
The Principle ‘One Zambia, One Nation’: Fifty Years Later

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ABSTRACT

In the first years of independence, United National Independence Party (UNIP) and President of Zambia Kenneth Kaunda, realizing that Zambia as a young multi-ethnic state can develop only assuming normal relations between its 73 ethnic groups, proclaimed the slogan ‘One Zambia is One People’ as the basic principle of nation-building. The formation of a young nation should also be facilitated by the introduction of the principle of regional and ethnic balancing – quotas for various ethnic groups for representation in government bodies. Under the conditions of political pluralism since 1991, power in Zambia was transferred peacefully, including after the victory of the opposition in the elections in 2011. Zambia is often called a successful example of achieving ethno-political consolidation in a multi-ethnic African state, which can be regarded as a certain success in the formation of a national state. The new president Edgar Lungu re-elected in September 2016 declares that the policy of his government and of the PF party will be firmly based on the inviolability of the principle ‘One Zambia – One Nation’.

INTRODUCTION

On October 23, 2014, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Zambia's independence, the national bank issued a commemorative 50 kwacha banknote (for the first time as legal means of payment) which portrays all the presidents of Zambia: Kenneth Kaunda, Frederick Chiluba, Levy Mwanawasa, Rupiah Banda and Michael Sata. The presentation in honor of this event was attended by Mr. K. Kaunda, Mr. R. Banda and the widows of ex-presidents F. Chiluba and

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L. Mwanawasa. At the same time, an original collage of portraits of five presidents of the country framed with a ribbon of yellow color with the inscription 'One Zambia, One nation' and the dates '1964–2014' was placed on the website of the ruling Patriotic Front (PF) party. This symbolizes the unity of Zambia which in the eyes of the world community has acquired an image of a country that has become one of the examples of ethno-political consolidation and political stability on the African continent. And this image is preserved regardless of the political party in power. A peace-loving nation, as Zambians often call themselves, managed to understand, to accept, to forgive and to appreciate all its presidents without rewriting its history.

In the conditions of political pluralism since 1991, power in Zambia has been transferred peacefully, including after the victory in the elections of the opposition in 2011. A peaceful development of a poly-ethnic Zambia for the last fifty years can be considered a certain success in the formation of a national state.

Six presidents of the country during the period of its independence are representatives of various ethnic groups: K. Kaunda (1964–1991) – is a Tonga, F. Chiluba (1991–2001) and M. Sata (2011–2014) are Bemba, L. Mwanawasa (2001–2008) was Langa, while R. Banda (2008–2011) is Chewa by his father's side and Ngoni by his mother's, and Edgar Lungu (elected on January 20, 2015) is a Nsenga. The fact that the United National Independence Party (UNIP) led by K. Kaunda has stayed in power for 27 years, almost avoiding ethnic tensions, is still considered an undoubted advantage of the heritage of the first president of the country.

POLY-ETHNIC NATION

The Zambian society exists within the paradigm when ethnic diversity is preserved and largely predetermines the country's political life. More than 70 ethnic groups co-exist in Zambia, while for more than 50 years of independent development there have not been any serious ethnic clashes. This country is often called a successful example of achieved ethno-political consolidation in a multi-ethnic African state.

The ethnic fragmentation and diversity of the Zambian population is explained by the fact that from the first years CE to the mid-nineteenth century its territory was the arena of numerous intensive migrations of various ethnic groups moving from the north, north-west and south. Although the ethnic groups in Zambia have noticeable differences in their traditional ways of life, the economy, the level of socio-economic development, a tendency towards a closer cultural

convergence is noticeable. This has been facilitated by migration, inter-tribal exchange, mixed marriages and other factors. A strong impulse for closer rapprochement of different ethnic groups was given by the national liberation movement which began late in the nineteenth century. The community of interests in the struggle against colonialism, racism and imperialism awakened for the first time their self-consciousness which was strengthened and developed under the influence of public organizations and political parties. Since the mid-twentieth century the cities have become centers of ethnic consolidation while a high concentration of African urban population has contributed to the formation of Zambian unity within the national state.

During the one-party regime of Mr. Kaunda who proclaimed the slogan 'One Zambia, One nation', numerous nationalities that make up the population of the republic lived neither in harmony nor in enmity or hatred.

