

THE HISTORY OF ZAMBIA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS, 1964-2011.

BY

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**A Dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History.**

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Date

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Jacob Toka Samungole 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

This study focuses on the history of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) from 1964 to 2011. ZCTU is one of the two federations of trade unions in Zambia. For over thirty years, ZCTU was the only congress of trade unions in Zambia. This study shows that ZCTU was established by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) to squash the dissention and division that existed in the labour movement.

Prior to the birth of ZCTU, the first congress of Trade Unions in the Country was the Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (NRTUC) which was formed in 1951. However, divisions among the leadership of the NRTUC led to a split which led to the formation of a rival Congress, the Reformed Trade Union Congress (RTUC) in 1960. By 1961, the two rival factions merged and formed the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) which preceded ZCTU. ZCTU was formed when government passed the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (Amendment) Act of 1964. The study also demonstrates how ZCTU fought for its autonomy by resisting government control especially during the one party state.

The research also demonstrates the relationship between ZCTU, its affiliate unions and successive governments. It looks at how ZCTU worked with its affiliates to improve workers plight in the country. It equally highlights the conflicts the Congress had with its affiliates to the extent of some withdrawing its support from the Congress thereby threatening its existence. The study also examines the relationship between the Congress and the various successive governments in Zambia. It looks at the conflicts ZCTU had with the UNIP as well as the MMD government.

Further, the study examines the role ZCTU played in national development. It analyses how ZCTU played its role in national development during the rule of the UNIP government and later on the MMD government. The study argues that ZCTU played its role in national development by supplying leaders in the political arena, development a disciplined cadre of trade unionists through its programme of workers education, participate in the formulation of government policy which helped the plight of the workers and the country and joined in stopping the abrogation of the law to suit individuals as the case was when Frederick Chiluba wanted to go for a third presidential term.

The central theme of this study is the reconstruction of the history of ZCTU. In doing so, this study considers the organisational structure of ZCTU, its relationship with its affiliates unions and successive governments and its role in the development of Zambia.

DEDICATION

To my wife, Lucinda Kalumbi Samungole, whose love and encouragement has seen me through tough times during my research and the course of writing this work. To my parents also, Margaret and Thomas Samungole, who supported me greatly throughout my education and during the course of this study. To my daughter Zangi Mbingila and lastly but not the least, to my brothers and sisters; Graham, Abel, Hildah, Idah, Fredah (the late), Pamela and Maggie who encouraged me not to relent and were always there for me. I thank you dearly.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAWUZA.....	Airways and Allied Workers Union of Zambia
AMU.....	Africa Mineworkers Union
ANC.....	African National Congress
BETUZ.....	Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia
BUZ.....	Bankers Union of Zambia
CBUWU.....	Copperbelt University Workers Union
CISEP.....	Centre for Informal Sector Employment Promotion
CSAWUZ.....	Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia
CSUZ.....	Civil Servants Union of Zambia
CTUC.....	Commonwealth Trade Union Council
CUAU.....	Copperbelt University Academics Union
FES.....	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FFTUZ.....	Federation of Free Trade Unions in Zambia
GDP.....	Gross Domestic Product
GUZ.....	Guards Union of Zambia
HCWUZ.....	Hotels and Catering Workers Union of Zambia
ICFTU.....	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO.....	International Labour Organisation
IMF.....	International Monetary Fund
IRA.....	Industrial Relations Act.
ILRA.....	Industrial and Labour Relations Act.
MASA.....	Mines African Staff Association.
MLSA.....	Mines Local Staff Association (Zambia)
MMD.....	Movement for Multiparty Democracy.
MP(s).....	Member(s) of Parliament
MUZ.....	Mineworkers Union of Zambia

NAZ.....	National Archives of Zambia.
NESAWU.....	National Energy Sector and Allied Workers Union
NRMWU.....	Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers Union
NRTUC.....	Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress
NUBEGW.....	National Union of Building, Engineering and General Workers
NUCW.....	National Union of Communication Workers
NUCIW.....	National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers
NULAW.....	National Union of Local Authorities Workers
NUPAW.....	National Union of Plantation and Agriculture Workers
NUPSW.....	National Union of Public Service Workers
NUPTW.....	National Union of Postal Telecommunication Workers
NUTEL.....	National Union of Technical Education Lecturers
NUTGW.....	National Union of Transport and General Workers
NUTAW.....	National Union of Transport and Allied Workers
OATUU.....	Organisation of African Trade Union Unity
PSDP.....	Private Sector Development Services
RAWU.....	Railway African Workers Union
RTUC.....	Reformed Trade Union Congress
RWUZ.....	Railway Workers Union of Zambia
SAP.....	Structural Adjustment Programme
SATUCC.....	Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination Council
SI.....	Statutory Instrument
TCLC.....	Tripartite Consultative Labour Council
TEVETA.....	Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority
TUC.....	Trade Union Congress

UHDWUZ.....	United Home and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia
UNIP.....	United National Independence Party
UNZAAWU.....	University of Zambia and Allied Workers Union
UNZARALU.....	University of Zambia Researchers and Lecturers Union
UTUC.....	United Trade Union Congress
WUTAZ.....	Workers Union of Tazara
ZAMTEL.....	Zambia Telecommunications
ZANC.....	Zambia African National Congress
ZATAWU.....	Zambia Typographical and Allied Workers Union
ZCTU.....	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZEAWU.....	Zambia Electricity Allied Workers Union
ZESCO.....	Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation
ZLDHHU.....	Zambia Long Distance and Heavy Haulage Union
ZMAPA.....	Zambia Mine African Police Association
ZMPA.....	Zambia Mine Police Association
ZNUHAW.....	Zambia National Union of Health and Allied Workers
ZNUT.....	Zambia National Union of Teachers
ZPA.....	Zambia Privatisation Agency
ZRAWU.....	Zambia Revenue Authority Workers Union
ZUFIAW.....	Zambia Union of Financial Institutions and Allied Workers
ZUJ.....	Zambia Union of Journalists
ZULAWU.....	Zambia United Local Authorities Workers' Union

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The history of Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) is synonymous with the history of the labour movement as a whole. This is because ZCTU cannot be studied in isolation without discussing the trade unions and congresses of trade unions which have existed in Zambia. This study will therefore examine the origins of trade unions before narrowing it down to congresses of trade in the world and later in Zambia. Thereafter, ZCTU will be discussed starting with its origin, relationship with its affiliates and government and the ideology it pursued. Trade unions will be discussed and their importance emphasized because a congress of trade unions such as ZCTU is composed of trade unions and is not a trade union in itself.

The origin of trade unions in the World can be traced back to Britain. According to Henry Pelling, the concept of trade unions had no place in medieval systems of industry for a long time. Pelling argues that the recognised crafts were catered for by the guilds, which were combinations of both masters and journeymen. Journeymen were skilled workers who served as apprentices of their trade. The guilds had the responsibility of protecting the standards of their respective crafts by defining the terms of service for apprentices.¹ Such guilds started to be formed in the late fourteenth century and according to Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, they represented the embryonic stage of trade unionism.² In 1818, the first trade union was formed at a meeting of delegates most of whom were from the Lancashire textile industry.³ The body that they founded was called the Philanthropic Society, and its rules indicated that it was no more than a loose

¹Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, (London: Macmillan, 1966), p.7.

²Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), p.3.

³Pelling, *British Trade Unionism*, p.27.

federation of clubs, whose members were recommended to support each other from their funds in time of need; and it also spread to London where it was known as the Philanthropic Hercules.⁴ From Britain, trade unionism started to spread to the rest of world.

