

**Selected correspondence about David's NWP life
(mostly to Zindi in the USA):
January 1976—mid 1979**

KEY WORDS IN THIS CORRESPONDENCE: University of Zambia (UNZA) troubles and its closure in early 1976 with Robert Molteno and many other lecturers in detention; Mushala troubles; academic research whilst traveling throughout the NWP; UNZA seminars in the NWP; shortages of daily goods following Rhodesia's boycott; Angola refugees flow into Maheba refugee camp at beginning of period and then Zaire refugees start flowing into the camp later in 1979. Rhodesia's bombing of ZAPU refugee camp in 1979.

For most letters I give the date, individuals I am writing to (or from) and the length. Letters with only personal contents, without important information for website readers, often have only dates and brief summary of "key items" in the letter

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16th Jan. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents:

- a) Angola is in "total chaos" with much fighting and Zambia getting lots of refugees
- b) Have a bleeding ulcer that ended up hospitalizing me.
- c) Getting deeply involved in Kansanshi club.
- d) Robert Molteno and other UNZA lecturers detained.

13th Feb. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (3 pp.) -- Letter contents: Detention of Robert Molteno and other in Lusaka

"Thank you for your letter . . . I shall endeavour herewith to give you as detailed a version of things here as the paper will allow. I have now been back in Zambia for 2 ½ weeks and Solwezi for eight days. This period is certainly the most memorable period in my life so far in many ways. Unfortunately, more negative than positive.

"First a few responses to your letter. I shall not write Orienda, but if she is still in Canada, call her and tell her to change her plans and not come to Zambia at this time under any circumstances. Firstly gasoline is now \$2.25 a gallon and I simply cannot afford now to come to Lusaka to meet her. And, secondly, as you will see from below, the situation here is exceedingly tense and to come to Solwezi I had to go through at least eight road checks. And I simply cannot stand the strain of this often and will fly to Lusaka when I have to go, except for the vital conferences, which requires my driving, on the 22nd.

"The ending to your letter was more than wise, but whatever it will help or not, time will tell. You closed by saying 'take care'. I arrived amidst a university crisis with bad health, as I think I told you in my letter from Lusaka. Neither has improved dramatically. If anything, the latter has improved far more than the former!!

"When I was in Lusaka one lecturer had just been detained. But then, when I got a Landrover and news of unfortunate crises in Solwezi, I rushed here, eight days ago. (Will describe the situation here -- below.) Right after that I heard the University was closed after the students boycotted classes last Friday and two more lecturers were detained -- one of which most tragically for everyone, you know well, Robert Molteno! I had been with him the night we listened to the President's speech and then later when his friends were detained. He was too vulnerable -- involved by opposing our support of UNITA, honest, and outspoken, plus too

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knowledgeable. I was so upset when I heard the news, I ended up with a small migraine! I finally had to just push it out of my mind. As much as possible! Will only know how he is surviving when I get to Lusaka as he was an ill man anyway. My sorrow and horror is almost unlimited, as he was so dear and close to me along with Marion and their lovely two girls. Since then at least three more lecturers were have also 'gone' in and as far as I know, none released yet -- five expatriates and one Zambian. The University has been closed 'indefinitely' except for the Ridgeway campus -- our department and the School of Medicine.

"Anyway, I'm worried sick not only of the above, but now for myself, as I'm not sure how far this will go, although I think Solwezi is too far away and having been on leave I have not offended the government. I must go and want to, to find the situation on the 22nd to the Ridgeway Campus for our annual meeting. When I go down I am going to try to get you a ticket to come just in case I should ever go in -- have the dates left open so you could, if disaster strikes come, sell my stuff, etc.. This may sound alarming and I am extremely worried and will keep you informed. In connection with this, may suggest that you try as soon as possible to get medical insurance for me -- rather hospitalization, in case I should have to come back abruptly if my health continues to deteriorate. Please, consider this request as important.

"Enough on the gloomy side. I'll let the problems of Solwezi go without discussion(!) except to say they appear to be on the road to being solved. We had been chucked out of the office, etc., but have, as I said, been solving such matters.

"Individually people in Lusaka and Solwezi have given me a fantastically warm welcome. This has helped ease the problems above. Also the weather while wet, has been very pleasant and delightful after NYC in December and London in January! So, not all is gloomy!!! As noted on the back of my last envelope, had a lovely 15 minute chat with Sibusi and she really gives you her warmest thanks for the dress and best regards. She is a dear, dear person indeed.

"Have settled in my old house and it is almost as if I never went away. After a week of thorough house cleaning, I am happily settled in home-wise. Supplies in Solwezi seem better these days than in Lusaka! We have toilet paper, etc., here that Lusaka has not seen in weeks! . . . Write soon. Use airletters unless reposting some letters.

18th Feb. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi -- Letter contents: Problems of detentions

". . . Be careful what you say about the President [Kaunda] in your letters -- please! The last said too much! And if writing without enclosures in which you need to discuss such matters use air letters. With enclosures say nothing controversial or when using regular letters. . . .

"We now have a curfew from 10:00 P.M. to dawn. Everyone locally has given me the warmest welcome, etc., but, still, one can feel the tension and many ask about UNZA. Fortunately, I know nothing except what others tell me who have radios and simply say this and change the topic. Still, the situation is really hitting me and I hope Lusaka-- though I expect chaos, etc. -- when I visit, will relieve my tension by enabling me to get the whole story and not bits and pieces.

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"After writing my letter to you Saturday, President Kaunda seemingly answered publicly a petition from the University -- Senate or some staff body -- requesting the lecturers' release and threatening strike. He said he would not be threatened and had no intention of answering their petition or request. Also, alarmingly he seemingly said that one (some?) -- I got this second hand -- lecturers detained were criminals at home as well. I can only assure he means Molteno who is a "criminal" because he opposes *apartheid* and MPLA, etc.! If he is released, he might be sent to S.Af. and "zap" there, so I am terribly concerned. What a sad story!

"I'll probably have been to Lusaka and back here at the time you get this letter and will write you further news later.

"Personally, as noted, I'm being exceedingly careful and intend to do so. I will not offer seminars -- though needed and requested by provincial officials -- on rural development that are controversial, etc. I will do my damnest to survive! Let's hope.

26th Feb. 1976, David to Zindi, Lusaka (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Problems of detentions

"The situation in Lusaka was, and is, exceedingly complex and sad. The Ridgeway campus and School of Medicine and us, go on as if nothing happened! While all else is shut tight and to enter the campus you have to have a special pass which is heavily patrolled. Foreign students were seemingly handled very roughly and little new on the detained lecturers. All, however, were interrogated for 20 to 40 hours non-stop. Marion Molteno I saw last night and she seems quite shattered, but resigned to whatever happens. Probably, however, the worst is over at present. But, the next few days will confirm this. . . .

"It is now the next morning and I'm continuing. As I was saying, it appears the worst is over, but then everything is so fluid that I can still only wait. Lecturers are very bitter and while few are resigning most are not renewing contracts, etc.. The University seems to feel it will get adequate recruits, but due to bad publicity abroad it seems most unlikely and certainly not until the Gov't decides what will happen to those in detention. If they are soon released, or even deported, probably the affair will end sooner and there is hope of normalcy returning slowly but if Molteno or others are prosecuted and jailed, or kept for a long time in detention, then things, i.e., staff morale will decline so low that it is hard to see how the University can resume as before. In that event, I cannot even guess what will evolve. Anyway, enough said for now.

"As I said, we have been meeting all week and a new Landrover is on its way for the NWP. -- Good news. -- But the new house has been cancelled. -- Very bad news. It still seems possible I will be living in Kitwe, Lusaka or Livingstone before the end of the year. But a lot of controversy and "water will go over the dam" I imagine before the issue is finalized.

"Have not had time to see old friends. So no further news or gossip. . . .

1st March 1976, David to Zindi, Lusaka (2pp.) -- Letter contents: Problems of detentions

"I have now been back in Zambia five weeks and certainly they have been among the most eventful weeks in my life -- as I said in an earlier letter! Learned today that Marion was allowed to see Robert for 30 minutes and at least he is holding up thus far. More in another letter.

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"Nothing more on this as I am writing in great haste as I have decided to leave for Solwezi tomorrow A.M. very early and it is now very late. My new Landrover for NWP will not be ready for about a fortnight. And there is too much need to be in Solwezi to sit around here. So, I am leaving and will return briefly when it is ready.

