

**A HISTORY OF FOOTBALL AND POLITICS IN ZAMBIA: 1964- 1991**

**BY**

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**A Dissertation Submitted to University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts in History**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA**

**LUSAKA**

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**APPROVAL**

This dissertation of George Chatempa is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

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## ABSTRACT

The central theme of this study is to explore the link between football and politics in Zambia from 1964 to 1991. The study investigates how politics influenced the development of the sport in Zambia. It reveals that under the government of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) football developed through the establishment of sports bodies. Also, the government constructed stadia in all the provincial centres and appealed to companies to promote football and through such efforts, football in Zambia developed through schools as the sport was part of education. The study further shows how politics penetrated football administration. The UNIP government interfered in the running of football because it provided money for the running of the sport and thus wanted to turn FAZ into an organ that would support the Kenneth Kaunda-led regime. It was to this end that the 'one soccer body' was established in 1975. After 1975, government repeatedly dissolved FAZ whenever there was evidence of maladministration and declining standards in football.

The study further reveals that football was important in political mobilisation after independence. From 1964 to 1972 the UNIP government deployed the sport to popularise the Kaunda dominated regime during the brief period of multi-party state. Football was also used to consolidate the 'one party state' as the sport was effective in making 'One Zambia One Nation' become a reality. The study concludes that although the UNIP government contributed greatly to the development of football, it failed to erect sufficient modern sports infrastructure in the country which culminated in the failure to host the 1988 Africa Cup. The study further concludes that although the ruling party used football for political mobilisation so as to make it popular and strengthen the party's hold on power, ordinary Zambians used the sport to undermine the UNIP government in the run up to the 1991 elections.

## **DEDICATION**

To my late grandmother, Milias Chikonde Mweye, my late mother Alice Chisenga my late father George Chimfwembe Chatepa; my cousin Charity Chimfwembe Chatepa who sacrificed a lot for my education; my wife Dora Manzi; and to our children Leticia Mapalo Chatepa and Chikonde Chimfwembe Chatepa who went through different hardships and missed me a lot during my research.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAC.....	Anglo American Cooperation
ABAZ.....	Amateur Boxing Association of Zambia
AFA.....	Amateur Football Association
AGM.....	Annual General Meeting
ANC.....	African National Congress
BFC.....	Belgrade Football Club
BHAFA.....	Broken Hill Amateur Football Association
BOZ.....	Bank of Zambia
BP.....	British Petroleum
BSAC.....	British South Africa Company
CAFA.....	Copperbelt Amateur Football Association
CAF.....	Confederation of African Football
CAFL.....	Chingola Amateur Football League
CDFL.....	Chipata District Football League
CECAFA.....	Confederation of East and Central Africa Football Associations
CLFC.....	City of Lusaka Football Club

COSAFA.....Confederation of Southern Africa Football Association

DFL.....District Football League

EAFCA.....East African Football Confederation

FA.....Football Association

FAZ.....Football Association of Zambia

FIFA.....Federation of International Football Association

FLN.....National Liberation Front

KAFA.....Kabwe Amateur Football Association

KK 11.....Kenneth Kaunda Eleven

KUFC.....Kitwe United Football Club

LCC.....Lusaka City Council

LDFA.....Livingstone and District Football Association

LFA.....London Football Association

MAFA.....Midlands Amateur Football Association

MFA.....Midlands Football Association

MMD.....Movement for Multi-party Democracy

MP.....Member of Parliament

NAZ.....National Archives of Zambia

NB.....National Breweries

NCCM.....Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines

NFA.....National Football Association

NFL.....National Football League

NRFA.....Northern Rhodesia Football Association

NRNFL.....Northern Rhodesia National Football League

NSCZ.....National Sports Council of Zambia

NSF.....National Sports Foundation

PCC.....President Citizenship College

RCBFA.....Rhodesia Congo Boarder Football Association

RCM.....Roan Consolidated Mines

RNFL.....Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League

RST.....Roan Selection Trust

SAFA.....Southern Province Amateur Football Association

SNDP.....Second National Development Plan

UDI.....Unilateral Declaration of independence

UNIP.....United National Independence Party

UNZA.....University of Zambia

UP.....United Party

UPP.....United Progressive Party

ZAAA.....Zambia Amateur Athletics Association

ZB.....Zambia Breweries

ZCCM.....Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines

ZFA.....Zambia Football Association

ZGU.....Zambia Golf Union

ZHISA.....Zambia Higher Institutions Sports Associations

ZIMCO.....Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation

ZISC.....Zambia State Insurance Cooperation

ZNSAB.....Zambia National Sports Advisory Board

ZRL.....Zambia Railways Limited

ZSSFA.....Zambia Secondary School Football Association

ZYFA.....Zambia Youth Football Association

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### Introduction and Historical Background

Football can be defined in different ways. According to William D. Halsey, the term “football” may be used to refer to soccer, rugby and the American game of football.<sup>1</sup> It is however, important to mention that the basic principle of all football games is to kick, throw, or carry a leather or rubber covered ball into the scoring territory at each end of the field. The focus of this study, however, will be on modern football which is also known as association soccer, in which the round, leather covered ball must always be kicked and never carried by hand.<sup>2</sup> During normal play only the goal keeper is allowed to touch the ball in the sixteen and eighteen yard boxes (unit of length or an area in which the goalkeeper can touch the ball). But outside the sixteen and eighteen yards the goal keeper can only touch the ball when given an opportunity to take a free kick or penalty. Other players can only touch the ball when it is a throw-in; there is need to take a penalty, corner, or a free-kick. As William Allan argues, football has evolved as the world’s most popular game.<sup>3</sup>

According to Allen Guttman, there are no conflicting views in terms of the origin of football. While something similar to football was played in ancient China, historians trace the origin of modern football to the wild kicking, running and throwing games, which were a feature of life in the Middle Ages in England.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, important to mention that in England football was first the sport of the poor and was forbidden from time to time by various kings, but it was never abolished.<sup>5</sup> For example, football was banned in 1314, 1349, 1389, 1401 and many subsequent years.<sup>6</sup> The reason for this was that in its early stages, football was a rough sport in which many players were severely injured. There was a high

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<sup>1</sup> William D. Halsey, “Football,” *Colliers Encyclopedia Volume 10* (1965), p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Halsey, “Football,” p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> William Allan, “Trying to bowl the world out,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1974, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Halsey, “Football,” p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> Guttman, *Games and Empires*, p. 42.

level of physical violence in the initial stages of football.<sup>7</sup> With the industrial development of the nineteenth century which began in England, team games became popular and with time, football moved into public schools and later universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. Later in the 1850s, club teams began to appear in England.<sup>8</sup>

However, each team had its own football rules. Since the rules of the game were not clear, about twenty football clubs met at Freeman's Tavern in London and published the first soccer rules on 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1863. This led to the formation of the London Football Association (LFA). The set of rules brought order to football. Thus, all new ideas in the sport such as international matches, the introduction of professionalism and the full league began in England.<sup>9</sup>

From England, the sport was later spread to continental Europe, South America and other continents which included Africa by British sailors and settlers.<sup>10</sup> Peter Alegi notes that in Africa, modern football started with European colonial expansion. The agents of colonialism including British missionaries, soldiers, sailors, traders and government employees played football for their own entertainment. Later by the 1920s, the sport began to spread into the interior by means of newly laid railway lines, Western-style schools (mostly mission schools) and the colonial armed forces.<sup>11</sup> It is for this reason that in Zambia the foundation of the sport is traced back to early missionaries who were the pioneers of colonisation and the British South Africa Company (BSAC) that for some time administered Northern Rhodesia on behalf of the British crown.<sup>12</sup> This was after it was given the Royal

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<sup>7</sup> Guttman, *Games and Empires*, pp. 41- 42.

<sup>8</sup> Halsey, "Football," pp. 167- 168.

<sup>9</sup> James Greiff, "Soccer," *The Macmillan Family Encyclopedia* , (1980), p. 9. See also Halsey, "Football," p. 168.

<sup>10</sup> Greiff, "Soccer," p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Alegi, *African Soccer: How the Continent Changed the World's Game*, (London: Hurst and Company, 2010), p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Hikabwa D. Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930-1969): A Historical Perspective," Master Thesis in Sports History, Norwegian School of Sports Sciences, 2009, p. 49.

Charter on 29<sup>th</sup> October, 1889.<sup>13</sup> The history of football in Zambia is strongly linked to colonial labour migration in Central and Southern Africa. As Yizenge A. Chondoka argues, the BSAC rule was the driving force to the beginning of labour migration after the Northeastern Rhodesia order-in-council was passed in 1900.<sup>14</sup> This forced Africans to go and work on the mines where they learnt how to play football. Later, labour migrants played a pivotal role in spreading the sport from wage employment centres to their villages.

The spread of football to different parts of the world was an important transformation in history as the sport became intertwined with politics in many countries. In fact, among other cultural activities that are found in every society, none ranks so highly in having a close link with politics as modern sports. For example, from the ancient times in Rome, kings used to be guests of honour on sports festivals. Later, with the beginning of Olympic Games, football and other sports disciplines were used as a political weapon to ensure international isolation of South Africa.<sup>15</sup> This is the reason why Vic Duke and Liz Crolley postulate that “football is the social model around which the political system has been constructed.”<sup>16</sup> In this regard, the question one can ask is what is politics? Although politics is not an easy term to define, William D. Halsey argues that the term ‘politics,’ is sometimes used as a synonym for political science and it is used to describe the activities by which public officials are chosen and political policies promoted.<sup>17</sup> In many countries, including Zambia, football plays an important role in the lives of the people who vote and are governed. This means that football has implications that are in some sense political.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> K. K. Virmani, *Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom*, (Bethi: Kalinga publications, 1989), p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Yizenge A. Chondoka, “Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, Northeastern Zambia, 1890- 1964,” PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> “The political side of sport,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, “Fu’tbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina,” *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18, 3 (2010), p. 93.

<sup>17</sup> William D. Halsey, “Political Science and Philosophy,” *Colliers Encyclopedia Volume 19* (1965), p. 214.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Fishwick, *English Football and Society, 1910- 1950*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 136.

The origins of collaboration between football and politics can be traced to England, the birth place of the game. According to John Hargreaves, football and politics in England were intertwined mainly through state interventions in the sport. There, successive governments intervened in soccer through legislative and legal controls, state patronage of football (the state appointed people to various positions related to football) and the provision of football facilities and resources.<sup>19</sup> This, therefore, shows that even in long established football nations like England football and politics have historically been connected.

As football spread from continental Europe to South America, it also became closely related to politics. In Argentina, like in other countries, football and politics were intricately linked. In Argentina as Duke and Crolley observe, “football was an extension of politics because football was part of the political system and anything that began as a football issue rapidly became politicised.”<sup>20</sup> Additionally, since football preceded democratic elections in Argentina, new political parties were organised in a similar manner as football clubs. Thus, “party politics played a leading role in the elections of football clubs and most of the club presidents were associated with a political party.”<sup>21</sup> Like in England, where there was state patronage of football, in Argentina during and after the period of dictatorships, the state regularly appointed officials to run the country’s Football Association (FA). On the other hand, since football was seen as a potential tool for the socialisation of the youth, politics also influenced the development of the sport in schools in Argentina. This was done through government support of the sport.<sup>22</sup>

Brazil also offers another example of how football and politics were connected. The connection between football and politics there manifested itself in different ways. After

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<sup>19</sup> John Hargreaves, “The State and Sport: Programmed and non- programmed intervention in Britain,” in Lincoln Allison (ed.), *Politics and Sport*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 243.

<sup>20</sup> Duke and Crolley, “Fu`tbol, Politicians and the People,” p. 93.

<sup>21</sup> Duke and Crolley, “Fu`tbol, Politicians and the People,” p. 99.

<sup>22</sup> Duke and Crolley, “Fu`tbo, Politicians and the People,” p. 102.

coming into power in 1969, President Emilio Garastaza Medici, for example, wielded power with the aid of football. He sponsored a government-run football pool.<sup>23</sup> And after winning the 1970 World Cup in Mexico, President Medici identified himself with the national team's success. Because of this, citizens across the country gave him political support.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the President used football as a key to win popular support.

Apart from Latin America, in India the link between football and politics was also evident. Paul Dimeo demonstrates that, football and politics were instrumental in shaping identities and political demands there.<sup>25</sup> In Yemen, too, there was collaboration between football and politics despite the political problems that the country has been going through. As Thomas B. Stephenson and Abdul Karim Alaug argue, football and politics in Yemen were intertwined as political leaders' deployed football to unite the country. They carefully structured football events in their effort to minimise regionalism identity and construct a national consciousness.<sup>26</sup> In Yemen, therefore, football was deployed as a tool for political mobilisation so as to instill a sense of national identity.

In Africa, there has also been a strong relationship between football and politics in many countries. In fact, the interplay between football and politics on the continent is traced from the colonial era when Europeans introduced the sport for the purpose of controlling Africans. As Bea Vidacs postulates,

European imperialists introduced football for the purpose of satisfying colonial ideas and the need to instill order and discipline among the dominated populations. Colonial representatives attempted to inculcate Western ideas and

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<sup>23</sup> "Zooming down the right wing President Medici," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1971, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> "Zooming down the right wing President Medici," p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Dimeo, "With Political Pakistan in the offing... : Football and Communal Politics in South Asia, 1887-1947," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38, 3 (2003), p. 380.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas B. Stephenson and Abdul Karim Alaug, "Football in Newly United Yemen: Rituals of Equity, Identity and State Formation," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 56, 4 (2000), pp. 453- 454.

attitudes in Africans which were thought to be especially well represented in the practice of the sport.<sup>27</sup>

Despite having deployed football to subject Africans to the colonial order, many Africans became interested in the sport from the beginning and up to the end of colonial rule.<sup>28</sup> It was therefore because of this that African nationalist movements used the sport to undermine colonial rule.<sup>29</sup> This was possible because the sport was extremely effective in terms of political mobilisation. In the case of Nigeria, Alegi asserts that, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigeria's first president founded black-controlled football clubs to counter racism and instill a sense of nationhood among Nigerians. In Algeria too, during the war of independence against France, the National Liberation Front (FLN) formed a national football team in exile, consequently raising global awareness of the Algerian cause.<sup>30</sup> Thus, football played a role in Algerian nationalism.

Alegi further points out that, football was also utilised as a tool for political mobilisation in the Belgian Congo. In Brazzaville and Léopoldville, football “allowed fans to forget their differences and forge a broader sense of identity when regional matches were staged.”<sup>31</sup> In Southern Katanga-Shaba region, football matches after 1945 also became avenues of African cultural resistance that in turn stimulated colonial resistance.<sup>32</sup>

In South Africa, football was also closely linked with politics. In the aftermath of the rise of Apartheid, black football leagues began to challenge racial segregation.<sup>33</sup> Connie M. Anderson, Troy A. Bielert and Ryan P. Jones argue that during the decade following Nelson Mandela's release from prison, politicians' deployed football for reconciliation purposes

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<sup>27</sup> Bea Vidacs, “Through the Prism of Sports: Why Should Africans Study Sport?” *Africa Spectrum*, 41, 3 (2006), p. 334.

<sup>28</sup> “New Chapter in African Soccer,” *Zambia Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> February, 1967, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 36.

<sup>31</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, pp. 36-37.

between black and white South Africans. Football allowed black South Africans to assert and celebrate equality with white South Africans.<sup>34</sup> Football in South Africa was used as a tool for political mobilisation and this made it easy for identity to be constructed, maintained and transformed by both fans and players.<sup>35</sup>

In colonial Zambia too, there was also an interplay between football and politics. For example, there was a connection between football administration and politics. Initially, the colony had many independent football associations. These included the Rhodesia Congo Boarder Football Association (RCBFA), Livingstone and District Football Association (LDFA) and others. Later, however, calls were made to form a national association to harmonise football activities. As a result, the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA) was formed in 1929.<sup>36</sup> Thirty-two years later, the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League (RNFL) was established.<sup>37</sup> The RNFL eventually gave birth to the semi-professional Northern Rhodesia National Football League (NRNFL) on 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1961.<sup>38</sup> On 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1962 the NRNFL was officially launched.<sup>39</sup> Later, on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1962, thirteen teams pioneered NRNFL.<sup>40</sup>

The formation of the NRNFL saw many Africans for the first time being included in the administration of soccer in Northern Rhodesia. This was as a result of many Europeans leaving Northern Rhodesia due to the changing political situation in the territory as the country approached independence.<sup>41</sup> Three months before being granted formal independence, the political wind of change which was blowing also affected football once

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<sup>34</sup>Connie M. Anderson, Troy A. Bielert and Ryan P. Jones, "One Country, One Sport, Endless Knowledge: The Anthropologica Study of Sports in South Africa," *Anthropologica*, 46, 1 (2004), p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Anderson, Bielert and Jones, "One Country, One Sport, Endless Knowledge," p. 51.

<sup>36</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, (Lusaka: Liwena Publishing and Printing House, 1985), p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 26.

<sup>38</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1968, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> Eric Cottell, "The new soccer season has great promise," *Nshila*, 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1962, p. 35.

<sup>40</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 30.

<sup>41</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 31.

again, leading to major administrative changes in the NRFA. Due to this, the NRFA changed to the Zambia Football Association (ZFA) in 1964.<sup>42</sup> By the end of 1965, ZFA was changed to the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ).<sup>43</sup>

The sport was also used as a tool for political mobilisation across colonial Zambia. On the Copperbelt, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) used football to recruit members during the struggle for independence because football brought people into the party together regardless of their ethnic background. According to Peter Harries-Jones, UNIP members' played football together as a way of drumming up political support on the Copperbelt during the struggle for independence.<sup>44</sup> As Africans became politically-conscious, it was easy for UNIP to mobilise them for political reasons.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, Kapasa Makasa argues that UNIP turned school football grounds into an ideal meeting place for nationalist political meetings.<sup>46</sup> This shows that there is a link between football and politics because "Everywhere on the continent, football teams and spectators contributed to the emerging consciousness of national identity."<sup>47</sup>

Football also became connected to politics after independence in different ways. After independence, UNIP influenced the manner in which the sport developed in the country as a way of strengthening its political dominance and also to modernise the country. According to the *Zambia Daily Mail* report of 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1971, the UNIP government developed the sport through the creation of the Sports Directorate and putting up training projects to help boost the sport in both urban and rural areas. The government constructed stadia in provincial

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<sup>42</sup> Eric Cottell, "15 Years of Northern Rhodesian Soccer," *Nshila*, July, 1964, p. 36.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Maxwell Sichula, former chairman National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), Lusaka, 14<sup>th</sup> July, 2015.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Harries-Jones, *Freedom and Labour: Mobilization and Political Control on the Zambian Copperbelt*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), p. 41.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Sikota Wina, freedom fighter, politician, Lusaka, 27<sup>th</sup> April, 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Kapasa Makasa, *Zambia's Match to Political Freedom*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981), p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, p. 44.

centres and recruited foreign experts in soccer.<sup>48</sup> It also promoted school (youth) football after independence because the sport was part of education and the future of football depended on the youth.<sup>49</sup> The UNIP government also promoted the establishment of community welfare centres (recreation centres) to complement school football. Moreover, the UNIP government influenced various companies to invest in the development of youth football because the sport was also vital in sharpening the minds of the youths and workers.<sup>50</sup> To achieve this, President Kaunda personally called on the government leaders to engage every worker in recreational activities to enhance Zambia's social advancement.<sup>51</sup> This was possible because football allowed people to meet and interact with others in a friendly way.

The Kaunda regime further participated in the administration of football after independence. By 1975, Dingiswayo Banda, the Minister of Labour and Social Services announced that the government would maintain a close watch on all activities in football administration. Indeed, the government was later given power to prevent people opposed to UNIP to get positions in FAZ through an Act of Parliament.<sup>52</sup> As explained in Chapter Three, the Act became known as the Sports Council of Zambia Act.<sup>53</sup> It is also worth noting that the sport also became extremely important in political mobilisation given that after independence, the country inherited multi-party politics. Thus, having brought FAZ under its control, the UNIP government used football to undermine opposition political parties in the First Republic. For example, it organised football tournaments and utilised football in raising

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<sup>48</sup> Sam Equamo, "Sports Directorate is a great tonic for our athletes," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1971, p. 17.

<sup>49</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> March, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> "Employees told to promote sport," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> September, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> "KK calls on leaders to boost sport," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> "Sports Act effective next month," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Liwena, *The Zambia Soccer Scene*, p. 74. See also, Republic of Zambia, the Sports Council of Zambia Act, Chapter 142 of the Laws of Zambia, pp. 7- 8.

funds so as to execute party programmes properly.<sup>54</sup> But football could not effectively undermine the opposition political parties, hence, the ‘One-Party State’ was declared in 1973.

After the declaration of the ‘One-Party State,’ the UNIP-led government deployed football as a key component in political mobilisation to consolidate its power and to promote national unity. Under the ‘One-Party State,’ the government utilised football to mobilise political support. Alongside independence tournaments, sports festivals played an important role in political mobilisation.<sup>55</sup> As a way of enticing youths to join the party, UNIP also formed a football team known as “UNIP Warriors” in 1973 in Lusaka.<sup>56</sup> It used football as an effective vehicle for championing political unity among the 73 ethnic groups. Football played an important role in promoting the spirit of national identity among Zambians and this reduced ethnic rivalry and other social divisions.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, from 1973 to 1991, the UNIP government deployed football to cement the spirit of the national motto of ‘One Zambia One Nation’.<sup>58</sup>

### **Statement of the Problem**

During the reign of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) under President Kenneth Kaunda political leaders developed football mainly through establishing sports bodies, constructing stadia and promoting the sport in schools. Also, the UNIP government controlled football administration and utilised the sport as an important tool to bring people together. However, despite this keen interest in the sport by the government little has been done to investigate, examine and assess the link between football and politics in Zambia. This study, therefore, aims at filling this glaring gap in the literature on football in the country. The proposed study perceives football as a social activity which is also political. More

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<sup>54</sup> “Match funds may become annual,” *Zambia Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> July 1968, p. 7.