Once trade unions were in place, the labour movement in Britain moved towards the founding of the Trade Union Congress (TUC). Organised workers in different trades had frequently co-operated and met in conferences before the first Trades Union Congress in 1868 was founded.⁵ Attempts to form a trade union congress in Britain which was a pioneer of Congresses of trade unions in the world began as far back as 1834 when these efforts collapsed and trade unionism declined in the following years.⁶ The idea of forming a trade union congress was revived in 1845 when a National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labour was established. However the association proved to be a failure as larger trade unions refused to join it. Nevertheless, it was an important forerunner to the Trade Union Congress.⁷ According to Albert Edward Musson, a number of councils were formed across Britain representing trade unions on mutual aid in strikes and concerted action on matters of general concern such as labour legislation. One of those councils was the Manchester and Stalford Trades Council which proposed for a national trades' congress and went on to issue a circular summoning the first TUC on 21st February, 1868. The TUC was formed and went on to have its first meeting from 2nd to 6th June 1868.⁸

In Africa and Zambia in particular, the birth of indigenous trade unionism was a difficult one because of the obstructive policies of the Colonial Administration and the hostility of the settler

⁴Pelling, *British Trade Unionism*, p.27.

⁵Albert Edward Musson, *The Congress of 1868: The Origins and Establishment of the Trades Union Congress*, (London: The Trades Union Congress, 1968), p.7.

⁶Webb and Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, pp.113-68.

⁷Musson, *The Congress of 1868*, pp.7-8.

⁸Musson, *The Congress of 1868*, pp. 27-36.

community.⁹ Africans however went on to form a number of associations which later on became trade unions during the colonial period. The Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers Union (NRMWU), an all-European union, was the first trade union formed in 1936 and recognised in 1937, but it was not until 1947 when an all-African trade union was formed called the Northern Rhodesia African Shop Assistants' Trade Union later known as the National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers (NUCIW) and the same year it was recognised.¹⁰

Reuben S. Muchimba has observed that the Second World War and its aftermath delayed the introduction of trade unionism among African workers, but when it was introduced, it was readily and ably received to the surprise of colonialists. He points to the fact that when the first ever African trade union was formed in 1947, it was quickly followed by the Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Trade Union in 1948, now the Mineworkers Union of Zambia. Between 1949 and 1952 a number of unions were formed and negotiating machineries established with employers.¹¹ According to Newstead Zimba, these African trade unions in Northern Rhodesia were in constant conflict with the successive colonial governments over better working conditions for the African workers. The Copperbelt, being the economic centre of Northern Rhodesia, was the centre of trade union activities against the colonial governments.¹²

The first Congress of Trade Unions in Zambia was formed in Kitwe in 1951. This was the Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (NRTUC).¹³ NRTUC was established when the trade unions in Northern Rhodesia decided to form a body which would champion its cause with one

⁹Henry S. Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism: The Origins, Growth and Struggles of the Zambian Labour Movement to 1964*, (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1986), p.161.

¹⁰Mbaalala B. Munungu, "Trade Union Development and the Law in Zambia," M.A dissertation, The University of Zambia, 1988, p.3.

¹¹Reuben S. Muchimba, *Trade Unionism in Zambia*, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1971), p.5.

¹²Interview with Newstead Zimba, Former Secretary General of ZCTU and Labour Minister, Lusaka, District, 18th May, 2016.

¹³Northern Rhodesia, Ministry of Labour and Mines, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1951, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1952), p.16. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

voice while giving it a national character. However, it split in 1959 with much of the blame for its split being put on its president Lawrence Katilungu who accepted to serve on the Monckton Commission appointed by the British Government to review the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.¹⁴ Muchimba observes that NRTUC was against participation in the commission either by way of serving on it, or giving evidence on it. However, Katilungu ignored the decision made by NRTUC members and this led to the split of NRTUC when those against Katilungu's decision went on to form the Reformed Trade Union Congress (RTUC) in early 1960.¹⁵ In early 1961 however, Katilungu was expelled from NRTUC and the two divided Trade Union Congresses merged into the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).¹⁶

The UTUC was not devoid of divisions also. Most of those divisions in UTUC were attributed to power struggles and tribalism.¹⁷ When UNIP was envisaging forming the next government in Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda saw the dissention and division that existed in the labour movement at that time as a challenge to the emerging African government by the workers.¹⁸ Without wasting time, after attaining its independence on 24th October, 1964, Kenneth Kaunda and the UNIP government decided to face the challenge of the labour movements heads-on by passing the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (amendment) Act of 1964 which proposed the creation of Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).¹⁹ At this point, Zambia's economy was highly dependent on copper and the activities of the Mineworkers Union of Zambia among other

¹⁴Northern Rhodesia, Ministry of Labour and Mines, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1959, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1960), p.12. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

¹⁵Northern Rhodesia, Ministry of Labour and Mines, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1960, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1961), p.14. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

¹⁶Friday E. Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless: The Unrealised Potential of the Labour Movement in Zambia, 1947-1995," (unpublished), 2005, p.16.
Muchimba, *Trade Unionism in Zambia*, p.6.

¹⁷Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.17.

¹⁸Friday E. Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness Among African Railway Workers in Zambia, 1953-1972," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1987, p.118.

¹⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.1b, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the First Session of the First National Assembly, Daily Hansard Tuesday 15th December, 1964, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.72. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b).

labour movements worried the new Zambian government which by its own admission was in a hurry to bring development to the common Zambian and the nation at large. Neo Simutanyi states that the urgent task of mobilising resources for economic development after seventy years of “criminal neglect” by the former colonial regime made the UNIP government to reorient the role of the trade union movement from its narrow economism to playing a constructive role in economic development.²⁰

The Party and its Government feared that the divisions in the labour movement in Zambia would hinder the development which was so badly needed for the country. It felt that trade unions had an important role to play in the economic, social and cultural development of the country.²¹ Hence the UNIP government passed the 1964 bill which established ZCTU.²² From the initial stage, the government wanted to control and channel the activities of the labour movement in Zambia towards developing the nation through ZCTU.²³

From 1964 to 2011, ZCTU fought endless battles with the various successive governments on a number of issues which ranged from its own autonomy to the economy. From the initial stage, politicians wanted ZCTU to merely endorse all government programmes. Beatrice Liato argues that the politicians seemed to be succeeding on that front during the first ten years of Zambia’s independence but in 1974, Newstead Zimba and Frederick Chiluba ascended to the leadership of ZCTU. The new ZCTU leadership placed emphasis on the economic interests of the workers and the need of the trade union movement to maintain its independence. The ascendancy of these leaders to the leadership of ZCTU heightened the tension between the labour movement and the

²⁰Neo R. Simutanyi, “Political Economy of Workers’ Participation: Role of Trade Unions in promoting Industrial Participatory Democracy in Zambia,” M.A. Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1987, p.29.

²¹GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.70.

²²GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.72.

²³Simutanyi, “Political Economy of Workers’ Participation,” p.35.

state, increasing the conflict between the two.²⁴ZCTU resisted attempts by UNIP first to control it and then to transform it into a wing of the party. From a position of little popular acclaim in 1974, ZCTU developed in the early 1980s into the unofficial opposition to UNIP.²⁵

The formation of ZCTU championed social, economic and political developments in Zambia on behalf of the workers with one voice and force by intensifying its militancy. In a number of ways, from 1974 to 1990 when the one-party regime was ousted, ZCTU was considered by many as the only opposition to the UNIP government. It is important therefore that ZCTU's history is studied in line with its relationship with both its affiliate unions and government as it strived to improve the welfare of the workers in the country.

The central argument which this research is putting forward is that when ZCTU was created in 1964, it was not created out of nothing. Its creation and history is connected to the first trade unions and the three congresses of trade unions which preceded it. These were the Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (NRTUC) which was the first congress, then the Reformed Trade Union Congress (RTUC) and finally the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC). In this study therefore, the history of ZCTU consists of the origin of the institution, how effective ZCTU was in accordance with its constitution, the relationship it had with its affiliates, the role it played in national development and the ideology it pursued.