"My main purpose of writing is to tell you Mr. Matalulu will soon have Zambian Airways agents -- I think TWA, -- phone you soon with authority to write you a ticket. I have stressed you are thinking of returning soon but can't decide when. So, he likely decided, to my relief, to get things moving at once. Needless to say, try to have it written as "open" and if no emergency there is no reason to panic for either of us, but still reason to keep me -- and most good University staff -- scared, which I think is what is wanted! This, however, will soon have a disastrous effect if policy doesn't change, as many staff, especially in political science, sociology, etc., are simply packing up or at best not renewing contacts. Anyway, again have an "open" ticket, but don't worry. With an open ticket you can always come at short notice, but not be committed.

6th March 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Transport problems; detention of Robert Molteno; and Dr. Harry Bwanausi

"The shortage of doctors and his previous good treatment -- and probably highly placed friends must have convinced them to put him back on the register. Certainly the connection was weak and seemingly political in some ways.

"A final few lines of the latest on Robert. Marion saw him on Friday of last week just before I left Lusaka. He was in good health but after his initial 28 hours interrogation has had several hours or so every day. He has not been physically tortured so far -- Thank God! Seemingly, and this is pathetic but believable -- they are making him sign his papers on anti-apartheid and anti-South Africa policies and naturally torture him by saying they are sending them to BOSS and will later deport him to South Africa -- probably not true -- and let South Africa take care of him! Really sad for a person so dedicated to Africa and Zambia -- he has forsaken his own people and had it tossed back at him.

14th March 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: detentions and transport

"I expected to be in Lusaka this weekend to collect our new Landrover. But this aborted and I will go whatever they eventually get it ready! You will be pleased to know that in the last week I have again cut my Librium dosage, another 5mg.-- to 20mg. So I'm really trying to relax above all else. [NB. I was been somewhat addicted to Librium for several years.] You note really only stresses what we discussed often and I am now finally convinced of that much more of my life here must be spent on my own work and life. When I considered how much I had aged in the last four years, I was extremely shocked. You note that I should be perfectly safe despite Lusaka events as I've tried to stay out of politics and "sacrificed my sad working for the country" and while I agree with the latter I feel reasonably confident of the former my ideals and feeling of security were shattered with Robert's detention as you could have said the same exact words for him. No matter how much you're devoted, one false move and all is lost. So again I certainly see the light on using time for myself....

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Incidentally on the negative side, another lecturer was arrested -- a very close friend of Robert's. And the man and his wife I kept in close touch with after Robert's detention. This shook me up for a few days until I forced it out of my mind.

22nd March 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Minor news about usual transport problems, local life and a seminar with Michael Okinemphe.

27th March 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: planning seminar and Robert's detention

"Have settled back in Solwezi in am presently busy planning a Literature Seminar for 10/11th April. Hope in a few days to get back to my studies again. It is easy to get distracted with the Landrover and the car to keep running, a house servant to supervise and an office to keep going(!) in spite of the greatest determination otherwise. Anyway, I'm really trying hard to keep my thesis as my number one priority, Have even delaying starting my course by a month.

"Robert's now in the hospital according to a short news article in the "*Times of Zambia*" with serious skin sores resulting from "bad diet". The newspaper had seemingly interviewed Martin to get the information. The trouble is of course I'm not in Lusaka. And when I am there is so much to do and people to see one can't get it all done. Anyway, whenever I get down -- hopefully in the next month -- I shall give Marion your condolences. I truly hope he survives it though and that the Government decides to deport them, or something, soon and get him out of jail. I suspect from a friend, who visited Lusaka recently, that they know little more than I do! Anyway, more news on this unfortunate topic when I get it.

25th April 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: General news, esp. to growing troubles in Rhodesia

14th May 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents:

"... Mentally I got terribly depressed partly because of going off Librium, and partly because there is a lot to be depressed about. The xenophobic position against 'foreign' lecturers is fantastic. The 'foreign' elements in the University were given another broadside in the *Daily Mail* this week again. Everything wrong is, of course, blamed on them. Yet those who trying to give six month notice and leave are being told they have to lose everything and even pay passages out back! Quite amazing. Furthermore, the University which has attempted to reopen this week is terribly short staffed. If my morale has sunk this low, you can imagine how low others' morale is! Will send you the *Daily Mail* article later on, if I can find it. Am terribly confused as a result what to do in the future. Have to give up all my research, friends, etc., before 1979 as I have now planned. But, at times, wonder if it's worth all the trouble.

"To change the topic, I have just read a long "article" in the newspaper that Bwanausi has been acquitted by the high court. Quite a sensational trial seemingly, but he is totally free to practice, etc.. Am so glad for him as he has been giving me good treatment.

"Had a lot of friends, a party, etc., as I indicated in my last letter, for the last month which was very lovely, but am now back to being alone.

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21st May 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (2 pp.) Letter contents: My manuscript for *African Affairs*, vague plans for research hopefully to start in Chavuma, depressed over detentions of lecturers

23rd May 1976, David to Pascal, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: General news and mention of my neighbour, Mr. Chisakulo

4th June 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Notable points. "Am due to leave for a fortnight tour of the province this Sunday with Ministry to Education Officers." Beginning of **Mushala problems** noted.

"It is quite cool right now. The rainy and cool seasons, most interestingly, sort of ended up in merging into each other without a gap. My house, however, is cozy and I have not felt the cold too much. Probably I will feel it more as I go on tour. By the way, I don't know if I told you or not, but we have a serious problem in the NWP right now with "bandits". Has not been much said in the papers, but it is disturbing and we have to be careful. I am told as we move through Chizera--Kabompo--Mumbeji areas. So we will travel by daytime and on the main roads only.

21st June 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: **Mushala gang**

"The journey into the NW Province was extremely enjoyable but adventurous to say the least. We have a small insurgency in the NW Province under a disgruntled NW Province Zambian or so who were trained in South Africa by the military there. They are centered in Southern Mwinilunga and parts of Kabompo and quite dangerous with quite lot of deaths attributed to them. Needles-to-say the Landrover responded badly to such areas with five tyre punctures, eight break failures, two minor breakdowns, and one major breakdown -- the latter, fortunately in Zambezi township! Still the journey was most rewarding as I met endless numbers of old friends and got several key and extremely valuable interviews needed for my research done.

"You probably have also heard that the main Lusaka Post Office and High Court were blown up, presumably by Rhodesians and/or sympathizers; Zambia and Rhodesia are almost at war; and South African cities are blowing wide open. So things are serious. Selfishly, I hope my little corner stays calm. But, who can tell?! The news on South Africa you are probably following closely and is especially important in light of Rhodesia. It will be interesting to see how things go. Suddenly, Zambia is all pro-South Africa freedom movements again. Alfred Nzo spoke in Lusaka with the Prime Minister, Mudenda, I believe at a memorial rally for Soweto victims.

4th July 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Several items: a) dissertation is moving along slowly; b) Dr. Bwanausi was acquitted and c) Alfred Nzo has spoken at several rallies about S.Af. liberation.

10th July 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: General news esp. the UNZA office got a phone, but lousy service!

24th July 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: **Mushala**

"As I've briefly mentioned to you, we have a mini rebellion going on out here. Little to nothing is said in the press or on radio, but it has become so serious that when the Secretary General of

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the party, Mr. G. Zulu, who was here cancelled a provincial tour for "circumstances beyond our control" or words to that effect. Several schools we visited near Chizera a mere month ago are now totally closed down. Very serious. The gang is waging totally devastating psychological warfare and since the army largely pulled out due to South African and Rhodesian situations. The police can't cope. They are openly scared! Pathetic. I hope to travel to Mwinilunga early next month, but will be careful, especially since the Ministry of Education officials are so scared! Quite a situation. High officials openly believe Mushala Kaimana, the leaders have special medicines to make them disappear and reappear etc. Thus, what is obviously a small band controls large parts of the Province such as parts of Kabompo and southern Mwinilunga plus much of the area near Chizera.

6th August 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Travels to Lusaka, Copperbelt and Mwinilunga (new paved road started)

"Since I last wrote you a little less than a fortnight ago, a lot has happened. At that time I was on a two day buying trip to Ndola -- Kitwe -- and Chingola. After, then I spent a few days in Solwezi and then made a five day trip to Mwinilunga. Arrived back last night.

