

## THE BANKNOTES OF ZAMBIA AND MALAWI REFLECT THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THESE TWO AFRICAN NATIONS

by Carlson R. Chambliss

In the November/December, 2014 issue of *Paper Money* I presented an article entitled "Zimbabwe's Plunge into Monetary Madness." The policies of Robert Mugabe and his cronies drove this once fairly prosperous nation (by African standards) into hyperinflation and bankruptcy, and Zimbabwe has yet to recover from the numerous errors in its economic mismanagement. The other two components of the defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland both became independent in 1964 as Zambia and Malawi, but both achieved independence with the full support of the United Kingdom and the international community. Both of these nations replaced the previously used Federation notes with new notes in 1964, and for both countries the denominations of the notes included 10/-, £1 and £5. All three countries (including Rhodesia) declined to issue £10 notes, although they had been in use while the Federation was still an established entity.

The Federation pound was at par with sterling, which was worth \$US 2.80 at that time. In 1967, however, Great Britain devalued its pound to \$US 2.40, and shortly thereafter Zambia and Malawi decimalized their currencies (in 1968 and 1971, respectively). As was typical of most currency changeovers in the British Empire, the new unit was the equivalent of 10/- in the former currency. Both Zambia and Malawi termed their new currency unit the kwacha, which means "dawn" in either the Chinyanja language of Zambia or the closely related Chichewa language of Malawi. Both of these languages are Bantu languages that share many common characteristics with other languages spoken in this part of Africa. For the fractional units, however, Zambia chose the name *ngwee* meaning "light" or "bright," while Malawi chose the name *tambala*, which is the Chichewa word for "rooster," whose crow at dawn is a familiar sound. It also was the icon of the Malawi Congress Party that soon was to become the sole legal political party of Malawi.

Zambia is a mineral-rich country, and by far its most important resource is copper, of which Zambia is a major world producer. In order to keep its economy afloat, Zambia must export all of the copper that it mines, and copper is a commodity whose market price is highly volatile in world markets. In the case of Zambia currently about 85% of its foreign currency earnings come from copper, and at times this figure has been as high as 95%. When copper prices are down the economy of Zambia can go into a tailspin.

Zambia's first banknotes were issued in 1964 in denominations of 10/-, £1, and £5. As one might expect they were printed by the foremost British securities printing firm, Thomas De La Rue. All three notes feature the coat of arms of Zambia on their faces, a design that closely resembles that of the former Northern Rhodesia. In 1963 a trial design for a £ note prepared by Harrison and Sons included a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II, but this design was rejected. A few of these trial notes exist in printed form, and they do command very high prices.

In the 1960's only a few enthusiasts were collecting foreign banknotes, and relatively few of the Zambian notes of 1964 were saved in any grades. They are especially scarce in CU condition. Specimen notes do exist, and these are less expensive than are the issued notes when the latter are in CU grade. This issue was in use for only four years, and only one signature variety exists for each value.

In 1968, the first of the decimal notes were issued, and between 1968 and 1992 all Zambian notes bore a portrait of Kenneth Kaunda (1924 - ), who was president of Zambia from 1964 to 1991. The first decimal notes resembled the previous issue, but there were two new values for 50 ngwee and 20 kwacha that would correspond to 5/- and £10 in the former currency. These notes are less rare than are the pre-decimal notes of 1964, but they are still expensive when in high grade. In 1969 the designs of these notes were modified somewhat, but the same five denominations were issued. The issue types of 1969, however, have more than one signature type, and the later varieties are rather more abundant than are the earlier issues.

Although the Zambian notes of the 1960s would have made superb investments, at the time there was far more interest in the postage stamps of this country. Both Zambia and Malawi have issued stamps in a responsible fashion, but most of the early postal issues of these countries are worth little more today than what they sold for as new issues in the 1960s. Stamp collecting has been undergoing a steady decline in popularity over the past couple of decades, but in the 1960s in contrast to philatelic issues there was amazingly little information available about the banknotes of many countries, and this would apply especially to the newly independent nations of Africa.