The idea for the formation of ZCTU as earlier discussed was spearheaded by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government. UNIP decided to form ZCTU after seeing the confusion which prevailed in the labour movement at the time and it hoped that ZCTU would bring about harmony which would translate to the industrial sector and result in national

²⁴Beatrice B. Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," The University of Leeds, 1989, p. ix.

²⁵Paschal Miho, "Against Overwhelming Odds: The Zambian Trade Union Movement," in Henk Thomas (ed.) *Globalization and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*, (London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995), pp201-214.

development in line with government policy of developing Zambia.²⁶ A motion was passed in parliament called the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1964 by the Minister of Labour and Mines, Justin Chimba, which announced the formation of ZCTU.²⁷ This bill aimed at ensuring that the UNIP government was very much involved in the running of trade unions through ZCTU. For instance, the government ensured that the Minister of Labour was empowered to appoint the first executive of ZCTU and to make an order to dissolve the Congress if it was felt that it had failed to adequately carry out its objectives of bringing peace to the labour movement and the industrial sector in line with the developmental agenda of UNIP.²⁸

During debates in parliament leading to the formation of ZCTU, members of the African National Congress (ANC) who included Mungoni Liso-a former trade unionist and a Member of Parliament for Namwala from 1964 to 1969, argued that the UNIP government seemed interested in making ZCTU into a department under the Ministry of Labour. Examining the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1964, the ANC concluded that the autonomy of the labour movement and in particular ZCTU was under threat.²⁹

The publication of the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1964 led to doubts as to whether the labour movement and in particular ZCTU would run independently but the government argued that the Bill aimed at giving a considerable measure of stability to bona fide trade unions and the Congress and not to control them.³⁰ In order to prove that the government meant well for ZCTU and the labour movement as a whole, on 16th July,

²⁶Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness," p.118.

²⁷GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.72.

²⁸GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p. 78.

²⁹GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.84.

³⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1966), p.11. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

1967 ZCTU was allowed to hold a conference with the core purpose of electing office bearers for the first time.³¹ The election of a new executive did not put away the debate among the public and also the assertion among ANC and some UNIP members that ZCTU was a controlled wing of UNIP. In 1969 during the General election, the debate continued especially with the adoption of eighteen labour leaders from various ZCTU affiliate unions who stood and won parliamentary seats on the UNIP ticket to the delight of ZCTU president Amonson Mugala.³²

However in 1974, Newstead Zimba and Frederick Chiluba took up the top leadership of ZCTU and from then onwards they started fighting for the autonomy of ZCTU while giving uncompromised checks and balances to the government. In the process ZCTU developed a relationship both with its affiliate unions and government. These relationships were both healthy and confrontational at times as ZCTU embarked on its quest to improve the welfare of the workers and contribute to national development in that respect.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Zambia Congress of Trade Unions had been in existence since Zambia's independence in 1964. During that time, ZCTU worked in line with government policy to represent its members and contribute to the development of Zambia. ZCTU saw itself as being the proponent to bargain with government on all national matters affecting workers particularly in policy and legislation, to exercise control over its affiliate members in terms of the industrial relations act, to provide assistance to its affiliates for effective organisation and administration of their unions, to participate in national, political and economic affairs and to represent Zambian workers globally.

³¹National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ) / MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Letter of the Registrar of Trade Unions to the Minister of Labour, Re: Election of Office Bearers of ZCTU 11/10/66, p.1.

³²National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ) / MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; Zambia Congress of Trade Unions: Minutes of the (Third) General Council Meeting, Buchi Community Centre, 22nd February, 1969, p.3.

However, in spite of ZCTU being the mother body of trade unions which played a significant role in the social, economic and political development of Zambia, no comprehensive study has been done on it. Therefore, this study aims to fill that knowledge gap by reconstructing its history.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to examine the history of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions from 1964 to 2011.

Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. examine the birth of ZCTU, the challenges it faced in the early years and its Organisational Structure.
2. investigate the relationship between ZCTU, its affiliates and successive governments.
3. investigate the role ZCTU played in national development.

1.4 Rationale

This study is important as it contributes to the historiography of trade union history in Zambia by reconstructing the history of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. That is the aspect of trade union history that has not been comprehensively studied. The study is also envisioned to stimulate research on other aspects of trade union history in Zambia.

1.5 Literature Review

A review of literature shows that a lot has been written on trade unionism which benefitted this study largely. However, concerning the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) the literature review shows that much of the works do not exclusively document ZCTU and those that do, do

not entirely look at the history of ZCTU. This is the gap which this study aims to fill. In spite of that fact, the literature reviewed benefited this research in a number of ways as will be shown.

This current study firstly reviews literature which addresses labour movements in other countries but whose contribution to the history of ZCTU was significant as it provided this study with necessary themes which it explored.

The book by A.E. Musson helped this current study by broadening its perspective on the origins of ZCTU and providing it with some important themes regarding affiliate unions and the national agenda of ZCTU. Musson analysed how the first trade union congress was formed in Britain in 1868 and how it tackled some of the issues which were pertinent to the British working class at the time.³³

The book by Sidney and Beatrice Webb was very important to this study of ZCTU as it explored the theme of labour movements and politics. This study helped the current study explore the relationship between ZCTU and successive governments. It argued for example that the history of the general trade union movement was found to be part of the political history of a country.³⁴ According to the Webbs, the history of Trade Unionism was the history of a state within a state.³⁵ The study helped the current to appreciate and explore the fact that politics could not be separated from the study of labour movements.

Subratesh Ghosh tackled matters of the structure, administration, finance and problems facing trade unions in third world countries. This work examined how trade unionism was shaped not only by the form and stage of economic development, but also by the political conditions and by

³³Musson, *The Congress of 1868*, pp. 27-38.

³⁴Webb and Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. vii.

³⁵Webb and Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. ix.

the general structure of the society in which it had to act.³⁶ Though this book did not specifically examine a trade union congress, it however helped this current study develop themes to do with structure, administration and finance of ZCTU.

Jean Meynaud and Anisse Salah Bey brought to the fore the aspect of independence and its problems, a topic which was equally vital to this current study. They observed for example how independent African countries' political leaders tried by all means to control the running and operations of trade unions. They argued against such trends by stating that a trade union was not be used for political ends, as that was not its role.³⁷ The current study benefitted from such themes by examining how the government in Zambia wanted to control the operations of ZCTU.

Wogu Ananaba's study on the trade union movement in Africa was important to this study as it analysed the theme of labour and politics and further examined the structure as well as the relationship of a congress with its members. As regards politics, Ananaba's argument regarding Zambia was that there was always a twin relationship between unionism and politics in Zambia.³⁸ That twin relationship between unionism and politics was an important observation which this current study benefitted from. Another work by Ananaba covered the labour movement in Nigeria. This study analysed among how politics divided the labour movement in Nigeria.³⁹ This present study benefitted from this work as well by exploring the conflicts which existed between ZCTU and successive governments.

³⁶Subrathesh Ghosh, *Trade Unionism in the Underdeveloped Countries*, (California: Bookland Private, 1960), p.30.

³⁷Jean Meynaud and Anisse Bey, *Trade Unionism in Africa: A Study of Its Growth and Orientation*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1967), p.86.

³⁸Wogu Ananaba, *The Trade Union Movement in Africa: Promise and Performance*, (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1979), p.57.

³⁹Wogu Ananaba, *The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria*, (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1969), p.86.

The work of G.E. Lynd examined the origins and administrative structure of African labour movements showing that the newly independent African states inherited from the colonial administrations governmental controls of trade unions.⁴⁰ Lynd argued for instance that the one-party states in newly independent Africa put up control measures against trade unions and these included compulsory arbitration, registration of unions, granting and withholding of patronage, party control among union leadership among a host of other controls.⁴¹ This current study used these observations to examine the origin and organisational structure of ZCTU and how it operated under the strict UNIP regime during the one-party state.