The very existence of an independent state in Zambia depended on the extent to which normal relations between its 73 ethnic groups could be ensured and conditions for closer cooperation between them be created. Therefore, the UNIP party proclaimed the slogan 'One Zambia, One nation' as the basic principle of national construction. To work out at any cost a sense of unity – this is what UNIP and Mr. Kaunda saw as the most important means of eliminating ethnic, political and economic isolation. Mr. K. Kaunda stated: 'I have been elected the leader of UNIP and the President of Zambia in order to unite and preserve the nation' (Hall 1973: 54). In May 1969 the vice-president of the country M. Chona said that in Zambia there are no Bemba, Lozi, Tonga, and there are only Zambians (Ismaghilova 1973: 122).

In the first years of independence, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and President Kenneth Kaunda, realizing that Zambia as a young multi-ethnic state could develop only under normal relations between its numerous ethnic groups adhered to the slogan proclaimed as the founding principle of the national project. The formation of a young nation was also facilitated by the introduction of a system of regional and ethnic balance – quotas for various ethnic groups for representation in government bodies.

The UNIP (United National Independence Party) that ruled in Zambia in 1964–1991 made its official philosophical and socio-economic doctrine the 'Zambian humanism' developed by Mr. K. Kaunda (see Kaunda 1967, 1974). The main idea of the concept which was designed to help the formation of the Zambian nation was to build in Zambia a society of social justice which would inherit the best fea-

tures of traditional African society of mutual help in the new conditions of commodity-money relations. The new Constitution adopted in August 1973 established the 'Zambian humanism' as the official ideological platform of the State.

In the 1960–1980s there were more factors contributing to cooperation between different ethnic groups in Zambia (the consistent national policy of UNIP, the existence of parties that were created during the struggle for independence and that united representatives of different ethnic groups, a significant influence of trade unions that tried not to emphasize ethnicity in their activities) than factors that could separate them. This was facilitated by the introduction of the above-mentioned principle of regional and ethnic balance (quotas for various ethnic groups for representation in government) although in practice this principle was not always maintained.

THE ETHNIC FACTOR IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL PLURALISM

In the process of political liberalization that began with the accession to power of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) headed by F. Chiluba, some negative aspects of the political reforms that began in the 1990s in the African countries were clearly manifested. It was during the reign of F. Chiluba that ethnic unity and the idea of forming a single Zambian nation underwent a significant test.

The ethnic factor manifested itself in the period when Zambia returned to a multi-party system in the 1990s. A number of political parties were created then on the basis of ethnicity. The MMD led by Chiluba (of Bemba nationality) that came to power in 1991 officially abandoned the principle of regional and ethnic balance alleging its undemocratic nature and ignored its promise to consider the issue of the autonomy of Barotseland (Western province), while its discriminatory amendment to the Constitution of 1996 limited in their rights those Zambians who are not so in the third generation. The manifesto of the MMD noted: 'Top government posts would be distributed with a view to achieving a balance between expertise and political support, but without necessarily trying to secure an equitable balance between the major ethnic groups' (Chikulo 1996: 33).

During the second presidential term of F. Chiluba (1996–2001) the representation of the Bemba in the legislative and executive bodies increased. The absence of ethnic balance in politics was far from contributing to national unity.

Many researchers define ethnicity as one of the important aspects of politics in Zambia which has existed there for many decades both under single-party and multi-party regimes (Molteno 1974: 62–106; Sichone and Simutanyi 1996: 173–196; Pozner 2005). The Swedish researcher Jeremy Gould believes that the presidential election of 2006 showed the ethnicization of politics in Zambia since ‘more than half of the votes were cast for candidates with strong ties to Bemba and Tonga’ (Gould 2007: 8). In the mid-2000s the influence of the ethnic factor on the party identification of voters in Zambia was examined during the field study led in this country by Gero Erdmann (Germany). According to Erdmann, in the 2006 general elections the ‘ethno-political identity was not the only factor, but nevertheless it was an important issue influencing their outcome’ (Erdmann 2007: 30). A similar position is taken by the Dutch researcher Wim Van Binsbergen who carried out a field research at the same time in Barotseland: ‘Local ethnic structures continue to prevail over national party affiliation’ (Van Binsbergen 2004: 211).