In 1973 a 5-kwacha note was issued for the first time, and in that year, there was also a special

commemorative 1-kwacha note for the inauguration of the Second Republic. During the 1970s there were also new types of notes for 1, 2, 5, 10, and 20 kwacha, all of which feature Kenneth Kaunda and the Zambian coat of arms on their faces. There was also an essay note for 20 kwacha that depicts the National Assembly building on its back. The British firm of Bradbury, Wilkinson & Co. printed two of the values, while TDLR printed a new 20 kwacha note that was rejected. Probably the Bank of Zambia people preferred the BWC product to the new TDLR design and thus chose to reject the latter.

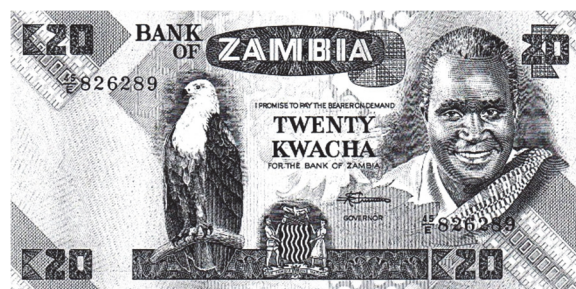
The economy of Zambia was affected drastically by Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence for Rhodesia late in 1965. As British colonies the two Rhodesian entities had closely interlocked relations, but Kaunda chose to boycott Ian Smith's Rhodesia as much as was possible. Previously all of Zambia's copper for export abroad had been shipped by rail to Portuguese-controlled Benguela (Angola) or Beira (Mozambique), or to Durban in South Africa. Zambia has good relations with China and with Tanzania, and so the Tan-Zam (or TAZARA) Railroad was built with a great deal of Chinese help linking Zambia with Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania. This was a huge engineering project that was not completed until 1975. As a nation adjoining Rhodesia, Zambia was increasingly subject to raids from its southern neighbor. Also, oil prices became much higher during the 1970s, while the price of copper declined sharply on international markets.

Although Zambia was a fairly democratic country by African standards, the United National Independence Party (or UNIP) of Kenneth Kaunda dominated the country's politics, and it was made the sole legal party of Zambia in 1973. This was when the so-called Second Republic was inaugurated. Zambia was becoming, in fact, a dictatorship. There were some arrests and some censorship, but this was a very mild affair compared with what happened in some other African nations. During these years a great deal of effort was devoted to improving the educational system at all levels in Zambia. A very important financial project involved the Zambian government acquiring a controlling interest in the various mining companies of Zambia, most of which were still owned by British interests. A very large undertaking was replacing all of the mining engineers and other technical personnel of European race with Africans with adequate training, and the Zambia government had to admit that numerous problems were encountered involving the "Africanization" of its skilled labor force.

For the first 15 years or so of its independence the currency of Zambia remained reasonably stable. In 1972 the value of the kwacha even reached as high as \$1.55 which was above its official parity, and in 1980 it

still was exchanged at a rate of about \$1.30 per U. S. dollar. By then, however, Zambia was affected both by lower copper prices coupled with much higher oil prices. The national debt for this country became quite large, and the currency rapidly began to lose value. In 1985 the exchange rate was about 2.3 kwacha per dollar and by 1987 and 1989 the exchange rates had fallen to about 8.7 and 12.9 per dollar, respectively. During the 1990s the value of the currency declined sharply with mean exchange rates per \$1 US of 29, 62, 160, 435, and 770 in 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1994, respectively.

As a result of the sharp decline in the value of the kwacha, the banknote issues of the Kaunda administration printed between 1980 and 1991 become far more abundant and are both fairly inexpensive and readily obtainable. The notes first issued in 1980 depict a smiling portrait of President Kaunda together with a perching image of a fish eagle on their faces. The fish eagle has become the iconic symbol of the Bank of Zambia, and all notes issued since 1980 have depicted this bird on their faces.