<sup>55</sup> UNIP 8/6/18 Minutes of the Youth and Sports Committee, 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1976.

<sup>56</sup> “UNIP team for Zanzibar,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1973, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. xiv.

<sup>58</sup> Liwena, *The Zambia Soccer Scene*, p. 26.

importantly, it postulates that football has been an important means of political mobilisation in post-colonial Zambia.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are threefold, namely

- i. To investigate the rise and development of football in Zambia.
- ii. To examine the relationship between football administration and politics in the country.
- iii. To assess the role of football in political mobilisation.

### **Rationale**

This study is important because it seeks to demonstrate that although football is a social activity, politics has penetrated the sport, creating a relationship between the game and politics. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the historiography on football and politics in Zambia and that more scholars will be motivated to make further investigations on the connection between football and politics.

### **Literature Review**

Joseph M. Bradley carried out a research on football and Irish ethnicity in Scotland. Bradley explored how Celtic football club was founded by and for the Irish immigrants in the west of Scotland. He demonstrated that the act of supporting Celtic shows the expression of Irishness. Thus, this is important to understanding the process of identity formation in a multi- ethnic Britain. The study further showed that the Celtic football club functioned as a mechanism for the socialisation and sustenance of Irishness in Scotland.<sup>59</sup> The study is

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<sup>59</sup> Joseph M. Bradley, "Celtic Football Club, Irish Ethnicity and Scottish Society," *New Hibernia Review/ Irish Eireannach Nua*, 12, 1 (2008), pp. 96- 110.

important as it provided information on how football played a role in the construction of national identities. The present study focuses on building on this work by demonstrating how politics influence the development of the sport and the manner in which soccer administration and politics are interwoven.

A study of football in Yemen by Stephenson and Alaug shows that football and politics are intertwined. The two scholars demonstrate that football is vital to political mobilisation and promoting the national identity. They show that football in Yemen has been used by rulers to promote popular identification with the state. To the two authors:

...football provides a uniquely effective medium for inculcating national feelings. Football provides a form of symbolic action which states the case for the nation itself. Football also provides avenues in which the national identities are contested and constructed.<sup>60</sup>

Stephenson and Alaug's work is important because it clearly shows that football and politics are closely linked and that football is an essential medium for national construction and a tool for political mobilisation. Although this study investigates the relationship between football and politics, it does not demonstrate how politics can influence the development of football and how the state interferes in football administration. The present study hopes to fill this gap.

Another illuminating study is Bea Vidac's exploration of how sports especially football, animate the lives of millions of people in Africa. Vidac's study in Cameroon attempts to demonstrate the usefulness of considering football in Africa as a topic of academic research. The study shows that exploring sporting practices can provide insights into social, cultural, political and historical processes which go beyond the sporting arena.<sup>61</sup> The importance of this study to ours cannot be overlooked because it shows the link between sporting practices and historical processes. However, this study aims at demonstrating how

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<sup>60</sup> Stephenson and Alaug, "Football in Newly United Yemen," pp. 457- 460.

<sup>61</sup> Vidacs, "Through the Prism of Sports," p. 2.

politics influence the development of football, the politics of football administration and the sports pivotal role in political mobilisation.

Laura Fair too has carried out a study on football in colonial Zanzibar. She notes that football illustrated the limits of Europeans' ability to mold Africans' social experiences. The British exercised very little influence over how teams were organised in the neighbourhood. Colonial administrators' often found themselves reacting to initiatives taken by men, women and children of colonial Zanzibar. Football became political and a national game. The study further showed that colonial masters failed to undermine either the importance of football in men's lives or the growing power of African challenges to the political order.<sup>62</sup> Fair's work is significant to our study because it provides an insight into the connection between football and politics in the African communities. The study shows that football can be an effective vehicle for political mobilisation and shaping the identity of the people. Although Fair does not explain how politics influence the development of football and how soccer administration is linked to politics, her work is very useful to our study as it shows the connection between football and politics.

N. A. Scotch is one of the earliest social scientists who wrote about football among the Zulu of South Africa. He observed that Africans had a great enthusiasm for the sport. Scotch showed that the African male population in urban South Africa was devoted to watching, discussing and participating in football. The study also showed that football had a dual function among the Zulu. First, it was one of the few opportunities open to the Zulu for release from the anxiety and tensions of urban life. Second, the study demonstrated that football held a place of extreme importance in the African community because players of considerable talent were much sought after and part of the work of the trainer was to scout

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<sup>62</sup> Laura Fair, "Kickin' it: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900- 1950s," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 67, 2 (1997), pp. 224- 245.

skilled players of opposing teams into joining his own.<sup>63</sup> Scotch's work is vital to our study because it showed us that the African male population was devoted to football. Thus, because football attracts the masses in the African community politicians have exploited the sport for political purposes. While the study acknowledges the importance of football in the African community it does not demonstrate the connection between football and politics. Our study therefore, aims at filling this lacuna in Zambia's historiography.

Among the prolific scholars on football whose works are vital to our study is Peter Alegi. Three of his studies are relevant to ours. In the first study, Alegi examines the transformation of football from a mission-school past-time for the *amakholwa* (Christian educated) elite to a popular form of urban leisure activity. The study shows that football has a remarkable ability to penetrate among the poorest, most exploited group in society.<sup>64</sup> Alegi's study indicates that football enabled African workers and community leaders to forge collective identities.<sup>65</sup> This perspective is of great value because it shows football's remarkable ability to penetrate among the poorest, most exploited people in society and the sports role in forging collective identities vital in political mobilisation. Although this work gives a critical background on political mobilisation and construction of identities, it hardly illustrates how football's development can be influenced by politics. Also, the study does not discuss the relationship between politics and football administration.

In the second study, Alegi observes that in South Africa, Africans transformed the British football into a leading form of black popular culture. He argues that this influenced class generational divisions, shaped masculine identities and served as a mobilising force for

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<sup>63</sup> N. A. Scotch, "Magic, Sorcery, and Football among Urban Zulu: Case of Reinterpretation under Acculturation," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 5, 1 (1961), pp. 71-73.

<sup>64</sup> Peter Alegi, "Playing to the Gallery? Sport, Culture Performance and Social Identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35, 1 (2002), p. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Alegi, "Playing to the Gallery," p. 18.

neighbourhood, township and political organisations.<sup>66</sup> His study further demonstrates football's impact on internal divisions in African communities and on individual and collective identities. Alegi breaks new ground through his examination of the historical processes of the Africanisation or vernacularisation of the British football.<sup>67</sup> This study is important to ours because it shows how soccer serves as a mobilising force for political organisations. Football is vital to political organisations, as the sport acts like a magnetic that draws people together.

Alegi's third study demonstrates how South Africa hosted the world cup in 2010. The study explores the story of football in Africa and how the continent changed the world's game. The work is one of the first academic studies that connect African's intense passion for the game to their experiences with European dominion, the growth of cities and towns, the struggle for independence and nationhood. It also demonstrates that football captures the attention of ordinary Africans, men and women, children, adults, workers and students, political leaders and political masses the business elite and the unemployed.<sup>68</sup> The importance of this study to our work lies in the fact that it highlights the connections between football and politics. Alegi's study shows that football captures the attention of people from all sections of society, thereby making it an important arena of nation-building and political mobilisation.

Two decades after independence in 1964, no historical publications on football appeared in Zambia. It was not until 1985 when Dennis Liwewe, a journalist and football commentator, published a book entitled *Soccer in Zambia*. Liwewe's book is very vital to our study as it provides information on the national team's participation and performance in

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<sup>66</sup> Peter Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origins to 2010*, (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu- Natal Press, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!*, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. xi.

international competitions. The book discusses prominent Zambian footballers from the 1960s up to the 1980s.<sup>69</sup> This study shows how the national team performed and how spectators turned up in large numbers to watch the national team each time there was a game. Liwewe's study is also important as it demonstrates how football was a vehicle in bringing people of different ethnic backgrounds together. Although Liwewe's book provides a valuable background to our study, it does not critically discuss the link between football and politics as this study hopes to do.

Unlike Liwewe's work, Leah Komakoma's study investigated the ways in which Zambians construct identities by supporting various clubs of the English soccer league. Her study argues that Zambian supporters of this league construct their identities based on their encounter with foreign teams and players, appropriating new meanings through such interaction. The study further demonstrated that the fans of the English Soccer Premier League find pleasure in watching their teams in urban Lusaka as the games are ritually watched in groups.<sup>70</sup> While Komakoma's study demonstrates that football plays a role in the construction of identities, it does not examine the connection between the sport and politics.

A year after Komakoma's study was published, Ridgeway Liwena, a sports journalist for the *Times of Zambia* and City of Lusaka Football Club player, published a book entitled *The Zambian Soccer Scene*. The book chronicles the historical development of organised football in Zambia since 1922 when the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association (BHFA) was formed up to the 1990s, highlighting important matches, players and administrators. Liwena's book documents the development of football in Zambia and covers a wide range of topics which includes sports and health matters.<sup>71</sup> Liwena's work is important because it

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<sup>69</sup> Dennis Liwewe, *Soccer in Zambia*, (Monterey: Monterey Publishing and Printing Ltd., 1985), p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Leah Komakoma, "An Investigation into Fan Identity Among Supporters of the English Soccer Premier League in Lusaka, Zambia," Thesis, Master of Arts in Journalism, Rhodes University, 2005, p.2.

<sup>71</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. x.

highlights the beginning of football in Zambia and shows how racialised football was organised, promoted and terminated. It shows that the Zambia soccer league started in urban areas. Liwena also highlights the connection between football and politics. However, he does not critically examine and assess the link between football and politics.

A scholar who has recently studied football in Zambia is Hikabwa Chipande who has carried out a research on the development of football in Zambia. His study traces the early history of Zambian football and highlighted the critical role of missionary education, colonial authorities and mining industrialists in building the game. Chipande's work attempts to explore and analyse the diffusion and development of football in Zambia. It looks at how football, a game which was initially played by the colonialists, was introduced and became a popular sport among the local people. The study also highlights important directions of football development in Zambia from 1930 to the late 1960s.<sup>72</sup> The study is important because it sheds light on how football developed in Zambia. While the work is rich on football development in Zambia up to 1969, it does not demonstrate how football developed up to 1991 and how football and politics are intertwined, an omission the present study seeks to rectify.

## **Research Methodology**

This study utilises qualitative methods in which research on the link between football and politics in Zambia from 1964 to 1991 is investigated. This approach was chosen because it enabled us to examine the interplay between football and politics during the period under review. Data for this study was collected from four main sources over a period of fourteen months from October, 2014 to December, 2015. In the first four months of this period, I collected published and unpublished data at the Special Collection of the University of

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<sup>72</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive football in Zambia (1930-1969)," p. 1.

Zambia (UNZA) in Lusaka. Apart from consulting newspapers mainly *Zambia Daily Mail* and *Times of Zambia* in the library, I also read dissertations and theses as well as published books on football and politics. This literature yielded significant data on the topic under examination.

In the last four months, data was also collected from the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) in Lusaka. Consulted there were magazines such as *Nshila*, newspapers and published books. At NAZ too, I consulted government annual reports, government operational orders, National Development Plans and other government documents such as Programme of Events and presidential addresses to the nation that reflected on football and politics.

The United National Independence Party (UNIP) archive was also important in this research. The archive provided significant primary information on the link between football and politics. At the UNIP archive data on football and politics was extracted mainly from the confidential Minutes of the Youths and Sports Committee and letters. This data illuminated the link between football and politics.

Another major source of information in this research was oral interviews. I carried out field work to conduct oral interviews. This study adopted an open-ended interview method where informants were allowed to comment freely on football and politics. Interviews were conducted in both homes and offices of interviewees. Interviewees included politicians, football administrators and players. This was done intermittently from February 2015 to December, 2015 because of the busy schedules of the people who were interviewed. Interviewees were very useful in providing first-hand information on football and politics in Zambia.

## **Organisation of the Study**

This study is organised both chronologically and thematically. The dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter One comprises an introduction which sets the background to the study. It also contains the statement of the problem, the literature review and sets out the study's research methodology. Chapter Two investigates how politics influenced the rise and development of football in Zambia while Chapter Three examines the relationship between football administration and politics. Chapter Four assesses the role of football in political mobilisation. Chapter Five concludes the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Government and the Development of Football in Zambia: 1964- 1991

#### Introduction

This chapter contends that since the United National Independence Party (UNIP) was aware of football's popularity before formal independence in 1964,<sup>1</sup> the UNIP government influenced the manner in which the sport developed after independence. Aware of the importance of football, the new government under President Kenneth Kaunda attached great interest to the development of the sport. The chapter demonstrates that the new government set the stage for the development of football mainly through the creation of sports bodies so as to improve the standard of the sport in the country. Football was important in popularising the Kaunda led-regime. Thus, the UNIP government played an important role in creating the Zambia National Sports Advisory Board (ZNSAB) (later the Sports Council), the Sports Directorate and the National Sports Foundation (NSF).

The chapter also argues that the UNIP government promoted the development of football through schools for it considered the sport to be part of education.<sup>2</sup> The government linked football to education because the sport was vital in the development of character, especially among the youth. Thus, the government gave schools financial and moral support and encouraged various companies to do likewise. Football was also developed through community welfare centres (recreational centres) which complemented the efforts various schools were making in developing the sport. The chapter further demonstrates that football developed in

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<sup>1</sup> "Minister draws crowds," *Nshila*, 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1964, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Yoyo, "Campaign against racialists," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19<sup>th</sup> January, 1972, p. 10.

Zambia through the establishment of the National Football Association (NFA) which began as the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA) but later changed its name to the Zambia Football Association (ZFA) and later to the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ). The collaboration between government and FAZ greatly contributed to the development of the sport through various programmes. Lastly, through political influence, companies began to sponsor football. Consequently, almost all the parastatal companies had a football team in keeping with the policies of the UNIP government. Apart from this, companies also developed the sport for their workers as part of the refreshment of the worker's mind after work.

### **Politics and the Development of Football in Zambia in the early years after Independence**

By the early 1960s, football was deeply rooted in Zambia, making it a popular past-time even after independence.<sup>3</sup> President Kenneth Kaunda was “Zambia’s number one soccer fan,” who supported football and his support was behind the country’s football development.<sup>4</sup> President Kaunda supported the development of the sport for many reasons. For example, he was aware that his philosophy of Humanism would be unsuccessful without Zambia making her mark in the field of football. Football was important in the development of humanism as the sport taught team spirit.<sup>5</sup> According to President Kaunda, football was also important because:

...the sport was a universal recreation which helped develop a sound mind and a sound body. Apart from acting as a catalyst to character building football provided fertile soil in which to plant the important seed of comradeship at all levels.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game*, (London: C. Hurst and Company Publishers Ltd., 2010), p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> “A Nation in the sporting,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1976, p. 6. See also, Wellington Kalwisha, “Why KK is Sports fan No. 1?” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1981, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Willie Nyendwa, *The Post Newspaper*, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 2014, p. 21. See also, “Without sport Humanism is dead,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> “Take up sport, KK tells Zambians,” *Times of Zambia*, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1989, p. 10.

The UNIP government also attached great importance to football development as the sport was important in political mobilisation, a topic fully discussed in Chapter Four.

The government's contribution to the development of football mainly involved the creation of sports bodies. In 1965, the government created two national bodies to boost sports, especially football. These were the Zambia National Sports Advisory Board (ZNSAB) and the National Sports Foundation (NSF).<sup>7</sup> According to Julio Chiluba, the FAZ Head of Administration and Competitions, the ZNSAB was transformed into the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ) in 1969 when it was reorganised.<sup>8</sup> The NSCZ came into full operation only in April 1979 after the NSCZ Act had received the presidential ascent.<sup>9</sup> The Sports Council became the supreme sports organisation responsible for controlling and directing all activities in the field of sport, including football.<sup>10</sup> The NSCZ Act would later be used as an effective weapon by UNIP to dissolve FAZ and censor the association's elections, as shown in detail in the next chapter. The establishment of the above bodies was aimed at improving the standard of football and other sports disciplines in the country.<sup>11</sup>

Between 1965 and 1969, government also embarked on a programme to promote rural and urban football. In August 1965, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, under which football fell, gave a directive to promote organised football throughout rural and urban areas in the country.<sup>12</sup> In the same vein, the Sports Directorate was also established to promote football.<sup>13</sup>

However, during this period the development of football suffered a setback as a result of the

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<sup>7</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1967, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Julio Chiluba, former Director, Sports Department, Head Administration and Competitions Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), Lusaka, 17<sup>th</sup> June, 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Youth and Sport Annual Report 1979, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1979), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> "Sports Act effective next month," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Hikabwa D. Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930- 1969): A Historical Perspective," Master Thesis, Norwegian School of Sports Sciences, 2009, p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> *Nshila*, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> "Sports Directorate founded to curb drinking," *Zambia Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1968, p. 2.

Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).<sup>14</sup> Following the declaration, oil supplies to Zambia were banned by Smith. This led to serious shortages of oil and petrol in the country.<sup>15</sup> Fearing that football activities would come to a standstill due to lack of fuel, the government raised the allocation of petrol issued to football clubs.<sup>16</sup> Urged by the government, FAZ spearheaded a league regrouping system to cut down on travel. This meant that clubs were supposed to play within their zones.<sup>17</sup> Following the declaration of UDI, the Zambian government retaliated by banning all football activities with Zimbabwe.<sup>18</sup> Football links with the rebel colony were only normalised after Zimbabwe became independent in 1980.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, football and politics were connected in Zambia.

Having sorted out the challenges of fuel caused by the declaration of UDI, the government turned attention to the development of stadia in the country. Building stadia was seen as one way of national integration through the socialisation of the youth and also political propaganda.<sup>20</sup> Thus, although the Independence Stadium in Lusaka was built before independence as part of the project to host independence celebrations,<sup>21</sup> the government initiated efforts in 1968 to build stadiums in every province as part of the Four Year Development Plan.<sup>22</sup> And in the course of the implementation of the Second National Development Plan (SNDP), the

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<sup>14</sup> Clarence Chongo, "The Impact of Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on Zambia's Economic and Socio-political Developments, 1965-1979," M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2009, p. 30. See also E. Windrich, *The Rhodesia Problem: A Documentary Record, 1923- 1973*, (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1975), pp. 210- 211.

<sup>15</sup> "Oil lift," *Nshila*, 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1965, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> "Petrol request," *Zambia Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1967, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, (Lusaka: Liwena Publishing and Printing House, 2006), p. 40.

<sup>18</sup> "Rhodesia sport ban," *Nshila*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1965, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> "Zambia to play Zimbabwe in warm up friendly," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1980, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, "Fu'tbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina," *International Journal of History of Sport*, 18, 3 (2010), p. 103.

<sup>21</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 55

<sup>22</sup> *Nshila*, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1965, p. 2. See also The First National Development Plan, 1966-1970, July, 1966, p. 53.

construction of sports stadia in Chipata, Kasama, Mansa, Mongu and Solwezi began.<sup>23</sup> This was a crucial step towards developing soccer in the country.

The government also devised programmes to offer coaching courses so as to develop football. Thus, in August 1969, an intensive fourteen days football coaching course was run on the lines of British football preliminary certificate. The course was conducted by Ray Wood from the United Kingdom while the trainees were examined by FAZ. Forty coaches were trained.<sup>24</sup> The Zambian government invited British coaches for many reasons. Britain developed association football and gave it to the world. Therefore, many countries assumed she had a capacity to produce the best coaching techniques. Apart from this, after the World War Two, Britain developed a new approach to coaching which resulted in a reorganised coaching scheme.<sup>25</sup> Further, Zambia had many connections with Britain in that the former was colonised by the latter.

In January 1970, during the second session of the Second National Assembly, President Kaunda urged the national team and clubs to actively participate in international football so as to attain international standards and proficiencies.<sup>26</sup> His government promoted international football because the sport “helped to foster international cooperation at a time when politics tended to divide the world along ideological lines.”<sup>27</sup> Kaunda promoted International football because it contributed to international goodwill and understanding between competing countries as they became friendly to each other.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “Ministry to build sports centre,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> John Musukuma, “Object 40 soccer coaches,” *Zambia Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1969, p. 16.

<sup>25</sup> “Why coaches from Britain?,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1972, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Arthur Yoyo, “Sport needs help from government,” *Zambia Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1970, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1971, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> “Sport is good for discipline- Kapika,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1972, p. 10.

Following the President's directive in 1970 Zambia played Racing Club de Strasbourg of France.<sup>29</sup> Belgrade Football Club (BFC) of Yugoslavia also arrived in the same year at the government's invitation to play various representative sides on the Copperbelt and Lusaka.<sup>30</sup> President Kaunda even watched one of the games between BFC and the Zambian Schools Team.<sup>31</sup> This trend continued in 1971, with the English Wolver Hampton Wanderers Youth side visiting Zambia.<sup>32</sup> Later, more teams visited Zambia at the government's invitation as part of its effort to raise the standard of the sport. The government aimed at boosting football development in the country through exposing players to international standards. But for football to develop both in rural and urban areas there was need to involve pupils in all corners of Zambia.

### **School (Youth) Football**

After independence, plans were drawn up by football authorities in conjunction with the Ministry of Education to put more emphasis on the sport's development.<sup>33</sup> In 1965, the government declared that schools football should be an objective of prime importance.<sup>34</sup> Bautis Kapulu, the Chairman of the Youth and Sports Committee, observed that the development of amateur and youth football especially in schools was important because:

...the sport was a vehicle through which a number of values and benefits would be developed and if properly utilised, the sport could serve as a bridge for character building, enhancement of leadership traits, developer of social and cognitive skills.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Sam Equamo, "Zambia draw," *Zambia Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> June, 1970, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Sam Equamo, "Yugoslavs Coming," *Zambia Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1970, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1970, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1971, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 177.

<sup>34</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930- 1969)," p. 47. See also *Nshila*, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> "Diversify sport urges Kapulu," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1983, p. 8.