Other researchers, such as Liz Rakner and Lars Svåsand (Norway) consider the Zambian party system without significant focusing on ethnicity (Rakner and Svåsand 2004: 49–68). Peter Burnell (UK) also does not consider the ethnic factor a serious threat to the democratization process in Zambia, contrary to the situation in some other African countries, although he recognizes the importance of regional differences (Burnell 2001: 135–155). One of the reasons for this is apparently the habitual confidence of voters in the ethno-political stability in their country. The German researcher Alexander Stroh who also conducted polls in Zambia in 2004 and interviewed local political scientists as well as prominent party and state figures, noted that ‘the choice of Zambian voters, regardless of their ethnicity, in favor of a candidate is not risky, or the risk is minimal as no one directly fears for their own lives during political competition in elections, as it can occur, for example, in Rwanda’ (Stroh 2007: 24).

The opposition Patriotic Front (PF) party led by Michael Sata that came to power in 2011 took into account the negative experience of its predecessors. The PF government understood that the root of the tensions that arise in ethnic relations lies in most cases in unresolved socio-economic problems. The experience of the past has shown that under conditions of poverty of the overwhelming majority of the population those problems cause separatist sentiments that could threaten the country's integrity. The relative stability of the socio-political situation and absence of serious ethnic conflicts are also maintained thanks to

constructive cooperation with opposition. Meanwhile, the manipulation by the ethnic factor is perceptible in political debates.

Interethnic contradictions in Zambia are mainly manifested in the sphere of politics, especially during election campaigns, and do not lead to serious bloody conflicts. Zambian voters have considerable experience of electoral participation, and political parties rarely use and encourage violence in their activities. The political and public figures of Zambia note the tolerance and peacefulness of their fellow citizens. Vice President Guy Scott (Zambia-born son of British immigrants) who became the head of the state for several months after the death of President M. Sata on October 28, 2014, noted in his interview to the American newspaper *The Washington Post* that his successful political career was 'a unique consequence of stability and tolerance in Zambia' (Tharoor 2014).

A peaceful politician and stateswoman, Ambassador Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika insists on the peacefulness of her compatriots: 'Zambians are not violent by nature. In our political history there have been cases, for example, the introduction of one-party rule by President K. Kaunda, but despite the active opposition, there was no violence' (Cromwell 2018). The priest of the Anglican Church Kapya Kaoma also speaks of the Zambians' peaceful character. In recent years he often drew attention to the problem of ethnicity in Zambia's politics. Speaking about the long confrontation between President Sata and Mr. Hakainde Hichilema (the leader of an opposition United Party for National Development (UPND)), he wrote that when MMD and PF government ignored the plight of the Lozi, even those in the diaspora felt disrespected. He reminded that for Africans defending one's tribe is a moral issue, and stressed as an incontestable fact that the United Party for National Development was by default a Tonga party while Patriotic Front was a Bemba political party. The MMD, as K. Kaoma wrote, may appear national but in reality it was still another Bemba party.

When Sata demeans Hichilema, the entire Tonga community feels disparaged. Hichilema should also understand that when he degrades Sata, it feeds into the stereotype that Tongas are against Bembas... Kaunda taught us to shout: 'One Zambia, One Nation'. Next time when we sing our national anthem, let us put away tribalism and become 'all one, strong and free!' (Kaoma 2012).

In Zambia, the norms of relations between people, as well as between the individual and society are heavily influenced by religion,

the most stable component of every civilization. The modern history of Zambia demonstrates a significant influence of the religion on the formation of the nation.

RELIGION AS A FACTOR OF INFLUENCE

A remarkable role in the life of society throughout the history of Zambia has been played by religious figures. The connection between religion and politics was traced already under Mr. K. Kaunda's one-party regime. Religion influenced his views even in the colonial period which later served as the basis for his concept of 'Zambian humanism'. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, Archbishop of Lusaka Emmanuel Milingo was very popular among the parishioners. In his sermons and services he actively engaged in the expulsion of evil spirits and in exorcism, arguing that they had a marked effect on Zambia's political life. His activity caused such unrest among a part of the superstitious population of the country that in 1983 Mr. K. Kaunda had to cooperate with the Vatican on the issue of the Archbishop's dismissal (ter Haar 1992: 199–200).