Issa G. Shivji analysed the rise of the trade union movement in Tanzania. He showed, similar to the Zambian situation, how the state through its Labour Department set about putting into practice its own version of the trade union movement in Tanzania. Shivji showed how the Tanzanian government guided the infant trade union movement along acceptable lines of operations in contributing to national building.⁴² This work helped this current study investigate the birth and development of ZCTU and its role in national development.

The book by Makhan Singh highlighted the history of the trade union movement in Kenya and showed its contribution to Kenya's independence struggle. Singh examined how the Kenyan trade union movement progressed in economic, social and political fields.⁴³ Singh's book gave this study the basis for finding out how a ZCTU organised its workers according to industries and how it united them. This work was also important to this current study in that it helped in investigating the role ZCTU played in national development.

⁴⁰G.E. Lynd, *The Politics of African Trade Unionism*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968), p.33.

⁴¹Lynd, *The Politics of African Trade Unionism*, p.33.

⁴²Issa G. Shivji, *Law, State and the Working Class in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1986), p. 182.

⁴³Makhan Singh, *History of Kenya's Trade Union Movement to 1952*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), p.51.

The book by Ukandi Godwin Damachi highlighted the role of trade unions in the development process in Ghana. Damachi for example discussed union-state relations, labour-management relations, union activities beyond collective bargaining and the role of unions.⁴⁴ This current study benefitted from those themes as it examined union-state relations and union activities which centred on national development.

This current study also benefitted from studies which were more specific to Zambia before and after independence.

Henry S. Meebelo's work which analysed the forces that gave birth to the labour movement during the colonial period helped this study understand the ambivalent relationship between the government and ZCTU. Meebelo looked into some of the activities of the first trade union Congress in Zambia, the NRTUC, and showed some of its conflicts with the colonial government. This current study explored this theme in looking at ZCTU. Meebelo also examined the deep divisions which emerged within NRTUC as a result of conflicts with its affiliates over financial and ethnic reasons.⁴⁵ Another important theme this current study examined.

Other than the background information to the history of the trade union congress in Zambia provided by Meebelo, the current study benefitted from the study by Robert Bates as it examined how ZCTU was created by an Act of parliament in 1964. Bates observed that what formally led to the creation of ZCTU was the need by government of a central agency for the regulation of trade union affairs in Zambia. Bates work also benefitted this current study when it explored the

⁴⁴Ukandi Godwin Damachi, *The Role of Trade Unions in the Development Process: With a Case Study of Ghana*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), p.13.

⁴⁵Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.43.

legal authority of ZCTU, its services to its affiliates and the failures it faced.⁴⁶ Such information helped this study to come up with those themes and explore them further.

Friday Mulenga in his M.A Dissertation analysed the background to the formation of ZCTU but he went further to examine the relationship between ZCTU and the UNIP government. Mulenga had for example shown how the UNIP government tried and failed to control ZCTU.⁴⁷ Similarly, the works by Lise Rakner examined the relationship between the Zambian labour movement and UNIP; in particular, and the extent to which the labour movement, through ZCTU, effected policy changes at the national level in a democratic direction.⁴⁸ This current study builds on those insights in exploring the theme on the relationship between ZCTU and government as well as the role ZCTU played in national development.

In investigating the relationship between ZCTU and Government and how ZCTU played a role in national development, the study by Paschal Mihyo was very helpful in that respect. Paschal Mihyo analysed the relationship between ZCTU and government especially how the UNIP government wanted to control ZCTU. Mihyo for instance examined how ZCTU resisted attempts by the UNIP government first to control it and then to transform it into a wing of the party.⁴⁹ Mihyo went further to show how the top leadership of ZCTU, in the 1980s, took government to task on a number of economic and political issues to the extent that the government resorted to intimidation, surveillance and detention in order to frighten and silence the leadership of ZCTU.⁵⁰

⁴⁶Robert H. Bates, *Unions, Parties, and Political Development: A Study of Mineworkers in Zambia*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1971), p.76.

⁴⁷Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness," p.122.

⁴⁸Lise Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation: A Study of Party Labour Relations in Zambia," Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, Report No.6, 1992, p.1.

⁴⁹Mihyo, "Against Overwhelming Odds," p.201.

⁵⁰Mihyo, "Against Overwhelming Odds," pp. 201-214.

Beatrice Liatto further showed how the government wanted to control ZCTU by providing a critical examination of the quest by the UNIP government to control the leadership positions in ZCTU, showing for example how the Minister of Labour appointed the first executive of ZCTU.⁵¹ Liato explored the evolution, impact and dynamics of the relationship between the government and organised labour in Zambia. These findings were used to further investigate the relationship between ZCTU and successive governments. Liatto's study also helped this current study examine the role ZCTU played in national development.

As regards the operations of ZCTU during the UNIP regime and its quest to control it, Miles Larmer examined the administration and operations of ZCTU during the one-party state. Larmer also showed how the top leadership of the Congress was able to shake-off government control during the one-party state and how active ZCTU leaders became in the economic matters of the country. For instance, Larmer showed that during the 1980s, ZCTU consistently criticised UNIP's implementation of structural adjustment and economic liberalisation policies. The labour movement attacked the increasing influence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank over the Zambian economy, and the close relationship between multinational capital and the management of state owned corporations. Larmer also showed that the economic policies of the 1980s were a source of conflicts between ZCTU and government.⁵² These observations were very important to this study as they helped guide this current study's perspective of the relationship between ZCTU and government as well as its role in national development.

The study by Mbaalala B. Munungu also examined the laws concerned with the administration and operations of ZCTU. Munungu's study was important in that it helped this current study

⁵¹Liatto, "Organised Labour and the State," p.134.

⁵²Miles Larmer, 'The Hour Has Come at the Pit': The Mineworkers Union of Zambia and the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, 1982-1991, in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.32. No.2. June, 2006, pp.293-312.

understand the laws which the government put in place to facilitate the running of ZCTU and how the UNIP government tried hard to control it and the trade union movement.⁵³ Other than Munungu, Darlington Banda's work examined the law surrounding the operations of ZCTU. He for instance looked at the law leading to the establishment and affiliation of unions to ZCTU. His study further helped this current study understand the laws surrounding ZCTU.⁵⁴

1.6 Methodology

This study was a qualitative study. The University of Zambia main library, especially the Special Collections was consulted for both primary and secondary data on trade unions and particularly the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. From the Special Collections, this research made use of the monthly and annual labour reports which provided data on trade union activities in Zambia as well as the number of affiliates to ZCTU. Parliamentary debates from the University of Zambia Special Collections were also consulted and they provided vital information on a number of debates such as those to do with the creation of ZCTU which befitted this study greatly, presidential addresses and ministerial statements on what the government position was on the Congress as well as arguments by politicians on how the Congress would best serve its members with little or no interference from the government. From the dissertations in the Special Collection, data was found on the relationship between labour and politics, the development of worker consciousness, Trade Union development and the law in Zambia and the role of Trade Unions in industrial participatory democracy.

The National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) located in Lusaka was also consulted for primary data on ZCTU. It included data on the genesis of ZCTU, labour politics from inception of ZCTU to

⁵³Munungu, "Trade Union Development and the Law in Zambia," p.3.

⁵⁴Darlington Amos Banda, *The Trade Union Situation in Zambia: An Overview of the Law Practice and the Way Forward-A Monograph*, (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung), 1997, pp.1-6.

2011, the politics involved in the running of the Congress as well as on the relationship ZCTU had with its affiliate unions. This data was found in reports, minutes, and memorandums, press releases by both ZCTU and government, correspondence between government and ZCTU, seminar papers, addresses to special meetings and newspapers.