Thus, in 1966, new avenues were explored by the government to develop football at school level. This led to the formation of the Zambia Secondary Schools Football Association (ZSSFA) pioneered by Glyn Peters, a teacher at King George VI Secondary School in Broken Hill (now Kabwe).<sup>36</sup> The association was affiliated to FAZ, and its aim was to coordinate schools football throughout the country. Membership was open to all secondary schools in the country. Apart from encouraging and promoting football, the association also made efforts to train school boys' referees.<sup>37</sup> This laid a strong foundation for the development of the game in many parts of Zambia as schools were found in all the corners of the country.

In addition to this development, regional school football bodies and school football leagues were established in all the provinces of Zambia. For example, in Eastern province a football association for secondary schools was created in 1968.<sup>38</sup> In Western province, a similar association was also formed in 1969.<sup>39</sup> Primary schools also established football associations throughout the country. For example, the Nchanga North Primary Schools Sports Association was established in 1966.<sup>40</sup> District football leagues which worked hand in hand with schools were also created in all the corners of the country. Among these was the Monze Football League.<sup>41</sup> It is also worth noting that soccer leagues for players under the age of fourteen were established, too, in Lusaka, Chililabombwe and other parts of the country.<sup>42</sup> In this way, a firm foundation for school football was laid after independence.

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<sup>36</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 177.

<sup>37</sup> *Zambia News*, 5<sup>th</sup> October, 1966, p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1968, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 11<sup>th</sup> February, 1969, p. 23.

<sup>40</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1969, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> March, 1969, p. 38.

<sup>42</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 11<sup>th</sup> April, 1969, p. 31.

School football was largely promoted through secondary school competitions and tournaments. It was for this reason that President Kaunda remarked in 1967 that, “the schools should be able to provide a good national team in the near future if such competitions continued.” To boost football standards, a four-month coaching tour was conducted in 1969 in schools by Ray Wood who was assisted by John Green (secretary and coach to the NSF). The coaching tour was sponsored by the British Council. The two coaches covered almost all the secondary schools in the country. During the same period, the process of selecting provincial school teams with the aim of establishing the Zambia Schools International Team began to produce footballers who would play at international level.<sup>43</sup>

In 1968, the Zambia Schools Team was established. From the inception, the Zambia School Team boasted of players like Moses Simwala, Ackim Musenge and others who later played in the national team.<sup>44</sup> The Zambia Schools’ Team received financial and moral support from the government and companies. President Kaunda watched many matches of the Schools Team.<sup>45</sup> Later, the Team began playing football with youth sides from England. In 1969, West Ham Youths became the first European team to play the Zambia School Team in a series of matches sponsored by Rothmans.<sup>46</sup> West Ham was followed in 1970 by Ipswich Town Youths. Two years later, Nottingham Forest Youths visited Zambia. Between 1973 and 1974, other English Youth sides also visited the country to play the Schools Team. These were Aston Villa in 1973 and Newcastle United Youths in 1974.<sup>47</sup> Having hosted many English youth sides, the Zambia Schools Team also went to England on 6<sup>th</sup> May, 1975. They spent two weeks and played a series of games without any victory. From England, the Team went to France for the World

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<sup>43</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 178- 179.

<sup>44</sup> “Soccer revolution-school football,” *Zambia Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> August, 1968, p. 26.

<sup>45</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1968, p. 19.

<sup>46</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 1969, p. 27.

<sup>47</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 179. See also, *The Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1973, p. 10.

Youth Championship, becoming the first team in Africa to take part in the World Youth Cup Championship. The Zambian Team finished in the ninth position out of the twelve competing teams.<sup>48</sup>

However, by the early 1980s, youth football programmes were in patches due to lack of sponsorship.<sup>49</sup> According to Nebat Mbewe, schools did not have footballs, jerseys and interest among sports masters was low. This was due to the fact that the Ministry of General Education and Culture no longer gave grants to ZSSFA while FAZ had withdrawn the support it gave to it.<sup>50</sup> It was because of this reason that the government through its Minister of State for Youth and Sport conceded in mid-1983 that, “the standard of football at school level had deteriorated.”<sup>51</sup> Hence, serious measures were needed to revive football at school level.

Efforts to revive youth football began in the early 1980s when the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) urged football associations worldwide to place much emphasis on the development of youth football. With the visit of FIFA President to Zambia Joao Havelange in 1982, youth football in the country took on a different dimension.<sup>52</sup> In 1983, FAZ began a youth programme under the Zambia Youth Football Association (ZYFA) with the aim of extending youth soccer participation to primary school level.<sup>53</sup> It did not take long before the youth footballers became a force to reckon with in football. Youths won the inaugural

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<sup>48</sup> Liwena, *Zambia Soccer Scene*, p. 180.

<sup>49</sup> Moses Walubita, “schools sports decline,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> November, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> Nebat Mbewe, “Why schools soccer is in the doldrums ...,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> “School football at low ebb,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> June, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> “Havelange jets in,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1982, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> “Take sport seriously youths urged,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1983, p. 8.

Confederation of Southern African Football Association (COSAFA) final in Zimbabwe in 1983 itself.<sup>54</sup>

The ZYFA also widened the provincial under sixteen leagues in rural districts to develop football in such areas.<sup>55</sup> In what was a further boost to the local development of youth soccer, Zambia entered the FIFA under sixteen World Cup competitions in the Africa zone in 1985.<sup>56</sup> Within the same year, the under sixteen and under eighteen leagues in the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCMs) divisions were also inaugurated.<sup>57</sup> It should however, be mentioned that although youth football was resurrected in the 1980s, youth soccer programmes were not as well coordinated and organised as in the 1970s. Not much was done to develop youth football. This remained as a big challenge to the Ministry of General Education and Culture.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, community welfare centres (recreation centres) encouraged by the government were regarded as important places to help complement the effort that schools were making to develop football.

### **Community Welfare Centres (Recreation Centres)**

The origins of community welfare centres (recreation centres) can be traced from the time of colonial rule in the late 1920s. For instance, community welfare centres were introduced in Luanshya in June 1929.<sup>59</sup> Later, welfare facilities were expanded in almost all mining towns on the Copperbelt and such towns as Broken Hill (now Kabwe). Football was the most popular activity.<sup>60</sup> According to Kenny Mwansa, it was not only the mines that established community halls during colonial rule but also the councils. For example, the community hall at Musa

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<sup>54</sup> Zambia trounce Zimbabwe,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>55</sup> “Chiminde to boost youth sport,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> “Zambia enters youth tourney,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> “Soccer reservoirs move in a right direction,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> “Schools soccer revival set,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Decius Chipande, “Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994,” PhD Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2015, p. 45.

<sup>60</sup> Chipande, “Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994,” p. 43.

Kasonka stadium in Ndola was run by the Ndola City Council.<sup>61</sup> It is, however, important to mention that in colonial Zambia, community welfare centres were established as a means to control Africans through sport.<sup>62</sup>

At independence, community welfare centres were renamed as recreation centres and continued to play an important role as key places to engage in sport.<sup>63</sup> Unlike the colonial regime which established recreation centres for the purpose of controlling Africans, in post-colonial Zambia the UNIP government established the centres to develop football since the sport was important for political mobilisation. For example, by the mid-1960s, the government established the Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare under which the councils fell.<sup>64</sup> The government's prime objective was to enable councils promote organised football throughout rural and urban areas.<sup>65</sup> This shows the government's keen interest to develop the sport and at the same time improve the social well-being of the youths.

Under the UNIP government, recreation centres were important as they complemented the efforts various schools were making in promoting the sport. Nelson Musumali, the former Rhokana (Nkana) and Zambia National Team defender and community development officer for Zambia Railways Limited (ZRL) argues that there were youths who had interest in the sport but were not enrolled as pupils. Thus, such youths developed their talents in recreational centres. This was possible because youths spent much of their time at the community halls. (The youths

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<sup>61</sup> Interview with Kenny Mwansa, former national team boxer, Kabwe District Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) youth chairman, Kabwe, 5<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Chipande, "Chipoloplo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994," p. 45.

<sup>63</sup> Chipande, "Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994," p. 155.

<sup>64</sup> *Nshila*, 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1966, p. 39.

<sup>65</sup> *Nshila*, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1965, p. 2.

trained in the morning and in the afternoon).<sup>66</sup> Musumali further recalls that pupils who reported to school in the morning went to the recreation centres in the afternoon. Those who reported to school in the afternoon went to the centres in the morning.<sup>67</sup> Recreational centers were also important as they enabled school leavers to continue practicing football.<sup>68</sup>

By late 1960s, the government started offering courses to community development officers with the view of developing football throughout the country. In August, 1969, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services in charge of football and other sports disciplines conducted a course on physical recreation for club leaders and community development officers at the independence stadium in Lusaka. Candidates devoted much of their time to the practice and teaching of soccer.<sup>69</sup> This was indeed a right step in the development of football as community development officers were vital to the development of the sport.<sup>70</sup>

To further develop football in the country, in the 1970s the government also called on councils to promote sports especially football to lessen alcoholism.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, recreation centres became vital to the youths. The country needed the centres to hatch, bring up and finally groom footballers. Well known footballers of the 1970s like Godfrey ‘Ucar’ Chitalu, Freddie Mwila, Sebastian Ngungu, Bernard Chanda, Dickson Makwaza and others were first introduced to football at recreation centres.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with Lazarous Musumali, former Rhokana (Nkana) and Zambia National Team defender, Kabwe, 5<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Lazarous Musumali, former Rhokana (Nkana) and Zambia National Team defender, Kabwe, 5<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Freddie Mwila, former Zambia National Team striker and coach, Lusaka, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>69</sup> “Ministry to run soccer for sports organisers,” *Zambia Mail*, 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1969, p. 30.

<sup>70</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1969, p. 15.

<sup>71</sup> “Help soccer clubs council told,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1971, p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> Gerald Mulwanda, “Welfare halls spring back to life,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1983, p. 8.

The football stars of the 1980s like Kalusha Bwalya, Johnstone Bwalya, Stone Nyirenda, Luck Msiska and others were also groomed at the recreation centres on the Copperbelt. Apart from the mines and councils, “ZRL and other parastatal corporations also supported the development of football in recreation centres, although on a much smaller scale.”<sup>73</sup> By the late 1980s, football in recreation centres had declined, however. This is the reason why Brightwell Banda, the first Zambian to coach the national team, noted in 1986 that football standards were low in recreation centres. According to Banda when the centres were running properly great players of the famous 1973 and 1974 squad were produced which many fans regarded as the best ever national team Zambia has had.<sup>74</sup>

In 1989, President Kaunda, speaking at the seventh Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) sports festival, also observed that soccer standards had declined in the country and called on community development officers to improve football in recreation centres. The President said that football in the country will only develop if the youths in the recreation centres were actively involved. The President further noted that for any nation to be football-oriented, must have roots best be founded in childhood.<sup>75</sup> For football to fully develop in the country there was need for community development officers in recreation centres to coordinate with FAZ.<sup>76</sup>

### **FAZ and the Development of Football in Zambia**

Having been established in 1965, FAZ worked hand in hand with the government to develop football. In later years, all the programmes and decisions of FAZ were implemented with

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<sup>73</sup> Chipande, “Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994,” p. 159.

<sup>74</sup> “We need exposure: Banda defends squads work in Alexandria,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> “Youths key to sports excellence,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> October, 1989, p. 8.

<sup>76</sup> “New Soccer body for youth formed,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1971, p. 14.

the consent of the UNIP government.<sup>77</sup> In collaboration with the government, FAZ played a major role in developing the sport. It, for instance, increased the number of divisions to two in 1965. It also introduced the promotion and relegation system.<sup>78</sup> Division Three was introduced later in 1975.<sup>79</sup> The third division catered for all the amateur teams across the country, even in rural areas. In 1969, FAZ entered the Zambian national team for the first time in the World Cup and the Africa cup of Nations' competitions. In both competitions, however, the country did not do well.<sup>80</sup> Sudan eliminated Zambia in the World Cup qualifier while Cameroun ousted Zambia out of the Africa Cup qualifiers.<sup>81</sup> To enhance the development of the sport, FAZ and the government began to recruit sports personnel who were experts.<sup>82</sup> For example, in 1971 the government employed Ante Buselic a physical education professor from Yugoslavia as national team coach on full-time basis in conjunction with FAZ. He transformed the national team into a formidable side making it the best on the continent when the country participating for the first time at the Africa Cup three years later it performed well.<sup>83</sup>

Because of state-FAZ cooperation in the 1970s, the standard of football at club level improved so much that no single club dominated the soccer scene. In 1971, Kabwe Warriors became the first club to enter the Africa Cup Club Championship in the country but did not perform well. Despite the poor performance, this boosted football development as players got a broader insight into what to expect at international level.<sup>84</sup> It was during this period that Godfrey

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<sup>77</sup> Interview with Maxwell Sichula, former chairman National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), Lusaka, 14<sup>th</sup> July, 2015.

<sup>78</sup> *Northern News*, 8<sup>th</sup> March, 1965, p. 11.

<sup>79</sup> "FAZ to launch third league," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 1975, p. 12.

<sup>80</sup> "FAZ clamps down on unregistered players," *Zambia Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> February, 1969, p. 37.

<sup>81</sup> Arthur Yoyo, "Spotlight on sport," *Zambia Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1969, p. 5. See also John Musukuma, "A struggle till the last minute: Zambia go down," *Zambia Mail*, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1969, p. 16.

<sup>82</sup> Sam Equamo, "Sports Directorate is a great tonic for our athletes," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1971, p. 17.

<sup>83</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, "How soccer has built our image," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1973, p. 15.

<sup>84</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 1971, p. 9.

‘Ucar’ Chitalu of Kabwe Warriors scored 107 goals in one season.<sup>85</sup> By 1971, Zambian soccer had improved tremendously. It was for this reason that Robert Boltman, the Rothmans of Pall Mall marketing officer, noted that “Zambian soccer had grown in stature.”<sup>86</sup>

In order to fully involve everyone with interest in football, FAZ promoted the formation of reserve sides in 1972 in the National Football League (NFL).<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile, in the rural areas, there was a challenge as NFL and FAZ were failing to send officials there to inspect the progress various associations were making, offer advice and promote greater contact with the line of rail.<sup>88</sup> Thus, although football was developing at a fast rate in urban areas, rural areas lagged behind. In November, 1972, Zambia through FAZ joined the East African Football Confederation (EAFC) later the East and Central Africa Football Confederation (CECAFA).<sup>89</sup> This offered a fertile ground for the promotion of football as the country engaged in many competitions. Having been employed in 1971, Buselic qualified the country for the first time to the 1974 Africa Cup in Egypt. Zambia reached the finals but narrowly missed the Cup after losing to Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo).<sup>90</sup>

### **Companies and Football Development**

While FAZ and the government worked closely to develop football, the sport required the input of companies for it to flourish. Indeed, football in any country, developed or undeveloped, cannot progress to the required standard no matter what efforts the government of the day puts

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<sup>85</sup> “Zambia bids to host Africa Cup,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>86</sup> “Our soccer has grown up say sponsors,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> December, 1971, p. 12.

<sup>87</sup> “K150 for match dodgers,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> February, 1972, p. 8.

<sup>88</sup> Arthur Yoyo, “Tembo’s suggestion applauded,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1972, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> “Now Zambia joins East Africa soccer body,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1972, p. 10.

<sup>90</sup> Arthur Yoyo, “Zambia wins 7- 4: Nigeria crowd- dazzled,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1973, p. 10.

into it, without the assistance of private and parastatal companies.<sup>91</sup> The UNIP government thus called on companies to support football. Even before independence, various companies sponsored the sport. For example, Rothmans took up sponsorship of the National Football League (NFL) in 1962.<sup>92</sup> After independence, politicians from time to time “knocked on the doors of private and parastatal companies to seek football sponsorship.”<sup>93</sup> President Kenneth Kaunda in particular personally appealed to companies, business organisations and individuals to sponsor the sport.<sup>94</sup> He also called on companies to engage every worker in recreational activities like football to enhance Zambia’s social advancement.<sup>95</sup> With this political appeal companies played a major role in the development of football as they wanted to be associated with the policies of the ruling party. For this reason, the Rothmans group of companies for example gave football financial and material backing after independence.<sup>96</sup>

In 1965, the company sponsored their first international trophy known as the Rothmans International Trophy. Zambia and Kenya were the first to compete for the trophy.<sup>97</sup> Later, in December 1965, the company began sponsoring the National Sports Foundation (NSF). This was mainly done through the provision of expert coaching facilities. By 1967, Rothmans had also started donating to the Zambia Secondary Schools Football Association (ZSSFA). In 1968 it donated the Zambia Independence Anniversary Trophy at the series of matches between Zambia and Tanzania.<sup>98</sup> Also, in 1969, Rothmans helped FAZ to secure a thirty-two seater bus for visiting footballers and in the same year, the company sponsored the Northern Province inter-

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<sup>91</sup> James Mwambazi, “The week in sport,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1977, p. 6.

<sup>92</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 92.

<sup>93</sup> Mwambazi, “The week in sport,” p. 6.

<sup>94</sup> “Help squad, KK urges companies,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> February, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>95</sup> “KK calls on leaders to boost sport,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>96</sup> “Tremendous progress in our soccer,” *Zambia Mail*, 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 1965, p. 15.

<sup>98</sup> “Tremendous progress in our soccer,” p. 2.

district cup for schools.<sup>99</sup> In short, the Rothmans group of companies enhanced the growth of football in various ways until 1997 when the company pulled out of sports due to the country's depreciating economic climate.<sup>100</sup>

Several other conglomerates and companies were also consistent after independence in giving monetary and material support to football. Notables among them were the Roan Selection Trust (RST) and Anglo American Cooperation (AAC) which were subsequently renamed Roan Consolidated Mines (RCM) and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) in 1969. In 1982, the two mines were merged to form the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM).<sup>101</sup> By the mid-1980, ZCCM and its various divisions nearly sponsored a third of all the premier league clubs on the Copperbelt.<sup>102</sup> This was so because most of the football clubs in the mining area were and are still run by the mines. This was possible because the Copperbelt was Zambia's economic heartland with mining companies which sponsored and encouraged football.<sup>103</sup> Other companies which were instrumental in sponsoring the sport were the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), the Zambia Railways Limited (ZRL) and the British Petroleum (BP).<sup>104</sup> Indeed, in 1983, President Kaunda praised BP Zambia Limited for its continued support to football in the country.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> "Quite ambassadors- Rothmans ambassadors keep our soccer visitors happy," *Zambia Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> August, 1969, p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 92.

<sup>101</sup> Maurice C. Lundu and Bernard Likubangwa, "The Power of Information: The Contribution of Information to the Debate on the Privatisation of the Copper Mining Industry in Zambia," in Maurice C. Lundu (ed), *The Political Economy of Information on Development, Democracy and Security in Southern Africa*, (Harare: SAPES Books, 1969), pp. 116- 117.

<sup>102</sup> Jay Mwamba, "No. 1 sport," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1984, p. 64.

<sup>103</sup> Peter Snelson, *To Independence and Beyond: Memoirs of a Colonial Commonwealth Civil Servant*, (London: Rodcliffen Press, 1993). P. 141.

<sup>104</sup> Mwamba, "No. 1 sport," p. 64.

<sup>105</sup> "Sporting firm win KK's praise," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> October, 1984, p. 8.

Like ZCCM, ZIMCO was also prominent in the promotion of amateur football, sponsoring the annual ZIMCO cup competition, a national event whose final was played on every Independence Day.<sup>106</sup> Other companies sponsored major national cup competitions. For instance, National Breweries (NB) sponsored the Heroes and Unit Cup, Zambia Breweries (ZB), the Independence Cup, BP the BP Challenge Cup and ZRL the Champion of Champions Cup. ZRL was also the chief sponsor of Kabwe Warriors Football Club.<sup>107</sup> It is important to mention that support from the above companies was also rendered to FAZ and the ZSSFA. From time to time, some cups were abolished while new ones were introduced. Names of cups and sponsors also changed due to political influence and marketing strategies. For example, in 1974 President Kaunda directed that, “the Castle Cup should be renamed as Independence Cup and Chibuku Cup as Heroes and Unity Cup.”<sup>108</sup> According to Liwena:

...the Challenge Cup changed many times, not due to political influence but purely because of marketing strategies. From Shell Challenge Cup, it was named BP Challenge Cup. In later years, it became known as BP Top 8 Cup.<sup>109</sup>

Although encouraged to sponsor football by the government, companies also supported football for their own benefits. According to Peter Alegi, companies in Africa developed football as an effective means for refreshment of the mind and body after work for the workers. The sport was also seen as a production booster because it raised worker morale.<sup>110</sup> Teddy Mulonga argues that on the Copperbelt, production went up in the mines each time the Kenneth Kaunda Eleven (KK 11) triumphed. Similarly, if a mine sponsored football team won, production was boosted at the

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<sup>106</sup> Mwamba, “No. 1 sport,” p. 64.

<sup>107</sup> Mwamba, “No. 1 sport,” p. 64.

<sup>108</sup> “INDECO Breweries pumps K18, 000 into soccer,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>109</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 92- 93.

<sup>110</sup> Peter Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origins to 2010*, (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu- Natal Press, 2004), p. 40.

mine because football results acted as a morale booster for the workers.<sup>111</sup> Thus, companies were keen to promote football at club and national levels.

### **Deterioration of Football Standards after the 1974 Africa Cup**

Despite the efforts to develop the sport from various stakeholders, from 1974 onwards football standards in Zambia deteriorated at both national and local level. This was due to poor administration of the game. The poor administration of the sport was caused by conflicts between the National Football League (NFL) and Football Association of Zambia (FAZ). The NFL administered the domestic fixtures while FAZ fixed international games. International fixtures increased which in turn brought pressure on the domestic fixtures. As such, footballers played more games continuously than expected.<sup>112</sup> Football standards declined in such a way that Zambia was kicked out of the 1976 Africa Cup qualifying games by Uganda.<sup>113</sup> Mufulira Wanderers were knocked out of the Africa Cup winners' tournament by Tonnerre of Cameroun on a 3-2 aggregate while Green Buffaloes were also booted out of the Africa Cup of Champions.<sup>114</sup> In 1975, Mufulira Wanderers were again knocked out of the East Africa inter-club tournament.<sup>115</sup> To add salt to injury, Zambia was knocked out of the East and Central African Challenge Cup by Uganda in the same year.<sup>116</sup> As a result of bad results, football fans throughout the country called for the immediate disbanding of the national team.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with Teddy Mulonga, former Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) president, Lusaka, 8<sup>th</sup> May, 2015.