"And Mwinilunga was really a trip! You have no idea -- My, oh my! They are putting a paved road through and it now reaches beyond Mutanda so you go from the fantastic to the ridiculous! No sign of Mushala and troubles that are badly plaguing Kasempa and Kabompo Districts.

"Met a lot of old friends and acquaintances. Also did an important interview with the oldest living teacher in the province as far as I can tell -- or at least the oldest who can speak English. This was the real boon to my research.

31st August 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: In hospital with bleeding ulcer -- no pain. Excellent main Dr. is El Amin (from Sudan)

20th Sept. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Mushala and new paved road to Mwinilunga

"....doesn't look especially good at this time, but we shall see. At least Solwezi is quiet now. But in a similar vein must be very careful in travelling into the N.W. Province. The "terrorist gang" is still on the prowl and has done enough damage to concern local residents, who have to move around. Some real concern. No night travel for sure!

"On the good side the new paved road to Mwinilunga is moving ahead at a fantastic pace. One of the fastest paving jobs I've ever seen anywhere in the world.

28th Sept. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: Misc. news that included my office secretary resigning and Henry Kissinger visiting in Lusaka

"... Nationally everyone is agog with rumours and gossip."

12th October 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (1 p.) -- Letter contents: "Will spend from the 26th October to 4th December on the road travelling through the Province. Needless to say, I will use care! Will travel with police escort if necessary, although most people just start off early

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and make sure they are in a "safe" area by mid-afternoon. Fortunately, no land mines seem to be involved which reduces the danger from an unseen enemy.

24th October 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: 12th anniversary of Zambia. Interviewing candidates for new secretary.

31st October 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: General news

12th November 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: Planning a three journey around province with "Rural Development seminars"

14th Dec. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: NWP travel finished & good to be back home in Solwezi.

"My N.W. Province safari has finally ended . . . So out of the last five weeks I have spent five nights in my own home much to my regret as I love my home. But, the period has been rewarding: (a) academically as people responded marvelously and enthusiastically to the seminars, (b) professionally as I did much useful research on my Ph.D., and (c) personally as I camped along the river in Zambezi, which I thoroughly enjoyed and met many old friends, students and acquaintances, both in Zambezi plus Kasempa, Kabompo, and Mwinilunga.

"Anyway, all going well, I will be back in Solwezi by tomorrow night and except for a trip or so to Kitwe to help the new tutor there to settle in; will be in Solwezi until probably February studying and writing on my thesis. Also, I will start a new course of so for an evening or so a week. Will be at home for Xmas and New Years for a change.

26th Dec. 1976, David to Zindi, Solwezi (5 pp.) -- Letter contents: General news and an update on Molteno

"After the Molteno got the boot, I have, except for Wim Hoppers, made almost no close white friends, so am almost completely "Zambianized". By the way, I heard last week from Robert and Marion and they are settled in U.K.. But, he is not allowed to work as a refugee, so he is a "house-husband" and Marion is teaching. Zambia utterly ruined the career of a brilliant and a humanist is the best way [to describe it]. Anyway, socially I am getting better settled all the time. But, at the same time I am oddly enough being alienated further and further from Zambia as a homeland. I suppose Molteno was a shock from which I shall never fully recover. Several have most kindly offered to sponsor me for citizenship and I have felt extremely flattered but simply answered, "one can never forget his birthplace -- or, at least, I can't and must go in 1979". So my main plans on retiring in 1979 remain unaltered.

16th January 1977, David to Aunt Doris (1 p.) -- Letter contents: General small town news of Solwezi and esp. of shortages of supplies

30th Jan. 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents:

". . . Ndakala is a good electrician and plumber and under Mukuka my office goes smoothly. . . Do you remember **Muriel Sanderson** in Kitwe the woman whose wedding I want to and was a friend of Geoff Iredale and the sister of Ruth Khama? Anyway, we've got in close contact again.

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And she now has a top-job in a local travel agency in Kitwe. Her house is splendid with a swimming pool to jump into from the sitting-room.

28th Feb. 1977, David to Zindi, Lusaka (2 pp.) -- **Letter contents:** Week in Lusaka has been "bedlam". Sikanyiso Ndhlovu will be an administrator in Centres for Continuing Education

3rd April 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- **Letter contents:** Seminar in Solwezi on health; friends and my health

"Had a joint UNZA (N.W.Province) and Ministry of Health seminar last week and having been given a long notice, I had done some historical and geographical research into malnutrition in traditional N.W. societies and presented a very well received paper. And it turn had a marvelous time with the officials in the seminar on this general topic and the new big vaccination campaign -- mostly Dutch volunteers nurses. Interesting group. But, guess who was there and very active and sends her best and promises to write you: Mrs. Iguamo! She's as fat as ever and lives in Kabompo at the new hospital there. Gilbert, who was the baby, you'll recall, is now in form I. Had a delightful chat and gave her your address. Solwezi hospital is now so big you can't believe it - 7 doctors, 1 dental surgeon, 40 RNs and 30 ZENs. Quite an establishment. Am now on a new drug for my duodenal [ulcer] and if this sorts things out -- and it seems to be making progress -- may save an operation later. It is called Duogastrone.

10th April 1977, David to Robert & Marion Molteno (3 pp.) -- **Letter contents:** NWP seminars based on Robert's past work and writing; Mushala killed a good NWP leader; my academic progress; problems at UNZA's main campus

". . . Regarding the seminars on rural development . . . there is little to say if you received and read the material. They went over very well indeed, as you'll note. We more or less followed your programme and papers, except revised quite a lot in most, so you should feel that your programme was sound. Bill Rau also used several of your papers last year, revised for the Northern Province for several large seminars. You'll note that the A.D.S. of Zambezi, openly acknowledged your excellent seminar last year in his publicity release, Mr. Mwananyina, which I felt was very kind, considering that all 'those subversive lecturers' have been vaguely vilified no end. No more need be said on that! Anyway, you were not forgotten by those who had your courses at UNZA or outside. Rather sad incident happened one day after Zambezi seminar. You may recall the very kindly C.I.D. man, Mr. Kasempa, who attended. He was not there, and when I asked about him, I was told he was on patrol. As that was late November, Mushala had left the Kasempa/Chizera area and moved towards the Copperbelt. Anyway, Mr. Kasempa within two days after the seminar was ambushed and killed. Very sad it was for all who knew him. By the way, **Mushala** is seldom heard of these days. Almost nothing in the press, of course. But, even in gossip since January there has been little. So one wonders if he is now in the C/B, hiding and recuperating, or what. The army and police, unfortunately have harassed the people in parts of the province mercilessly and probably been as bad or worse menace than **Mushala**. I fear a typical government overreaction that does more damage than good.

"With regard to Lusaka I won't say a lot. You probably hear from friends there, and I only go down every several months out of necessity when they have fully mucked up my accounts

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which they do of course with regularity! Much backbiting and infighting -- seems even worse than before. Plus inefficiency and shortage of staff. So, actually, I am no worse off in Solwezi if I'm going to be at the University than if I was there. Wim Hoppers is still working in Civics Education with Mary Krug. And they seem to be going at it very systematically and have one of the better programmes in education as far as I can tell. Wim's wife left him and went back to the Netherlands. And he seems well settled in with a new Zambian girlfriend. Hope all goes for better for him as he's a hard worker and gets a whole lot of new ideas out, both to students and published. But, Book II still lies in limbo. Wim thought he had sorted it all out last year, about November, when he finally worked out the proofs, etc..But new delays and problems, making everyone wonder if it will ever see light of day. If it does, I can assure you I'll get you off several copies. I think you saw Wim, come to think of it, when he was in the U.K. last year.

"Am still dreaming of completing my thesis. Am gathering a fantastic amount of material and am just about through on that end. So, hopefully I can seriously write within a few months. After a long delay Syracuse University finally accepted my chapter outline and general proposal. And gave me another extension. So that was a relief. But whether I'll ever make it or not, I just don't know.

24th April 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: travel for UNZA

"I believe that I wrote to you last just before leaving for this journey less than two weeks ago. Since leaving Solwezi, I have been in Livingstone for a seminar and now Lusaka for an important meeting and research. Have been kept busy although I had a lovely weekend at the Falls. As glorious as always!

"Had to "ditch "the Landrover in Kitwe due to a serious breakdown, so this has delayed my faster lifestyle. Went to Livingstone by train, back to Lusaka with another lecturer by car, and within the next three days to Kitwe by bus. There I will hopefully collect the Landrover which was ready last week.

