



REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

THE JUDICIARY

**PRESENTATION
BY
THE HONOURABLE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF
ZAMBIA**

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**AT THE INAUGURAL LAUNCH AND PUBLIC LECTURE
OF THE HARRY MWAANGA NKUMBULA FOUNDATION
AT
PAMODZI HOTEL, LUSAKA
HELD ON
WEDNESDAY 17TH APRIL 2024**

**INAUGURAL PUBLIC LECTURE DELIVERED BY THE HON. CHIEF JUSTICE,
DR. MUMBA MALILA, SC, ON THE OCCASION OF THE LAUNCH OF THE
HARRY MWAANGA NKUMBULA FOUNDATION**

TAJ PAMODZI HOTEL, LUSAKA, 17TH APRIL 2024.

It was with great pleasure, tinged with considerable unease that I accepted the invitation to be a speaker at the inaugural Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula Public Lecture. The occasion also marks the launch of the Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula Foundation. I understand that the Foundation and the Public Lectures have been instituted to honour the memory of the distinguished freedom fighter, astute educator, skillful organizer, national unifier, political problem-solver and icon nationalist, described by some as ‘the Old Lion of Zambia.’ He lived between 15 January 1916 and 8 October 1983. At age 67 when he died, he was perhaps not that old after all, especially in the respectful view of those whose ages are in the neighbourhood of 67 or have long surpassed it.

He was nearly 50 years old when I was born—a whole lifetime, I must say, for many people in Zambia at the time when life expectancy in this part of the world stood at 49.8 years. To stress the point, at the time of his death, I was still a teenager. And, for the benefit of those of our colleagues in the audience who place a high premium on precision, let me state that I never had the privilege of speaking to Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula myself, nor did I have the pleasure of

meeting him in person. Little wonder then that my first reaction upon receipt of the invitation from the Board of the Foundation to give this lecture was to question my own capacity to undertake successfully such a humongous task, granted the stature of the man and the fact that he and I were generations apart.

I am sure that you will agree that merely attempting, as I am doing, to exalt this dogmatic legendary, who wielded a reputation of political dynamism in our country's independence struggle, is indeed daunting. I am, however, considerably encouraged by African customary wisdom which suggests that the size of an animal does not matter; what matters is the taste of its soup.

On a more solemn note, I must say I do not take the honour bestowed on my modest self lightly. I feel highly privileged, I must admit, to have heeded the flattering invitation to give this lecture today. And allow me to add that any deficiencies in the quality of my offering tonight should be put down to the fact that I am not a political historian or a political analyst, but a mere post-independence Chief Justice who never experienced, first-hand, the mood and shenanigans of the liberation struggle during Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula's time in Northern Rhodesia.

Apart from my own personal fond memories of the man, which I gathered largely from my reading of the history of Zambia's freedom struggle, and my law school lectures as an undergraduate at the University of Zambia decades ago, the story of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula for me stands as a symbol of our democracy and

its values. It stands as a reminder to all of us that the peace that we enjoy in our country today did not come cheap, nor was it an historical accident. To bring it about, it had to take the contribution of strong-willed, courageous, independent-minded, vocal voices, tolerant and selfless individuals like Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula.

It is important that I stress this point because after nearly sixty years of self-rule we may be tempted to take it for granted that whatever our history text books have not recorded or stressed enough about our forward march to independence, either did not happen or was unimportant. This caution is particularly significant given that our compatriots in this audience, some of whom are in their early adulthood, have no personal recollection of the political trials and tribulations that got us to this point in our development as a unitary state.

In the same way that only a small percentage of our population today can recall life under colonial rule, for many of our people the memories of the independence struggle and the one-party rule are receding into the dim past, and the identities of the key personalities that were instrumental in our liberation as a people are disappearing into the recesses of history.

When I think of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and his contribution to the liberation struggle of this country, I think of the values that a leader, especially a good one, must have: vision, conviction, integrity, sincerity, loyalty, tolerance, accommodation and humility. These are values that are discernable from one's

actions and not just from one's words. As I hope to demonstrate in this lecture, Nkumbula held, with remarkable consistency, a very high ethical standard of behaving in line with these values.