The next president Frederick Chiluba, a Roman catholic who won the multi-party elections in 1991, constantly declared his adherence to Christianity and invariably appeared at various state and party events holding the Holy Bible. He ensured that the new Constitution adopted in 1996 proclaimed Zambia where more than 70 per cent of the population profess Christianity, a Christian country. But some facts of his activity were in stark contrast to the image that was declared and maintained over the years. For example, he agreed to the arrest of former President K. Kaunda, accused of conspiracy, on the first day of Christmas 1998, which did not correspond to his appearance as a zealous Catholic.

The President of the country in 2001–2008, Baptist Levi Mwanawasa had joined the Church of the Bible Watchtower Society (Jehovah's Witnesses) but after becoming President in 2001 returned to the Baptist church. The ceremony of his baptism in the Twin Palm church in Lusaka in 2005 was proclaimed an official event attended by statesmen and some foreign ambassadors. Under the Protestant President R. Banda (2008–2011) the constitutional provision that Zambia is a Christian country was respected together with the personal right of everyone to freedom of conscience and of religion. Realizing the potential of the clergy as a force capable of facilitating the consolidation of society, particularly during the election campaign, the President said meeting them that he was happy to be a leader who follows the Biblical rules.

The current President of Zambia Mr. E. Lungu repeatedly mentioned the name of God during his election campaign and at his inauguration ceremony on January 25, 2015. He also stressed his commitment to Christianity on the eve of the presidential elections of 2016, 'Zambians know the kind of leader that I am, and that I am a man of faith that walks with God. I live my life and lead this country with Christian values' (Lungu 2016). In the new edition of the Constitution of January 5, 2016, Zambia is called 'Christian nation' (Constitution of Zambia [Amendment] 2016: 9).

At the same time Christian Zambians adhere to some traditional African beliefs (worship of ancestors, spirits, animals, forces of nature, *etc.*), which play an important role in their spiritual life. The consolidation of the ethnic groups of the country is facilitated by the country top leadership's regular participation in traditional ceremonies, for example, *kulamba*, *nkwala* and such. This practice is also maintained by President E. Lungu.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND SYMBOLS

The construction of the Zambian nation takes place in conditions of preservation and further development of local languages. Seven African languages (Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi (Barotse), Luvale, Lunda, Nyanja and Tonga), along with English, are officially recognized as national languages. Media publications, television and radio broadcasting, as well as the development of national literature are also conducted both in local languages and in English. The same situation exists in the political sphere. Knowledge of local languages greatly facilitates the contact between politicians and their voters in a country where the literacy rate is only about 60 per cent. The leader of the opposition Patriotic Front (PF) party Michael Sata who won the presidential election in 2011 was a fluent speaker in several local languages while his opponent, diplomat Rupiah Banda, spoke at the pre-election rallies in English under translation, and that was not always in his favor. Ex-president Mr. G. Scott also speaks several African languages.

English is often used in the symbolism of the parties. On the logos of parties the abbreviation of their names is often given in English: PF (Patriotic Front), MMD (Movement for Multi-Party Democracy), FDD (Forum for Democracy and Development). After radical power changes when the opposition won the elections (in 1991 and 2011), state symbols were not radically changed, although the flag of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) which led the country to

independence, was taken as the basis for the flag of Zambia approved on October 24, 1964. By the way, among the authors of the national flag of Zambia was the white artist Gabriel Ellison who then headed a department in the Ministry of Information. For many years she worked on the creation of Zambia's postage stamps, many of them are now well known among the philatelists of the world. As for the Zambian coat of arms, it is decorated with a ribbon on which the slogan 'One Zambia, One nation' is written.

ISSUE OF THE BAROTSELAND AUTONOMY

In the social and political life of Zambia, especially in its rural areas, a prominent role is played by traditional tribal chiefs (see Kavykin 2012: 187). Mr. K. Kaunda, implementing the slogan 'One Zambia, One nation' abolished the House of Chiefs which was part of the parliament as an advisory body. But according to the Constitution of 1991 adopted under F. Chiluba, the House of Chiefs has been restored and is now functioning as attachment to the Parliament. The current president Mr. E. Lungu stated on the eve of the 2016 elections that he did not intend to draw the traditional leaders to his party's side or to force them to support the PF government, but he wanted these leaders to acknowledge the progress he had achieved in the country's development (Chibuye and Kuyela 2016).