ZCTU Archives also located in Lusaka was consulted for reports, press releases, magazines and the constitution of the Congress. ZCTU Archives supplied critical data also on the organisational structure of the Congress.

The National Assembly library found at parliament buildings in Lusaka provided information from parliamentary debates on national politics and the labour movement, particularly ZCTU, and how it strived to work for the greater good of the nation. Interviews were also conducted with labour leaders who included Newstead Zimba and Leonard Hikaumba on the history of ZCTU in general and the role it played in national development.

1.7 Organisation of the Work

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter One is the Introduction and Historical background. Chapter Two explores the birth of the ZCTU and its organisational structure. Chapter Three examines the relationship between ZCTU, its affiliates and successive governments. Chapter Four analyses the role of ZCTU in national development. Chapter Five is the Conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BIRTH OF ZCTU, ITS CHALLENGES IN THE EARLY YEARS AND ITS ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

2.1 Introduction

Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) is one of the two mother bodies of trade unions in Zambia. For over thirty years, ZCTU was the only federation of trade unions in Zambia. This meant that ZCTU enjoyed monopoly during that period of time until government of the Republic of Zambia amended the 1997 Industrial and Labour Relations Act (ILRA) to allow for the registration of the Federation of Free Trade Unions in Zambia (FFTUZ) in September, 1998.⁵⁵ ZCTU, for the first time since it was created, had a competitor. This meant that time for complacency as a congress of trade unions was now over. ZCTU had to adjust to the changing times it was in and to employ strategies which would make it effective and survive the times.⁵⁶

This chapter looks at the birth of ZCTU, examining the factors which led to its formation and the role which its stakeholders, other than government, played to ensure its existence. The chapter will also look at the challenges which ZCTU faced in the early years and will also examine the organisational structure of ZCTU. It will investigate some of the changes which each organ in the organisational structure underwent and it will also look at some organs which were added to the organisational structure. Thereafter, a conclusion will be reached.

⁵⁵Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1998), p.13.

⁵⁶Interview with Leonard Hikaumba, Former President of the ZCTU, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

2.2 The Genesis of Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU)

ZCTU was born on the 11th of November, 1965 out of the need for peace and development in the industrial sector.⁵⁷ As was discussed in the previous chapter, before the Congress was born, the labour movement in Zambia was divided into factions, and conflicts between some trade unions such as the Railway African Workers Union (RAWU) and the Mineworkers Union, and the United Trade Unions Congress (UTUC) were the order of the day.⁵⁸ These trade unions refused to support the political affiliation of the UTUC to UNIP. In order to end all this confusion in the labour movement, once UNIP formed government, it worked towards effectively organising the labour movement by suggesting the dissolution of the UTUC and replacing it with ZCTU.⁵⁹

Good as the idea may have been to the leadership of UNIP, some trade unionists did not feel it was right for government to dissolve the UTUC. For instance, the executive of the UTUC through their president Amonson Mugala argued that there was no reason why the UTUC should be dissolved and replaced by another Congress. Affiliate members to the UTUC such as the National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers (NUCIW) through their representatives supported the views echoed by the UTUC Executive. They equally argued that the planned Congress would not be democratic as it would be government controlled.⁶⁰

⁵⁷National Archives of Zambia(Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; Secretary General's Report, 21st January, 1966, p.1.

⁵⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Presidential Address, 21st January, 1966, p.1.

⁵⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1966), p.18. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report);

Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.1b,Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the First Session of the First National Assembly, Daily Hansard Tuesday 15thDecember, 1964, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.72. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b).

⁶⁰National Archives of Zambia(Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/249/2305-1964-1965 United Trades Union Congress TU/3/9A Vol. II, Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Last Executive Board of United Trades Union Congress meeting held on 31st October, 1965, p.3.

However, government must have foreseen such a situation where some stakeholders would argue that it was bent on controlling the Congress hence dissolving the UTUC and creating ZCTU. Therefore, in 1964 government argued that it was not interested in controlling the labour movement. The Minister of Labour and Mines, Justin Chimba, told parliament that government was a strong believer in freedom of association but that it did not believe in that freedom of association which was meaningless, which tended to break the unity of the labour movement. He argued that it was precisely for that reason that government included in the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Bill some measure of control on some labour leaders who tended to misuse their rights.⁶¹

Government justified what it termed as “measure of control” on some labour leaders by stating that Zambia was still developing and also suffering from unemployment and so it could not afford the many industrial disturbances which had the potential to destroy the economic stability on which the nation was to prosper.⁶² However, the debate did not end there. Some opposition Members of Parliament (MPs) argued in line with the labour movement that government simply wanted to control the labour movement. MPs such as the ANC’s Mungoni Liso of Namwala argued that it seemed as though government was trying to turn the labour movement into a department under the Ministry of Labour in order to control it.⁶³

Despite all the opposition, it seemed nothing would stop the birth of ZCTU. Government was already convinced that the industrial disturbance in the country was as a result of a fragmented labour movement which could only be curbed with the establishment of a new federation of trade

⁶¹GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.70.

⁶²GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.70.

⁶³GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.84.

unions, whose leadership would be loyal to government and its policy of intensive development and economic expansion.⁶⁴

Therefore, government through the Registrar of trade unions convened a meeting of the executive board of United Trades Union Congress held on 31st October, 1965, and declared to the delegates that the dissolution of the UTUC was to be concluded that same day in order for ZCTU to take over. The motion to dissolve the UTUC was proposed and carried unanimously by the fifty five delegates present at the meeting and two resolutions were then passed: stating that with effect from 31st October, 1965, the UTUC shall no longer exist; and that the Minister of Labour would appoint the leaders of ZCTU from within the leadership of the present labour movement.⁶⁵

The above resolutions were reluctantly passed because some of the executive leaders of the UTUC still felt that there was no need to dissolve the mother body. In fact UTUC president Amonson Mugala, on the day of its dissolution claimed that he was not aware of the dissolution.⁶⁶ However, this was far from the truth as it was in the public domain that the UTUC would be dissolved following the presentation of the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1964 to parliament by Chimba. At that time, Chimba declared that a new Congress called the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions had been established and that plans were underway to make it functional.⁶⁷ The ignorance expressed by Mugala was simply an indication of how unhappy some of the labour leaders were with the establishment of ZCTU and they were ready to do or say anything in order to stop government from dissolving the UTUC.

⁶⁴Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.2, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Second Session of the First National Assembly, 12th January and 22nd January, 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printer 1965), p.16. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.2).

⁶⁵NAZ/MLSS1/26/249/2305-1964-1965 Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Last Executive Board of United Trades Union Congress meeting held on 31st October, 1965, p.3.

⁶⁶NAZ/MLSS1/26/249/2305-1964-1965 Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Last Executive Board of United Trades Union Congress meeting held on 31st October, 1965, p.3.

⁶⁷GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.72.

Government counselled Mugala over it and advised him against making statements to undermine the new Congress and to desist from criticising it because apparently, according to government, Mugala and his fellow labour leaders were not perfect either for them to fervently criticise others.⁶⁸

After long deliberations, the inevitable happened. Government went ahead and dissolved the UTUC on 31st October, 1965 and replaced it with ZCTU.⁶⁹ ZCTU was set up and the Minister of Labour and Social Development went on to appoint the executive of the new Congress on the 12th of November, 1965. Nezia Tembo became ZCTU's first president.⁷⁰ (Appendix 1. shows the First {Appointed} Executive of ZCTU in 1965). During his maiden presidential speech to ZCTU on 21st January, 1966, Tembo observed that Kenneth Kaunda and his comrades viewed ZCTU as a developmental undertaking whose activities were in synchronisation with national building especially in the industrial sector. He further observed that Kaunda and his colleagues in UNIP saw trade unionism in Zambia as part of the national reconstruction which was taking place as they strongly felt that Zambia was in dire need of development and ZCTU was created to be a major player in that developmental process.⁷¹

However, this appointment of new executive leaders of the new Congress was opposed by some labour leaders and politicians just as they opposed the dissolution of UTUC and creation of ZCTU. The argument was that since government appointed the top leaders of ZCTU, the appointed leaders would be stooges of government. Such debates existed from the moment

⁶⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/249/2305-1964-1965 Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Last Executive Board of United Trades Union Congress meeting held on 31st October, 1965, p.3.