One thing that remains unadulterated is that he was relentless in his courage and conviction to give trouble to those who caused trouble for the African race in Northern Rhodesia. He was, I surmise, driven by some of the noblest principles and character traits of a good political leader. I also think he was a principled man, inventive, forward-looking and pragmatic. From what my reading of history reveals, he was equally a great strategist, and that made him one of the most influential politicians in our history as a country, influential in a positive sense.

He served his country through political activism from his youthful days in the 1940s, with a great sense of duty, patriotism and utmost truthfulness. His unshakeable belief in an independent and democratic Zambia as well as his dogged determination to help build a genuine multiethnic and multiracial democracy in Zambia gave him the moral authority to embrace national reconciliation which enabled Zambia to turn its back on the senseless horrors and cruelties of political violence that gripped the nation in the years immediately following the formation of the United Independence Party (UNIP). He was, indeed, the outstanding statesman of Zambia's history, who laid a foundation of respect for human rights and individual liberties, the rule of law, and love of nation above self.

His over three decades in struggle for equality, freedom, justice and progress, made him one of the greatest heroes of the Northern Rhodesian liberation movement, and a unifying force when the newly independent nation appeared fragmented and weak. He was indeed a symbol of bravery, faith, and promise. He was loved, admired and respected but was never hero-worshipped by the greatest number. He is in a sense, one of the unsung heroes of Zambia's liberation movement.

His contribution to nationalism and the independence of Zambia has largely been overshadowed by what could well have been a calculated focus on the populism of other freedom fighters of the time, thanks to the concerted and well-orchestrated efforts by some of his opponents to caricature him as an arrogant person, unorthodox, a terrorist, a tribalist, a trouble-maker, a rouge element who rejoiced in riotous living involving wine, women and song.

This projection of the man, together with the fact that he never became the President of Zambia like his compatriot Kenneth Kaunda, has led, over the years, to his incalculable contribution to Zambia's freedom fight being largely sidelined or even forgotten in mainstream political discourse. But as George Orwell cautions us, the most effective way to destroy people is to deny and obliterate their understanding of their own history.

It is significant, I submit, that our history as a people should neither be lost nor distorted because, as Theodore Roosevelt quite instructively observed, the more

you know about the past, the better prepared you are for the future. We need, not only to know the past, we need to correct any distortions in our history while there are still enough witnesses.

The situation of the seeming neglect or misrepresentation of Nkumbula's real contribution to the nationalist movement and the quest for the independence of Northern Rhodesia as well as to the consolidation of nationhood after independence, is unsurprising. After all history, as we know it, is replete with examples of leaders whose ideas, policies and programmes were, at the time they were being conceived or implemented, criticised by people who did not look into the future, and yet, were later vindicated. Abraham Lincoln and Harry Truman of the United States, the UK's Winston Churchill, and, I dare add, our own Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, are just a few examples. In any case, it is only given to those who in the hindsight of history can see defining events in a larger perspective, to appraise them fully.

Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula's credentials as a nationalist, patriot and pacifist before the famous Choma Declaration of 1972 had been considerable; but I venture to say that it was that single act of signing the Declaration in the heady moments when peace appeared to be eluding the young nation of Zambia, that sealed his legacy as a quintessential Zambian statesman and democrat par excellence. The plaudits from all parts of the country poured in like showers in the desert, to calm the heat and settle the dusty-storms. That was to be one of the last of his lasting contributions to the future of his country.

Yet you may ask: who exactly was this man? Where was he from? What did he really do for this country? Answering these questions would demand delving into the circuitous history of the man as well as that of Northern Rhodesia in general. On this occasion, we do not have the luxury to do so. A cursory recount of the defining moments will do.

Born in Maala Village of Namwala District in Southern Province, this iconic nationalist became part of the movement for the independence of Northern Rhodesia in his twenties. He distinguished himself as a relentless fighter for Northern Rhodesian's liberation. He had the benefit of education from Methodist schools, attaining in 1936, his standard VI at Kafue Training Institute, which had been rechristened Kafue Boys Secondary School by the time I entered the same institution as a form 1 pupil some 42 years later. He used his privileged position and became an educationist, in 1938, teaching in Namwala District for a while before he was posted to Mufulira Central School as Headmaster.