<sup>112</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 64.

<sup>113</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, "Zambia kicked out of Africa Cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>114</sup> John Mukwala, "Wanderers booted out of the Africa Cup tourney," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>115</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>116</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, "Zambia kicked out of the challenge cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> November, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>117</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, "Disband national squad and FAZ: demand angry soccer fans," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1975, p. 8.

The public outcry caused by the deterioration of soccer, alarmed the UNIP government. For instance, M. M. Tambatamba, the Minister of State for Mines and Industry, wrote a confidential letter to the minister in charge of sport, Dingiswayo Banda, reminding him of the consequences if the people revolted against the Kaunda regime due to the decline in football.<sup>118</sup> In response, government took drastic measures to improve football in the country from 1975 onwards.<sup>119</sup> Among the measures it took to lift the standards of the game included the introduction of the “B” and “C” teams. The “B” team was created from the premier league while the “C” team comprised of Division Two players.<sup>120</sup> Another measure that the government took to improve football standards was the introduction of the “one soccer body” in 1975.<sup>121</sup> The state made sure that David Lewanika was elected as the Chairman of the new soccer body (FAZ) for he was seen as a capable administrator who could improve the declining soccer standards.<sup>122</sup>

The intervention of the government at least played a major role in raising the standard of the game. This was evidenced by Zambia’s qualification to the Olympics after beating Sudan on 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1976.<sup>123</sup> However, the Zambia national soccer team and other African teams pulled out of the Olympics because of politics of Apartheid in South Africa.<sup>124</sup> During this period, politicians were using football to fight Apartheid. After withdrawing from the Olympics, focus shifted to training local coaches so as to develop the sport. FAZ conducted football courses at the Independence Stadium in Lusaka in 1976. Trainees were drawn from Division One and Two

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<sup>118</sup> Minutes of the Youth and Sport Committee, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1975, Lusaka, UNIP/8/6/17 UNIP Archive.

<sup>119</sup> “Banda to revamp national team,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5<sup>th</sup> November, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>120</sup> “New soccer set up hailed,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>121</sup> “Soccer body will end Bureaucracy Banda,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> January, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>122</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>123</sup> “We are heading for Montreal,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>124</sup> “Party backed over pull out,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1976, p. 8.

football clubs.<sup>125</sup> The training of local coaches meant that a fertile ground for football development in schools, colleges and rural areas was now laid.

Local players also began going abroad to train as coaches. In 1976, Henry Kalimukwa and Freddie Mwila, for example, went to West Germany to study advanced football coaching for a month.<sup>126</sup> The Zambia defence force also sent many of its footballers such as Boniface Simutowe, Dick Chama and others to train as coaches overseas.<sup>127</sup> During the same period, a good number of Zambians began coaching local clubs. For instance, Moses Simwala was appointed coach for Nkana Red Devils while Dickson Makwaza became the coach for Mighty Mfulira Wanderers.<sup>128</sup>

This was the genesis of the Zambianisation of the post of coach at club level in football. But Zambianisation started immediately after independence because of the UNIP government failure to fulfill promises made during the struggle for independence. The government declared the Zambianisation policy which stipulated that all qualified and competent Zambians were to be given senior positions.<sup>129</sup> Later, as many Zambians were appointed as coaches at club level, soccer fans further called for the Zambianisation of the post of the national team coach, too. But fans had to wait until 1984.<sup>130</sup> The call for the Zambianisation of the post of national coach showed how far football had developed in the country after independence.

It was in this context that sportsmen and women called on the UNIP government to consider splitting the Ministry of Labour and Social Services and establish a sports ministry.

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<sup>125</sup> "Soccer stars learn coaching," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>126</sup> "Kalimukwa, Mwila leave for Bonny," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> August, 1976, p. 10.

<sup>127</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 25<sup>th</sup> January, 1977, p. 8.

<sup>128</sup> "Simwala is Rhokana coach," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> September, 1976, p. 10. See also "Makwaza is new coach," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> March, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>129</sup> Chipande, "Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994," pp. 141-142.

<sup>130</sup> "FAZ must employ Zambian coach says Sakala," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1976, p. 8.

Many felt that sport had suffered a setback because the ministry was also dealing with labour issues which took up much time.<sup>131</sup> In response, President Kaunda announced the creation of the Ministry of Youth and Sport in December 1978. The President said that “sport will no longer fall under the Ministry of Labour and Social Services.”<sup>132</sup> And Kebby Musokotwane became the first minister of the new ministry.<sup>133</sup> The creation of the ministry boosted football development as the ministry gave football problems prompt attention. The minister also played a big role in making funds more easily available to FAZ.<sup>134</sup> This was a step in the right direction as far as football was concerned.

### **The Development of Football from the 1980’s to the end of the UNIP era**

In the 1980’s the UNIP government came up with an ambitious programme to re-organise and improve the standard of soccer in the country and to tap youth talent in rural and urban areas in conjunction with FAZ. Under this programme, the government encouraged youth clubs and schools to take part in the annual ZIMCO club competitions. Part of the programme included training referees in rural areas. In urban areas, such as Lusaka, some organisations namely the Bank of Zambia, Shell and BP and Zambia State Insurance (ZISC) launched major football projects including the construction of sports centres for their employees and creating football pitches.<sup>135</sup> This was one way of developing football.

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<sup>131</sup> “Sportsmen, officials all agree on Ministry of Sports,” *Zambia Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> April, 1966, p. 7. See also, “We need sports ministry- Simfukwe,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11<sup>th</sup> June, 1977, p. 8.

<sup>132</sup> “Sport to be under new ministry,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1978, p. 8.

<sup>133</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>134</sup> “Sportsmen, officials all agree on Ministry of Sports,” p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> Moses Walubita, “Firms put up sports centres,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1980, p. 8.

Another programme aimed at boosting rural football in the 1980's was worked out by the government.<sup>136</sup> Under this new programme, a football countrywide coaching programme was initiated which began in May 1981 and ended in December 1981. The programme started with a five-day course for sixty Zambian Higher Institutions Sports Associations (ZHISA) coaches at Charles Luanga Teachers' College. In Mansa, the same course was offered to teachers, club coaches and community development sports organisers from 18<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> May.<sup>137</sup> Later, between 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> July, a course for teachers, club coaches and community development sports organisers was similarly held at Chipata. Similar training was also lined up for Mongu, Solwezi and Kasama. The training in Mongu began on 20<sup>th</sup> July and Solwezi on 3<sup>rd</sup> August. The training course at Kasama ran from 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> November.<sup>138</sup> Through such training, teachers in rural areas were taught modern football coaching techniques.

In spite of this, football in Zambia continued to record negative growth both in the performance of the national team and domestic fixtures. In response, the government dissolved FAZ and a new interim committee led by Tom Mtine took over in 1981.<sup>139</sup> In an effort to improve football, the new interim committee reduced a number of teams in each of the three divisions from eighteen to twelve in a major re-organisation of the soccer structure in the country. The first top twelve teams at the end of the 1981 soccer season automatically qualified for the newly formed Division One and the last six teams went down to Division Two, where they lined up with the first top six in Division Two to form a new Division Two with twelve teams. The last twelve teams in Division Two formed a new Division Three while clubs in Division Three were relegated to the amateur ranks in which a new body, the Amateur Football

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<sup>136</sup> "Coaching courses outlined," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>137</sup> "Coaching courses outlined," p. 8.

<sup>138</sup> "Coaching courses outlined," p. 8.

<sup>139</sup> Moses Walubita, "Zambia through: Morocco shown the way out," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> August, 1981, p. 8.

Association (AFA) which catered for youth football was created. The Amateur Football League comprised three divisions.<sup>140</sup>

However, the new Premier League set-up under these arrangements did not get favourable approval from the clubs that were relegated to Division Two, especially the City of Lusaka and the Roan United who were the first founders of the NFL in 1962.<sup>141</sup> It took five years for FAZ to increase the number of teams in each division to fourteen.<sup>142</sup> Another change also saw the Shell Challenge and Heroes and Unity Cups being exclusively competed for by twelve teams in the new Premier League. Amateurs were to compete for the ZIMCO Cup.<sup>143</sup> Though it was last competed for in 1983, the ZIMCO Cup was revived in 1988 to tap talent in rural areas.<sup>144</sup> In 1983, FAZ also lifted the regulation restricting participation in the Independence Cup and BP Challenge Cup to clubs of the Premier League.<sup>145</sup>

As a result of this reorganisation, football developed rapidly in the country. In 1981, Power Dynamos reached the finals of the Africa Cup Winners Cup but lost 4-0 on aggregate to Arab Contractors of Egypt.<sup>146</sup> Dynamos, a club with a short history on the local football scene, also represented Zambia in the first international inter-club soccer championship sponsored by Rothmans International in Ivory Coast in 1983.<sup>147</sup> Dynamos won the inaugural Rothmans International tournament.<sup>148</sup> In his message to Dynamos, the elated President Kaunda said:

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<sup>140</sup> "City, Roan move to DIV. Two: Teams relegated in soccer shake-up," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>141</sup> "City, Roan move to Div. Two: Teams relegated in soccer shake-up," p. 8.

<sup>142</sup> Nebat Mbewe, "Under- 20 league cancelled," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18<sup>th</sup> August, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>143</sup> "FAZ Cup on the way," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19<sup>th</sup> January, 1982, p. 8.

<sup>144</sup> "ZIMCO cup tourney back much richer," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>145</sup> "FAZ lift cup ban," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1983. p. 8.

<sup>146</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> November, 1982, p. 8.

<sup>147</sup> "Dynamos to represent Zambia in Rothmans Cup tourney," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>148</sup> "Dynamos lift cup: Tonnere lose 5-4 on penalties," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> May, 1983, p. 8.

Am pleased to hear that Power Dynamos have won the international tournament. Congratulations to them and all those involved. They have brought pride to the nation and we expect much more.<sup>149</sup>

Dynamo's victory showed that football had improved considerably in Zambia. This resulted from the presence of better trained coaches and the introduction of competitive leagues, raising football standards all around.<sup>150</sup> As Tom Mtine observed, impressive soccer results in the country were a true barometer of football's development.<sup>151</sup> This gave the nation a morale booster for future assignments and competitions.

In November 1983, FAZ re-organised the Division Three structure, introducing two zonal leagues in each area to cut down on travelling expenses and overnight stays to improve competition among teams. The northern and southern areas were divided into zones "A" and "B" with twelve teams in each zone in uniformity with the premier division. The introduction of the zonal leagues enabled teams which were dropped during the restructuring of football in 1982 to regain their Division Three status. On the other hand, amateur associations benefited from these changes because they were able to take to Division Three more teams than previously.<sup>152</sup> For instance, the Copperbelt Amateur Football Association (CAFA) took to the Division five teams, the Midlands Football Association (MAFA) three, the Southern Province Amateur Football Association (SAFA) two and the Kabwe Amateur Football Association (KAFA) one team.<sup>153</sup> This development enhanced competition as more teams were formed. As a result of the introduction of zonal leagues, Division Three teams were able to meet their financial obligations better due to a reduction in travelling costs. As a result of these changes, four teams were

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<sup>149</sup> "Well done-KK," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> May, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>150</sup> "New soccer season promises thrills," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12<sup>th</sup> February, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>151</sup> "Mtine predicts victories," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 27<sup>th</sup> January, 1979, p. 10.

<sup>152</sup> "FAZ reorganizes basic soccer structure," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>153</sup> "FAZ re-organises basic soccer structure," p. 8.

relegated from Division Two and four other teams promoted to that division from the champions of the zonal leagues.<sup>154</sup>

Earlier in 1980, mining companies employed eight British coaches and were attached to mine sponsored-teams.<sup>155</sup> However, a new soccer era with regard to the Zambianisation of the position of coach at club level had mushroomed in the country. Thus, ZCCM in a major policy decision to develop football within its ranks began to enlist full-time Zambian coaches for all its clubs.<sup>156</sup> President Kaunda welcomed ZCCM's move as a right direction in the Zambianisation of football.<sup>157</sup> Additionally, the seven aside soccer festival for ZCCM Premier League clubs started in Luanshya on 23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1985.<sup>158</sup> According to Henry Nkhata, the seven aside soccer festival was held when the soccer season was on recess. Prior to the opening of the new soccer season, a tournament was held as a way of training players and participating teams were only allowed to feature seven players instead of eleven.<sup>159</sup> Later, the sporting festival turned into a national event when other companies started participating in it as well.<sup>160</sup>

In the 1980s, the Zambianisation of the position of coach at club level took centre stage. Debates in parliament intensified to also Zambianise the job of national coach. However, the Minister of Youth and Sport, Ben Kakoma argued that government was not ready to Zambianise the position of national coach.<sup>161</sup> But because of raising popular demand for a Zambian coach, Brightwell Banda was appointed as national coach in June 1984, twenty years after

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<sup>154</sup> "FAZ re-organises basic soccer structure," p. 8.

<sup>155</sup> "New coach employed," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1980, p. 8. See also, "Briton to coach Zambia," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1980, p. 8.

<sup>156</sup> "New soccer era: ZCCM to hire full-time Zambian coaches," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>157</sup> Charles Lubambe, "KK backs ZCCM sports move," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> "7- a- side tourney starts," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>159</sup> Interview with Henry Nkhata, ex-footballer, former coach for Kabwe Warriors and Prison Leopards Football Clubs, Kabwe, 14<sup>th</sup> February, 2016.

<sup>160</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> October, 1989, p. 8.

<sup>161</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 161.

independence.<sup>162</sup> Even though Banda was fired two years later, he opened the door for Zambians to coach the national team until in 1994 when an expatriate Roald Poulsen took over as national coach.<sup>163</sup> Under Banda as coach, Zambia won the East and Central African senior challenge Cup final in Uganda in 1985.<sup>164</sup> Interestingly, President Milton Obote opened the Entebbe State House doors to the Zambian soccer fans to celebrate the victory.<sup>165</sup> This showed that a local coach could deliver good results.

The rise in football standards in the mid-1980s also exposed the country's football potential to the outside world. During this time, countries within and outside Africa became interested in signing Zambians as professional footballers. Although in the early 1960s, Ginger Pensulo, Samuel Ndhlovu and others had attempted to turn professional, none was successful. Later, Freddie Mwila and others pioneered professional football in Zambia.<sup>166</sup> But the government discouraged the export of Zambian players.<sup>167</sup> According to Simata Simata, former FAZ acting Vice-president and former Chairman of City of Lusaka Football Club (CLFC), government banned exporting players because of socialism.<sup>168</sup> Liwena further argues that the government wanted to protect the interest of both players and the nation, fearing exposing players to exploitation by foreign clubs they signed up for.<sup>169</sup> Indeed, it took sixteen years before

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<sup>162</sup> "Banda is new coach," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>163</sup> "Banda is certainly out," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1986, p. 8. See also, Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 170.

<sup>164</sup> Jay Mwamba, "Zambia storm into cup final," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>165</sup> James Mwambazi, "Obote fetes fans at state house," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>166</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 255- 256.

<sup>167</sup> John Musukwa, "Emment and Freddie leave for US," *Nshila*, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>168</sup> Interview with Simata Simata, former acting vice-president of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), former Chairman of City of Lusaka Football Club (CLFC), Lusaka, 4<sup>th</sup> February, 2015.

<sup>169</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 255.

professional football was allowed by the government again.<sup>170</sup> This was, however, detrimental to the development of the sport as players were not exposed to competitive international football.

When government lifted the ban on professional football, Kalusha Bwalya became the first Zambian footballer after Peter Kaumba and Alex Chola to turn professional after signing a four-year contract with top Belgian side, Cercle Brugge KSV.<sup>171</sup> He became the most expensive player after Wanderers were paid \$25 thousand as transfer fee.<sup>172</sup> Later in 1988, Bwalya was crowned African Footballer of the year. Brugge also signed Charles Musonda for \$25 thousand.<sup>173</sup> Stone Nyirenda also signed on with the Belgian league side, Haralbeke.<sup>174</sup> Johnstone Bwalya was also signed on by Fribourg of Switzerland.<sup>175</sup> This opened a new chapter in terms of soccer development as players and later coaches started rising the Zambian flag outside the country by offering their services to other countries. Indeed, within this period, Jani Simulambo was appointed as coach for Mbabane Highlanders of Swaziland and later became national coach for Swaziland.<sup>176</sup> In 1986, Bernard Chanda was appointed coach for a Botswana Division One side, Gaborone United.<sup>177</sup> This clearly shows that by the 1980s, Zambian football had come off age as other countries needed Zambian coaches to boost football.

FAZ with political backing successfully bided for Zambia's hosting of the 16<sup>th</sup> Africa Cup of Nations finals in 1988.<sup>178</sup> Zambia's application was supported by a large majority of 42

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<sup>170</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 258.

<sup>171</sup> "Kalusha off to Belgium: its bon voyage," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>172</sup> Moses Walubita, "Bwalya turns gold," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>173</sup> "Brugge sign on Muf star," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1986, p. 12.

<sup>174</sup> Jay Mwamba "Nyirenda passes trials," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>175</sup> "1986: Year under review," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>176</sup> "Jay Mwamba, "Simulambo top coach: Zambian named national team coach," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>177</sup> "Chanda fired," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1986, p. 10.

<sup>178</sup> "Zambia bids to host Africa Cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1984, p. 8.

member nations on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1984.<sup>179</sup> However, in 1986, at an emergency meeting in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, it was decided that Zambia was not going to host the 1988 African Nations Cup because of financial constraints that prevented the country from raising K300 Million which was needed to stage the tournament.<sup>180</sup> Due to economic problems that beset the country from the 1970s through to the 1980s, it was difficult to host the tournament.<sup>181</sup> Failure to host the competition impacted negatively on the development of the sport. Stadia remained in a deplorable state. For example, Dag Hammarskjold stadium in Ndola was closed for renovations to prepare for the tournament. But the stadium was not renovated to international standards.<sup>182</sup> As Zambia failed to host the 1988 Africa Cup, the Confederation of African Football (CAF) barred the country to take part in the 1988 competition.<sup>183</sup>

But with the doors for professional football opening, South Africa started enticing Zambian footballers to the racist republic in a concerted effort to undermine the country's staunch anti-apartheid stance.<sup>184</sup> South Africa began offering a lot of money, posh cars and accommodation to Zambian players in restricted whites' only residential areas. The campaign was primarily targeted at unsuspecting former international soccer stars. Thus, in 1988, Philemon Mulala, Albert Bwalya and John Mwanza signed as professionals in South Africa.<sup>185</sup> As the African National Congress (ANC) information officer Tom Sebina observed:

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<sup>179</sup> "Zambia to stage 1988 Africa Cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>180</sup> "Zambia to pull out," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1986, p. 8. See also, "State shuns costly tourney," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>181</sup> Jonathan C. Momba, "Democratic Transition and the Crises of an African Nationalist Party: UNIP, Zambia," in M. A. Mohamed Salih (Ed.), *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance*, (London: Pluto Press, 2003), p. 43.

<sup>182</sup> "Dag stadium shut: facelift set," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>183</sup> Moses Walubita, "CAF bans Zambia," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 27<sup>th</sup> December, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>184</sup> Samuel Ngoma, "Go South, man! SA calls: Zambians lured with top perks," *Times of Zambia*, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1988, p. 12.

<sup>185</sup> Ngoma, "Go South, man! SA calls: Zambians lured with top perks," p. 12.

...the trek of Zambian soccer players to South Africa was more of a political ploy than anyone could admit. It has a political aspect to it; they want as many Zambians to perform there so they can cheat the world. It's only the Zambian leadership that speaks against Apartheid.<sup>186</sup>

But Zambian footballers also trekked to South Africa because clubs in that country paid more money.<sup>187</sup> South African clubs paid good salaries as they were run by private companies. In Zambia the sport was run mostly by parastatal companies which operated according to equity and fairness rather than market principles.<sup>188</sup> In Zambia, football sponsorship was also reduced by the government due to the economic crisis that started in the 1970s.<sup>189</sup> Thus, Zambian footballers trekked to South Africa.

Having signed as professionals, the three Zambian players' careers were restricted to South African football. This was because FIFA forbade its affiliates and their players from cultivating contacts with Apartheid South Africa because of its racist policies.<sup>190</sup> This did not, however, deter Zambian players from migrating to South Africa. In 1988 again, Bizwell Phiri joined a soccer club in South Africa.<sup>191</sup> After this, government directed the NSCZ to punish footballers who were playing in South Africa.<sup>192</sup> The government was concerned with the exodus of players to South Africa because it was tantamount to breaking sanctions in economic, political and diplomatic terms against the racist republic.<sup>193</sup> However, the ban on soccer players who

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<sup>186</sup> Ngoma, "Go South, man! SA calls: Zambians lured with top perks," p. 12.

<sup>187</sup> Interview with James Chitalu, former Mufulira Black Pool, Vitafoam United, Kabwe Warriors, Renezia Dynamos and Zambia National Soccer Team defender, Kabwe, 4<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>188</sup> Interview with James Chitalu, former Mufulira Black Pool, Vitafoam United, Kabwe Warriors, Renezia Dynamos and Zambia National Soccer Team defender, Kabwe, 4<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>189</sup> Chipande, "Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia, 1940s- 1994," p. 256.

<sup>190</sup> "FIFA bans rebel trio: Rand-crazy players get life," *Times of Zambia*, 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1988, p. 12.

<sup>191</sup> "Rand lures Bizwell Phiri... Warriors coach defects to SA," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12<sup>th</sup> August, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>192</sup> "punish Rand seekers-PM," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> June, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>193</sup> "ANC presses for imports phase-out," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1989, p. 8.

trekked to South Africa was lifted after 1991 due to change in the political situation in Zambia and South Africa itself.<sup>194</sup> This opened the door for more footballers to trek to South Africa.