⁶⁹Annual Labour Report, 1965, p.18.

⁷⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for November, 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1965), p.4. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report). Beatrice B. Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," PhD Thesis, The University of Leeds, 1989, P.134-135.

⁷¹NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Presidential Address, 21st January, 1966, p.1.

government expressed desire to create ZCTU and later appoint its leaders. For example, earlier in 1964 before the appointment of the new executive of ZCTU was actualised, Mungoni Liso argued against government in parliament that the new Congress should be given powers to choose its own leaders to avoid it being controlled by government.⁷² However, government's stance was that the appointment of the leaders of ZCTU was not going to be a permanent feature. On the contrary, once ZCTU was set up and fully functional, new leaders would be elected. Government did not state how long the appointed officials would lead ZCTU except to hint that the appointments were mere provisional arrangements.⁷³

A year later in 1965 during the last meeting of the UTUC, the debate against the appointment of ZCTU executive continued. Mugala argued on behalf of the out-going UTUC Executive that they did not approve of government appointing the leadership of the new Congress for fear that they would be controlled by government.⁷⁴ He called for elections for ZCTU leaders if it was to enjoy its organisational independence.⁷⁵

However, government decided to ignore all those opposed to the appointment of the executive of the new Congress because they believed it was in the best interest of the Congress itself and the nation.⁷⁶ The Minister of Labour, as was stated earlier, appointed the first executive of the Congress. Five days after its appointment, the new executive met the Minister of Labour and Social Development, Nalumino Mundia, in Kitwe on the 17th November, 1965. During the meeting with the Minister, Matthew Mwale declined his appointment as Financial Secretary as

⁷²GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.93.

⁷³GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.78.

⁷⁴NAZ/MLSS1/26/249/2305-1964-1965 Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Last Executive Board of United Trades Union Congress meeting held on 31st October, 1965, p. 2.

⁷⁵NAZ/MLSS1/26/249/2305 1964-1965 Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the Last Executive Board of United Trades Union Congress meeting held on 31st October, 1965, p. 3.

⁷⁶NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Letter of the Registrar of Trade Unions to the Minister of Labour, Re: Election of Office Bearers of the ZCTU11/10/66, p. 1.

he chose to devote his time to organising the National Union of Public Service Workers, of which he was the president. The other appointments stood but later Augustine Nkumbula resigned his position as General Secretary of ZCTU on personal grounds.⁷⁷ These appointments did not stop those opposed to them from continuing to express their displeasure.⁷⁸

Government, through the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour and Social Development, refuted the argument that it would control ZCTU by the appointments made of its leadership because if that was the case, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) would have queried it but that was not the case. It stated that if anything, the ILO was happy with Zambia in the way it had handled matters of trade unionism in the country.⁷⁹

Although the majority in government strongly supported the appointment of the executive of ZCTU, some felt that it would be prudent for ZCTU to elect its own leaders. For instance, a general argument was put forward by the Registrar of Trade Unions that if ZCTU did not go ahead to elect its own leaders, it would not enjoy the confidence of member unions.⁸⁰ The Registrar of Trade Unions even requested the Minister of Labour to call for elections to elect new office bearers of ZCTU.⁸¹

Government eventually gave in to the pressure for it to allow ZCTU to elect its own leaders. In accordance with Statutory Instrument number 228 of 1965, the Minister of Labour through the Registrar of Trade Unions asked ZCTU to convene an extra-ordinary conference and elect its

⁷⁷Monthly Labour Report for November, 1965, p.4.

⁷⁸Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.7, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Third Session (Resumed) of the First National Assembly, 20th July -23rd July, 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.629. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.7).

⁷⁹GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.7, p.647.

⁸⁰NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Letter of the Registrar of Trade Unions to the Minister of Labour, Re: Election of Office Bearers of the ZCTU 11/10/66, p.1.

⁸¹NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Letter of the Registrar of Trade Unions to the Minister of Labour, Re: Election of Office Bearers of the ZCTU 11/10/66, p. 1.

executive members.⁸² This happened after ZCTU had been officially registered as a congress of trade unions on the 10th of January, 1966.⁸³ The Minister of Education at the time, John Mwanakatwe, could not hide his delight when he proudly stated on the floor of parliament that government had helped in the establishment of a properly constituted Zambia Congress of Trade Unions and that government's help in the sphere of trade unionism would continue.⁸⁴ The first elected executive members of ZCTU came into office on the 16th of July, 1967.⁸⁵ (Appendix 2. shows the list on the First {Elected} Executive of ZCTU in 1967).

2.3 The Challenges Faced by ZCTU in the Early Years

ZCTU was fully functional and the newly elected leaders were eager to work. However, ZCTU faced a number of challenges which made stakeholders such as labour leaders and politicians to raise concerns as to how it will ably work to serve its members and the wider Zambian society in line with government policy of developing the country.

One major challenge was on the role of the Congress in the Zambian society. The argument put forward was that before independence a trade union congress, besides addressing matters of bread and butter, played a vital role in the liberation struggle. But now that Zambia was independent, what else was the role of the Congress besides regulating and complimenting the operations of its affiliate unions as they addressed matters of workers' conditions of service?⁸⁶

⁸²NAZ/ MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Letter of the Registrar of Trade Unions to the Minister of Labour, Re: Election of Office Bearers of the ZCTU 11/10/66, p.1.

⁸³NAZ/MLSS1 26/258/2307-1965-1967 Certificate of Registration No. 50, p.1.

⁸⁴Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.6, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Second Session (Resumed) of the First National Assembly, 8th March-6th April, 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p. 1175. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.6).

⁸⁵Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for July, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p.2. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁸⁶National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III Report by J. B. Ponde, Assistant General Secretary, to a Kitwe Seminar held on 17th-21st February, 1969 at the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions Education Centre, p.3.

A number of citizens, who included mostly politicians, tried to prescribe what they felt were the correct roles of the Congress in independent Zambia. However, the labour leaders themselves chose to define their own roles in the Zambian society. What was mostly agreed in the early years of ZCTU among the labour leaders was that the Congress had many roles to play which individual National Unions could not do. This was in respect to external and foreign affairs, political and legislative matters and representation on National Commissions.⁸⁷ ZCTU appreciated the fact that its primary role was to partner government in bringing development to Zambia.⁸⁸ It recognised that the role of the Congress in the Zambian society had an economic, social and political dimension to it. ZCTU carried out these roles on its own behalf and on the behalf of its affiliates.⁸⁹

The other challenge was that of capable leadership. It was widely felt, more so by government, that ZCTU together with its affiliate unions, continued to be debilitated by an almost complete absence of strong and efficient leadership.⁹⁰ Government felt that such a situation would weaken the developmental agenda of the Congress not only in the labour movement, but the nation as a whole. The Congress did not react to such criticisms with guns blazing in defence; instead it took such open criticisms upon itself to train labour leaders into various aspects of trade unionism.

The problem ZCTU faced was that there was no school in Zambia where labour leaders could be trained. Nevertheless, government already had plans to set up a school to train labour leaders as far back as 1966 and the proposed name for this school was the President's Citizenship

⁸⁷The Workers Voice, September, 1979.

⁸⁸Friday E. Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness Among African Railway Workers in Zambia, 1953-1972," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1987, p.118.

⁸⁹The Workers' Voice, September, 1979.