By the time he was moved to Wusakile Elementary School in Kitwe where he continued to serve as Headmaster between 1942 – 1943, he had become not only a champion of the cause for better African education in general, but also a passionate advocate for the education of the girl child in particular. Occasionally he wrote very critical papers about the colonial education's neglect of the girl child and the importance of female education which the colonial administration found rather offensive. He in fact campaigned door to door for parents to send

their children to school. He understood that the real safeguard of the independence and democracy that Africans of Northern Rhodesia were clamouring for, is education. It was not lost on him that quality education is the currency for personal progress, democracy and development in any country.

The real turning point in Nkumbula's political fortunes was in 1942 when he became the founding Secretary of the African Teachers' Association of the Copperbelt. This Association, in its own ways, insisted on an independent Zambia, resisting the colonial Government of the time, and opposing the threatened imposition of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Through all his political activities, especially under that Association, Nkumbula showed that he was a tenacious servant leader.

Sir Roy Welensky and his kind, fervently advocated the establishment of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, claiming that this was necessary to enhance a partnership between the white settlers and the black indigenous people of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Nkumbula well understood the consequences that were to come with the dominion status of being in a federation. His political activism saw him vigorously lead a vicious crusade against the proposed federation. In opposing the federation, Nkumbula, at one meeting suggested the massacre of the white settlers as a way of making them understand the deep revulsion with which the notion of the federation resonated in the minds of the black people of Northern Rhodesia. In reaction the colonial

government labeled him as a trouble maker and the most dangerous man alive in Northern Rhodesia.

In a move that was seen both as necessary to protect him and as good riddance of the man who was proving to be a thorn in the flesh of the colonial administration of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Stewart Gore Brown, who was sympathetic to the cause of the black people of Northern Rhodesia, helped secure a scholarship for Nkumbula in 1946 for him to go and study at Makerere University where he discovered that the breed of the white people that he found there was far more affable and accommodating than the one he had left in Northern Rhodesia. He later went to the University of London on a British Council Scholarship. There he not only obtained a diploma in Education, but came under the influence of pan Africanism with a colleague and compatriot, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who was later to become President of independent Malawi.

Upon his return from London, Nkumbula established himself as a natural leader becoming in 1951, the second president of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, succeeding Godwin Mbikusita-Lewanika. The latter later became the Litunga of Barotseland.

The Northern Rhodesia African Congress proved to be a formidable political organization that championed African interests, opposed colonial subjugation of the indigenous people of Northern Rhodesia and campaigned for self-rule. The

name of the party was later to change to African National Congress (ANC) with Kenneth Kaunda as its Secretary General in 1953.

Had Nkumbula's opposition to the federation relented by that time? Not one bit! If anything, his tenacity had become even more profound. It was heightened by his interaction with likeminded leaders like Hastings Kamuzu Banda while he was in London. He thus continued in his opposition to white rule being, in the view of the colonial administration, a bad egg in a general way. For example, he confronted the colour bar in ways that were most disagreeable to the colonial government, burnt of government white papers, wrote offensive articles, etc. He and Kenneth Kaunda led the Lusaka boycott of butcheries which was moderately successful. In 1955, Nkumbula and Kaunda were sent to jail for two months for, among other things, being in possession of and distributing seditious literature.

It was that imprisonment that seemed to have somewhat diminished the political fortunes of the Old Lion. Upon his release from quod, he preferred passive resistance to violent confrontation and agitation. There was a general feeling that jail time could have mellowed Nkumbula significantly. He was henceforth viewed as less militant, less radical—in short, weak and more inclined to accommodate the colonial government. Besides being viewed as a moderate, he was also seen as being autocratic, craving of a good life etc. He was isolated slowly by those who advocated militancy and violence against the colonial administration. He lost a huge following of ordinary members and leaders alike, including Kenneth Kaunda.

The nationalist movement split in 1958. A break-away party from the ANC, the Zambian African National Congress (ZANC) was formed with Kaunda as its president. The party was, not long after its formation, banned and Kenneth Kaunda sent to jail. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) was formed in 1959 while Kaunda was in prison. Mathias Mainza Choona headed it. Upon his release from jail, Kaunda took over the leadership of UNIP as president.

Nkumbula and his ANC soldiered on despite the setback of resignations and isolation. During the 1959 elections, he was elected to the Legislative Council but faced a trying time the next year when he was charged with dangerous driving, convicted and sentenced to a year in prison. He lost his appeal. He nonetheless continued to be a factor in the liberation struggle, albeit with diminished influence.