In 1988, soccer in Zambia again recorded positive signs of growth as the country qualified to the 1988 Olympic Games held in South Korea after beating Ghana.<sup>195</sup> At the tournament, Zambia beat Italy 4- 0 and Guatemala with the same margin.<sup>196</sup> Though Zambia lost in the quarter finals against Germany, this was a major achievement in the country's football development.<sup>197</sup> In December, 1989, professional soccer was introduced in five ZCCM clubs, namely Nkana Red Devils, Mufulira Wanderers, Nchanga Rangers, Power Dynamos and Roan United. On 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1990, the five clubs operated as limited companies and were each subsequently administered by a board of directors. Each of the new companies employed only 20 professional players who ceased to be ZCCM employees. They were employed on contract basis ranging from one to three years.<sup>198</sup> The government welcomed the introduction of professional soccer by ZCCM. It later even appealed to other companies to emulate ZCCM's move.<sup>199</sup>

In 1990, politics in Zambia were transformed. The economic and political liberalisation taking place in Europe, the removal of the Berlin Wall and the pressure President Kaunda encountered from within and outside the country made him reintroduce multi-party politics on 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1990.<sup>200</sup> Less than a year later, as a result of multi-party elections in October

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<sup>194</sup> "Sport for profit coming," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1991, p. 8.

<sup>195</sup> "Zambia clobbers Ghana: Home win decides battle for Seoul," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>196</sup> "Seoul soccer shocker Kalusha leads execution: Zambia batter Italy 4- 0," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1988, p. 8. See also, "Guatemala butchered 4- 0, Kalusha leads slaughter: Zambia blasts through," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>197</sup> James Mwambazi, "Blundering Zambia bows out," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>198</sup> "Youths key to sports excellence," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> October, 1989, p. 8. See also, Dingi Chirwa, "ZCCM names four pro clubs," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1989, p. 8.

<sup>199</sup> "State backs pro soccer- Zulu," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1989, p. 8.

<sup>200</sup> Born Chikulo and Owen Sichone, "Creation of The Third Republic," in Owen Sichone and Bornwell Chikulo (Eds.), *Democracy in Zambia: Challenges for the Third Republic*, (Harare: SAPES Books, 1996), p. 4. See also, Fredrick J. T. Chiluba, *Democracy: The Challenge of Change*, (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1995), pp. 49- 50.

1991 Fredrick Chiluba, the leader of the new formed Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) swept into power, replacing Kaunda as President of the republic.<sup>201</sup> The new government carried out a comprehensive privatisation and commercialisation programme because it was expensive for the government to sponsor the sport.<sup>202</sup> As a result of commercialisation, funding to football activities was reduced.<sup>203</sup> This negatively impacted on how football was run after 1991.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter has endeavoured to investigate ways in which politics influenced the rise and development of football in Zambia after 1964. The chapter has demonstrated that since football was part of education, vital in popularising the Kaunda regime and an important tool for political mobilisation, the UNIP government initiated various programmes to develop the sport after independence. Among the programmes was the creation of sports bodies such as the NSCZ and the NSF. The government initiated mechanisms to develop football on a national wide basis by the construction of stadia throughout the country. This was supplemented by the training of coaches and promoting international football to promote international goodwill and understanding. Since football was part of education, the government also promoted school (youth) football through the Ministry of Education and various youth programmes. The government also developed football through community welfare centres (recreation centres) which complemented schools football. FAZ in conjunction with the government also developed football through training of coaches and initiating programmes to

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<sup>201</sup> Brendan Carmody, *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspective*, (Lusaka: Bookworld, 1999), p. xi.

<sup>202</sup> Julius O. Ihonubere, *Economic Crisis, Civil Society and Democratization: The Case of Zambia*, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1996), pp. 172- 173.

<sup>203</sup> "Sport for profit coming," p. 8.

develop the sport in the rural areas although such areas lagged behind in terms of the development of the sport.

The UNIP government also developed football by appealing to companies to develop the sport. It was partly because of this that almost all companies created a football team. To the politicians, this was a way of enhancing the country's social advancement. To the companies, it was a way of associating themselves with the policies of the government on sport and also providing leisure time for their workers as a refreshment of the mind after work. Thus, the government played a great role in the development of football, even though much of this development took place in urban areas, and not rural areas

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Politics of Football Administration in Zambia**

#### **Introduction**

While the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) and the government worked closely to develop football in the country as demonstrated in Chapter Two, politics also penetrated soccer administration. This chapter, therefore, demonstrates the relationship between football administration and politics in Zambia. The chapter is subdivided into two sections. The first part examines the interplay between politics and football administration after independence by explaining why soccer administration became politicised. Although the UNIP government's involvement in the administration of football was illegal according to the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) constitution, the Kenneth Kaunda-led regime meddling in the sport was justified for a number of reasons.

The government wanted to turn FAZ into an organ that would support the regime. Further, the government was also a significant shareholder in football in the sense that it spent a lot of money in the running of the sport. Apart from this, the UNIP government wanted people who were loyal party members and understood the government's policy on football to run the sport. The UNIP government was suspicious that people who were not loyal to the party could use football to gain political mileage. Lastly, football administrators themselves brought politicians closer to the game. The appointment of President Kaunda as patron of the National Football League (NFL) in 1968 and as honorary patron of the Midlands Football Association (MFA) in 1969 by the football administrators attests to this fact.

The second part of this chapter demonstrates how soccer administration was politicised. The government interfered in the administration of football to tackle problems in the NFL and FAZ leading to the formation of the “one soccer” administrative body in 1975. This part also examines the politics of football administration after the formation of the “one soccer” administrative body in 1975. The second part of the chapter also examines the politics of football administration after the establishment of the “one soccer” administrative body. It demonstrates that after the establishment of the new body, the government continued to interfere with the administration of football and shows how football administrators, law makers in parliament and other stake holders reacted to the government’s interventions in football administration.

### **Football administration in Zambia after independence**

As Zambia was preparing to get her independence, different district football associations were administering football in the country. The political wind of change resulted in administrative changes in the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA). NRFA was transformed into the Zambia Football Association (ZFA).<sup>1</sup> Further, soon after independence, there were proposals to bring different soccer associations under one body to bring unity in the administration of the sport. Because of this, towards the end of 1965, moves were made to bring football under one umbrella. To this end, ZFA was reorganised and changed its name to FAZ, with John Kelly as Chairman.<sup>2</sup> It should, however, be mentioned that during this time, football was chiefly administered by both the NFL and FAZ. From its inception, the new football mother body (FAZ) was politicised. There were many reasons why the state politicised FAZ. Among these was that the government wanted to bring FAZ under close supervision and thus turn it into

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<sup>1</sup> Eric Cottell, “15 Years of Northern Rhodesian Soccer,” *Nshila*, July, 1964, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Hikabwa D. Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930- 1969): A Historical Perspective,” Master Thesis, Norwegian School of Sports Sciences, 2009, p. 81.

an organ that would support the Kenneth Kaunda led government.<sup>3</sup> This was clearly explained by a senior party official and Minister of State for Cooperatives, Youth and Social Development Andrew Chitulangoma who reportedly said that:

...government will ensure that football should come under close supervision. He also said that these measures had been taken because of the importance the party and its government attached to football as a sport.<sup>4</sup>

The government sought to control FAZ through various interventions. For instance, in 1968, it gave a directive that FAZ officials should be replaced by full time personnel if soccer administration was to run smoothly.<sup>5</sup> At another time, the government asked FAZ to enact a constitution for the smooth running of football in the country. Chitulangoma, directed FAZ to produce and send its constitution to the ministry's headquarters and send him all financial returns from all the clubs in the country.<sup>6</sup> Politics of soccer administration also continued in later years especially after the structures of soccer administration were in Zambian hands.<sup>7</sup>

While the government wanted to control football administration, soccer administrators also brought the UNIP government closer to the game. According to Hikabwa D. Chipande, Republican President Kaunda was voted as patron of the NFL at the 1968 annual general meeting of the NFL held at Ndola football club.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, in December 1969, the Midlands Football Association (MFA) council nominated President Kaunda as its honorary patron.<sup>9</sup> This was probably aimed at bringing the UNIP government closer to the sport so as to easily get the resources needed to administer the sport smoothly.

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with Major Richard Kachingwe, former chairman National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), politician, Lusaka, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> "Four candidates picked to stand for FAZ hot seat," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> "Minister Attacks FAZ," *Zambia Mail*, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1968, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> "Minister Attacks FAZ," p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, (Lusaka: Liwena Publishing and Printing House, 1985), p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930- 1969)," p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1969, p. 18.

By 1973, the Kaunda regime initiated ways of bringing the football mother body under firmer control due to the popularity of the sport. The government's Sports Directorate issued an instruction to stop referring to the NFL and FAZ chairman as "president". The UNIP government urged the NFL and FAZ to drop the title of "president" because the title was only applicable to the head of state.<sup>10</sup> Hence forth, the NFL and FAZ presidents adopted the title of "chairman." In the same year, the UNIP government through the National Sports Foundation (NSF) introduced a programme aimed at training football administrators in the country.<sup>11</sup> To ensure that this programme was properly implemented, President Kaunda strongly urged the Minister of Labour and Social Services to coordinate with FAZ in order to improve football administration.<sup>12</sup> The government's intervention to improve football administration in the country was also partly due to the fact that football fans throughout the country and also the press were calling for the reorganisation of the administration of the sport.<sup>13</sup> Following the government's call for the reorganisation of football administration, the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ) chairman Musa Kasonka argued that:

Inadequate staff (administrators), insufficient funds and lack of transport were some of the major problems that were hampering soccer administration and the implementation of a full coordinated programme of football activities and other sports disciplines in the country in both rural and urban areas.<sup>14</sup>

According to Kasonka, competent and adequate administrators were needed. The country also needed administrators who were supposed to explore and implement ways of coping with financial challenges facing Zambian football.<sup>15</sup> The UNIP government realised that failure to

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<sup>10</sup> Heartcold Chisuta, "No more sports presidents says Kasonka," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> March, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Heartcold Chisuta, "Sports training needs overhaul," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> March, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> "State house breakfast for heroes," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Yoyo, "Take up challenge soccer administrators," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Heartcold Chisuta, "Why we can't develop sport- Kasonka," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Darby, "A Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster, 1993," *Soccer and Society*, 5, 2, (2004), p. 256.

properly administer football would encourage people from various sections of society to blame the government.

It is because of the above reason that the peoples' call for the reorganisation of soccer administration in the country was taken seriously by the UNIP government. Thus, on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1973, the government devised a two point master plan to boost the standard of soccer administration which was effected in 1974. Through the master plan, NFL started to organise a series of seminars for all first and second division club secretaries and treasurers.<sup>16</sup> In spite of this soccer continued to be poorly administered.

After the 1974 Africa Cup of Nations, however, football administration in Zambia underwent through various transformations. This arose from the ambiguous roles of the NFL and FAZ both of which administered football. The NFL was in charge of domestic fixtures while FAZ fixed international games. But domestic fixtures were disrupted to accommodate international games supported by the UNIP government which encouraged matches with neighbouring countries. This led to confusion. Hence, the then NFL chairman Jimmy Flemming proposed the merger of the NFL and FAZ to form "one soccer body" in July 1974.<sup>17</sup> Flemming was later suspended for proposing the formation of one football body.<sup>18</sup> However, his proposal later proved to be correct and was endorsed by UNIP Central Committee. The committee observed that there was a lot of sense in Flemming's proposal.<sup>19</sup>

The UNIP government immediately instituted consultations with various stakeholders. After consultations were made in August 1974, the UNIP Central Committee announced that

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<sup>16</sup> "New soccer blueprint unveiled by NFL," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1973, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Jack Lumbwe, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> "FAZ reviews talks on pro- soccer," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1974, p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 65.

football in Zambia from 1975 onward would be administered by one body to avoid confusion in the administration of soccer.<sup>20</sup> The announcement was made by Andrew Mutemba, Chairman of the Sub-committee for Youth and Sport in the Central Committee.<sup>21</sup> Since administrators in both the NFL and FAZ were set for the establishment of the “one soccer” organisation these recommendations were forwarded to the Minister of Labour and Social Services Dingswayo Banda who was responsible for sports in the country.<sup>22</sup>

After the UNIP Central Committee announcement of the creation of the “one soccer body,” the following year the government formally decided that there should only be one body to administer soccer in Zambia.<sup>23</sup> The government quick move to establish the “one soccer body” in 1974 was timely in that in 1973 the country was declared a ‘One-Party State.’ Having the “one soccer body” and one political party fitted in very well with the country’s one-party political system prevailing at that time.<sup>24</sup> President Kaunda even pledged that his government would attach greater importance to the development of football.<sup>25</sup> This partly explains why government was also concerned about the administration of football in the country. The government hoped that having one political party and one soccer body would bring about improvement in the running of the sport and unity among the people.

The formal announcement of a new FAZ was made in Kitwe at Kitwe’s Edinburgh Hotel by the Minister of Labour and Social Services.<sup>26</sup> However, the new soccer body was simply a

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<sup>20</sup> “Central Committee decides: we’ll have one soccer body,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10<sup>th</sup> August, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 65.

<sup>22</sup> “FAZ set for one soccer body,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Lumbwe, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1974, p. 8. See also “Central Committee decides we’ll have one soccer body,” p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 65. See also, Bizeck J. Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: From Colonial Rule to the 3<sup>RD</sup> Republic, 1890- 2001*, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006), p. 134.

<sup>25</sup> “Sport will be a winner pledges KK,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Jack Lumbwe, “Its one soccer body- at last: Banda announces sweeping changes in football,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1975, p. 8.

merger of the NFL and old FAZ. This merger was necessary to avoid reapplying for membership to FIFA. Thus, with the formation of the new soccer body, Zambia's membership with FIFA continued as Northern Rhodesia was provisionally accepted by the world football governing body as the member of the world organisation following the formation of the NFL in 1962. Full membership was however granted to the territory at the meeting which was held in Tokyo, Japan in 1964.<sup>27</sup> This also meant that Northern Rhodesia was free to play against overseas teams, enter the world cup competition and Olympic Games.<sup>28</sup>

Following the announcement of the formation of the new FAZ, Tom Mtine was appointed as Chairman of the interim committee of the "one soccer body." Mtine was the former Chairman of the NFL. As FAZ chairman, he replaced John Kelly as Chairman of the old FAZ.<sup>29</sup> Mtine was also a prominent businessman in Ndola who had well established connections with big business organisations in Zambia and outside the country.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, Michael Milner who served on various committees in the old FAZ was put in charge of the finance committee while Ernest Mate who was the Chairman of Kitwe United Football Club (KUFC) was appointed as Secretary General in the new FAZ. The interim committee's primary objective was to enforce and supervise the smooth takeover of the defunct FAZ and NFL records, funds, assets and liabilities. The committee was to be the overall policy making body of the reconstituted FAZ up to the time when general elections were to be held.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Eric Cottell, "N. R. Accepted as a member of world soccer body," *Nshila* 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1962, p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> "Soccer groups fix parity," *African Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1961, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, P. 51.

<sup>30</sup> Liwena, *The Zambia Soccer Scene*, p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> Lumbwe, "Its one soccer body- at last: Banda announces sweeping changes in football," p. 8.

However, in the early stages of the establishment of the “one soccer body,” there was a poor relationship between the supervisory committee and interim committees of FAZ.<sup>32</sup> According to Liwena, the sour relationship was largely created by personality clashes involving people who were appointed to head the committees. For example, Joseph Chileshe who was appointed as Deputy Chairman of the supervisory committee clashed with Tom Mtine who was Chairman of the interim committee. Chileshe had been deputy to Mtine in the old FAZ.<sup>33</sup> This led to differences among committee members.

To appease the general public, the government promised to give financial help to the new interim executive committee of the “one soccer body” through the NSCZ.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, the establishment of the “one soccer body” stimulated debate in parliament as the new FAZ was welcomed by some Members of Parliament (MPs). Debating the establishment of the one soccer administrative body, the Katombora MP Kebby Musokotwane told parliament that soccer administration under the new body would be more efficient and better organised.<sup>35</sup> Musokotwane’s observation was in line with what the UNIP Central Committee had recommended.

Despite conflicts between the supervisory and subordinate interim committees, a new FAZ constitution was prepared and ready within the set time and 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1975 was declared as the day of elections at Kabwe’s President Citizenship College (PCC), now Mulungushi University.<sup>36</sup> Soon after the elections day was set, many people showed interest to contest the elections. About sixty four candidates wanted to contest when only nine people were

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<sup>32</sup> James Mwambazi, “On the trial,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 68.

<sup>34</sup> “State pledges financial help to the new soccer body,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Fred M’ule, “Why radio plans to boost sport flopped,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 68.

required in the executive committee of the newly formed FAZ. Prior to the elections day, there was a lot of campaigning and electioneering especially on the Copperbelt and Midlands. This attracted the attention of the UNIP government which evidently wanted pro-government officials to be elected to FAZ.<sup>37</sup>

On 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1975, the government announced that only four candidates would be allowed to contest the post of chairman of FAZ during the association's elections in Kabwe.<sup>38</sup>

According to the Minister of Labour and Social Services, this was necessary because:

...of the importance which the party and its government attached to football as a sport, and on account of the poor performance of the national team in 1975, and also in the light of indiscipline that appeared to have bedeviled the football administration. Therefore, the Sub-committee of the Central Committee responsible for sports matters directed that the Ministry of Labour and Social Services should ensure that the chairmanship of FAZ went to a person capable of administering football effectively.<sup>39</sup>

The four candidates that the government approved as suitable in the eyes of the Central Committee were Wilfrid Wonani, formerly Vice-Chairman in the NFL, David Lewanika, a Lusaka lawyer and chairman of City of Lusaka, Joseph Chileshe and Fanwell Lumpa.<sup>40</sup> Without government support, it was impossible to be elected to FAZ.<sup>41</sup>

The government's Sports Directorate further announced that Copperbelt clubs and associations would have only one hour within which to collect nomination papers, while their Lusaka counterparts would be given nine hours. Government advised that the nomination papers should be handled by the Lusaka based Supervisory Board of FAZ. This did not, however, go without criticism. Copperbelt soccer administrators viewed this as a deliberate move by the

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<sup>37</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 68.

<sup>38</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 68.

<sup>39</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 68.

<sup>40</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 68.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Major Richard Kachingwe, former Chairman National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), politician, Lusaka, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 2015.

government to give the Midlands, especially Lusaka, an advantage to have more people to contest FAZ executive posts. But the Sports Director Musa Kasonka defended government's action, stressing that Lusaka-based contestants had only one point (the Sports Ministry) from which to collect the papers whereas those on the Copperbelt had many centres all over the province.<sup>42</sup> But since the four candidates that the government backed were all from the Midlands and the majority Lusaka based, it is undoubtful that the state favoured the Midlands.

Government interference in football administration soured the relationship between the government and football administrators in the interim committee in the Copperbelt province. Copperbelt administrators rightly argued that there was a deliberate move by the government to bar them from contesting elections. The first to show his displeasure with the government was Mate (secretary of the interim committee) who announced that he had lost interest in football administration because of government interference. Three days later, Mtine also announced at a press briefing that he would not contest any position in the forthcoming FAZ elections to give young people chance to develop Zambian football.<sup>43</sup> Government's involvement in football administration was also resented by other soccer administrators from the Copperbelt. For example, Fred Nkonde, Vitafoam United club Secretary, argued that his club was not going to participate in the elections because the government had demonstrated that it was capable of "putting in an effective executive committee on behalf of the clubs and that the government knew who was capable to run FAZ and who was not."<sup>44</sup>

Thus, government meddling in football administration nearly split the football organisation in the country as it became clear that football administrators from the Midlands

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<sup>42</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 70- 71.

<sup>44</sup> Liwena, *The Zambia Soccer Scene*, p. 72.

were being favoured. In opposition to government meddling, some people even planned to create a separate body for the Copperbelt and another for the Midlands. In the Midlands too, clubs were also split over the manner in which FAZ elections were organised by the government. Only Green Buffaloes and Red Arrows were in support of the government's measures. Green Buffaloes and Red Arrows' support for government involvement in football administration was due to the fact that the two clubs were established and sponsored by the government.<sup>45</sup>

### **The Party, Government and the “one- soccer body.”**

Despite the controversy and confusion that surrounded the elections to usher in the “one soccer body,” the elections were conducted in an atmosphere of peace. With political backing, David Lewanika from the Midlands was elected as Chairman of the “one soccer body,” (FAZ). Lewanika took over from Mtine.<sup>46</sup> According to Samson Mubangalala, the UNIP government wanted Lewanika to be FAZ Chairman because he was a popular football administrator from City of Lusaka Football Club (CLFC), a popular team in Zambia. Thus, many football administrators were in favour of Lewanika's candidature.<sup>47</sup> Apart from this, City of Lusaka was connected to the UNIP government because as early as 1969, President Kaunda was the supporter of the club.<sup>48</sup> Thus, enjoying popular support and with the connection that his club had with the UNIP government Lewanika became the Chairman of FAZ.

After getting the second highest votes, Wonani, also from the Midlands, became the Vice-Chairman of the new FAZ. After the elections, the birth of the “new soccer body” became a

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<sup>45</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 71- 72.

<sup>46</sup> “Four candidates picked to stand for FAZ hot seat,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Samson Mubangalala, former member of the Northern Rhodesia Amateur Athletics and Cycling Association (NRAACA), former Zambia national coach for athletics, former board member of the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), former General Secretary of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), Kabwe, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 2015.