One of the main problems in implementing the idea 'One Zambia, One Nation' has been the long-standing problem of the autonomy of Barotseland (Western Province) inhabited by Lozi (Barotse). The kingdom of the Lozi people, Barotseland, created in the eighteenth century, a British protectorate since 1891, became part of the independent Republic of Zambia in 1964 under the terms of the treaty on its special status. In socio-economic terms the Western province was one of the most underdeveloped in the country during the colonial period. Due to the coincidence of the ethnic and economic borders, all socio-economic problems have been constantly perceived as results of inequality in political sphere (Ksenofontova 2013: 93–94).

After the general elections of 1996, the separatist sentiments in Barotseland resumed, as the PF ruling party 'forgot' about its pre-election promises to regulate the question of autonomy. Barotseland's demands for autonomy threatened the integrity of the state and its political stability. All this had a negative impact on the situation in Zambia. In 1998, the Barotseland Patriotic Front (PFB) party headed by Imasik Mutangelwa stood up for Barotseland's independence. In 2001, this party even appealed to the UN and to the African Union (AU)

asking for the assistance in holding a referendum on the self-determination of Barotseland. But Barotseland's demands for autonomy disagreed with the official policy of consolidation of a unitary state. The government of F. Chiluba needed a lot of effort to resolve its conflict with the traditional elite of this region of the country.

During his election campaign in 2011, M. Sata promised to solve the problem of the autonomy of Barotseland. The unresolved problem of Barotseland led to an outbreak of violence in several towns in the Western Province on the eve of the general elections in 2011. Two people were killed in Mongu (Western Province) as a result of clashes with the police. The sharpness of the conflict intensified in 2012. On March 27, 2012, the Barotse National Council adopted a political decision on the need to establish the sovereignty of Barotseland through its formal, legal and peaceful delimitation from Zambia. Even a text of the constitution of a future independent state was adopted in which Barotseland was proclaimed a sovereign constitutional monarchy (Foundation Document...). In August 2013 five Barotseland activists led by their leader L. Mombotwa formed a transitional government, but were soon arrested on charges of separatist conspiracy.

Similar to his predecessors President E. Lungu faces the problem of Barotseland. In order to settle the conflict Mr. Lungu has to negotiate with the Barotseland litunga (the supreme leader of the Lozi) Lubosi Imviko II. Mr. Lungu confirms his conviction in Zambia's indivisibility and his intention to continue his cooperation with the Barotse to overcome the crisis situation. After the elections of 2016 one of the activists of Barotseland, Mungandi wa Muwina Mungandi, noted that due to the problem of Barotseland 'Zambia cannot remain one nation' (wa Muwina Mungandi 2016).

GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 2016

The interethnic relations in Zambia are affected by the uneven levels of socio-economic development of different ethnic groups that developed during the colonial period. Of the ten provinces, the most developed are Copperbelt, Central and Southern provinces. The existing economic imbalances have had an impact on the political life of the country. This clearly manifested in the regular elections held in 2016.

The general elections that took place on August 11, 2016 were preceded by important institutional changes. On January 5, 2016, the country's Constitution was amended with provisions which significantly strengthen the presidential power. Leading his campaign, President Lungu noted that during the years in power (2011–2016) the PF

party attempted to achieve development in all the provinces of Zambia, although this infringed upon some of the provinces where the party is popular. He also said that in case of its victory in elections, the PF government would give priority to development in those areas where it would gain majority of votes (Lusakatimes 2016).

However, the results of the general elections held on August 11, 2016, demonstrated the split of the Zambian society not only politically but also territorially: 50.4 per cent of voters (mostly in Northern provinces) voted for Mr. E. Lungu who won the election, while 48 per cent (mainly in the southern provinces) supported his main rival Mr. Hakainde Hichilema.

The authorities restricted the activities of independent media, including the main opposition newspaper *The Post* and several radio stations (Muvi TV, Komboni Radio, and Itezhi Tezhi Radio). The report of European observers from The EU Election Observation Missions (EUEOMs) noted that there was no coverage of all the parties participating in the election campaign, the state media mainly covering the news that concerned the ruling party, the Patriotic Front (PF) (Gahler 2016: 28). After the announcement of the election results in the southern provinces, where a large number of Hichilema's supporters was registered, clashes with the police took place.