Although he was still widely acknowledged for his leading role as the father of African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia, his reputation had severely suffered as compared with that of his rival, Kenneth Kaunda. He personally led various delegations to London to demand independence. One of such trips was with three chiefs, namely Gawa Undi, Mpezeni and Chitimukulu. He, however, was not enjoying very good publicity. It was thus just a matter of time that the perceptibly affable, reputedly hard-drinking and politically abstemious Nkumbula and his African National Congress were outdone by the proactive, and radical Kaunda and his UNIP in the race to win independence.

With UNIP's chachacha movement taking root amongst its militant cadres, inter-political party violence was born, mainly against the passive resistance supporters of the ANC. Incidences of violent clashes between the supporters of the two parties were regularly recorded. In spite of all the differences that he had with UNIP and its leadership, Numbula remained a great visionary, and a purposeful servant leader of integrity. When in the Legislative Council a bill was once proposed targeting to destroy UNIP, Nkumbula debated passionately against it to save UNIP.

The real crunch came in 1962 when elections of 30 October that year were held under the "15-15-15" system. They were held with a view to introducing self-government in Northern Rhodesia. UNIP was unable to secure the required number of seats in the Legislative Council in order for it to form the government and so were the other parties. As no party had an absolute majority to form government, a coalition was to be formed. Although the ANC had far less votes compared to UNIP and the white dominated United Federal Party (UFP), it held the trump card in that it had sufficient to contribute to the formation of the next government.

Nkumbula held talks with both UNIP and the UFP about forming a coalition government. He gave a condition to each. To UNIP, he asked it to condemn communism and denounce the use of violence and intimidation. To UFP, he demanded the end of the notion of a political federation. These were selfless

conditions that were designed to further what Nkumbula had stood for his whole time as a freedom fighter. A lesser man would have been focused on what was in it for him as an individual.

In the end Nkumbula weighed the options against the greater good of the people of Northern Rhodesia. He graciously agreed to join a coalition government with the United National Independence Party (UNIP) led Kenneth Kaunda thereby ushering in the first black government in the country's history, where he served as Minister for African Education. Such was his selflessness as a leader. A man who lived for and lived to see a united Zambia earning for himself in the process, the national emblem of dignity and tolerance.

In most of Africa, as we know, the inclination by leaders is not to countenance the idea of being ousted from power. In African, in the aftermath of the independence struggle in many countries insecurity had given rise to authoritarianism. Accordingly, the banning of opposition parties and the detention of opposition leaders had been perceived as pre-emptive steps. We in Northern Rhodesia were promised something different. Some seven months before independence (in March 1964) President Kaunda had assured the nation that a one-party state in Zambia would only be introduced through the election process.

Three years later, that is in 1967, the President reiterated the same principle when addressing an Annual Conference of UNIP held at Mulungushi. He

summarised the government's position on the issue as follows: 1. that his government was in favour of a one-party state; 2. that there was no intention of legislating against the opposition; 3. that by being honest to the cause of the common man the party and its government would, through effective organisations, paralyse and wipe out any opposition, thereby bringing about the birth of a one-party state; 4. that even when that eventuality comes about Government would still not legislate against the formation of opposition parties, because it might be bottling up the feelings of certain people no matter how few.

At independence the three parties, UNIP, ANC and NPP, competed for power in the 1964 elections. Out of the contest UNIP had fifty-six elected members in parliament, ANC obtained eight seats, and the NPP came out with ten members elected on the reserved European roll. When Zambia attained independence in 1964, Nkumbula's ANC became the official opposition party in Zambia's new parliament.

1968 was also an election year. The NPP having been dissolved in 1968, the contest was between UNIP and ANC. The results were that UNIP emerged with eighty-one elected members and ANC with twenty-three members. In those elections, Western Province, formerly a UNIP stronghold, rejected almost all candidates sponsored by UNIP. President Kaunda then realised the force of the opposition. The 1968 elections had worked against the government's plan for the destruction of the opposition through the ballot box. UNIP suffered further set-

back with the resignation of Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe and his followers and the formation of the United Progressive Party (UPP) in 1970/71.