⁹⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p. 14. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

College.⁹¹ Therefore, in order to overcome this training problem, ZCTU with the help of government started sending labour leaders abroad to train in trade unionism and related matters. These labour leaders went to countries in the Middle East and Europe for such training.⁹² With labour leaders acquiring knowledge from abroad, ZCTU intensified seminars for labour leaders to educate each other on a number of issues to do with trade unionism.⁹³ A number of unions benefitted from this initiative.⁹⁴ The benefits of workers education led ZCTU to establish a Department of Education and Training in 1968 with the primary responsibility of education and training labour leaders and by 1971, the Department had programmes on a permanent basis.⁹⁵

Further, ZCTU took advantage of Zambia being a member of the United Nations and invited experts on trade unionism from the ILO to have seminars with labour leaders in the country. These seminars were organised for the purpose of equipping trade unionists in training methods so that they could help with workers' education.⁹⁶ The Zambian government also through the Ministry of Labour and Social Development partnered with ZCTU and organised training programmes for labour leaders and these programmes were in accounts and industrial relations.⁹⁷ These seminars were very important not only in sharpening the leadership of the affiliate trade unions, but for ZCTU also. For example, the top leadership of the Congress was made up of union members and in this regard, if their potential as labour leaders was tapped and enhanced

⁹¹GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.6, p.1178.

⁹²Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour; Report for April, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p.4. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁹³Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), p.12. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

⁹⁴Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour; Report for September, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p. 3. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁹⁵The Workers' Voice, June, 1979.

⁹⁶Annual Labour Report, 1967, p.12.

⁹⁷GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.6, p.1179.

through training earlier on, ZCTU would be assured of a steady supply of leadership to lead it for generations.

Also, ZCTU faced the challenge of attracting more members to join it. One strategy ZCTU used to entice more unions to affiliate with it was by organising educational seminars. This was done in spite of the financial and other logistical constraints. Labour leaders in affiliate unions were given vital skills in trade unionism through these seminars. This considerably helped to improve the image of the mother body and it equally helped entice some unions to join the Congress as they saw the benefits. These benefits included being trained in industrial relations among other skills such as administration and accounts.⁹⁸

It must be pointed out that the problem which the Congress faced in attracting trade union members in its initial stage was due to the fact that some unions did not see the need to belong to the Congress as they saw no benefits of doing so. This was worse in cases where those unions were more stable financially than ZCTU. The Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) was one such union which was hesitant to join ZCTU because of its strong financial position.⁹⁹ This situation was so because government did not make it explicit in the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance Bill to have unions affiliate to ZCTU as a requirement for their existence. Instead government only hoped that trade unions would on their own affiliate to ZCTU. The government only promised to help ZCTU to attract member unions by stating that unions which joined it would be helped by government to ensure that employers deducted union dues from the

⁹⁸Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for February, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p. 3. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁹⁹NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Secretary General's Report, 21st January, 1966, p.3.

workers.¹⁰⁰ But still those unions who felt that they did not need such help from government like MUZ continued to resist joining the Congress.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, the leadership of Congress did not relent but continued lobbying unions to join. In their lobbying, they told trade unions that membership to ZCTU would enhance their status symbol as compared to other unions who did not join. Their argument was that belonging to the Congress meant that those unions had an amplified voice when it came to fighting for better conditions of service for their workers as ZCTU would back them in that respect.¹⁰²

The Congress was eager to have affiliate members not only for the sake of it, being the mother body of trade unions, but in order for it to also enjoy financial independence from government, since its members would pay subscriptions. However, financial independence for ZCTU was a challenge not only to the Congress but also to government which had to render financial help from time to time.¹⁰³ This was because when the Congress was set up, it was not financially sound. Government then decided to assist it with a loan of £ 5,000 repayable within a period of eighteen months and in addition, President Kaunda made a personal donation of £1, 500.¹⁰⁴ All this was in an effort to help the Congress with some of its financial woes. This was not the only help the Zambian government gave to the new Congress. It also ensured that it paid off all the debts amounting to about £6,000 incurred by the dissolved UTUC and the reason for this was to help ZCTU to begin with a clean record.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.72.

¹⁰¹NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Secretary General's Report, 21st January, 1966, p.3.

¹⁰²GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.75.

¹⁰³National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ) /MLSS1/26/264/2309-1965-1970 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, Accounts; Memorandum by the Minister of Labour and Social Development, 27th May, 1966, p.2.

¹⁰⁴NAZ/MLSS1/26/264/2309-1965-1970 Memorandum by the Minister of Labour and Social Development, 27th May, 1966, p.2.

¹⁰⁵NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Secretary General's Report, 21st January, 1966, p.2.

However, in spite of all this financial help from government and the Republican president himself, ZCTU continued to struggle financially. This prompted government to pass Statutory Instrument No. 448 of 1967 which came into effect on 1st January, 1968. This instrument amended the rate of subscriptions to ZCTU by member unions to twenty per cent and this immediately doubled the income of the Congress.¹⁰⁶ With an increased membership who paid subscription and increased rate of subscription, ZCTU became at least financially stable. Its leadership therefore, with the help of government, lobbied for membership and by 1967 the Congress managed to at least have twelve member unions from all sectors of the Zambian economy.¹⁰⁷ Financially, this number of affiliates was a blessing for the Congress.

Another challenge which ZCTU had to deal with was as regards its authority over affiliate unions. The newly elected leaders of ZCTU felt that the past leaders of ZCTU did not do enough to strengthen its authority over the affiliate unions. The General Secretary in particular, Wilson Chakulya was of the view that a strong Congress needed to have unquestionable authority over its affiliate unions. This idea unfortunately did not receive much support from the affiliate unions as some felt that they were more powerful than ZCTU considering the fact that they were even able to pay better wages to their leaders than ZCTU was paying its officials.¹⁰⁸ This factor alone lowered the prestige of ZCTU to the point of even failing to control the affiliated unions on a number of issues such as how to conduct themselves during a dispute with management. However, it did not deter ZCTU leaders from working hard to establish the Congress as a powerful workers' movement.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year, 1968, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1969), p. 30. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

¹⁰⁷Annual Labour Report, 1967, p.12.

¹⁰⁸Annual Labour Report, 1967, p.12.

¹⁰⁹Annual Labour Report, 1967, p.12.

In working hard to cement its authority, ZCTU started to get involved more in supporting its affiliate unions on matters of collective bargaining and training its affiliate members in industrial relations.¹¹⁰ Slowly, the unions started recognising the authority of the Congress. This could be seen, for instance, when ZCTU was trusted to organise a meeting in September of 1967 by the executive councillors of the National Union of Transport and General Workers and the Zambia Long Distance and Heavy Haulage Union in Kitwe where the two unions dissolved and merged into a new union called the National Union of Transport and Allied Workers.¹¹¹ The mandate given to the Congress to unite the two trade unions showed that ZCTU was gaining the trust and confidence of workers and unions in its quest to be a forceful federation of trade unions in Zambia.

By 1968, there was no doubting among the Zambian worker and public that ZCTU had established itself as a workers' voice. As a way of showing that it had the support of a good number of workers in Zambia, the Congress went on to organise the first ever Labour Day celebrations in Zambia on 1st May, 1968 and about 60,000 workers commemorated the event which was addressed by President Kenneth Kaunda in Kitwe.¹¹² The growth of ZCTU delighted the UNIP government. This helped build a warm relationship between the Congress and its affiliates, consequently leading to a stronger and better labour movement.

As Liato observed, in the first ten years of its existence, ZCTU had leaders who were politically oriented to UNIP and its government and therefore regarded trade union interests as subordinate, but from the 1970s, economically oriented trade unionists ascended to the leadership of

¹¹⁰Monthly Labour Report for February, 1967, p.3.

¹¹¹Annual Labour Report, 1967, p.12.