DIFFICULT ROAD TO NATION UNITY

Some other difficulties on the way to the formation of national unity in Zambia should be noted. Economic difficulties do not yet allow the government to develop at a proper level its state programs in the field of education. This complicates the development of human capital as 'the path to the establishment of human rights in Africa as a concept and practice lies primarily through education, enlightenment... orienting on the value system of civil society with a central role belonging to human rights' (Bondarenko 2012: 31). The aggravation of socio-economic differences among the different strata of the population creates in its turn additional obstacles to the rallying of the nation.

A serious obstacle to the further rallying of the nation in Zambia is the persistence of gender inequality. Women have considerable knowledge of electoral participation, since the country is already rich with experience of eight pluralistic elections. The Constitution of Zambia adopted in 1996 laid down the principle of recognition of the equality of rights of men and women (The Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) Act, 1996). The new edition of the country's Constitution of January 5, 2016, affirmed 'equality of women and men and

their right to freely participate in political, economic and social life' (Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) Act, 2016). However, all this is still far from reality. At the parliamentary elections in 2016, only 25 women were elected, although the ruling PF party promised before the elections a 40 per cent level of women representation. Prominent political and state figures of the country advocate for gender equality. Among them, the vice-president of the country since January 2015 Inonge Wina (she became the first woman in this post in the country's history), Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika and Edith Nawakwi, leaders of political parties who ran for the presidential post in different years.

It should be noted that Zambia's first president who proclaimed the slogan 'One Zambia, One nation', still enjoys the respect of his compatriots for the peaceful transfer of power in 1991 and for his long-term work in public organizations and funds. In April 2016, Mwelwa C. Musambachime published a book entitled *One Zambia, One Nation, One Country*, in which Mr. Kaunda is called 'the founder of the nation' (Mwelwa 2016).

The president Edgar Lungu elected after the death of Michael Sata in January 2015 and re-elected in September 2016, constantly declares that the policy of his government and of the PF party will be firmly based on the inviolability of the principle 'One Zambia, One nation'. According to Article 4 (3) of the new edition of the Constitution of 5 January 2016 The Republic of Zambia is a unitary, indivisible, multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-party democratic State (Constitution of Zambia [Amendment] Act 2016: 11). On March 30, 2018, the Minister of Justice Given Lubinda announced that a bill on amending the Zambian Constitution would be submitted to the parliament on June 19, 2018.

On March 17, 2017, President E. Lungu stated in his message to the Parliament that 'patriotism and national unity should speak to the heart and soul of every Zambian in our quest to sustain our sovereignty and build a better country for ourselves and future generations. Patriotism invokes an emotional attachment to one's country' (Lungu 2017: 11).

CONCLUSION

Fifty years after independence, living in conditions of peaceful political development, more than 60 per cent of the population of Zambia still falls below the poverty line, Zambia stays among those African countries that receive financial assistance from the IMF under the HIPC program (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) which is provided

to the poorest countries with high external debt. Poverty knows no tribal boundaries or identifications. For a common man, being Bemba, Lozi, or Tonga does not put food on the table. Poverty aggravated by social inequality is a factor hostile to national unity. K. Kaoma, already cited, wrote, 'Let us put aside tribalism, and fight our common enemy responsible for our perpetual agony – politicians who continue to amass wealth at our expense. Today, we have a choice: to allow politicians to divide us while they make millions, or unite and fight for our equal share as Zambians' (Kaoma 2012).

To a large extent, mass poverty is the result of the corruption (see Sardanis 2014). This topic has been on the agenda of all the elections in the last decades. According to the international organization Transparency International, in 2017 Zambia ranked the 96th in terms of corruption in the list of 175 countries. In January 2018, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia Harry Kalaba resigned because of the corruption in the government.

The implementation of the domestic policy according to the principle 'One Zambia, One Nation' the loyalty to which President Lungu declares so often, will determine whether he remains in the history of the country as a president who has managed to preserve its ethno-political stability.

The presidential elections in January 2015 and general elections in September 2016 showed that Zambia passed another milestone in its marathon for democratic change. They answered one of the main questions in the political process, 'Will the tradition of peaceful transfer of power by means of democracy and ethno-political stability persist in the country?' So far, this answer is in the affirmative.

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