<sup>48</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1969, p. 31.

reality. Thus, the UNIP government finally won the battle that had emerged in the administration of football in Zambia. On the other hand, the formation of the “one soccer body” was an important turning point in terms of soccer administration as it cut down on bureaucracy in the running of football.<sup>49</sup> This was, therefore, a major achievement and development in football administration in Zambia. With the formation of the new FAZ, all the available manpower and talent to administer football was brought under one umbrella. Henceforth, soccer administration in Zambia was streamlined.<sup>50</sup>

In the aftermath of the elections, Dingiswayo Banda, the Minister of Labour and Social Services announced that the FAZ headquarters would be transferred from Kitwe to Lusaka.<sup>51</sup> He also announced that from 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1975 onward, the UNIP government would maintain a close watch on all activities in football administration, both at the national and club levels. The minister further said that all those found to be indifferent to sports programmes of the government would be removed from soccer administration and would have nothing to do with football. He emphasised that the Youth and Sports Sub-committee of the UNIP Central Committee would regularly visit FAZ because of the importance of football in nation-building as enshrined in the policy of the UNIP government. The Minister noted that the power to remove ineffective officials from FAZ would be given to his ministry through an Act of Parliament. True to his word, such an Act came into effect in February, 1979.<sup>52</sup> The Act became known as the Sports Council of Zambia Act.<sup>53</sup> According to the Act, (Chapter 142 of the Laws of Zambia):

The National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ) is given the powers to investigate the accounts and other affairs of an association. With the approval of the Minister,

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<sup>49</sup> “Soccer body will end bureaucracy- Banda,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> January, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup> Lumbwe, “Its one soccer body- at last: Banda announces sweeping changes in football,” p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 74.

<sup>52</sup> “Sports Act effective next month,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 74.

by statutory instrument, the council has the powers to make rules concerning the activities of an association, to ensure the maintenance of proper accounts and records of an association. Also, where the council has reason to believe that an association is acting in a manner prejudicial to the interest of the sports or to the public interests generally, the council may order the suspension of the activities of that association. Additionally, among other functions given to the council is to suspend any office-bearer or member of an association if he or she is seen to be acting in a manner prejudicial to the interests of sports or the public interest generally.<sup>54</sup>

This Act, therefore, provided for government interference in the administration of soccer in Zambia.<sup>55</sup> The Act would later be used as an effective weapon against FAZ. Under the Act, football administration was a matter not for individual administrators but the government as well. Through the Act, the government repeatedly intervened in football administration supposedly in the interest of the public.<sup>56</sup>

As soon as the “one soccer body” was established, it was discovered that it was not the solution to the problems of soccer administration in the country. The new body brought more complications in soccer administration than it was capable of solving. This was due to the fact that there were many sub-committees in FAZ running the various wings of administration. In the past, various wings of administration were taken care of by either the NFL or the defunct FAZ main committee. Coordinating the numerous newly created sub-committees became a complex matter to the new FAZ executive committee. Added to the challenges and problems of the new FAZ was the poor performance of the national team by the late 1970s. The fixtures in the leagues were also running behind schedule.<sup>57</sup>

Although the FAZ executive led by Lewanika faced some challenges, as noted above, the executive managed to finish the term of office after serving for four years when it was time for

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<sup>54</sup> Republic of Zambia, the Sports Council of Zambia Act, Chapter 142 of the Laws of Zambia, pp. 7- 8.

<sup>55</sup> “Politics and sport are one- Kankasa,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1978, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 74.

<sup>57</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 76.

fresh elections.<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, the government was again involved in the elections. The Ministry of Youth and Sport supervised FAZ general elections in December, 1979 at PCC in Kabwe.<sup>59</sup> In these elections, Lewanika emerged victorious again as chairman of FAZ with government backing. The second term of the soccer body still continued to experience carry over administrative problems, such as conflicts among various sub-committees of FAZ. Football fortunes continued declining and fixtures continued lagging behind.<sup>60</sup> The decline in football standards became a direct political question because the UNIP government feared losing legitimacy of a regime.<sup>61</sup> Politicians wanted positive results in football as poor performance in the sport hurt national pride while winning was directly linked to the strength of the nation.<sup>62</sup> This entails that there was a strong connection between football and politics and winning football games was what the UNIP government which provided the resources to football wanted.<sup>63</sup> This therefore made the government to once again interfere in football administration.

Besides the decline in football standards, UNIP's involvement in football administration in the early 1980's was also partly prompted by the fourth expatriate Zambia national team coach to be employed by the government and FAZ Ted Dumitru. He publicly denounced the way football was administered and organised in the country, lamenting low soccer standards.<sup>64</sup> Within this period, there was also a misunderstanding in the staging of a friendly game between Zambia and Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). FAZ executive overlooked the government's decision not to stage the game. This annoyed politicians and the government found an opportunity to dissolve FAZ in 1981. The Minister of Youth and Sport General Kingsley

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<sup>58</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 76- 77.

<sup>59</sup> "Ministry to monitor FAZ vote," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5<sup>th</sup> December, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 76- 77.

<sup>61</sup> "The political side of sport," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> "The political side of sport," p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> James Mwambazi, "Excel KK urges sportsmen," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 7<sup>th</sup> April, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> "Dumitru unhappy with soccer set – up," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

Chinkuli justified the dissolution of FAZ, arguing that if its action was not checked it could harm national interest.<sup>65</sup>

At a press conference in June 1981, General Chinkuli dissolved the entire FAZ executive, freezing its bank account. The Minister explained that government was also concerned by certain trends in the administration of soccer in the country by FAZ. For example, since 1977, FAZ, the minister observed, had not submitted to the Ministry of Youth and Sport audited books of accounts raising suspicion that the soccer body had misused money and was ridden with corruption.<sup>66</sup> As J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson argues, “corruption characterises the administration of the African game. The money which should be spent on football development ends up in the pockets of football administrators.”<sup>67</sup> These charges made governments in Africa to interfere in the administration of the sport as they provide football associations with money.<sup>68</sup> Among other reasons, financial mismanagement was the chief reason why the UNIP government dissolved FAZ.

After the Lewanika executive was disbanded former NFL chairman Mtine was appointed as Chairman of a new FAZ interim committee. Mtine was recalled to organise FAZ by the government because it needed someone with experience to solve problems which had hit the administration of football. Moreover, Mtine had been chairman of old FAZ when the Zambia National Team performed well at its first appearance at the Africa Cup in Egypt in 1974.<sup>69</sup> And

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<sup>65</sup> Moses Walubita, “Chinkuli puts down ‘defiant’ FAZ executive sacked,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1981, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Walubita, “Chinkuli puts down ‘defiant’ FAZ executive sacked,” p. 1. See also “I’ m happy- Minister,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who Rules the Peoples’ Game*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), p. 145.

<sup>68</sup> Darby, “A Context of Vulnerability,” p. 253. See also “Egyptians disband soccer body,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Samson Mubangalala, former member of the Northern Rhodesia Amateur Athletics and Cycling Association (NRAACA), former Zambia national coach for athletics, former board member of the National Sports

at the time of his appointment, the UNIP government directed the new executive committee to raise the standard of the game immediately. Mtine also called for maximum co-operation between FAZ and the government to enhance the development of Zambian soccer.<sup>70</sup>

Government's interference in football administration again received mixed reaction from various sections of society. Some supported the action by the Minister of Youth and Sport of dissolving FAZ while others complained that the action was too harsh.<sup>71</sup> For instance, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) challenged the Ministry of Youth and Sports to prove the case against the sacked FAZ executive led by Lewanika.<sup>72</sup> The ZCTU General Secretary Newstead Zimba, said that, "if decisions will be made because one has the power, then there will be misuse of power."<sup>73</sup> ZCTU was interested in what was happening in football circles because the sport, apart from being watched and played by many ordinary people, was also mostly played and watched by workers in the country. As such, ZCTU did not want workers to be deprived of their number one entertainment.<sup>74</sup>

The government's sacking of the Lewanika-led executive also attracted the attention of politicians in parliament. Choma MP Daniel Munkombwe, for example, argued that the Minister's action was too harsh in sacking the executive.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, Keembe MP Robin Chivuno observed that "there was too much politicking in football administration and called for a clear-cut policy to avoid confusion."<sup>76</sup> In the same vein, Malambo constituency MP

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Council of Zambia (NSCZ), former General Secretary of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), Kabwe, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 2015.

<sup>70</sup> "Mtine calls for co- operation," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>71</sup> "Chinkuli action gets mixed reaction," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> "Dissolution of the FAZ executive: ZCTU steps in," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> "Dissolution of the FAZ executive: ZCTU steps in," p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> "Dissolution of the FAZ executive: ZCTU steps in," p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> "Ministers action too harsh- MP," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>76</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 81.

Whitson Banda argued that it was a well-known fact that the Minister of Youth and Sport had power to run sport, suggesting that the minister needed to take a look at the caliber of people appointed as administrators of various sports disciplines. However, General Chinkuli defended his action in parliament.<sup>77</sup>

But the sacking of the FAZ executive by General Chinkuli was welcomed by some politicians as a step in the right direction. For example, Eastern Province UNIP Political Secretary Dickson Chitambala called on the public to give chance to the new interim committee because the government's action was in the national interest.<sup>78</sup> While politicians were debating the sacking of the FAZ executive, the national football coach Ted Dumitru resigned following the sacking of the FAZ executive. Dumitru cited differences with the new FAZ interim committee.<sup>79</sup>

Meanwhile, in July 1983, the Annual General Meeting (AGM) was held in Ndola to start the process of organising elections to usher in a new executive committee so as to replace the interim committee headed by Mtine. An issue of prime importance on the agenda at the AGM was the pending elections to replace or give authority to the Mtine-led executive to continue administering football in the country. Only two delegates from each club or association were allowed to attend the AGM.<sup>80</sup> After the AGM, government issued guidelines for the pending FAZ polls. The government through FAZ made it clear that some members of the Mtine-led executive committee should not contest the elections until they paid the money they owed the soccer body. On the other hand, the Minister of Youth and Sport made it clear that some

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<sup>77</sup> Liwena, *The Zambia Soccer Scene*, p. 81.

<sup>78</sup> "Chinkuli action hailed," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>79</sup> "Dumitru resigns," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 27<sup>th</sup> July, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> "FAZ issues guidelines for polls," *Times of Zambia*, 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1985, p. 8

members of the dissolved executive were free to stand for office if they so wished because they had settled the debts they owed FAZ.<sup>81</sup>

However, the UNIP government did not make it clear as to who should contest or not contest the coming FAZ elections. Therefore, the interim FAZ committee asked the Ministry of Youth and Sport to name which of the former members of the old FAZ executive were cleared to hold office.<sup>82</sup> The government responded by naming eleven candidates as eligible to contest the elections. But the list excluded former FAZ chairman Lewanika, his deputy Joel Somanje and treasurer Michael Milner. Those also not cleared by the UNIP government were Mathew Nsamba and Michael Chiti. Nsamba was the first full-time General Secretary of FAZ while Chiti was the fourth. Wilfrid Wonani was also affected as he was banned from holding office in any sports organisation.<sup>83</sup>

After the government scrutinised the names of the candidates who wished to contest the elections, some were reprieved and cleared. The clearance was made after a written submission by the members of the Auditor General's report on ex-FAZ finances from 1975 to 1981. The government's demand for the Auditor General's office to audit FAZ accounts could also have been due to the fact that the former FAZ executive owed twenty nine organisations K158, 000 at a time of dissolution in 1981.<sup>84</sup>

Before the elections, government issued a statement that candidates wishing to stand for the chairmanship of the FAZ at the general elections must be forty-three years old and with

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<sup>81</sup> "FAZ issues guidelines for polls," p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> "Name cleared men, says FAZ," *Times of Zambia*, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>83</sup> "11 ex- FAZ men cleared: I' m not interested says Lewanika," *Times of Zambia*, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Violet Mijoni, "FAZ debts soar to K158, 000," *Times of Zambia*, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 13.

fifteen years' experience in football administration.<sup>85</sup> Later, with the consent of the government, the FAZ draft constitution was written in readiness for the elections. The NSCZ committee was given the task by the government to study the FAZ draft constitution. It was later required to submit its report to the Ministry of Youth and Sport because the Ministry had the power to turn down proposed clauses in the constitution.<sup>86</sup> The government's proposal that only candidates aged forty were suitable to run for positions in FAZ did not go without criticism. For example, the Chairman of the Amateur Boxing Association of Zambia (ABAZ), Bill Chanda, argued that since there was no age limit for qualifying as a member of the Central Committee or Minister, he did not see how that could be so with FAZ.<sup>87</sup> With pressure from the general public, the Ministry of Youth and Sport decided to reduce the age limit to thirty and the period of experience for candidates wishing to contest the post of FAZ chairman to five years.<sup>88</sup>

Amidst all the confusion surrounding the elections, 13<sup>th</sup> August, 1983 was chosen as the day for the elections. At first, Mtine was hesitant whether to contest the elections or not. But a week before the elections he publicly announced that he was going to stand for the position of Chairman of FAZ.<sup>89</sup> On the elections day in Kabwe at PCC, it was discovered that no one had challenged Mtine's candidature. Thus, he went through unopposed largely due to government backing. Apart from this, Mtine took over as chairman of FAZ because he had more than twenty one years of experience in the running of both association and league soccer hence delegates had confidence in him.<sup>90</sup> Meanwhile, High Court judge Mathew Chaila was defeated by Julius Sakala for the position of First Vice-Chairman. After being cleared to contest the elections, Wonani was

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<sup>85</sup> Moses Walubita, "Tough rules mooted for FAZ ranks," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>86</sup> "Council hands in FAZ draft," *Times of Zambia*, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>87</sup> "Why restrict FAZ to old timers?" *Times of Zambia*, 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>88</sup> *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 85.

<sup>90</sup> *Times of Zambia*, 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 12. See also "Mtine spells out priorities," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1983, p. 8.

also defeated by Winston Gumboh for the post of Second Vice-Chairman. Michael Mwape became the Secretary General and Abram Mokola was elected as Treasurer. Elected as committee members were Michael Mulenga, Barney Bungoni and Lieutenant Colonel Brightwell Banda, who later became national team coach in 1984.<sup>91</sup>

Under Mtine as FAZ Chairman, football standards fluctuated from time to time. In November, 1983, Zambia was eliminated by Egypt from the Olympic Games qualifying series.<sup>92</sup> At club level, football standards had also declined.<sup>93</sup> Declining football standards in the country attracted the attention of law-makers in parliament. For instance, Chingola M. P. Danny Kapandula, argued that FAZ had failed to develop the sport in the country.<sup>94</sup> In 1984, FAZ was also accused of having failed to develop school football in the country due to lack of clear policies on youth football.<sup>95</sup> Thus, in November, President Kaunda asked FAZ to stop the decline of football standards in the country.<sup>96</sup> With his intervention, Zambia qualified to the 1986 Africa Cup.<sup>97</sup> However, the country was eliminated in the preliminary round at the tournament.<sup>98</sup> It was, however, during this time that many talented footballers became professionals and due to Mtine's administrative skills Zambia successfully bid for the hosting of the 1988 Africa Cup in 1986.<sup>99</sup> But in 1987, football standards reached the lowest level; Malawi eliminated Zambia from the All Africa Games on a 3- 2 aggregate. It was partly because of this that the FAZ Vice-

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<sup>91</sup> "Wonani free to stand," *Times of Zambia*, 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1983, p. 8. See also, Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, pp. 85- 86.

<sup>92</sup> "FAZ not daunted," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> "National shutter Devils' hopes," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 7<sup>th</sup> November, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>94</sup> "Soccer body taken to task," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>95</sup> Moses Walubita, "Schools sports decline," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3<sup>rd</sup> November, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>96</sup> Jay Mwamba, "Improve soccer standards- KK," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> Jay Mwamba, "We are through," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>98</sup> Nebat Mbewe, "Zambia bows out: own goal seals fate," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> "Bwalya talks pro- football," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1986, p. 8.

Chairman Rupia Banda (later the fourth President of the Republic of Zambia) resigned because he could not stand the defeat which was largely caused by poor administration of the game.<sup>100</sup>

Even though Tom Mtine was unopposed and enjoyed support from the government, politicians never stopped interfering in the administration of football especially when there was evidence of financial mismanagement and decline in football standards. In April 1986 for example, President Kaunda directed the Minister of Youth and Sport Fredrick Hapunda to take immediate measures to ensure that sports bodies like FAZ improved their financial administration.<sup>101</sup> Later in 1987, low football standards attracted the attention of the UNIP government again. Speaking at the Independence Stadium in Lusaka where he presented the Independence Cup to Kabwe Warriors, the UNIP Secretary General, Grey Zulu, observed that:

...it was sad to see Zambia, once the undisputed king of football and a force to reckon with internationally, drop into obscurity. Something has gone wrong somewhere and a remedy must be found and soon.<sup>102</sup>

Due to financial mismanagement and declining football standards the government dissolved the entire FAZ executive committee led by Mtine with effect from 21<sup>st</sup> November, 1987 and its activities were taken over by the NSCZ.<sup>103</sup> The President later ordered the Ministry of Youth and Sport through the Sports Council to assume a more direct role in the preparation of the national team and instructed the council to take charge of gate takings at all international competitions.<sup>104</sup>

Aside from the decline in football standards and financial mismanagement, there were also other numerous complaints from clubs and affiliated associations about the manner in which FAZ was being run. For example, the Zambia Youth Football Association (ZYFA) Chairman

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<sup>100</sup> James Mwambazi, "FAZ in retrospect," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> "Shake up says KK," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>102</sup> "Something's gone wrong in sport- party chief," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>103</sup> "FAZ executive disbanded," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1987, p. 1.

<sup>104</sup> "FAZ executive disbanded," p. 1.

Reggie Chimpinde observed in 1987 that, “the dissolved FAZ executive paid lip service to the development of youth soccer in Zambia.”<sup>105</sup> Later in the same year, another FAZ interim executive committee was announced by NSCZ and was to be headed by David Phiri as Chairman.<sup>106</sup> Phiri was the former President of the Zambia Golf Union (ZGU) and was a former Bank of Zambia (BOZ) governor. He was to be assisted by John Mufalali who was Vice-Chairman of the Zambia Amateur Athletics Association (ZAAA). The interim committee also included for the first time a female committee member, Molly Ng’ambi. The committee was to serve for an indefinite period.<sup>107</sup>

After the interim FAZ executive was appointed, President Kaunda announced at a press conference at State House on 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1987 that FAZ must improve its accounting system to win the confidence of the business houses which provided financial support to the sport in the country.<sup>108</sup> This was indeed timely advice as earlier in September 1987 President Kaunda had observed that many companies were ready to help promote football financially but they were let down by the caliber of some administrators.<sup>109</sup> He also noted that the “Mtine- led executive had proved unreliable with its accounts and hoped that the situation would be corrected by the interim committee.”<sup>110</sup> Likewise, the Minister of Youth and Sport Hapunda told the interim FAZ executive “to exercise maximum financial discipline.”<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> “FAZ men had it coming , says youths,” *Times of Zambia*, 27<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 10.

<sup>106</sup> Moses Walubita, “Phiri named FAZ boss,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>107</sup> Samuel Ngoma, “New look FAZ team named: Former central bank chief is chairman,” *Times of Zambia*, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 10.

<sup>108</sup> “Improve accounts FAZ told,” *Times of Zambia*, 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1987, p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> “Why traders wont sponsor sport- KK,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> September, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>110</sup> “Improve accounts FAZ told,” p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> “Chart new course for soccer,” *Times of Zambia*, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1987, p. 12.

Phiri continued serving as interim FAZ Chairman up to 1991 when the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) emerged as Zambia's new ruling party.<sup>112</sup> The politics of football administration continued to be controversial under the MMD government. Thus, a month after winning elections, the MMD government announced that FAZ would be disbanded and more competent people appointed to run football.<sup>113</sup> The MMD government wanted to disband the entire FAZ executive on suspicion that it was pro-UNIP. This was true especially that at one point Phiri had worked as a diplomat and was later appointed by President Kaunda as Bank of Zambia governor.<sup>114</sup> However, FAZ reacted sharply to the government's announcement. FAZ Vice-Chairman Alex Malama argued that the running of the association was voluntary and those who wanted to administer the sport should not be interfered with.<sup>115</sup> Clearly, even when UNIP rule ended, political interventions in football administration persisted.

## Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to examine the politics of football administration in Zambia up to 1991. The chapter has demonstrated why and how the UNIP government after independence intervened in football administration in the country. The chapter has also shown how people reacted to government interventions in the administration of the sport. The UNIP government intervened in football administration for many reasons. Chief among them was that the government wanted to turn the football mother body into an organ that would support the Kenneth Kaunda-led regime. The regime also intervened in football administration regularly

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<sup>112</sup> Dingi Chirwa, "Golf Course put to use: President Chiluba, a non- golfer, offered it to fundraising ventures," *The Weekly Post*, 3<sup>rd</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> January, 1992, p. 20.

<sup>113</sup> "Disband inert FAZ- MMD official," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1991, p. 8.

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Samson Mubangalala, former member of the Northern Rhodesia Amateur Athletics and Cycling Association (NRAACA), former Zambia National coach for athletics, former board member of the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), former General Secretary of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), Kabwe, 16<sup>th</sup> December, 2015.

<sup>115</sup> "Disband call riles FAZ committee," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1991, p. 8.

because it subsidised the sport. Since the sport was important to the regime, whenever its officials saw that football was not being run properly, they moved in. This was done through various ways like merging the NFL and FAZ to make the “one soccer body,” (FAZ). In later years, the UNIP government repeatedly dissolved FAZ especially due to financial irregularities and declining football standards.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Football and Political Mobilisation in Zambia, 1964- 1991**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the role of football in political mobilisation in Zambia. The chapter argues that just as the United National Independence Party (UNIP) deployed football as an important tool for political mobilisation during the struggle for independence, its government employed the sport as a means of political mobilisation after 1964. The chapter is subdivided into four sections. The first part highlights how UNIP was organised at section, branch, ward, district, provincial and national levels and shows how the government used football at these levels to mobilise support.