The political climate which resulted from the emergence of UPP on the political scene of Zambia was tense and manifested itself in nationwide appeals not only for the detention of its leaders, but also for the introduction of a one-party state. In the wake of these demands from every part of the country, the government abandoned its original stand on the introduction of the one-party state. President Kaunda now insisted that the government's decision to bring about a one-party state through legislation.

The commission that was established in Zambia to consider the desired changes was not asked to consult people on whether or not they wanted the change - the cabinet had already decided for them —but they were to take written or oral evidence on ‘the form it should take in the context of the philosophy of humanism and participatory democracy’.

Nkumbula, a fierce critic of the one-party state, was no quiescent. He took out an action against the government challenging the legality of this step on the ground that his fundamental rights were likely to be infringed. The Court of Appeal rejected the petition on the basis that if the government first amended the constitution in the appropriate manner, he had no right to be infringed. Moreover, the courts have no power to prevent or question any bill before it becomes law, even if it aims at removing fundamental rights. The One-party Bill

followed all the required amendment procedures, and when it became law, amended any conflicting provisions. This decision effectively slammed the door to multiparty democracy in Zambia for a while.

The decision of the High Court and the then Court of Appeal for Zambia in the case of *Harry Nkumbula v Attorney General* will remain an important decision in the Constitutional history of Zambia in many respects. It marked the last battle which the opposition parties in Zambia put up against the establishment of a one-party state in the country until the reemergence of the multiparty movement in 1991. It presented one of the most difficult moments the courts had ever faced in that the issue involved, apart from being politically sensitive, tested the independence of the courts from political pressure.

On 27th June 1973, the Choma Declaration was signed. This was intended to forestall tension, fighting between various parties. It paved the way for a one-party state when magnanimous Nkumbula accepted to merge with UNIP. If the declaration had not been signed, divisions and violence that had existed amongst Zambia's political parties would have persisted.

This, in short is the story of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and the liberation fight for Zambia. So, what would we say the verdict is on Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula's leadership in the liberation struggle and to the ideas of black consciousness? Undoubtedly, it is overwhelmingly positive, in my humble view. And the lesson

we learn from are numerous and can be discerned from his attributes key of which are that:

He believed in education and progress

Throughout his professional career as a teacher before he drifted into mainstream politics, Nkumbula valued education a great deal. He showed the nation that there can be no substitute to quality education. He particularly advocated the education of the girl child.

He was neither vindictive nor vengeful

In all his dealings Nkumbula proved in a very profound way to be the go-to figure despite all the disappointments he faced. When his trusted lieutenants left his party to form ZANC, he remained steadfast and focused on the bigger picture, i.e. attainment of majority rule. When Mahatma Gandhi, said ‘the history of the world is full of men who rose to leadership, by sheer force of self-confidence, bravery and tenacity,’ Harry Mwanga Nkumbula is a perfect example. And to adapt the phrase by Lord Denning, politics and governance, like the law, is for ‘bold souls not timorous ones.’

If Nkumbula had adopted a vengeful attitude, he would have supported the bill in the Legislative Council that was targeting to destroy UNIP which was composed of his former supporters cum political foes. He did not take to heart

the deep differences that had ensured between him and his former Secretary General, Kenneth Kaunda.

Nkumbula cooperated with Kaunda in the interest of the nation. He formed a coalition when the unity of the nation mattered. He signed the Choma Declaration, all in an effort to bring about peace. In this sense he was a true patriot and a perfect peace builder.

He was a democrat

Nkumbula valued political competition. In his criticism of the idea of a one-party state, in parliament, he pointed out that it would limit civil liberties and concentrate power in the hands of one man. He took the matter of the introduction of a one-party state to court, though he was not successful.

Following the Choma Declaration of 1973, he reluctantly joined UNIP and served as Member of Parliament from 1973 to 1983. However, in 1978, with former vice president Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe being a true democrat that he was, he melodramatically announced that he would challenge Kaunda for the leadership of UNIP and the right to contest the 1978 presidential elections.

UNIP quickly moved to change the party constitution, barring those people who had not been members for more than five years, which disqualified Simon Kapwepwe. As for Old Harry, he faced a hostile crowd at Mulungushi Rock of

Authority in Kabwe, who frustrated his supporters making him unable to raise the required number of supporters from the nine provinces. Both these tactics are not unfamiliar in today's politics.