Most Zambian banknotes issued prior to 1992 depict a smiling portrait of Kenneth Kaunda along with the Zambian coat of arms. An image of a fish eagle was added in 1980, and all notes issued in 1986 and later years depict the Chainbreaker statue that stands outside the National Assembly building in Lusaka.

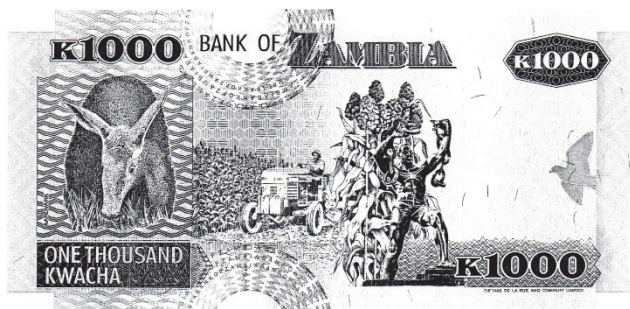


In 1986 a 50-kwacha note was added to this set, and on its back the "Chainbreaker" statue that stands outside the National Assembly in Lusaka is featured. All Zambian notes issued after 1986 have incorporated this symbol into their back designs. The notes of 1980-86 were printed by TDLR, but a new printer was chosen for the series of notes that were printed between 1989 and 1991. On their faces these notes include the Zambian coat of arms along with a Kaunda portrait and a fish

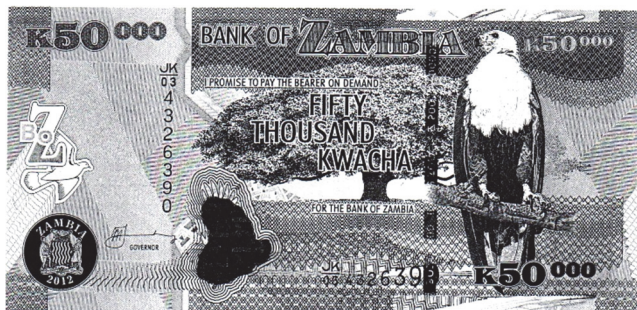


eagle in flight. The first bunch of these range in face value for 2 to 50 kwacha, but in 1991 notes for 100 and 500 kwacha were added for the first time. Due to inflation, however, the 500 kwacha note had an exchange value of only about \$US 5 or 6 at the time of issue, and its value soon fell well below those levels.

Since the end of Kaunda's administration late in 1991, the Bank of Zambia has chosen not to depict portraits of current presidents on its notes. All feature a perching fish eagle on their faces together with a circular seal at the lower left that gives the date of issue of the note. Each note features a different animal on its back, and antelopes, zebras, elephants, aardvarks, lions, and leopards are all represented.



In 1992 a new series of banknotes was introduced, and the same basic designs were used for the next two decades despite much inflation. Each denomination features a different animal on its back. For the 1000 kwacha note this was an aardvark. The highest value for this series was for 50,000 kwacha. Beginning in 2003 the 500 and 1000 kwacha notes were printed on polymer plastic, and most of these were produced in Canada.



Initially all of these notes were dated 1992, although in 1996 a new governor took office at the Bank of Zambia, but the 1992 date was continued. Since 2001, however, these notes are dated annually, and most years from then on have been utilized. The initial issue

