools in mining compounds and provided staff to man these schools. However, the Mining Conglomerates provided creches for African children under the age of seven. Children above the age of seven were deemed to be the responsibility of the government.

The Mining Conglomerates also relied heavily on Non-Governmental Organisations in the provision of Physical Welfare to the African Mine employees. It was in this regard that the United Missions to the Copperbelt were allowed to enter African Mine compounds to administer lessons in hygiene, dressmaking and cooking to African women. The Salvation Army was also very active on the Copperbelt. Although the Mining Conglomerates were suspicious of Missionaries that they preached about equality among the races, they were allowed into the mining compounds in order to relieve the Mining Conglomerates from spending more on their African employees.

It has also been established that Mining Conglomerates used profits made out of the Cinema, Tea-rooms and Dry Canteens to provide Social amenities for its African employees. The major stress was on the

provision of Recreational Welfare. In this regard, therefore, the Beer-Hall was, the major form of social control. In fact all recreational facilities were found in and around the Beer-Hall for example the Cinema, Welfare Centre and anti-natal clinic were found at the same place as the Beer-Hall. The idea behind the centralisation of recreational activities was to make sure that those who were from watching a film, for example, could be attracted to buy beer from the conveniently situated Beer-Hall. It was for this reason that African private enterprise was not allowed in the Tea-room and Bar industries. Street vendors were allowed to trade in second hand clothing but not in the provision of beer or tea. Private enterprise was said to benefit individuals only and not the entire toiling masses.

It is also true to say that Mining Conglomerates got money out of the Native Voluntary Savings Schemes to provide recreational facilities for their African employees. It was in this way that some Beer-Halls were later constructed in mining compounds.

The African attitude towards the Beer-Hall System was mostly that of hatred. They hated the Beer-Halls on the grounds that they were unattractive in appearance. Most of the Beer-Halls on the Copperbelt were in a dilapidated state. The Beer-Halls were usually overcrowded. Most of the Beer-Halls had been built when the

population was small but by 1960 the population on the Copperbelt had tremendously increased. In spite of the increase in population no major effort had been made to build more Beer-Halls to accommodate the increased population. The major complaint against the Beer-Halls was the poor quality of opaque beer provided in them and above all it was seen as a symbol of European domination. Consequently, the Beer-Hall System was one of the long term causes for the struggle against colonial hegemony. It was in this vein that Copperbelt riots usually began in and around Beer-Halls and then spread to the other parts of the town. The Beer-Hall System greatly contributed to the collapse of Colonialism in Northern Rhodesia.

The gradual phasing out of the degrading large Beer-Hall slowly began prior to the attainment of independence in October, 1964. The Mining Conglomerates were against the abolition of the large Beer-Hall on the pretext that it was easier to control large crowds congregated at one central place than smaller crowds scattered around the mine compounds. They also argued that large Beer-Halls made more profits than smaller establishments. However, the newly established African government did not listen to these arguments and eventually forced the Mine Conglomerates to do away with the large Beer-Halls. In the place of the large Beer-Hall, smaller and decent

taverns were constructed. These smaller and decent establishments were constructed out of Beer-Hall Funds. The government and Mining Conglomerates still continued to use profits made out of beer to sponsor African Welfare. However, the newly installed government did not encourage and coerce Africans into drinking beer. Apparently after independence Beer-Hall profits were not the only source from which the African Welfare programme was financed and promoted.

It has become apparent that throughout the period under review both the Government and the Mining Conglomerates were not prepared to provide decent Welfare facilities to the Africans because urban areas were not considered to be permanent settlement places for Africans. It was always hoped that Africans would eventually retire to their villages. It was because of this that the Mining Conglomerates provided limited social and medical facilities for their African employees. This was in spite of the fact that throughout the colonial period copper was a viable product on the international market.

It was because of this that the Mining Conglomerates provided limited and centralised social facilities for their African employees.

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