"Hoping all is well in Solwezi. Mwinilunga, by the way, is now having a flood of refugees from Southern Zaire who are fleeing the fighting in Shaba (Katanga) Province. We just can't seem to win; and as soon as this is over, probably Zimbabwe will get worse again.

8th May 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Fighting in Zaire and refugees in NWP; **Mushala** troubles continue; new diesel landrover coming next week.

"We have had indeed a lot of excitement in the Province due to the fighting in Zaire as refugees, instead of flooding in from Angola, are now flooding in from Zaire, so the already enormous refugee camp at Maheba, 45 miles west of Solwezi and on the paved Mwinilunga road are now overflowing again from a new source!

"By accident Zaire dropped a large quantity of bombs on Kalene Hill mission. Incredible but seemingly true! Of the twenty or so good sized bombs not one hit the hospital or buildings. And only one nursing sister was hit by flying shrapnel in the knee. Quite amazing according to officials that no one was killed or buildings extensively damaged. Rumours of **Mushala** along

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with the Solwezi/ Chingola road again but most people move freely and just ignore the situation. Hope it remains as easy to do!

"Am due next week to get our diesel Landrover, that the University has bought from Rev. Gibbard which will be a great improvement over our poor ole' tatty that we survive with under great handicap! Also have bought a motorcycle for Ndakala, my roommate to ride and also to learn myself. Sounds exciting with a bit of care.

6th June 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (3 pp.) -- Letter contents: terrible shortages continue and prices soaring.

"Shortages here now are incredible and while not so bad on basics such as soap and salt as a few months ago, still terrible. I have only tasted cheese twice since leaving London 18 months ago; cereal finished completely in all kinds six months ago; chocolate and most candy about twelve months ago; fish, except dried, which I cooked with Pascal the other day and about died from the fumes, although they didn't taste bad, I have not had either tinned or fresh [fish] this year. Also inflation was almost 100% by some estimates last year. Yet, salaries the same, incredible. If I were here for financial reasons, I wouldn't stay long. The only consolations are medicine which is free (except for my order abroad) and which I have used lots of since my ulcer hit me; and free rental [of home] at the moment; plus subsidized goods such as bread, butter and milk. Otherwise, wow. Aunt Doris has started an exchange whereby we send her carvings etc., and she sends us needed foods, clothes, etc.. Joyce and her roommate help, and a friend helps me at this end, so we all benefit. I simply did not ask you, because the few things I have asked you for were forgotten or something and thus I felt you were too busy to be bothered. Still, there are many things I love that you could easily get me, such as cassettes (pre-recorded) at those record shops near you. So, if you ever feel you can send me things, I'll let you know. Anyway, don't worry. You have your troubles same as I have mine.

22nd May 1977, David to Zindi, Lusaka (mailed from Dar es Salaam) (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: plans for my new UNZA house and research at National Archives

"Plans are underway for my house [in Solwezi] and I should know in a fortnight if they will start it as they should. If they do, it is scheduled to be finished before the end of year which will be great. If they do start, I will stay around this year and take leave early next so that I can "supervise" the progress. Also, once they start the house, I will start working towards a more decent office. I have a general idea of where we can rent in Solwezi that would be suitable. But, one thing at a time.

"I spent part of Friday P.M., yesterday A.M. and will again this P.M. in the Archives. Am rapidly drawing my research to a close. A few more -- up to a dozen -- interviews and I should start organizing my "volumes" of material to write.

21st June 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Gibbert's diesel landrover is helpful. Also, the new house is now being built

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31st July 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: travels for UNZA; new house; **Mushala**

"Since last writing you in Dar es Salaam I have had a safe journey back to Solwezi and then a quick brief visit to Zambezi (by road, bumpy as usual) on UNZA business....

"Saw lots of old friends and acquaintances in Zambezi and in Kabompo en route. Unfortunately, the **Mushala gang** is active again and Peter Njovu and I passed a whole village just burned down and proceeded at our own risk by the police, rather military. Peter is quite brave, but he did find it rather scary. Anyway, all went well.

"My new house is now well underway much to my satisfaction.

23rd August 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: **Mushala** making travel hard.

"Things here are largely as normal. **Mushala** has given us trouble in NWP again, making travel hazardous. But otherwise life goes on as normal. Also Rhodesia almost daily threatens invasion, so we can only wait and see.

"Solwezi life is pleasant these days. Kansanshi Club is a good place to swim, have a quiet drink and see a reasonably good film occasionally. Also I now have a small circle of intimate friends, mostly Zambians, and hence a generally quiet but pleasant social life. We had a small party of eight -- dinner and dancing -- last Saturday night for Pascal. He finally got his driving license -- no easy task in Zambia these days, and we decided to celebrate.

6th Sept. 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: New house may be completed by Christmas

14th Oct. 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Life very difficult

"According to my letter register which I just looked at, my last letter to you was a little over a month ago; quite a long time. But in that period my life has done flip-flop after flip-flop and I have done no writing of any kind. Although evenings have often been pleasant with several dances, cinemas, swimming. etc., I have often been too worried or too tired to even enjoy them. But, it is now over or so it seems. Several times I planned to resign at once, and several times felt that I would be forced to resign. It seemed to all start on the weekend of 9th September and ended this last Tuesday with the arrival of Martin Kaunda to inspect Solwezi office for the first time since it opened! I won't bore you with details, but here is the outline! On the first weekend I was in Kitwe and became exceedingly depressed when I realized that Martin had issued a new directive which virtually ruined all rural seminars, etc., also with the realization that I would have to spend a week in Lusaka, which was then blacked out and under curfew. The University simply had not paid our office money for so long that we were broke. Then the trip to Lusaka was traumatic a week later. The Landrover gave me trouble and was left in a garage in Kitwe and then I took a train down and flew back. Lusaka accounts at UNZA were chaotic and I thought I would go nuts before getting the money. I have been taking almost no tranquillizers lately, but suddenly went up to 40 mg. just to keep my sanity and keep my ulcer from developing again. (I am now within a few days down to 20mg.) The flight back to the C/B

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was diverted to Ndola so I arrived late in Kitwe only to find the Landrover was not repaired. Eventually I had to create such a fuss that I was loaned a car by the company to travel to Solwezi. But then the next week had to go and collect it. When I went down again I was involved for the day in Practice Teaching. Then when arriving back had to prepare a paper for the Provincial UNIP conference which was approved by the M.C.C., P.P.S., and P.S.. But they neglected to show it to Mundia, the Cabinet Minister who publically denounced it after I presented it with another person creating an embarrassing situation for the other three people and myself and rather dangerous as Mundia is still old freedom fighter warhorse and had the bad publicity got out, I probably would have had to resign from the job. Anyway, with the M.C.C. as the senior man in the province and many liking the paper, the matter has flown over, but not without just about a nervous collapse by me. No more papers for the Party, not matter how encouraged or pressured! The Kaunda's visit which I felt would be a disaster or a success. Fortunately, it appears it was a great success, partly because the new house is almost ready -- and because he was impressed with Solwezi -- thank God!

25th Oct. 1977, David to Zindi, Kitwe (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Visiting friends on C/B

7th Dec. 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: travels to Mwinilunga; new house; shortages of all kinds

"Just a quick note on a rainy morning in Solwezi. Haven't heard from you for ages, probably second month. So hope you're well, etc.. Things are okay here. Had a brief three day jaunt to Mwinilunga but nothing too eventful. The road (paved) is now over 1/2 way so that cuts down the journey a lot. Was at Kalene two days and Mwinilunga one. Am due to go back in January for a weekend seminar. After that I hope to start at home and work until I come on leave in late March -- early April.

"We should have begun moving into our new home last weekend, but last minute delays -- although the home is 99 ½ % complete. So will hope to begin on Friday of this week. Shortages here of building materials, etc., are now becoming impossible. Even Landrover and all tyres and tubes are unavailable, unless lucky or on the black market, until April 1978. If we have a puncture in the Mini again, our car will simply have to be parked.

25th Dec. 1977, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: Moved into new house and described Christmas party.

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24th January 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: seminar in Mwinilunga; travel to Lusaka about leaving Zambia in mid-1979; article published.

"I had to go to Mwinilunga last weekend with Bob Reid, my colleague in Kitwe for a seminar with great results; although the road back knocked the repaired Landrover quite hard. We made it back the same day. So I'm back writing reports, transcribing tapes, typing notes -- combination scholar and administrator.