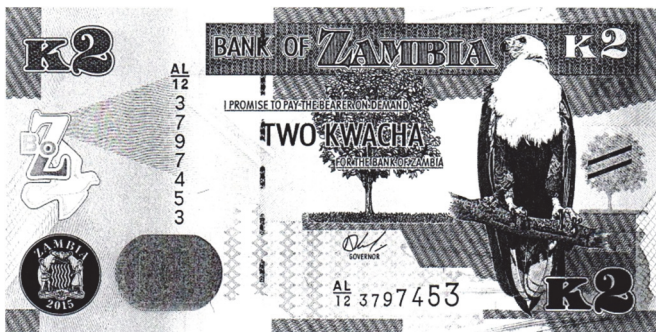
of notes was for 20, 50, 100, and 500 kwacha, but in 1996 notes for 1000, 5000, and 10,000 kwacha were added. No coins were in circulation at this time, and they did not make their appearance again until 2012. With ongoing inflation 20,000 and 50,000-kwacha notes were added in 2003. The 20 kwacha note, which saw little use, was phased out after 1996, but the heavily used 500 and 1000-kwacha notes were drastically modified in 2003 by being printed on polymer plastic rather than paper. None of the other denominations were converted to polymer. All notes of these types featured at least a vertical thread and a watermark, but metallic and holographic strips, zones printed in special inks, holographic impressions, etc., were added in later years. As might be expected the 20, 50, and 100-kwacha notes were relatively simple, while most of the higher values featured an increasingly complex array of security features.

Initially all of the notes of the 1992-2012 types were printed by TDLR, but other printers such as Oberthur in France and Giesecke & Devrient in Germany produced many of the later issues. The polymer plastic notes were mostly printed in Canada either by the British American Banknote Co. or by the Canadian Banknote Co. Eventually the German firm also printed some of these. There were some problems encountered with the first bunch of polymer notes printed in 2003. The serial numbers wore off both the 500 and 1000 kwacha notes quite easily, but this matter was soon corrected before this series of 2003 was completed. Only three persons signed as governor of the Bank of Zambia during this entire period, but the numerous varieties arise from the different dates on these notes. Incidentally during the Kaunda administration there were no less than nine different governors of the Bank of Zambia, all of whom signed notes. All together there are some 80 varieties in the entire issue of notes from 1992 to 2012, but none of them are rare. Getting all of these in choice condition would be a challenging project, however, especially for some of the 20,000 and 50,000-kwacha values.

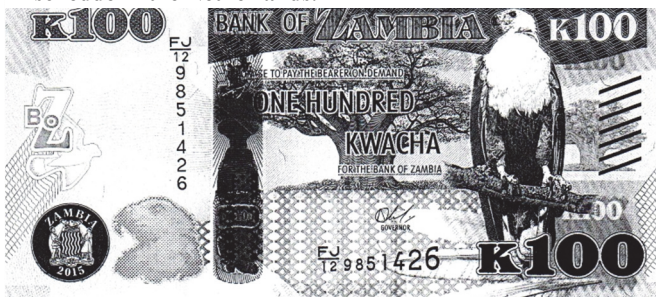
I was in Zambia in 2001 to view a total solar eclipse. At that time the exchange rate was about 3500 kwacha to the dollar. There was no black market, but different rates were offered by banks for \$100 FRNs of the USA depending upon whether they were of the new (Series 1996 or later) or the older types (Series 1993 or earlier). The more recent notes were exchanged for the kwacha at a better rate. Apparently, the bank officials were worried about the so-called "super hundreds" that were being printed in the Middle East. Interestingly sellers of souvenirs to visitors preferred their own money to lower denomination USA currency. By 1999 the 20-kwacha notes were no longer in circulation, but

there were plenty of well-worn 50 and 100-kwacha notes. The 500 and 1000-kwacha notes were still printed on paper and usually also well-worn, while the 5000 and 10,000-kwacha notes were usually in fairly decent condition. In a poor country such as Zambia, these notes represented serious money to many of their holders, and they did not change hands as often as did the lower denomination notes. Except for a relatively small downtown business district the streets of Lusaka were not lit by streetlamps, and in such a city foreign visitors did not venture from their hotels at night.

In 2012 the Bank of Zambia did a 1000-to-1 conversion. Notes in the old currency dated 2012 were still printed alongside notes in the new currency, but there was no confusion since the former were in values of thousands of kwacha whereas the new notes were denominated for far lower amounts. The term “new kwacha” is not used on these notes that are in denominations of 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 (new) kwacha. The designs are essentially the same as before except that there were no 2000 or 100,000-kwacha notes in the old series.