The second section of the chapter examines the role of football in political mobilisation during the First Republic. This section argues that since Zambia inherited a multi-party culture at the beginning of the First Republic, UNIP used football to undermine the opposition political parties and to make the party popular. The third section of the chapter investigates the role of football in political mobilisation in the Second Republic following the declaration of Zambia as a 'One-Party State'. This section shows that UNIP deployed football to consolidate the 'One-Party State.' The last section of the chapter, on the other hand, demonstrates that despite UNIP having deployed football to consolidate its power, Zambian football fans used the sport to express their dissatisfaction against the Kenneth Kaunda regime in the run-up to the dissolution of the one-party state in the early 1990s.

## Football, Party organisation and Political Mobilisation after 1964

The role of football in political mobilisation during UNIP rule cannot be fully understood without looking at the manner in which the party was organised and mobilised. This is so because political mobilisation is closely linked to the way a particular party is organised. According to President Kaunda, party organisation was important in order to:

...put UNIP in top gear so as to get the message of its philosophy, principles, objectives and programmes to the people to back administrative reforms and other government policies.<sup>391</sup>

UNIP's lowest organ was the section. The next higher organ was the branch level. A UNIP branch consisted of ten sections.<sup>392</sup> Party organisation and mobilisation was also done at ward level, the ward being the next higher organ after the branch.<sup>393</sup> Next to the ward was the district. UNIP was also organised and mobilised at the provincial level where a General Conference was annually held. The UNIP National Council which constituted the highest policy-making body of the party came next.<sup>394</sup> UNIP also had a Central Committee of the party which consisted of twenty-five members. The UNIP Central Committee was greater than or superior to any other organ of the party in terms of power or authority.<sup>395</sup> It was divided into sub-committees. Among them was the Youth and Sports Committee. This committee played an important role in issues related to football and other sports with the UNIP government encouraging the playing of football at all levels of the party disciplines.<sup>396</sup> It is also worth mentioning that the sub-committee

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<sup>391</sup> K. D. Kaunda, *State of the Nation Volume I: Politics and Government*, (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1988), p. 103.

<sup>392</sup> M. A. Ranganathan, *The Political Philosophy of President Kaunda of Zambia*, (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1985), p. 26.

<sup>393</sup> Ranganathan, *The Political Philosophy of President Kaunda*, p. 27.

<sup>394</sup> Ranganathan, *The Political Philosophy of President Kaunda*, pp. 27- 28.

<sup>395</sup> Lubosi Kikamba, "The Role of Womens Organisation in the Political Development of Zambia, 1964- 2001: A Case Study of the Womens Lobby Group," M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2012, p. 47.

<sup>396</sup> Ranganathan, *The Political Philosophy of President Kaunda*, pp. 29- 30.

for youth and sport and the Youth Brigade were also directly linked to the UNIP Youth League.<sup>397</sup> This was UNIP's youth wing through which the party mostly mobilised support through football in the country.

A few weeks before formal independence Kenneth Kaunda then as Prime Minister of Zambia addressed the National Council of UNIP and clearly pointed out that at independence the main goal of the party will be to mobilise people so as to promote unity.<sup>398</sup> Thus, after independence football among other methods was deployed as an important tool for political mobilisation as the sport increased political awareness among the people for example, through singing the national anthem before international matches.<sup>399</sup> The importance of football can be seen from President Kaunda's speech in the early years soon after independence when he said that "a country without sport is half dead: therefore government will take great interest in football."<sup>400</sup> He further noted that, since the attainment of independence football had become important in Zambia and this was why his government attached great importance to the sport.<sup>401</sup> This partly explains why President Kaunda and senior party members were involved in football. The government leaders even took part in football through playing the sport. The President often officiated at football matches.<sup>402</sup> Thus, despite UNIP had emerged as a mass party and enjoyed massive support with little opposition after independence, it saw football as an important means of mobilisation.<sup>403</sup> This is the reason why President Kaunda noted that:

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<sup>397</sup> Minutes of the Youth and Sports Committee 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1976, Lusaka, UNIP /8/6/17, UNIP Archive.

<sup>398</sup> Thomas Patrick Melady, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: Selections from His Writings*, (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 213.

<sup>399</sup> L. Schenk-Sandbergen, "Some Aspects of Political Mobilisation in China," *Modern Asian Studies*, 7, 4 (1975), p. 679.

<sup>400</sup> "A country without sport is half dead," *Nshila*, 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1965, p. 18.

<sup>401</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, (Lusaka: Liwena Publishing and Printing House, 2005), p.xiv.

<sup>402</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, "Why KK is fan No. 1," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1981, p. 24.

<sup>403</sup> Andrew Roberts, *A Short History of Zambia*, (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1976), p. 242.

...we cannot as a party compel or force anyone to come and join us. We cannot do that. We shall do all we can to mobilise our party effectively, to attract more and more members.<sup>404</sup>

To Kaunda, football was one of the means by which UNIP would attract and recruit more members and reinforce party support at all levels of the party structures. This fitted in very well with the political situation at that time because at independence Zambia inherited a multi-party political culture with UNIP and the African National Congress (ANC) as the only two parties. However, the ANC was not a strong opposition party. In fact, as David Mulford argues, ANC began to lose its ground as a major party after 1955.<sup>405</sup> Thus, at independence ANC was a weak opposition party. Despite ANC's weaknesses, UNIP needed intensive mobilisation through football to undermine political opposition.

In this way, national football events like the independence football matches played during the week preceding the Independence Day were vital to attracting new UNIP members. Independence football matches were important in this regard for many reasons. The sport was linked to the independence struggle as when the imagined nation of Zambia was proclaimed at the Independence Stadium on 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1964 and thousands of people across all ethnic groups witnessed the event.<sup>406</sup> It was also during the Independence Day that a four-cornered international soccer tournament was staged in the country as part of the independence celebrations.<sup>407</sup> Four national teams participated in this tournament. These were Zambia, Kenya, Uganda and Ghana which won the tournament.<sup>408</sup> Independence football matches were also used

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<sup>404</sup> Collin Legum, *Zambia Independence and Beyond: The Speeches of Kenneth Kaunda*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1966), p. 208.

<sup>405</sup> David C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957- 1964*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 13.

<sup>406</sup> NAZ, Box 85A shelf 15, Republic of Zambia, Independence Celebrations Operation Order, 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1964.

<sup>407</sup> *Nshila*, 7<sup>th</sup> April, 1964, p. 36.

<sup>408</sup> Eric Cottell, "Ghana beat all comers," *Nshila*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1964, p. 38.

to instill a sense of nationhood,<sup>409</sup> and they later became avenues for the mobilisation of the party throughout the country to celebrate Zambia's achievement of political freedom. Thus, football matches were also played in villages.<sup>410</sup> This was possible because in every rural area one could find a clearing which was conveniently called a football field where people played and watched soccer matches.<sup>411</sup>

In 1965, the UNIP government organised independence football matches throughout the country as a means of increasing its following.<sup>412</sup> As a way of popularising the party, in the same year also the UNIP government coined the slogan that 'it pays to belong to UNIP.'<sup>413</sup> This was one way in which the UNIP government sought to entice the masses to take part in events and matches organised by the party and later become members. However, by 1966, UNIP started losing popularity as there was disunity in the party. According to Fergus Macpherson, there were signs of personal disagreements within UNIP in the early years after independence.<sup>414</sup> Problems and disagreements in the party eventually led to the formation of the United Party (UP) in 1966 by Nalumino Mundia.<sup>415</sup> According to Decious Chipande, during this time UNIP also was losing popularity as Zambians became impatient with the Kaunda-government's failure to honour the promises made during the struggle for independence.<sup>416</sup> The loss of popular support was evident at football grounds. For example, at Shinde stadium in Mufulira, referee Peter Chelelwa who was

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<sup>409</sup> Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World's game*, (London: Hurst and Company, 2010), p. 55.

<sup>410</sup> Interview with Patson Silwamba former United National Independence Party (UNIP) Provincial Youth Chairman for Central Province, former Governor and District Secretary for Kapiri Mposhi, Kabwe, 19<sup>th</sup> June, 2015.

<sup>411</sup> Minutes of the Youth and Sports Committee, 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1976, Lusaka, UNIP /8/6/18, UNIP Archive

<sup>412</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> October, 1965, p. 16.

<sup>413</sup> Richard Hall, *The High Price of Principles: Kaunda and the White South*, (Middlesex: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), p. 196.

<sup>414</sup> Fergus Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation was made*, (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 66.

<sup>415</sup> Bizeck J. Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: From the Colonial Times to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Republic*, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006), p. 94.

<sup>416</sup> Decious Chipande, "Chipolopolo: A Political and Social History of Football (Soccer) in Zambia 1940s- 1994," PhD Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2015, p. 116.

a strong UNIP supporter was severely injured by ANC youths after the match between Mufulira Wanderers and Nchanga Rangers.<sup>417</sup>

In response to its loss of popularity, in 1967 UNIP held its national convention and the committee on 'The Role of Youth in the Nation' chaired by Dingiswayo Banda, the Minister of Cooperatives, Youth and Social Development and also the UNIP Director of Youth, recognised the functions of the UNIP Youth Brigade as an important wing. The committee recommended that the Youth Brigade should play a role in attracting the youth to the party through various methods including football to make the party popular.<sup>418</sup>

In addition, on 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1968, President Kenneth Kaunda officially introduced humanism as the national political philosophy of Zambia. This was in line with other leaders of newly independent African states like Ghana that adopted African socialism.<sup>419</sup> To President Kaunda humanism was meant to promote selflessness as the philosophy helped people to put their needs, interests and wishes before their own. Humanism therefore was intended to promote the spirit of love, hold people together and promote unity in the country.<sup>420</sup> The President further believed that he could persuade the masses through the principles of humanism to guide people's actions.<sup>421</sup> The philosophy of humanism became directly linked to football because the sport was an attraction to the masses.<sup>422</sup> Football therefore, was important for the promotion of humanism because the sport taught team spirit and helped to smash ethnic barriers.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, p. 129.

<sup>418</sup> Hall, *The High Price of Principles*, p. 197.

<sup>419</sup> Minutes of the 5<sup>th</sup> Youth and Sport Committee Meeting, Lusaka, 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive Lusaka.

<sup>420</sup> Ranganathan, *The Political Philosophy of President Kaunda of Zambia*, pp. 1- 3.

<sup>421</sup> Hall, *The High Price of Principles*, p. 51.

<sup>422</sup> Arthur Yoyo, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> August, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>423</sup> William Wilforce, "Humanism: How youths can play its part," *Zambia Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1968, p. 4.

It was during this time also that the UNIP-dominated government deployed football for fundraising purposes. According to Sikota Wina, fundraising was necessary for the party so as to make money for making propaganda materials and buying vehicles for transport purposes.<sup>424</sup> Njekwa Anamela also argues that UNIP utilised football to raise money for conferences.<sup>425</sup> To this end, in July 1968, UNIP fundraising matches between Western (now North-western and Copperbelt provinces) and Central provinces (which also included today's Lusaka province) were played at Buchi stadium in Kitwe.<sup>426</sup>

President Kaunda and many government officials watched the matches. The matches raised K2, 189. 94. The final match was won by Western province that beat Central province 4-2. Godfrey Chitalu and Emmet Kapengwe scored two goals each for Western province and Peter Mhango and Daniel Tembo scored for Central.<sup>427</sup> The match was organised by the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) and a UNIP trophy was awarded to the winning province.<sup>428</sup> It was through such matches that the ruling party mobilised funds and increased its support base by bringing people together. Such matches were also vital in gaining the support of the electorate and funds needed for winning elections.<sup>429</sup> However, it seemed football did not completely undermine the opposition such as the UP and other parties. Hence, in August 1968, UP was banned having only existed for a short time. The party was banned because it was alleged that it

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<sup>424</sup> Sikota Wina, *The Night Without a President*, (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1985), p. 4.

<sup>425</sup> Interview with Njekwa Anamela, Vice-president for the United National Independence Party (UNIP), former UNIP Youth League Publicity Secretary, Lusaka, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2015.

<sup>426</sup> "Match funds may become annual," *Zambia Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> July 1968, p. 7.

<sup>427</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1969, p. 22.

<sup>428</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1968, p. 7.

<sup>429</sup> Carolyn Baylies and Morris Szftel, "Elections in the one party state," in Cherry Gertzel (ed). *The Dynamics of a One Party State in Zambia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 290.

undermined UNIP rule. On the other hand, UNIP officials accused the opposition party of being violent.<sup>430</sup>

After banning UP, in December 1968 the country went to the polls for the first time after independence and President Kaunda emerged victorious.<sup>431</sup> According to William Tordoff, UNIP's victory was necessitated by a number of factors. There was discrimination against ANC supporters especially after the President as noted above initiated the slogan that 'it pays to belong to UNIP.' This forced many ANC members to join UNIP.<sup>432</sup> The UNIP government won the elections also because the party was well organised and had material advantages. The party had large sums of money. Party of the money was raised from football matches as earlier observed. Meanwhile ANC was badly organised and almost without money.<sup>433</sup> It is however important to mention that in the general elections of 1968, UNIP lost all the main seats in Western province, a province where the banned UP was popular.<sup>434</sup> But in Mufulira where ANC had a large following the party's popularity was reduced by the UNIP youths.<sup>435</sup> For example, "in the three main seats of Mufulira District, ANC polled only 30 per cent of the votes."<sup>436</sup>

After the elections, the UNIP government continued utilising football to mobilise popular support so as to undermine the ANC. Since different companies sponsored different cup games as a marketing strategy, the UNIP government also introduced a cup game which was known as the 'UNIP Victory Cup.' The cup was only competed for by teams in the premier league. This was an effective method of mobilising the party because teams in the premier league attracted a

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<sup>430</sup> Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee*, p. 67.

<sup>431</sup> Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee*, p. 67.

<sup>432</sup> Robert Molteno and Ian Scott, "The 1968 general election and the political system," in William Tordoff (ed). *Politics in Zambia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), pp. 166- 168.

<sup>433</sup> Molteno and Scott, "The 1968 general election and the political system," p. 179.

<sup>434</sup> Hall, *The High Price of Principles*, p. 52.

<sup>435</sup> Hall, *The High Price of Principles*, p. 197.

<sup>436</sup> Molteno and Scott, "The 1968 general election and the political system," p. 193.

large following along the line of rail. Thus, “football clubs became an excellent nucleus for political mobilisation.”<sup>437</sup> In 1969, for instance, Kabwe Warriors played City of Lusaka in a ‘UNIP Victory Cup.’<sup>438</sup>

Despite the football measures that the Kaunda regime initiated to mobilise the party, make it popular and undermine the ANC, disunity within UNIP continued and in August 1969 Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe resigned but he later agreed to withdraw his resignation after a personal appeal by Kaunda. Within the same year, President Kaunda re-organised UNIP and gave the party’s interim executive committee the national task of mobilising the people.<sup>439</sup> Thus, although intended to celebrate the birth of political freedom in Zambia, independence football tournaments took on a different dimension as they were not intended for entertainment alone but also to create unity in the party and also make it popular. Thus, from 19<sup>th</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1969 a football tournament involving teams from Livingstone, Monze, Mongu, Sesheke, Katete, Luanshya and Chingola started in Lusaka. In Kitwe also a similar tournament featuring teams from Kasempa, Solwezi, Kasama, Chinsali, Kawambwa, Nchelenge, Mansa and Kitwe was organised on Independence Day.<sup>440</sup> The fact that football teams came from all the provinces of Zambia demonstrates that the sport was an effective way of nation-building for the ruling party.<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>437</sup> Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 69.

<sup>438</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 11<sup>th</sup> February, 1969, p. 22.

<sup>439</sup> An Address to the Nation by His Excellence the President Dr. K. D. Kaunda, 1969.

<sup>440</sup> Republic of Zambia, Independence Anniversary 1969 Programme of Events, 19<sup>th</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup>, October, p. 4. See also *Zambia Mail*, 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1969, p. 14.

<sup>441</sup> Interview with Reverend Gladys Nyirongo, former Member of Parliament, Bwacha Constituency, (Kabwe), former Minister of Youth and Sport, Kabwe, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2015.

Although President Kaunda tried to unite UNIP, Kapwepwe finally resigned from the party on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1971 and formed the United Progressive Party (UPP).<sup>442</sup> The formation of UPP meant that the number of opposition political parties had increased. Therefore, continuous party mobilisation by UNIP was imperative because the new party was particularly strong on the Copperbelt, Luapula and Northern Provinces. UPP was however banned in December 1971 after existing only for a short period. According to the UNIP government, UPP was the cause of violence that the country experienced.<sup>443</sup> It should however be mentioned that political violence was only evident from time to time.

Following the banning of UPP, President Kaunda appointed a commission on 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1972 to write a 'One-Party' constitution and also to hear the views of the people throughout the country by consultation. On 13<sup>th</sup> December 1972, the commission reported to Kaunda that the majority of the people were for the idea of the establishment of the 'One-Party Participatory Democracy.'<sup>444</sup> It was partly because of this that President Kaunda noted that:

...the demands for the one-party state have increasingly become widespread in all corners of Zambia. In recent months for example, hundreds of messages and letters have been received from organisations and individuals appealing to me to take concrete steps to bring about one-party system of government. In the resolutions passed by almost every conference of political and non-political organisations unequivocal demands have been made for government to introduce a One-Party system of government.<sup>445</sup>

Although the UNIP government established the one-party state on the basis of political violence, other reasons might have also led to the abolishment of multi-party politics. For example, the

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<sup>442</sup> Andrew Sardanis, *Zambia the First 50 Years: Reflections of an eye witness*, (London: I. B. Tauris and Company Ltd., 2014), p. 71.

<sup>443</sup> Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee*, p. 69.

<sup>444</sup> Sardanis, *Zambia the First 50 years*, p. 74. See also Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, p. 134 and Vernon J. Mwaanga, *Looking Back: An Extraordinary Life*, (Lusaka: Fleetfoot Publishing House, 1982), p. 13.

<sup>445</sup> Kaunda, *The State of the Nation Volume I*, p. 108.

search for national unity led to the formation of the one-party state in the country.<sup>446</sup> To the Kaunda-led government national unity was important because “political mobilisation during the First Republic often took on a regional or ethnic dimension.”<sup>447</sup> This was indeed true especially that the ANC was popular among the Bantu Botatwe (Tonga, Ila and Lenje), UP was popular among the Lozi people of Western province and UPP was particularly famous in Bemba speaking regions of Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces. Thus, “ethnic politics would have impacted negatively on nation-building as they tended to subvert national unity”.<sup>448</sup> On the other hand, Phiri argues that the “decline in UNIP’s political dominance and influence led to the formation of the one-party state.”<sup>449</sup>

The introduction of the ‘one-party state’ changed the manner in which politics were conducted in Zambia. Although UNIP remained as the only political party, leaders had a big task of mobilising the party under the ‘One-Party State.’ Though legally instituted, the one-party structure still required a catalyst to be cemented.<sup>450</sup> Among other methods, football was used to consolidate the ‘One Party State.’ Like in Ghana where President Kwame Nkrumah formed a football team known as “Real Republicans” to show off the government’s power and to maintain his authority and consolidate his rule,<sup>451</sup> UNIP formed football clubs in some districts to entice people to join the party and to consolidate its rule.

In Lusaka, the party formed its own football club known as “UNIP Warriors” to entice especially youths to become its members. The team played football matches within Lusaka and

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<sup>446</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, p. 132.

<sup>447</sup> Meghan Vaughan, “Exploitation and Neglect, Rural Producers and the State in Malawi and Zambia,” in David Birmingham and Phylis M. Martha (eds.), *History of Central Africa: The Contemporary Years since 1960*, (London: Longmans, 1998), p. 179.

<sup>448</sup> Fredrick J. T. Chiluba, *Democracy: The Challenge of Change*, (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1995), p. 28.

<sup>449</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, p. 133.

<sup>450</sup> “The political side of sport,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1987, p. 4.

<sup>451</sup> Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World’s Game*, (London: Hurst and Company, 2010), p. 58.

in the District Football League (DFL), connecting the youths to the party. In some cases, youths in the party were accorded an opportunity to play football outside the country. For instance, a UNIP Youth Brigade soccer squad of 27 players and officials visited Zanzibar in early 1973 to participate in the 6<sup>th</sup> celebrations of the Arusha Declaration. The team comprised Lusaka residents only and was picked mainly from the UNIP Warriors.<sup>452</sup> To the UNIP Central Committee, youths involvement in football was important because it was helpful in making ‘One Zambia One Nation’ become a reality.<sup>453</sup> The ‘One Zambia One Nation’ slogan joined people together in spirit.

To increase the strength and promote the success of the ‘one-party state,’ in 1973 general elections were held in the country. As Carolyn Baylies and Morris Szeftel also postulate, the elections of 1973 were “necessarily crucial to the legitimacy of the new party system.”<sup>454</sup> Thus, while politicians took advantage of the popularity of football to secure popular political support, some footballers themselves also used the sport to rise to political positions. The national elections of 1973 attest to this.<sup>455</sup> In those elections, former international footballer Miziyabo Mkandawire won the Kabwe parliamentary seat beating the minister of state in the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, Josy Munga.<sup>456</sup> Mkandawire had played for Kabwe Warriors until he retired from active football. He won the seat due to his connection to football which made him well known but after the introduction of the ‘one-party state,’ election results were not

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<sup>452</sup> “UNIP team for Zanzibar,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1973, p. 8.

<sup>453</sup> Minutes, Youth and Sports Committee meeting, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1976, Lusaka, UNIP /8/6/17- 24, UNIP Archive.

<sup>454</sup> Baylies and Szeftel, “Elections in the one-party state,” p. 43.

<sup>455</sup> United National Independence Party Elections 1973, UNIP /7/20/11, UNIP Archive.

<sup>456</sup> “Now he is an MP,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1973, p. 10.

directly linked to political support because seats were contested by candidates from the same party, pre-approved by the UNIP Central Committee.”<sup>457</sup>

President Kaunda, like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, also promoted football among the youths to help widen contacts and cooperation between people from different ethnic groups.<sup>458</sup> Football matches were used to try to promote unity between people of different ethnic groups. As Alexander Grey Zulu observed football helped to smash ethnic barriers.<sup>459</sup> In 1973 for instance, inter-provincial soccer tournament semi-finals were played at Shinde and Scrivener stadiums on the Copperbelt while the final was played at independence stadium in Lusaka. And on the same day a soccer match was played between Copperbelt and Midlands teams.<sup>460</sup> In addition, the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO) cup also started in 1973. The finals of the tournament were open to all the districts and provinces and were held during the week preceding independence.<sup>461</sup> It was hoped that these matches would contribute towards reducing regionalism and tribalism.