Being respecters of the rule of law, Nkumbula and Kapwepwe challenged their disqualification to contest elections in the high court and when they were unsuccessful petitioned the Supreme Court. To this day, the case brought by Nkumbula and Kapwepwe against UNIP remains significant in Zambia's jurisprudence.

Nkumbula readily accepted differences in opinion with others and advocated peaceful co-existence. He opposed the introduction of the one-party state because he believed that democracy entailed choice and that divergency in political opinion was good for governance, good for human rights and good for the development of the country.

He believed in human rights and the rule of law

Nkumbula believed that human rights must be upheld and protected at all times. His whole life in the nationalist movement was about the promotion of human rights-equality, non-discrimination etc. He believed in people participating in the governance of their country which is why he adopted the approach of 'live and let live.'

When he perceived that his rights were in danger of being violated through the introduction of the one-party system, he went to court as every good citizen who is aggrieved should do. The court ruled against him. He accepted the verdict of the court even if he did not agree with it – as every good citizen should.

As a believer in the rule of law, Nkumbula did not take to disparaging the decision of the court. He moved on and through his signing of the Choma Declaration, embraced the very idea that he had initially opposed. As a good leader, he understood that flexibility for the benefit of the greater good of the country, was the way to go.

He was a good loser

In 1964, Nkumbula lost the elections and the opportunity to be the Prime Minister of Zambia. He accepted the decision of the voters and allowed the government of Kenneth Kaunda to deliver. In the real sense, by adopting such a stance, he was ultimately the triumphant statesman of Zambia.

He was a visionary

Nkumbula was a believer in free market and entrepreneurship and brutally opposed UNIP's state-driven economic development model warning it would impoverish the country. His fears came to pass, as Zambia moved from being a prosperous country, which was the envy of its neighbors to a one where

shortages of essential commodities, debilitating debt burden and impoverishment became the order of the day.

He believed in a united Zambia

From his approach to issues and his readiness to offer concessions to accommodate the greater good rather narrow personal and partisan interests it is obvious that next to the liberation of Northern Rhodesia, was the unification of Zambia. He selfless forewent so much to ensure the unity of the country. If Nkumbula made the unification of a divided Zambia a reality, we can only pay tribute to him by making the unity of Zambia a reality, also. Such has been his greatness that even in his death his great light will continue to shine bright and we must let his example shine on to illuminate the entirety of Zambia as we strive to take to the doorsteps of every household the benefits of progress and freedom which he fought for.

As I conclude, let me say something on the honouring our fallen heroes and heroines. I wish in this regard to start by commending the Nkumbula family for coming up with the idea of establishing a foundation to preserve the memory of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula. It is indeed a fitting tribute to a man who contributed immensely to our freedom and inspired generations of Zambians to fight for freedom, social justice, and democracy. Nkumbula sowed the seeds that inspired pro-democracy advocates of the late 1980s and early 1990s that gave birth to the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) and the Third Republic.

It is important that we in this country learn to honour our heroes and preserve our memory in archives, libraries and museums. Unfortunately, history has tended to glorify those who get into political office to the exclusion of those who contribute from opposition ranks, or who for that matter fall out of favour.

Zambia's political history has been re-written, and credit given to those who joined the struggle much later. Names such as those of Harry Nkumbula, Mungoni Liso, Simon Kapwepwe, Nalumino Mundia, Kapasa Makasa, Munukayumbwa Sipalo, Mufaya Mumbuna, Malama Sokoni, and many others, have all but been forgotten. Their exclusion has been largely because they disagreed with the then rulers and joined opposition ranks. This anomaly will need to be corrected.

While we applaud the Sixth President, Mr. Michael Sata, for honoring some of these heroes when he renamed Ndola Airport and Livingstone Airport after some of them, I would go as far as suggest that the ANC office in Chilenje, Mapoloto and houses where Old Harry lived in Chilenje be declared national monuments in recognition of the contribution Nkumbula made to Zambia's freedom.

Given his interest in education, it I would not be a bad idea to have a new public university named after Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula. I have no doubt in my mind that the Zambian people would warm up to such an idea in the same way that

they did to a similar one for Kapasa Makasa University and Paul Mushindo University. This could be the greatest tribute we fellow Zambians can pay him.

May the spirit of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula live on.

I thank you for listening.