In 2012 the Zambian kwacha was revalued at a rate of 1000 (old) to 1 (new). The 2 kwacha and 100-kwacha notes were for values that had not appeared in the previous series. The former was printed by Oberthur in France, while the latter was produced by Enschede in the Netherlands.



It seems that several different securities printing firms are being used. I have noted Giesecke & Devrient (Germany), Oberthur (France), and J. Enschede (Netherlands). There also are coins for 5, 10, and 50 ngwee, and for 1 kwacha. These are the first coins that Zambia has used for several decades. The currency has softened a bit over the past two decades, and the exchange rate is now very nearly 10 (new) kwacha to

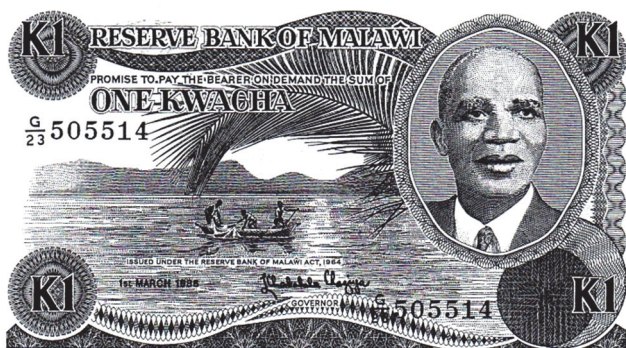
the dollar. When first issued the new notes were dated 2012, but notes dated 2014 and 2015 are also in circulation. Thus, we can expect the annual dating of Zambian notes will continue. This could become rather confusing if different printers work on the same values in a given year.

We now turn to the second of the African countries under consideration in this article. Malawi is much smaller in area than is Zambia, but it has a much higher population density. Both the words Malawi and Nyasa refer to the large and deep freshwater lake that constitutes much of the surface area of this nation. Some of this lake is also shared with Mozambique and Tanzania, but the Malawi portion represents about 22% of the area of the nation, whose total area is about the same as is that of the state of Pennsylvania. Malawi lacks significant mineral resources, but its fertile soil yields cash crops of which tobacco, tea, and sugar are the most important. For a few years Malawi also tried to export maize (corn), but nearly all the maize grown there was necessary for domestic consumption. Malawi is far more rural than is Zambia, and in fact only five settlements (Blantyre, Lilongwe, Zomba, Mzuzu, and Kasungu) are large enough to be considered as cities.

For the first three decades of its existence as an independent state Malawi was under the very firm rule of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda (1898-1997). Banda had total control of the Malawi Congress Party, the only legal political party in Malawi for three decades, and in 1971 he was proclaimed President for Life. Banda was a firm anti-Communist, and Malawi was one of very few African nations to have diplomatic relations with South Africa at a time when that nation was still under Apartheid rule. Banda's regime has sometimes been described as a totalitarian state, but in any case, it was Banda alone who decided what he thought was good for Malawi. All adult Malawians were required to be members of the Malawi Congress Party, and there was considerable friction between Banda and the Jehovah's Witnesses over this issue. No opposition to Banda's government was permitted inside Malawi, and many persons with differing political views chose exile or were imprisoned for long terms.

