Prior to the creation of the urban Proletariat in Zambia a class of proletarianised Peasants formed. They can aptly be described as Target-Proletarians. This term is in part derived from target-workers who are peasants who work in the cash economy to earn no more than a fixed sum before resuming cultivation or fishing for a livelihood.

The meaning of proletarian requires statement. There is substantial agreement among economists that a Proletarian is a person who has severed any primary interest in a peasant income and whose indispensable, if not exclusive, source of income comes from the sale of his labour power. The present usage of proletarian modifies and adds to the economist's usage in two respects. First, the meaning of proletarian is extended to those dependents of a worker who actively participate in his life and thoughts. The worker is motivated principally by his own needs and when for instance, he indulges in spatial polygyny - when he lives with a woman in town and yet has a wife in a village - it is not axiomatic that his urban behaviour is connected with some awareness of obligation towards his village wife. But even though employed in town it may be to his advantage to maintain an interest in his village wife and kin; from profit, rather than obligation, arises the desire to retain village associations. When this is the case the urban worker, with perhaps urban dependents, is in part a Peasant. His peasant and wage interests were equally the product of modernisation - a complex of changes which eroded customary relationships and established new social forms and bonds in their place and which, in a generic sense, convert peasant-workers into Proletarians everywhere.

The second modification of the economist's use of proletarian refers to the income of a Target-Proletarian. He was a person who sought to maximise, according to his own valuation, incomes from both indigenous and money economies. He was not necessarily dependent upon the money economy for subsistence. The typical member of this class was a target-wage-earner and peasant at alternating periods in his life; when he finally renounced the life of a peasant, became alienated from the means of production, and continually followed the vocation of wage-earner, he ceased to be a Target-Proletarian and joined the Proletariat.

When there were Proletarians but no Proletariat there was a class in itself which resembled a statistical entity as much as a social actuality.
1940's the Proletarians in Zambia did not generate activity as a single body and were a class only in as much as they were confronted by the alien Bourgeoisie, who exercised economic power, and the class of Protectors, who wielded political power.

**Political Manifestations**

The impact which the Target-Proletarians made on the class struggle in Zambia can be considered under the headings of protest, consciousness and power. Target-Proletarians did not threaten public order until a full half-century after Zambian Africans first enlisted as wage labourers. At the outset the contest was carried on by individual workers. The contest was then taken up by the workpeople of a single employer and by the operatives in a single industry or locality. The "incipient beginnings of political-mindedness" by Target-Proletarians were marked at Livingstone, Lusaka and Ndola in November 1932. These "near-riots", occasioned by the unemployment of the depression, occurred in the administrative and commercial centres of the Protectorate. Not until 1935 did Target-Proletarians in close contact with typical large scale mass production in the labour camps of the Copperbelt - a classic proletarian situation - suffer casualties in the form of six shot rioters. The local police had to be reinforced by a contingent from Southern Rhodesia. These early protest situations were very localised. In all of them the ability to fulfil a predetermined personal target, to acquire a fixed sum of money, before returning to the Peasant Societies was delayed or frustrated entirely.

These early protests made the Target-Proletarians conscious of their proletarian interests. But they lacked awareness of themselves as a mature class until the advent of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953. This government was dominated by the alien Bourgeoisie who the Target-Proletarians believed to endanger their peasant interests. This self-awareness as proletarians and peasants welded the Target-Proletarians into a class.

Concretely, the growth of class consciousness and action was bound up with the perception of European immigration. This can be examined in three aspects. First, the increase in the number of alien Bourgeoisie was interpreted as likely to increase their importance as a class with economic power. It clearly brought nearer the day when the Bourgeoisie could demand that the ruling class in the Protectorate hand over political authority over the Target-Proletarians to them. Second, the alien Bourgeoisie migrated to the Copperbelt and this, in conjunction with other "evidence", was interpreted as reducing the *lebensraum* of Proletarians, as increasing their strength and importance in the society of modern urban institutions, many of which were like the industrial colour-bar and hostile to Proletarians. European immigration made it increasingly difficult for the Proletarians in wage-employment to insulate themselves from

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2 Ibid.