"When in Lusaka I had a long talk with Martin Kaunda and said that I was definitely going in 1979 but didn't really care whether earlier than July by a few months or later by a few months. I think that you're right, I will never finish my thesis until I leave. In fact I'm still having all my notes typed up and duplicates sent off to you. So I hope that you're still receiving and preserving an occasional envelope. Am taking more time now to preserve my sending copies, typed, then writing as I so fear that something may very well happen to all my notes either here or later when shipping them. With only one copy this would be disaster.

"Lastly, and I must now stop, I just heard that my article on the Ethiopian Refugees is now to be published in *African Affairs*, the very old and prestigious journal on Africa. This has really raised my morale. I first learned of their intention in December and may have mentioned it to you then. But it has now been confirmed. Must write Dr. Macdonald and Dr. Smith soon [at Syracuse].

6th Feb. 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) -- Letter contents: research; planning holiday to America

"Things are very quiet here right now. Am not planning to do much until I leave except read and work slowly on my research. Will go in one month to Lusaka for the Annual Conference and at that time make final plans for leaving for my Leave on the 20th of March. Am trying to get lots of rest and have almost stopped taking valium altogether.

"Am enjoying my new house very much.

"Really looking forward to my holiday in America. Hope all goes well. Also looking forward to visits along the way and especially the stops in Nairobi and England/Scotland. Hope we will be able to go to the West Coast as we have informally planned.

27th Feb. 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: local petty troubles and travel plans.

"Am really anxious to go as local petty troubles are getting me down. On the other hand, the last month has been a golden one as far as research goes and as of last week I finally got all my thesis notes organized for writing. This thrilled me very much indeed.

"Will go to Lusaka on the 8th until the 19th and then two days washing and packing in Solwezi and then flying to Lusaka. And on the 21st flying to Nairobi. As I said, I can hardly wait. I really need a break I believe. While I intend to do lots of shopping and shipping and will check a few

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books and periodicals in London and the USA, I really plan for three months of rest and relaxation. Do hope we can go to the West Coast as we desired.

12th March 1978, David to Zindi, Lusaka (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: travel plans

Now in Lusaka finalizing my plans for leaving for America. After I am here at our annual meeting for this week, I will have 2 days to pack in Solwezi and then fly out on 23rd to Nairobi...

"My plans are to arrive in London on the 30th March and leave for Dublin on the 5th...

27th March 1978, David to Zindi, Nairobi (2 pp.) -- Letter contents: wrote letter while flying overseas; travel plans to America

". . . . plan to see you exactly as scheduled -- on Sat. 8th April . . . from Shannon and Dublin, Ireland...

"Had a marvelous rest in Nairobi, meaning I forgot for a few days all my work, troubles, etc., in Zambia. It, thus, was lovely. Didn't go out of the city, but had a swell time nightclubbing, seeing old friends -- but not the Zambodlas unfortunately, -- etc..

"Am now flying over the Sudan. Have just seen the Nile irrigation projects from high up. -- Very impressive.

1st May 1978, David to Pascal; 17th May, Pascal to David (w/essay); and 25th May David to Pascal. -- **Letter contents:** Long very personal letters about future plans.

15th May 1978, David to Pascal; Newark, Ohio 4 pp.) -- Letter contents: Pascal accepted at Ashland... Took train back from Ohio to NYC. Glad Pascal got his driver's license.

"I have now left Florida and after one night in NYC. Have come on the Mid-West to my old home town of Newark, Ohio. Zindi and Mteto and I all came together on the train last Thursday night and arrived Friday morning. They then left last night and Zindi just called earlier this evening that she has now arrived back in NYC. I will stay here one week. In other words I will leave here this coming Thursday evening and be back in N. Y.C. on Friday morning. The weekend was very pleasant. My sister-in-law and brother had an enormous meal for my aunts and uncles last Saturday afternoon. And then my Aunt Dorothy had a big meal for about 40 of my cousins and relatives on Sunday afternoon. I don't think that I have ever eaten so much food a warm in two consecutive days in my life! Everyone had really given us such a warm welcome. I was overwhelmed; especially when my aunt had so many people in the family that I had not seen for so long -- up to 20 years!

"Today I simply rested and as it is now late in the evening and I have promised to speak to a school group tomorrow and then plan to go north and stay overnight with Aunt Doris, I will probably not finish this letter but have to continue later on.

25th May 1978, David to Pascal, Rego Park, NY (2 pp.) Letter contents: Kolwezi deaths and fears of family for me plus problem of how to get luggage back to Zambia.

"Have just sent off a note, mostly of official business to Mukuka and Njovu and thought I should write to you again since so much has happened since I wrote to you on the 21st -- a mere few

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days ago. Basically I just have had a nervous breakdown due to the airlines giving me troubles on coming back to Zambia plus my brothers and others about driving me mad not to come back at all due to all the killings, etc., in Kolwezi, Zaire and the reports that they entered and returned through Mwinilunga, etc.. Anyway, it has been a trying few days, so hope that I can get myself settled down this weekend.

"Regarding the airlines what has happened is complex but I shall put in a nutshell for you and be as brief as possible. I was delighted to learn that there is now what is called "the piece system" for luggage from America when travelling out of the country. This means that for \$75 I could bring three suitcases to Zambia and four for \$150. This was fantastic as I was really limiting myself and thus shortly after I arrived I triple checked this and discovered and felt sure that it was true. Thus, I bought luggage to fit the regulations and planned to bring lots more records, etc., to fit, despite having to pay extra customs duties. Then, on Monday, after I went in for a final time to finalize my plans, I was told that from London to Zambia Airways did not recognize the system! Hence I was stuck. It means that unless I can be lucky or get around them, I will have to pay out a fortune and/or leave behind many things that I got us here. Thus, I am searching for alternatives. The sad thing is that Lusaka only has two airlines coming from Europe -- British Caledonian and Zambia Airlines. The former doesn't fly any more from NYC and the latter never has. I have talked to British Airways which fly to Dar es Salaam and they say that I can follow the "piece system" and not the weight system (the old way) to Dar, if I fly direct there, spending only a few hours in London. But this means being stuck with heavy luggage in Dar es Salaam with only Zambia Airways and Air Tanzania to fly me on and they will charge a lot. So in effect I would have to come from Dar to Kapiri Mpushi by rail. This won't be fun to arrive in Kapiri Mpushi, as you will recall, with about twice as much luggage as we had -- all by myself. Anyway, this is my dilemma. If I can make it back with my luggage and customs are reasonable, I will bring us many things we want badly but cannot get these days in Zambia. If I fail, well who knows. Too bad we are not good Christians to pray about it. But, even they seem to have problems as well when prayer is not answered!

"Then the news has been full of Zambia -- President Kaunda's visit -- and then much more about the war in Zaire and the slaughter of whites in Kolwezi. The television and radios are featuring Africa as never before. They note very vividly that the Katangese troops passed through before and after via Mwinilunga in Zambia. Wow!!!! My relatives and friends have been on my ass. My brother and sister-in-law called at 11.00 P.M. on Monday night, right I had fought with the airlines and begged me to not even come back but write off everything. Since I was just about asleep, he repeated all the horror stories on the news that day, I just about had to tell him to shut up and almost slammed the phone down on my own brother. I have finally promised that definitely I would return before the end of next year as earlier if the University would agree and things became more difficult.

10th June 1978, David to Pascal, from NYC (1 p.) Letter contents: General news and about the Solwezi office and Mukuka and that Pascal and Njovu fixed the car themselves.

20th June 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2pp.) Letter contents: Very happy I got through with lots of luggage for only K30 in Lusaka.

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"People in Lusaka are appalled by the terrible press news overseas. Zambia and even Mwinilunga has been virtually untroubled by Zaire troubles. Zaire is another world(!) despite the close border. People in Mwinilunga ... have had no problem at all. . . . Wim Hoppers who met me in Lusaka and Njovu and Ndakala know and hear less of the troubles in Zaire than we did. So my work is unaffected by events in that country....So no more cause to worry for anyone."

26th June 1978, David to Zindi, Kitwe (2 pp.) Letter contents: Writing from the Reid's house in Kitwe and hoped to see Muriel the next day. Big problem was inflation and equally "unbelievable shortages". Tell people not to worry about Zaire troubles. "Even my journeys to Mwinilunga are unchanged. Absolutely amazing how hysterical the American press got and what a feel I was to believe that part and ignore the part that affects my life -- food!