The first set of Malawian notes – for 5/-, 10/-, £1, and £5 – were issued in 1964. These all bear the signature of the governor of the Reserve Bank of Malawi, but a couple of years later a second issue was released that bore also the signature of the general manager of the bank. This set included only the three lower values. For all of the notes of the Banda era the faces of the notes were essentially the same. They portrayed a facial portrait of Hastings Banda together with a view of Lake Malawi. Banda was already well into his 60s when he took control of Malawi, and the





For three decades all notes of the Reserve Bank of Malawi had essentially the same face design, a portrait of Hastings Banda together a sunrise scene over Lake Malawi. Banda was 66 years old in the year of independence (1964), and he was therefore 96 years old by 1994. His portrait remained the same, however, on all of these notes. Depicted here are a 1-kwacha note from 1986 and a 5-kwacha note from 1990.



same portrait was used up to 1994 by which time he was already in his 90s. The backs of most of these notes depict workers picking tobacco, tea, or cotton. As is the case with Zambian notes, the early notes of Malawi are expensive especially when in high grade. The first decimal notes – for 50 tambala, 1, 2, and 10 kwacha – closely resemble the earlier notes in design, and all issues of 1964-71 were undated. In 1973 there was another series of undated notes – for 50 t, and 1, 5, and 10 kwacha – that moved Banda's portrait from the left side to the right side of the note. There was no 2 kwacha note in this issue, and that proved to be the case for all later issues of Malawian notes. All notes of the Banda era feature a watermark of a rooster, the icon of the Malawi Congress Party.

Beginning in 1974 Malawi notes are dated, and there are numerous printed dates between 30.6.1974 and 1.1.1994, which proved to be the last date for the notes for the Banda era. A 20-kwacha note was added in 1983, and the 50 tambala notes were phased out after 1986. Notes for 50 kwacha were added in 1990 and for 100 kwacha in 1993. The dated notes now carry only the signature of the governor of the reserve bank. The backs of these notes no longer feature just agricultural scenes, and the University of Malawi in Zoma, government buildings including the Reserve Bank

headquarters in Lilongwe, the Independence Arch in Blantyre, and elevators for holding maize are now depicted. For the most part the dated notes are considerably lower priced than are their undated counterparts, and only a few of the dated notes in CU condition should prove expensive for most collectors. The WPMC recognizes 32 different designs for all of the notes of Malawi from 1964 to 1994. If one considers the different dates as major varieties, this total increases to rather more than 70 notes.

For the first 15 years of independence the currency of Malawi proved very stable. Between 1970 and 1980 the Malawian kwacha was officially valued at \$US 1.20, and its market value held close to this amount. In 1972 it even rose a bit to a rate of \$1.30 in U. S. currency. After 1980, however, the value of the Malawian kwacha began to fall, but its decline in value was nowhere near as rapid as was the case for the Zambian currency. By 1986 the exchange rate was about 2.3 kwacha to the dollar, and by 1991 this rate had increased to 2.8 per dollar. By 1994 this rate was up to 8.7 per dollar, and by 1997 and 2000 the rates were up to about 20 and 44 per dollar, respectively. The Malawian economy was strengthened by heavy overseas remittances, and under Banda's rule many Malawian workers were employed in the mining industries in South Africa.

Eventually Hastings Banda, who was by then more than 90 years old, agreed to hold honest elections, and he was voted out of office in 1994. The winner was Bakili Muluzi, who was the president of Malawi from 1994 to 2004. His regime was far less dictatorial than was that of Banda, but there was a significant amount of corruption. On June 1, 1995 a new set of banknotes portraying Muluzi on their faces was issued. These were in six values ranging from 5 to 200 kwacha. The backs of these notes are similar to those of the Banda era, but the 200 kwacha note (not previously issued) depicts a herd of elephants. The watermark is now that of a fish rather than the rooster that appeared on all Malawian notes of the previous three decades. The Muluzi notes were only in circulation for about two years, but they should prove easy to obtain and fairly inexpensive.