In 1974, the UNIP government introduced sports festivals to help develop sport and promote the spirit of ‘One Zambia One Nation.’ Indeed, the sports festivals afforded people an opportunity of meeting and knowing each other.<sup>462</sup> Although there were many sports activities during the festival, football attracted most attention. The sports festivals acted as a way of mobilising young people countrywide so as to connect them to the party. Through the sports

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<sup>457</sup> Sardanis, *Zambia the First 50 Years*, p. 45.

<sup>458</sup> Minutes, Youth and Sports Committee meeting, 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1976 Lusaka, UNIP /8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive. See also Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, p. 58.

<sup>459</sup> Interview with Alexander Grey Zulu, former Secretary General of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lusaka, 28<sup>th</sup> May, 2015.

<sup>460</sup> Republic of Zambia 1973 Independence Anniversary 20<sup>th</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> October Programme of Events.

<sup>461</sup> “New soccer body formed,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1973, p. 8.

<sup>462</sup> Barry H. Mulimba, “Annual sports festivals,” *Rail News*, fourth quarter, October to December, 1984, p. 26.

festivals, UNIP propagated its political philosophy.<sup>463</sup> The sports festivals were usually officially opened by senior party and government officials. For example, the Prime Minister Nalumino Mundia opened the 1980 sports festival on 27<sup>th</sup> September.<sup>464</sup> The sports festivals were therefore organised alongside the independence soccer tournaments from 1974 onwards.

As already observed in Chapter Two, soon after independence many companies started sponsoring different cup games so as to develop football and to try to market their products.<sup>465</sup> But some cup games were linked to politics. In 1974 President Kaunda directed that from 1975 onwards, the Castle Cup should be replaced by the Independence Cup and the Chibuku Cup by the Heroes and Unity Cup. Therefore, alongside independence soccer tournaments, teams from all FAZ divisions and UNIP provincial teams were encouraged to take part in the new Independence Cup from 1975 to celebrate Zambia's attainment of independence.<sup>466</sup>

The Heroes and Unity Cup became vital in commemorating freedom fighters. The idea of linking football to freedom fighters started in 1970 when the UNIP government introduced a cup game in honour of Mwamba Sikazwe, the youth who was killed by the colonial government in the freedom struggle in 1961. The trophy was competed for by secondary schools and it was sponsored by Zambia Breweries.<sup>467</sup> The competition did not however continue due to lack of sponsorship. But President Kaunda wanted the cup game be reintroduced. This therefore partly explains why the Heroes and Unity Cup started in 1975.<sup>468</sup> Apart from commemorating freedom fighters, the cup was also important as it enabled people to appreciate UNIP's role in the

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<sup>463</sup> Minutes of the Youth and Sports Committee, 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1976, Lusaka, UNIP /8/6/18, UNIP Archive.

<sup>464</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Youth and Sport Annual Report 1980 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1981), p. 3.

<sup>465</sup> *Zambia Mail*, 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1970, p. 9.

<sup>466</sup> "INDECO Breweries pumps K18, 000 into soccer," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>467</sup> "Freedom trophy," *Zambia Mail*, 8<sup>th</sup> August, 1970, p. 16.

<sup>468</sup> "INDECO Breweries pumps K18, 000 into soccer," p. 8.

liberation struggle and to promote unity among Zambians. President Kaunda clearly stated that the Heroes and Unity Cup was important because it enabled Zambians to:

...remember heroes who lost their lives during the struggle for independence and those who spent long periods in prison. If not implemented we will be failing in our duty towards our heroes.<sup>469</sup>

To ensure that the party was properly run, the UNIP government needed a modern headquarters where party activities were to be coordinated. Thus, the government began to build its headquarters in Lusaka (now Government Complex). About K40 Million was needed for the project to be completed. The party secretariat devised a nation-wide fundraising campaign to raise the money through football matches and other means. The fundraising was conducted like the one which was organised to raise funds for the building of the University of Zambia when football matches played a pivotal role.<sup>470</sup>

Having initiated the campaign to construct the party headquarters, the Minister of Sports Kebby Musokotwane strongly directed UNIP officials in 1983 to utilise football for political mobilisation at all levels of the party structures from the section to the national level.<sup>471</sup> Following the Minister's directive, five Ndola-based FAZ premier league soccer teams clashed in 1984 in a knock out competition to raise money towards the construction of the party headquarters. A total of K3, 000 and a trophy were donated by Ndola Knitting Mills Company to support the sports venture. The participating teams were Strike Rovers, Ndola United, Vitaform United, Ndola Lime and ZESCO United.<sup>472</sup> Ndola District UNIP Youth Chairman Martin Mukompa organised the tournament in the name of the UNIP Youth League.<sup>473</sup> The incident

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<sup>469</sup> Kaunda, *The State of the Nation Volume I*, P. 34.

<sup>470</sup> "Party to build new headquarters," *Times of Zambia*, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 1982, p. 1.

<sup>471</sup> "Sports body blasted over stadia," *Times of Zambia*, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 1983, p. 7.

<sup>472</sup> "Charity matches lined up," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> February, 1984, p. 8.

<sup>473</sup> "Charity Matches lined up," p. 8.

above shows that sometimes the business community cooperated with the UNIP government in mobilising funds for the party and also to recruit new members across the country.<sup>474</sup> Indeed, in 1983 David Kazunga a local businessman told the Chingola Amateur Football League (CAFL) to recruit all its footballers into the party if they needed sponsorship.<sup>475</sup>

As the construction of the party headquarters was a costly project more games were organised to raise the required funds. Thus, in October 1984, the Chipata District Football League (CDFL) also donated K888. 88 towards the project. The money was raised from a friendly soccer match between Mchinji Select of Malawi and Chipata Select team played at David Kaunda Sports Stadium in Chipata. The Chipata District Governor, Glory Maseko, received the money on behalf of the party and commended the organisers of the match for identifying themselves with the aspirations of the ruling party.<sup>476</sup> In the mid-1980s, political mobilisation through football was important as it was effective in enticing people to take part in UNIP activities and become card carrying members of the party.<sup>477</sup>

In the late 1980s the UNIP government realised the need to organise and mobilise the party effectively. Therefore, in 1987, at the UNIP national conference in Lusaka President Kaunda urged the party's Youth League to mobilise youths at all levels of the party structure.

The President said that:

...it is vital to mobilise youths who constitute the bulk of the productive labour force, so they could effectively participate in the economic recovery programme and the elections next year.<sup>478</sup>

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<sup>474</sup> "Party men pledge to work harder," *Times of Zambia*, 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1982, p. 5.

<sup>475</sup> "District sport," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>476</sup> "Party headquarters gets boost," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1984, p. 10.

<sup>477</sup> *Rail News*, fourth quarter, October to December, 1984, p. 32.

<sup>478</sup> "Mobilise youths- KK," *Times of Zambia*, 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1987, p. 1.

This was indeed timely as in 1988 the country held general elections. Like in other countries the UNIP government also took advantage of the successes of the national team in an effort to popularise the party and build popular support.<sup>479</sup> Hence, UNIP took advantage of the performance of the national team to mobilise people in an effort to win popular support. As Willie Nyendwa argues, football like an army is the pride of the nation. Both the sport and an army to some extent reveal the greatness of the nation. Indeed, this was why the first republican President always aligned himself to the successes of the Zambia National Team to show his greatness and popularity. This was also the philosophy of other pioneer African Presidents like Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.<sup>480</sup> On the other hand, although President Kaunda liked football his connection to the national team demonstrates the link between UNIP politics and football.

When the national football squad qualified to the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul on 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1988 the team was conferred with Lusaka's highest civic honour, Freedom of the City after a public parade through the capitals city centre.<sup>481</sup> During the parade thousands of fans lined up the streets with banners reading "Zambia Soccer Fan Association, Soccer Fan No.1. (reference to President Kaunda), Peace, Development and Victory 1988 vote Yes."<sup>482</sup> And on hand to welcome the team was President Kaunda himself, party Secretary-General Zulu and other senior party officials and cabinet ministers.<sup>483</sup>

Although victory in football promotes national unity, the Kaunda government involvement in the sport was aimed at creating diversion from economic problems that the

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<sup>479</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 70.

<sup>480</sup> Willie Nyendwa, *The Post*, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 2014, p. 21.

<sup>481</sup> "Zambia clobbers Ghana: Home win decides battle for Seoul," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1988, p. 8. See also Jay Mwamba and Moses Walubita, "Lusaka honours national team," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> February, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>482</sup> "Seoul mess: Football requires new ideas," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1988, p. 4.

<sup>483</sup> Mwamba and Walubita, "Lusaka honours national team," p. 8.

country was going through in the 1980s.<sup>484</sup> Football played an important role in mobilising popular support for the party enabling it to be in touch with the masses and people from different classes. The national team's good performance was directly linked to the good leadership of the party and its government. There is no doubt therefore that football was meant to try and convert ordinary people to the UNIP political doctrine.<sup>485</sup> As Malimba Masheke postulates, UNIP was publicised and mobilised through the national team and the youths later identified themselves with the party.<sup>486</sup>

Having qualified to the Olympic Games in 1988, Zambia performed so well in the competition. In the first game the national team beat Italy by 4- 0. After the victory against Italy, transport was held up, sessions at the magistrates' courts in Ndola were delayed and business in banks came to a standstill. In Lusaka, transport also came to a near halt as fans were glued to the radios. In Arrakan Barracks, soldiers also joined in the celebrations after the final whistle.<sup>487</sup> To UNIP leaders, Zambia's victory demonstrated their good leadership and suitable policies on football.

Although Zambia was eliminated from the competition in the quarter finals, the UNIP government again took advantage of the team's performance to show an image of the leadership in touch with the masses. Hence, upon the team's arrival from the tournament, the President led scores of party militants, soccer fans, top ranking party and government officials and service chiefs in welcoming the team at the Lusaka International Airport (now Kenneth Kaunda

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<sup>484</sup> Bea Vidacs, "Through the Prism of Sports: Why Should Africanists Study Sport?," *Africa Spectrum*, 41, 3 (2006), p. 338.

<sup>485</sup> Minutes of the 5<sup>th</sup> Youth and Sport Committee Meeting, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1975.

<sup>486</sup> Interview with RT General Malimba Masheke, Prime Minister in the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government, Lusaka, 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2015.

<sup>487</sup> Jay Mwamba, Robert Sifuniso and Maidstone Mulenga, "Grand Victory: World Soccer Giants Fall in Olympic Thriller," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1988, p. 8.

International Airport). Thousands of fans lined up along the Great East road to have the glimpse of the team.<sup>488</sup> This shows that football instills the sense of national belonging and provides solidarity that is helpful to the political regime.<sup>489</sup>

As part of their efforts to unify the country, senior party and government officials also played football before thousands of spectators. This became a common feature during many national social activities. This was also a common trend prior to formal independence.<sup>490</sup> Sikota Wina recalls that this was possible because the first Zambian cabinet and other government officials were youthful.<sup>491</sup> Unsurprisingly, in April, 1989 a combined team of Central Committee and Cabinet Office clashed during the Dag Hammarskjöld stadium fundraising committee match at Woodlands stadium with President Kaunda as the referee.<sup>492</sup> The match was the curtain-raiser to the main tussle featuring the stars of the 1970's.<sup>493</sup> Such football matches had political connections despite being played for leisure and entertainment. Such matches enabled UNIP leadership to be identified with ordinary citizens. As Duke and Crolley argue:

...attending a football match or playing football provides politicians with the opportunity to become known to a large public. It facilitates political networks for political canvassing and encouraging the loyalty of the local community.<sup>494</sup>

Thus, football matches provided a fertile ground for the UNIP leadership to become known to the people in the country. The popularity of the sport helped to some extent to mobilise the people and popularise President Kaunda and the UNIP government.

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<sup>488</sup> Gerald Mulwanda, "Seoul Team Honoured: Soccer Sorcerers in Red Carpet Welcome," *Times of Zambia*, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1988, p. 1.

<sup>489</sup> "The political side of sport," p. 4.

<sup>490</sup> Richard Hall, *Zambia*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 228.

<sup>491</sup> Interview with Sikota Wina, freedom fighter, politician, Lusaka, 27<sup>th</sup> April, 2015.

<sup>492</sup> Moses Walubita, "KK to referee old timers," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1989, p. 8.

<sup>493</sup> Moses Walubita, "Dag team edges parliamentarians," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1989, p. 8.

<sup>494</sup> Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, "Fu'tbol, Politicains and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18, 3 (2010), p. 101.

## **The UNIP government's loss of political hegemony**

Although UNIP used football for political mobilisation so as to maintain and strengthen the 'One Party State' Zambian spectators used the same sport to express displeasure with the ruling party in the early 1990's. By the late 1980s UNIP had lost popularity because of an ever-declining economy. According to Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika and Derrick Chitala:

...the national economy was characterised by long standing economic instability and uncertainty in the 1980s. This was manifested in uncontrolled high inflation rate, shortages and increasing unaffordable basic goods and services, inadequate social services, rising unemployment and falling standard of living.<sup>495</sup>

Lewanika and Chitala further argue that "these economic and social adversities affected not only the majority of the rural people but even the urban poor and privileged workers with formal employment."<sup>496</sup> As a result of the falling economy, food riots became the order of the day in the late 1980s in urban areas.

This had very serious political implications and later led to the establishment of a pressure group known as the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) which eventually became an opposition political party.<sup>497</sup> That UNIP had lost popularity became evident on Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> July 1991 during the Africa Cup of Nations qualifier match between Zambia and Madagascar at the Independence Stadium in Lusaka where fans threw beer cans at the presidential motorcade and the vehicles of some government officials. Spectators used the occasion to show that they were fed up with the UNIP government.<sup>498</sup> Football fans used the

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<sup>495</sup> Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika and Derrick Chitala, *The Hour Has Come!: Proceedings of the National Conference on the Multi-party Option*, (Lusaka: Zambia Research Foundation, 1990), p. 49.

<sup>496</sup> Lewanika and Chitala, *The Hour Has Come!*, p. 49.

<sup>497</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>498</sup> "Fans shouldn't have been so rude," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1991, p. 8.

same occasion to show support to the leader of the newly formed MMD. According to Teddy Mulonga, the MMD presidential candidate Fredrick Chiluba was received well by thousands of fans when he entered the stadium.<sup>499</sup> Like President Kaunda, Chiluba was also a soccer fan. Infact, his connection to football dates back to the late 1970s when he was a committee member at Rhokana United (now Nkana Football Club).<sup>500</sup>

This was a sufficient sign to the MMD that football was an important weapon for bringing people together and to express themselves politically. It should, however, be mentioned that the MMD did not take advantage of the incidence at the Independence Stadium to mobilise popular support through the sport.<sup>501</sup> According to Oscar Palangwa, due to the political wind of change, political rallies played a more important role than football in mobilising people during that time.<sup>502</sup> Indeed, Chileshe Mando argues that it was only after the 1991 elections that MMD began to fully utilise football for the purposes of political mobilisation at all levels of the party structures.<sup>503</sup> Enjoying popular support in October 1991 multi-party elections, MMD won the elections and Chiluba became Zambia's second President.<sup>504</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated how UNIP deployed football for political purposes after independence. The chapter has shown that from 1964 to 1972 the UNIP government deployed football for political mobilisation largely to undermine opposition political parties. During the

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<sup>499</sup> Interview with Teddy Mulonga, Former Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) president, Lusaka, 8<sup>th</sup> May, 2015.

<sup>500</sup> Mann Banda, "Chiluba clears the air: I'm not after FAZ hot seat," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1979, p. 8.

<sup>501</sup> Interview with Kenny Mwansa, former National Team boxer, Kabwe District Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) Youth Chairman, Kabwe, 26<sup>th</sup> November, 2015.

<sup>502</sup> Interview with Oscar Palangwa, Kabwe District Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) Youth Secretary, Kabwe, 26<sup>th</sup> November, 2015.

<sup>503</sup> Interview with Chileshe Mando, Central Province Youth Chairman for Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), Kabwe, 26<sup>th</sup> March, 2015.

<sup>504</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, pp. 167- 168.

First Republic, football matches were important in popularising the UNIP government. Apart from this, the Kenneth Kaunda-led regime used soccer for fundraising purposes and to undermine the opposition political parties. The party also introduced the 'UNIP Victory Cup' for teams in the National Football League (NFL) as a way of winning popularity. Although UNIP used football to try and undermine the opposition, the method proved ineffective. Thus, the only way UNIP could hold on to power was to declare Zambia a 'One Party State.'

In the Second Republic, the UNIP government used football especially among the youths to try and consolidate the 'One Zambia One Nation' philosophy. This was possible because the sport helped to widen contacts and cooperation between people of different ethnic groups. Lastly, the chapter has also shown that although UNIP deployed football to strengthen the 'One Party State,' the masses used it to decampaign the UNIP government in the early 1990s to express their discontent with the governments' failures to improve the economy, creating jobs and raise the standard of living. The incident demonstrated the success of the popular will of the people despite the fact that the UNIP government deployed football to sell its political ideologies using football to hold on to power.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusion

This study has investigated the link between football and politics in Zambia between 1964 and 1991. More specifically, it investigates the rise and development of football in Zambia. Further, the study examines the interplay between football administration and politics. It also assesses the role of football in political mobilisation in Zambia. Several conclusions have emerged. One of these is that after independence the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government influenced the manner in which football developed. After the formation of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) in 1965, the ruling party and its government established various sports bodies like the Zambia National Sports Advisory Board (ZNSAB) later the Sports Council, the Sports Directorate and the National Sports Foundation (NSF) to ensure that the sport developed in both rural and urban areas.

Later, the government built stadia in various provincial centres. However, due to economic problems that beset the country starting from the 1970s, the government failed to erect more modern stadia which culminated in the failure to host the 1988 African Cup of Nations. Aware that football was part of education, the Kenneth Kaunda regime also promoted school football as schools were found in all the corners of the country. But in 1980s football development in schools was in patches due to lack of sponsorship. The Zambia Secondary School Football Association (ZSSFA) was underfunded. This adversely affected the operations of the schools' football body. To further develop football, schools also coordinated with community welfare centres (recreation centres) which complemented the sport in schools.

The development of football in Zambia was also largely owed to the government's initiative in seeking for sponsorship from various companies to encourage the sport as it was part of the refreshment of the mind after work. It was for this reason that almost all the parastatal companies sponsored a football team so as to be seen to be in line with the government policy on sport. However, economic problems that beset the country in the 1980s and early 1990s impacted negatively on the smooth running of football. For example, meagre monetary and material incentives were the cause of poor performance by the national team. Companies such as Rothmans of Pall Mall and others that helped the national team financially through FAZ partially withdrew sponsorship. On the other hand, sponsorship of cup games also suffered due to economic challenges. For example, Zambia Railways Limited (ZRL) started sponsoring the Champions of Champions Cup in 1979. But in 1984 the company was reviewing sponsorship of the cup for the year 1985 because of the economic recession that had hit the country.

Another conclusion reached by the study is that while UNIP initiated programmes to develop football, the party also interfered in the administration of football for many reasons. Chief among these was that the UNIP government was a significant sponsor of football in the sense that it subsidised the running of football in the country. Apart from this, the UNIP government also wanted to turn FAZ into an organ that would support the existing regime. Lastly, the party and its government also interfered in the administration of the sport to prevent people to hold posts in FAZ who were seen to be undermining the UNIP government. Government intervention in football in the early years after independence was done through offering courses to football administrators to improve the sport. However, as a result of the problems that emerged between the National Football League (NFL) which was in charge of the domestic fixtures and FAZ which fixed international games, the UNIP government tried to solve

these problems by forming the one soccer umbrella in 1975. Later, after the formation of the new FAZ, the government continued to routinely intervene in the administration of the sport especially when football standards declined and there was evidence of maladministration.

Another conclusion of this study is that football played a role in political mobilisation. The study shows that UNIP deployed football for political mobilisation in the First and Second Republics. Political mobilisation was done through different party structures indicating that there was a link between party organisation and mobilisation. Having inherited multi-party politics at independence, UNIP used football in the First Republic to win popularity and to try to undermine the opposition political parties. The study demonstrates that from the onset of independence UNIP used independence soccer tournaments as a way of winning people's support especially that of the youths throughout the country. Through football tournaments, UNIP reached out easily to the youths who became connected to the party. Apart from independence soccer tournaments, the ruling party also utilised teams in the national leagues to raise money so as to execute party programmes smoothly. However, football did not completely undermine the popularity of the opposition political parties. Therefore, a 'One Party State' was declared in 1973.

After the establishment of the 'One Party State,' the UNIP government also deployed football as a tool for popularising the regime. Football was deployed to also consolidate the 'One Party State.' Thus, from 1973 to 1991, the sport was utilised by the UNIP government to help consolidate the philosophy of 'One Zambia One Nation.' Football played an important role in helping to widen contacts among people from different ethnic groups. Because of the sport's popularity, UNIP used it for political purposes. The government also deployed football teams

from the NFL for fundraising purposes. In addition, it took advantage of the national team's popularity and successes in international matches to legitimate its hold on power and its policies.

The study further shows that although UNIP deployed football to advance its political hegemony, it was the same sport that the citizens used to decampaign the UNIP government in July 1991 when angry football fans stoned the presidential motorcade of Kenneth Kaunda. And it was at the same occasion that Fredrick Chiluba was well received and in the elections that were held in October in the same year, President Kaunda lost to Chiluba, the leader of the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD). This incident demonstrates that even though Kaunda had earlier used football to mobilise popular support the people removed him from office partly through exploiting the opportunity afforded by football to express discontent against the Kaunda-dominated government.

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