4th July 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.). Letter contents: Usual problems of high prices and shortages but no worry about safety.

4th July 1978, Solwezi, 2 pp. circular letter to friends that I am back in Zambia. Letter contents: things are safe in Zambia; got back from America okay.

"Today is a Zambian holiday as well as American one, so I am trying to rest! I am now more-or-less comfortably settled back into my home and routine here. Solwezi hardly changed in my absence. So many adverse news reports flooded America in May and the aftermath of the attack on Kolwezi in Zaire and the resulting deaths that I was a bit shaken in New York City for several weeks, Although Kolwezi is only a few months north of the Zambian border, I already knew that communications between the two areas, except by local villagers, was almost nil. Nonetheless, the news reports were beginning to worry me. Furthermore, I know that they quite alarmed many of you about my safety. I am very pleased, not to mention relieved, that I can ask you to ignore them totally with regard to Zambia -- even for this northwestern corner. The final letters that I received from Zambia before leaving NYC indicated that all was well; and, upon arrival I was immediately put on ease.

"Wim Hoppers, an old friend and colleague at UNSA, and an ex-teacher at Mwinilunga met me at the airport on 18th June when I arrived loaded down with the vast amount of luggage that had amused and concerned some of you in NYC. Customs officials, however, were in a very pleasant mood and let me through after paying a mere token \$35.00 customs duty and requiring none of the letters that five of you graciously provided me with. Wim was amused at my descriptions of the press reports and that I had taken them so seriously with regard to Zambia. Also, people in Solwezi and two teachers from Mwinilunga Secondary School visiting me for different nights since then simply cannot believe what has been written. I now almost believe that "old", corrupt Spiro Agnew was right in some of his attacks on pressmen whom he accused of gross exaggeration to get a good story! Undoubtedly, the Kolwezi massacres occurred and were a horrible tragedy, but some of the implications about the complacency and effects on Zambia are half truths at best. As far as I know, the only direct effect even on Mwinilunga people was that Ikelene Mission Hospital and the nearby school for missionaries' children lost their transmitting radios. So, anyone still worried about my safety -- be at ease!

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"Internationally of far greater concern to us in Zambia, both politically and economically, is the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) situation to the south. As you've probably heard, there have been several tragic massacres of innocent blacks and whites, including the staff of a mission high school. Considering the never ending propaganda and lies of Ian Smith, no one knows if the guerilla movements killed the latter or if Smith's deadly 'Selous Scouts' did it to discredit the liberation struggle. (It now seems almost certain that Smith's men disguised as freedom fighters killed Catholic missionaries last year for this purpose.) It is a tragic situation both locally for the innocent people who have lost their lives and internationally for as a tinder box for potentially internationalized was between the East and West with radical implications. Also, its effects on Zambia are great, generating economic losses and also political and social tensions.

"But, back to Solwezi. Here, as elsewhere our local chit-chat tends to be on more personal matters. First, the number one topic is the staggering inflation. With static salaries it has almost bankrupted me in two weeks! Second, the talk centres on the shortages of foodstuffs, etc.. This has made readjustments hard. From NYC abundance to fighting for a loaf of bread and not expecting meat until mid-July and butter until mid-August has not been unexpected but is still traumatic in planning a good diet. I may write to some of you for a 1978 version if a 'CARE' package -- joking, of course! Both my Zambian and European friends have been most kind and helpful, however. Thirdly, due to the nation's serious financial problems, the University has been extremely hard hit and I am currently re-planning all my 1978 programmes. This might have one good side effect in that with less money, we will run less courses. Hence, I may have time to work on my personal research and hopefully begin serious writing on my thesis. Lastly, the big news item is the expected national elections before the end of the year. Many people are full of predictions. President Kaunda is running unopposed -- which is good for our national unity -- but everything else is sheer speculation.

"As this is a special four-day holiday weekend (Heroes and Unity Days), there are a lot of social events in the small town of Solwezi -- numerous soccer games, picnics, special cinemas, discos, etc.. Plus many people have gone to Ndola for the big Trade Fair. I'm sorting out papers, writing letters -- as you can see -- plus resting to get my body re-acclimatized and lastly planning to go to Kitwe for the night for business tomorrow. Dozens of friends have dropped by the office and house to say 'hello'. Pascal Ndakala has kept the house in excellent shape and begun a large vegetable and flower garden which helps our diet a lot. The paper work is piled about a foot deep here and the office. But, I hope to slowly wade through it. My health seems good at present. The weather is cool -- people here think cold -- with night temperatures in the 40's and lower 50's (F), but the days are warm and sunny.

"Anyway, I'm at home! And reasonably settled within only a fortnight of being back. I still plan to return for good next year to the USA. So to you, my dearest friends, relatives and colleagues in the U.S.A., Canada, England and Scotland, that I'm sending this supplementary note to, my love and best wishes until we meet again next year. This is especially meant to put any of you at ease who may have been worried about my return to my second home -- Solwezi, Zambia.

23rd July 1978, David to Zindi, Lusaka (3 pp.) Letter contents: General news; nothing important. Went to Wim and Romana's wedding reception.

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31st July 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi, 2 pp. Letter contents: General news about friends and shortages. In Lusaka saw Sylvia Mabaso Kwalo and Eddie and their new son. Pascal has a big garden in Solwezi.

7th August 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi, (2pp.) Letter contents: Comment on Zindi working at the Psychiatric Institute and glad Mteto is okay. Shortages in Zambia; people happy with all the stuff I brought from the USA. Having problem fixing the car. Also about the Reid family's visit and partying in Solwezi.

14th August 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2pp.) Letter contents: Tomorrow to start week's journey to Kabompo and Zambezi with Njovu and Reid family for seminars. After that I hope to start shipping things in large quantities back to America.

21st August 1978, David to Zindi, Zambezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Trip to Kabompo and Zambezi with Njovu and whole Reid family.

"I am now in Zambezi concluding what will probably be my last visit to this lovely little town. We have been kept very busy and very little time to rest. -- Unfortunately, yesterday, Peter and I took the Reid's to Chavuma and had a lovely but busy the roads were quite bone rattling and of course lots of to see and do.

"We are staying in Zambezi at the motel and view is gorgeous -- as always will probably leave today. The shortages of food stuffs here is even worse than elsewhere, if that is possible! The stores just don't have any foodstuffs in them! May be a few sweets or two or three tins of beers. And, that's it! No sugar, salt, etc.. We have had a rough time feeding the six of us.

"The Reid family have all travelled with Njovu and I on this trip, but Kanga couldn't make it. It has been extra tiring taking a white family of four along -- especially due to the food shortage and the fact that the two kids are rather spoiled. Anyway, we have survived. The Seminar in Kabompo attracted 54 people last Thursday and the one here Saturday brought 32 people. So, both can be considered successful.

"It is very early in the morning and we are to leave. So, if the letter is short and a little incoherent or rambling, please, know why. I expect I shall arrive in Solwezi so tired and will barely be able to move for several days. At least so far no real car or L/R trouble. (They felt they wanted to drive their Renault along with our L/R.) I hope this continues or I should become so tired I don't think I could (can) stand up! Anyway, can hope to rest in Solwezi which is difficult but not impossible!

21st August 1978, David to Zindi, Zambezi (2pp.) Letter contents: Trip to Kabompo and Zambezi with Njovu and whole Reid family.

25th August 1978, David to Pascal, Solwezi (2pp.) Letter contents: Trip w/Reid family to Zambezi "was an academic success" but very stressful. His garden has produced prodigious amounts of cauliflower and other veggies. My finances are very precarious.

26th August 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2pp.) Letter contents: Description of Zambezi trip as a great academic success but Reid family had to be pampered. Problems with migraine

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headache and taking valium and new doctor suggests meditation. They took the new road to Kalalushi to Kitwe via Kasempa turnoff.

3rd Sept. 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2pp.) Letter contents: General news and research work. Political confusion w/Kapwepwe and Nkumbulah. Zimbabwe closer to freedom and SWAPO activities.

6th Sept. 1978, David to Jan and Dan, Solwezi (1 p.) Letter contents: Request to tell me about Dad and Margaret's wedding and his introducing her to family in Ohio. Said all normal in Solwezi. Starting to send my stuff back to the USA. Described terrible shortages of everything.