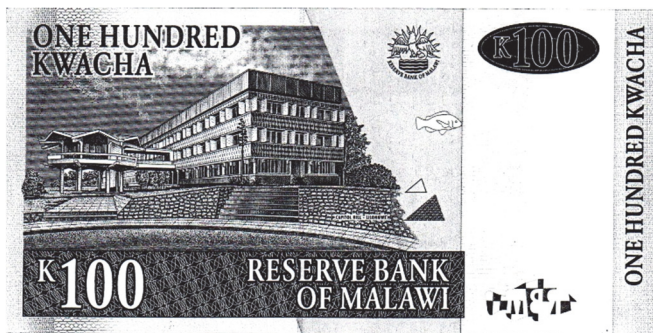
Apparently either Muluzi himself or officials at the reserve bank decided to drop his portrait and replace it with that of John Chilembwe (1871-1915). Chilembwe was a Baptist pastor, who had received some training in the United States. He objected strongly to the forced labor practices then prevailing in the British-controlled Nyasaland Protectorate (the predecessor of Malawi), and in 1915 he led a small-scale revolt against colonial rule. This revolt was soon suppressed and Chilembwe was killed, but he is regarded as a hero today by most Malawians. The Chilembwe notes were in use for about



15 years, and they bear dates from 1. 7. 1997 to 31.1.2011. The denominations of the previous Muluzi issue were used, but a 500-kwacha note was added in 2001. The higher values depict government buildings or monuments, but the three lower values depict village scenes or tea harvesting on their backs. The watermark used on all notes is that of John Chilembwe. There was one commemorative issue that was issued for the 40<sup>th</sup> year of Malawian independence in 2004. The face depicts the Independence Arch in Blantyre, while the back features the University of Malawi in Zomba. Chilembwe's face still appears on this note in watermark form. Quite a bit of inflation occurred while this series was in use, and the 5 and 10-kwacha notes were discontinued after 2004 and 2006, respectively. By 2006 the exchange rate for the kwacha stood at about 135 per \$1 US, and so these two values were worth less than a dime each. It is an easy matter to obtain a basic type set of these notes, although acquiring all 46 date varieties will require some patience. Over the interval that these notes were in production there were four different governors of the Reserve Bank of Malawi, while additional security features (mostly in the form of holographic strips) were added to the higher values, and



Between 1997 and 2011 all Malawian notes portrayed the early rebellion leader John Chilembwe (1871-1915). The 100-kwacha note features government buildings in the capital city Lilongwe on its back. The back designs of these notes largely continued with those that were in use during the Banda years.



this makes for as many as nine distinct varieties for a given denomination.

In 2012 Malawi introduced an entirely new series of notes. There was also a new issue of coins for 1, 5,

and 10 kwacha, and the notes are for 20, 50, 100, 200, 500, and 1000 kwacha. These notes which are much smaller than their predecessors all feature depictions of the Reserve Bank of Malawi and a cichlid fish on their faces together with the portrait of a noted Malawian. The notes were printed by TDLR. (I should note that Lake Malawi has more endemic species of fishes than does any other freshwater lake in the world, and many tropical fish marketed throughout the world can trace their origins to this lake.) The watermarks on these notes are of the persons portrayed. The three higher values feature holographic strips, but the three lower values function in commerce only as small-change notes. Initially all notes of this series were dated January 1, 2012, but several values have been reprinted with more recent dates. In 2016 a note for 2000 kwacha was added to this series. Both it and the 500 kwacha note portray John Chilembwe, but the 1000 kwacha



In 2012 a new series of notes was introduced by the Reserve Bank of Malawi. The 1000 kwacha note features a portrait of Hastings Banda, who is still respected by many Malawians despite the dictatorial nature of his regime. The 2000-kwacha note was added in 2016 and includes a portrait of John Chilembwe together with a map of Malawi. At current exchange rates this note has a face value of only \$US 2.50, and so additional notes will be needed for this series in the near future.



depicts Hastings Banda, who is still respected by many Malawians despite his hard-line rule.

The last few years have not been kind to the Malawian kwacha. In early 2013 it stood at about 360 to the dollar, but by mid-2016 the exchange was about 730 per \$1 US. At the present time the exchange has dipped to about 800 per dollar, and thus the new 2000

kwacha note has a face value of only about \$2.50. Higher denomination notes will clearly be needed in the very near future.

There seems to be something about this part of central Africa that leads to longevity among its political elite. (Is it the climate perhaps?) Both Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Mugabe are well into their 90s, but both men are still living. Kaunda lives in comfortable but not lavish retirement in Lusaka. Hastings Banda died at the ripe old age of 99, and his career as party leader and president did not really begin until he was past 60 years of age. Both Banda and Kaunda had been active in political organizations, however, well before their respective countries became independent.

Both Zambia and Malawi continue to face economic difficulties. Zambia's major problem is that it is far too dependent on just one commodity, viz., copper. Copper is often associated with other metals and in this part of Africa the other metal is cobalt, but in the case of Zambia, copper is by far the most important product that comes out of the ground. In the western USA mining firms such as Kennecott or Phelps Dodge will close down their mines if the price of copper falls too low, but Zambia does not have this option, since it cannot lay off its entire industrial workforce. It also cannot afford to store its mined copper in a huge "Fort Knox" type depository, while waiting for higher market prices to develop before selling. In the case of Malawi, which has no mineral resources to speak of, only cash crops such as tobacco, tea, sugar, and cotton provide much foreign exchange. The health risks of tobacco are now known worldwide, and consequently demand and prices are in decline. The country is subject both to droughts and heavy rains that lead to floods, and both of these factors can be devastating to commercial agriculture. It turns out that a very high grade of cannabis can be grown in Malawi, but I have yet to hear of any country that bases its economy in large part on the legal cultivation and export of cannabis.

Because of its higher degree of urbanization and industrialization Zambia has a gross domestic product that is about three times that of Malawi, but there is still a large amount of poverty in both nations. More Malawians work abroad than is the case for Zambians, and so the remittance income is a major component in the Malawian economy. The population of Zambia has grown from about 2.8 million at independence to about 17 million today, while that of Malawi has increased from about 3.2 million at that time to today's figure of about 18 million. These correspond to growth rates of 3.40% and 3.25% per annum, respectively. Such rates

of population growth are quite typical of African countries, although they are very high by the standards of Western nations.

Both countries are functioning democracies today, although they experienced different regimes in their past. Although more autocratic towards the end of his rule, the Zambia of Kenneth Kaunda could best be described as a mild dictatorship or "guided democracy." The regime of Hastings Banda was far more dictatorial, and Banda controlled several of the enterprises of Malawi, but the money earned from these was very largely plowed back into developing the infrastructure of that nation. Little of it went into private foreign bank accounts or to the building of lavish palaces, etc. Despite the fairly responsible managements of their reserve banks, both nations have experienced a high degree of inflation since about 1980. At that time the Malawian kwacha was worth about \$1.20 in U. S. currency, while the Zambian unit was valued slightly higher at about \$1.30 U. S. Today these units stand at about 10,000 per dollar in Zambia and about 800 per dollar in Malawi. Over an interval of 38 years this corresponds to a decline in the value of the kwacha of 28.2% per annum for Zambia and 19.8% per annum for Malawi. In the case of Zambia for the most part the exchange rate for the kwacha has been more stable, but Zambia suffered a real binge of inflation during the early 1990s when the value of its currency plummeted. These rates are not exactly hyperinflation of the type experienced by several other African nations (most especially Zimbabwe), but the inflation that both countries have experienced is both severe and ongoing. In any case we can look forward to many new issues of their banknotes.

### References:

Excellent references on both Zambia and Malawi are to be found on the Internet. These include detailed biographies of key persons such as Kenneth Kaunda and Hastings Banda.

For detailed statistical information an excellent source is "Africa South of the Sahara," which is a reference book that is published annually by Europa Publications, Ltd., in London.

For additional information refer to:  
Chambliss, Carlson R., "Zimbabwe's Plunge into Monetary Madness" in *Paper Money*, Nov./Dec., 2014, p. 422

Cuhaj, George S., ed., *World Paper Money, Volume Three, 1961-Present, 20th Edition*, Krause Publications, Iola, Wisconsin, 2014