7th Sept. 1978, David to Don/Doris (2 pp.) Letter contents: Shortages. All calm with no effect of Zaire troubles in NWP. Moved into my new house near the UNZA office. My excellent garden thanks to Pascal's hard work.

10th Sept. 1978, Zindi to David from Montreal (2 pp.) Letter contents: Steve and marriage plans to Sandra. Described her studies.

10th Sept. 1978. David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) Letter contents: Normal living. Good weather for swimming, good garden, the records I brought from USA are a pleasure.

18th Sept. 1978. David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) Letter contents: Normal living. Sending parcels to Newark. Hoping to "do a few more interviews next month in Solwezi and Kasempa."

24th Sept. 1978. David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Mulungushi conference over, shortages continue; Pascal back; garden great; packing and selling things off.

28th Sept 1978 (Date not clear), Zindi to David (2 pp.) Letter contents: Her college work and job at Psychiatric Institute

17th Oct. 1978, Zindi to David (2 pp.) Letter contents: Enoch gave her a birthday present. Plans for Steve's wedding.

4th Oct. 1978. David to Zindi, Lusaka (2 pp.) Letter contents: Writing from Marshlands. Hot weather. Gilbert Mudenda joined UNZA staff and also at Marshlands. Working hard in Archives. Both Gilbert and Wim advising me on research and writing.

17th Oct. 1978. David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Stayed with Sikazwe's on way back to Solwezi. Zindiwe "unbelievable 15 month old child". Terrible shortages continue.

24th October 1978, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Zambia bombed from Rhodesia.

"Well, Zambia has been invaded, so I guess you can say the fighting has now started. Rather confusing and shocking. Just hope this letter gets out to you. Several refugee/freedom fighter camps have been hit by Rhodesians and they are deep in Zambia. In one case it was just north of Lusaka and they flew directly over Lusaka. President Kaunda in a press conference said they threatened to bomb civilian planes at Lusaka International Airport if Zambian aircraft intervenes; he also said that we were not strong enough by ourselves to repel them. Why we don't call in Cubans or someone I don't know. Needless to say that won't be popular with

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America. But things are so confused, I don't think any of us understand what is happening. The same day the biggest raid was made, our first shipment of fertilizer etc., came across the border from Rhodesia, so just as we are being invaded we have opened the 'southern route' for trading purposes. Anyway, fortunately, Solwezi seems to, as usual, go on untouched. The night after the major invasion in which over 200 people were killed in a camp north of Lusaka, Solwezi had a big disco that went all night at Kansanshi with all the big bwanas present, including the top army and police along with the rest of us. It was really a great dance and was still going strong at 2:00 A.M. when I left. Still a little ironic in light of the troubles above.

"Since writing last time I have not heard from you but hope to soon. My boss was up last week, my new one, Mr. Okunga and his wife. It was nice to have them up and I think that they enjoyed getting away from Lusaka. They were here when the bombing took place, so hope they got back okay.

2nd November 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) Letter contents: Terrible war problems in Lusaka but Solwezi quiet. Selling my stuff and discarding what I don't need.

"Am hoping to go on a final journey with Mr. Luka Yamba to interview old men ... in Kasempa ... next week, "rather on the 11th." ... "if successful, this may be the last vital and essential journey involving my research."

"On trip to Lusaka saw James Kanga and Henry Lombe and their young families. Mr. Mukuka to quit in a week.

"So much has happened in the country in one week one can barely know where to start. And, if one knew where to start, how wise it would be to tell all he heard and learned. The major thing of course is the horrible stories about the bombing near Lusaka and the terrible, terrible toll of human life and suffering. Here is Solwezi and also the Copperbelt we have been unaffected directly but seemingly things went into complete chaos at the U.T.H. is more or less off limits to normal illnesses, etc., as the injuries from the bombing nearby were so extensive and numerous. So it must be hell getting normal treatment there, plus the shortage of drugs although according to the press a lot has been shipped in from outside. Makes the problem of having no dentist here and an unfilled cavity (for me) for the last two months seem insignificant. Anyway, enough of the horrors of war for the moment.

"To complicate matters on the national scale, the terrible cholera plague that has hit Tanzania and east Africa in the last two years, has at long last made its entry on a terrible scale to Zambia. Mbala and Mpulungu are more or less in serious shape and scale of fish from there, especially kapenta, cut off from the country. They are trying to keep it from spreading but with a general shortage of soup and cleaning supplies this doesn't help. Thank God, we are at the far end from each trouble. But, it is still terrible, not to mention worrisome.

8th November 1978, David to Zindi (2 pp.) Letter contents: My ulcer is better; Mukuka is leaving.

"Not much new to tell you. Life has gone on peacefully for me again this week. The general situation -- economic and political -- continues to worsen, but not rapidly, etc.. We have had

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bus loads of refugees (ZAPU) passengers through each day heading towards Maheba Camp which I suppose puts even Solwezi on the danger list. Also I am told Lusaka is very tense in general at present and Rhodesian black white infiltrates are reported around Lusaka and Southern Province. Elections, meanwhile, progress forward. Rather confusing actually.

"Mr. Mukuka, my secretary, has resigned and is due to leave us at the end of this week. UNZA has not yet found a replacement. Njovu and I are going to Kasempa from the 11th to the 15th. This should be the end of my field interviews -- at least I hope so! After that I should be in Solwezi from mid-November until the end of the year. The rains set in early this year-- about two weeks ago and have hardly let up.

18th Nov. 1978, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 pp.) Letter contents: Refugees

". . . a lot of refugees in Maheba from Zimbabwe now. So hope the trouble doesn't spread this far north. . . . tension in Lusaka seem great (very bad), but so far has not affected our peaceful routine in Solwezi. So may it continue!"

1979 (Selected letters about my departure plans home to Ohio from Solwezi)

10th January 1979 (sent) and received 22nd Jan. Zindi to David (2 pp.) Letter contents: Zindi's interpretation of the crises in southern Africa, both Zambia/Zimbabwe and South Africa about whites determined to hold onto power.

24th Jan. 1979. David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 pp.) Letter contents: General plans continue to leave mid-year. Plus two page letter to Dan and Jan dated 21st Jan. that states my departure from Zambia will be 31st July. Was a reply to their letter about a difficult Xmas that they had. They had now started receiving parcels. I am hearing from Dad and Margaret. Due to Rhodesia crisis no trunks can be sent; everything must go regular mail.

20th Jan. 1979. Zindi to David (2 pp.) Letter contents: General news about NYC and school.

3rd Feb. 1979, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) Letter contents: My plans to leave 31st July: shipping, etc. Will be in Lusaka from mid-March to mid-April to finish my research.

6th Feb. 1979, David to Zindi, Solwezi (1 p.) Letter contents: Glad that she graduated from St. Francis. Will be in Lusaka for three weeks. Have sold off most of my stuff and sent 50 parcels so far to D&J.

21st Feb. 1979, Zindi to David (3 pp.) Letter contents: General news about getting her degree, Steve's wedding plans and Ph.D. done and Mteto's plans

22nd Jan. 1979, Zindi to David (2 pp.) Letter contents: She quit in anger at the Psychiatric Institute and now doing private duty.

13th Feb. 1979, Zindi to David (2 pp.) Letter contents: General advice to me about coming home to America. Main message to me! Stop worrying! Just come

14th Feb. 1979, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Will travel to Lusaka for research in several weeks. Starting to plan for trip back to Am. mid-year. Solwezi an

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"extremely pleasant place socially." ... "Pascal left here for good about a fortnight ago to try his fortune in Lusaka." Still hoping to further education in Zambia or America." . . .

"Otherwise a private businessman. As he is very clever he will do well."

14th March 1979, David to Ann, Lusaka, (3 pp.) Letter contents: Serious transport problems w/vehicles. Archive work.

"The conference ends tomorrow and has been the usual tiresome drag. Furthermore, I hate conferences in general! At lunch time I work in the Archives on my book so that makes my day even more busy. This Saturday AM I will also work in the Archives and hope to finish the files of Kabompo district in the late colonial days. It is interesting but tiring as well. Then, next week, I begin on Mwinilunga! No more details as you may be bored! . . .

"Pascal came a few minutes after I had finished the last paragraph. We went immediately to the cinema which was fantastic drama, 'Julia', about Nazi Germany and two women who faced the holocaust. Pascal warned me he fell asleep in most films and promptly did so. He is working so hard, the chap is really tired as I said earlier. Anyway, I enjoyed it very much and it was good to get out of the room for the evening. It is now 22.45 and so I had best not to make this too long. Because I'm not only tired but the news is temporarily negative.

25th April 1979, David to Zindi and also Dan/Jan, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: planning to leave Zambia; Rhodesia bombs ZAPU camp at Maheba and many killed.

p.2: "it will be hard leaving old friends, but with the new present problems, I can hardly wait now to leave. . . " Will have my last seminar in Kasempa on Saturday 19th May and that is the main remaining work for the Centre."

"Right after writing to you, we were heavily struck by the Rhodesian air force with aid, most likely, from South Africa. Quite amazing as we were about as far as you can get from the border. The bombing was quite accurate as the UN refugee camp with Angolans and Zairians at Maheba was not hit, only the nearby Rhodesian camp and the devastation was terrible. Well over 100 killed and well over one hundred admitted to a hospital meant to hold only 120. Fortunately, on the night of the bombing, 11 April, there was a Provincial Medical conference with most of the senior medical staff in Solwezi. This helped a lot. And then after several days special doctors, nurses and medicines were flown in from Lusaka. (Rose Ndlovu came up for several days.) But, it did create considerable tension as you might well imagine, plus made medical care very difficult for those of us locally. And it still is not easy. I have never shown my national registration card so many times in several years as I have in the last week! I could give details but probably this is enough. Anyway, a very, very sad situation of suffering and pain, plus the indirect effect on all the people in the area. War is a terrible thing and be there no doubt Rhodesia intends to bomb until Zambia can get enough arms to defend herself. Thus, we are told money for schools, hospitals and roads may have to be cut to get weapons, which is indeed sad.

"Anyway, I had to attend a conference (one day) in Lusaka on Wednesday 18th April so I decided to drive with Peter Njovu to Lusaka on Monday 16th April, the day after Easter. Whilst on the way, we learned that a curfew had been imposed on most of the major cities and towns of

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Zambia; Solwezi was not among them, oddly enough. Thus, we had to hurry in a Landrover that was none too good a shape and arrived luckily at 7 PM, one hour before the curfew. Friends were expecting us so we were lucky. Fortunately, the curfew was not accompanied this time with a black out. So being in Lusaka and the Copperbelt was not too uncomfortable, except that you had to be in at 20:00 hours and stay put. Thus, on several evenings when I wanted to see friends about important business, I simply had to stay for the night and then the next morning to go back to the University Village (Hostel) for shaving and breakfast, etc..

"I got quite a bit of business done in Lusaka and some much needed medical treatment.

1st May 1979, David to Fred Morton in Botswana (2 pp.) Letter contents: Planning to leave Zambia. Possibly pass through Botswana but not likely. Hope we meet in near future.

"Glad you are so well settled that you are planning to extend your contract. . . .

"I am planning and working towards leaving here on 1st of August. . . . may pass via Botswana, although don't hold your breath! Muriel Sanderson would like me to pass through, and of course [I] would love to see you all, but I am not sure that Ruth Khama and the President would just like to see any old friend of the family! (smile) Botswana might be small but I doubt that small, although I could be wrong. Have tried to send out all the most valuable documents that I have accumulated here. . . .

"Not sure what to do or where I will go when I reach USA. . . . Zindi is determined that I come straight to NYC and settle there. . . . Would like to spend the year for writing – which is the only thing certain that I intend to do – in Syracuse. . . .

"My brother is determined that he will help me get a job back in secondary school if not in a university and this I have rejected as out of hand until I finish my thesis. As I told you in my last letter, I now feel 100% convinced that I have something worth-while saying and I owe it to myself and all the people who have cooperated here to say it. Even if it doesn't help me get a job at all, I must do it! My brother doesn't understand this, although I am sure you do. And I think that Zindi does, which is sweet of her. Hence unless Syracuse becoming feasible, I will more-or-less be in NYC.

"Solwezi has been a quiet little backwater and a most pleasant one also, until three weeks ago when a large ZAPU camp was leveled and has raised tensions to a high point, especially with the result influx of outsiders. Hope all continues to subside until I leave. Considering that we are next to the Zaire border the raid is quite amazing. Was recently in Lusaka, and as with Gaborone, it is to quote you 'running over with gossip and politics'. Enough on this!

"Whether or not we meet within Africa gain or not, do hope that we can keep in touch and get together for old times' sake soon. 'Soon' might have to be in inverted commas, but hopefully in the not too distant future. Oh, heard from the Zambodlas in the Transkei last month; was surprised as I didn't know they had left Kenya.

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23rd March 1979, Henry Lombe to David, Kansanji Police in Ndola (1 p.)

Letter contents: Just a friendly note

4th May 1979, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Need docs from her urgently; just sent off parcel #96. Slightly worried at all corres. between us is going through okay.

8th May 1979, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Important family business and docs. Have now sent 120 packets of material to Dan and Jan.

"The tension in Solwezi . . . is slowly easing. . . No curfew still, but one moves cautiously at night."

12th June 1979, David to whole family. Solwezi (2 pp.) Letter contents: Plans for leaving.

"At present I am almost packing and sorting fulltime. Although I am supervising UNZA exams that are presently in progress, this takes little time. My research, likewise, is remaining unfinished for the moment, although I hope to complete it soon, I have sent over 125 packets and parcels of books to you, Dan and Jan Steve, so you will doubtless be pleased to know that few remain to come! I will have three heavy trunks to send aircraft to you, Zindi, and two of the three are now packed and I hope to finish the third this week and then my packing will be largely done. The cost if air freight is very high. The three will probably cost K1300, of which UNZA will pay K800. This means that I will pay K500 (about \$650). These include all the most important books, papers and personal belongings that I don't want left behind.

"I am due to take these trunks to Lusaka for sending in early July, and the road journey is 'delicate' as we had about ten road blocks a month ago. At present things a bit more at ease with the lifting of the curfew and I anticipate 'the eye of the storm' will probably extend until August after the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka. If so, I may have only a few problems as I'll try to get a clearance letter from the local Officer Commanding Police that will hopefully get me through without the trunks being repeatedly unpacked en route. If I anticipate wrong, it will be a troublesome journey to Lusaka to put things mildly! Another potential problem is petrol rationing. Almost all of southern Africa (almost all countries, I mean) have it now and it is being openly discussed in Zambia. If it comes and includes diesel, this will be hard to live with. I am planning to fly next Tuesday (19th June) to Lusaka for a week of tough business, but could drive if it seems essential. I do hate, however, having my trunks in Lusaka for a month before I leave due to potential theft. So I must plan and re-plan almost daily.

"Yesterday, along with your letter, Zindi, I received wonderful news that Syracuse has granted me a teaching assistantship. While this award will take up to twenty hours a week from writing, it will mean that I can be right in Syracuse next year while writing and reacquaint myself slowly with the American student and the key professors at Syracuse. It will be the first time that I've actually taught in a History Department! This will be a good experience for me. I'm delighted. I was determined not to work until writing my thesis and this is a good compromise that is most satisfactory. I am sure that Dr. Alan Smith, Zindi, pulled strings to get a 40 year old grad student an assistantship! He wrote me a personal letter yesterday and wants to see me in London which will be marvelous. I am sure that all of you will share my happiness over this good news of Syracuse. And I wanted all of you to know together -- at once! Syracuse is near N.Y.C., but also

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faces Ohio and Canada as well so I can more easily visit all of you! I will, most unexpectedly, need to buy a used car so will all of you please be thinking of the best place to buy, most economical type to buy, and run, etc..

“Regarding my travel plans as they have evolved and my addresses until I reach America, please note the following: I shall hope to get my tickets to America next week when in Lusaka. I shall have to cut out the Sudan and Egypt as I will now need good rest and not the type of sightseeing that will be exhausting. Hence, I will fly out on last August to Dar es Salaam and after basking (or baking!) on the beach for about a week, go up to Mount Kilimanjaro and see northern Tanzania for four or seven days. From there I will fly directly on to London and then to NYC about the 19th or 23rd -- will not know until after I've been to Lusaka the exact date.

24th June 1979, David to Zindi, Solwezi (2 pp.) LAST LETTER FROM ZAMBIA. Letter contents:

Drove with my trunks and materials to be sent to America instead of flying. Left them with the Reids. Thankfully minimal roadblocks so little need to have things opened. Some of Solwezi's coldest days that I could remember. (Cape Town had knee deep snow.)