¹¹²Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for May, 1968, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), p.3. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

ZCTU.¹¹³ These leaders placed emphasise on the economic interests of workers and the need for the Congress to maintain its organisational autonomy, perceiving this to be a necessary part of the country's development.¹¹⁴

2.4 The Organisational Structure of ZCTU

The organisational structure of an institution refers to a system used to define a hierarchy within an organisation. It identifies each job, its function and where it reports to within the organisation. This structure is developed to establish how an organisation should operate and assists an organisation to achieve its goals to allow for future growth.¹¹⁵ For an organisation such as the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions which had a national agenda, such a structure had to be solid in order to serve effectively. The structure of any trade union or congress is determined by the history of its formation, its membership and coverage, as well as its nature.¹¹⁶ The nature of ZCTU was and still is that of a federation of trade unions and not a trade union in its self.

The establishment and running of ZCTU generated a number of interests from a number of stakeholders who included workers, labour leaders and politicians. Its success was paramount especially to the UNIP elite who championed its establishment. The success or failure of ZCTU depended on its organisational structure. From the onset, arguments were raised that the labour movement in independent Zambia should not take up the form of the British type but must have its own structure which was tailored to the Zambian environment.¹¹⁷ The argument being that the

¹¹³Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p. 11.

¹¹⁴Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.11.

¹¹⁵Lucy Friend, "What is the meaning of Organizational Structure?" in www.smallbusiness.chron.com/meaning-organisational-structure-3803.html. (Accessed on 6th June, 2016).

¹¹⁶Hassan A. Sunmonu, *Trade Unionism in Nigeria: Challenges for the 21st Century*, (Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1996), p.4.

¹¹⁷Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.21, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Second Session of the Second National Assembly, 7th January-25th March, 1970, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1970), p.508. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.21).

organisational structure had to be aware of the needs and aspirations of the Zambian worker. Efforts were made to ensure that the organisational structure of the congress was tailored to the Zambian needs. The views by politicians were that the organisational structure should help to mobilise the workers for national activities and that it should understand the problems of the nation. ZCTU was for example called upon by government to play a constructive role in the economic development of Zambia.¹¹⁸

The advantage which the Congress had as regards its organisational structure was that it was taking over already existing structures from the UTUC meaning that it merely had the task of strengthening and making these structures suit the Zambian environment. Therefore, it became easy for ZCTU to solidify its structure in order to serve its members, and the country as a whole better. The Organisational Structure ZCTU consisted of the Quadrennial Congress, the General Council, the Executive Committee, the Executive Board, the Secretariat, the Women's Committee, the District Congress and the District Committee.¹¹⁹ The allocation of duties and responsibilities for the organisational structure of ZCTU was determined by its constitution.¹²⁰

This section examines the organisational structure of ZCTU, paying particular attention to its historical development. The fact was that the organisational structure of the Congress had not always been the same. For instance, in its first ten years, the Executive Board was not there but

¹¹⁸Neo R. Simutanyi, "Political Economy of Workers' Participation: Role of Trade Unions in promoting Industrial Participatory Democracy in Zambia," M.A. Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1987, p.35.

¹¹⁹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), 1996 Amended Constitution, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1997), p.21.

¹²⁰Interview with Newsteadimba, Former Secretary General of the ZCTU and also Minister of Labour, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

was included later as ZCTU grew in strength.¹²¹ Some organs had to have their functions increased or decreased in line with the changing times as will be seen.

2.4.1 Quadrennial Congress

The Quadrennial Congress was from inception vested with the supreme authority of the ZCTU. The Quadrennial Congress had not remained the same from inception of ZCTU to 2011. Changes were made to it following the government's change of its industrial relations acts over the years especially those changes made in 1971 and 1990 respectively. The notable changes involved its composition of members.

From the beginning of ZCTU, the Quadrennial Congress consisted of the Executive Board, the General Council, Heads of Department, Regional and Labour Council Secretaries and delegates elected by each member union.¹²² Later in 1971 following the passing of the Industrial Relations Act (IRA), the Quadrennial Congress came to consist of the members of the Executive Board, Executive Committee, all members of the Women's Committee and delegates elected by each National Union according to the size of its membership.¹²³ Departmental Heads and Labour Council Secretaries were later omitted from the composition of the Quadrennial Congress in line with changing times as ZCTU moved forward away from the era of the one-party state.¹²⁴

In as far as the representation of a union at the Quadrennial Congress was concerned; its strength lay in numbers.¹²⁵ The membership of a particular union determined its number of representatives at the Quadrennial Congress. This was subject to amendments. From 1964 to

¹²¹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹²²National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/279/2314-1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; ZCTU Constitution, p.7.

¹²³ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.22.

¹²⁴Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016;
ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.22.

¹²⁵Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, (Lusaka: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2010), p.11.

2011, the number of technocrats in the Quadrennial Congress reduced in preference to an increase in the number of delegates. It was primarily for that reason that Departmental Heads and Labour Council Secretaries were later omitted from the composition of the Quadrennial Congress.¹²⁶ Later in 1998, the ZCTU Secretary General's Report argued that the situation could have been so especially in the third republic due to reduced income for the mother body.¹²⁷

The responsibilities or functions of the Quadrennial Congress increased from the initial three to eight as of 2011. When ZCTU was first formed the Quadrennial Congress was only concerned with the election of its president, the Deputy President, General Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Trustees. It also was concerned with the election of the executive board members as well as consideration of any or all of the functions of the Annual Conference.¹²⁸ The Quadrennial Congress had eight functions and they included the consideration of the Secretary General's report for the preceding period of four years and programme of activities for the next succeeding four year period as well as the election of its President and other executive board members among other functions.¹²⁹

The Quadrennial Congress changed over time in both structure and responsibilities. One of its other notable changes involved its name and the time of meeting. According to Newstead Zimba, who served in ZCTU for nineteen years as Vice President, Acting President and Secretary General respectively, the Quadrennial Congress changed from being known as Quadrennial Congress to General Convention. Zimba noted that the name change to General Convention took place at the beginning of 1970 at which time the Supreme Council of ZCTU met every three years. However, the Supreme Council changed again to Quadrennial Congress after the passing

¹²⁶Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

¹²⁷ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p. 22.

¹²⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Constitution, p.7.

¹²⁹For more on the functions of the Quadrennial Congress, refer to the ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, pp. 23-24.

of the Industrial Relations Act of 1971. This was because it had to meet every four years to carry out its mandate as prescribed in the Constitution of ZCTU.¹³⁰

2.4.2 General Council

The General Council of ZCTU was the second organ in the organisational structure of the Congress. It had a number of responsibilities which it carried out every time it met as mandated by the constitution of ZCTU. The General Council had different meeting periods during its lifetime. At one time it used to meet every four months between 1966 and 1977. Later the constitution was amended in 1978 and it started meeting every six months between 1978 and 1993.¹³¹ Finally, from 1994 to 2011, it met every two years, subject to being summoned by the Executive Board or the Secretary General in consultation with the President upon giving notice of not less than thirty days.¹³²

The composition of the General Council has changed over time. By 1973, the General Council consisted of the Executive Board and two Executive members of each member union.¹³³ It then moved to having representation from member unions based on the number of that particular union's representation instead of the umbrella number of two. By the mid-1990s to 2011, the General Council consisted of the Executive Board, Executive Committee, the Youth Committee, and representatives of the National Unions according to the size of their membership.¹³⁴ The inclusion of the Youth Committee made the General Council more representative. The only

¹³⁰Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹³¹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹³²ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.26.

¹³³NAZ/ MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Constitution, p.8.

¹³⁴ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p. 26.

problem with the Youth Committee was that it was only active during Council meetings and during youth day celebrations.¹³⁵

The General Council has had defined responsibilities to undertake over the years. Many of these responsibilities or powers have stood the test of time except for changes in their wording. To this end, the powers and functions of the General Council to December 2011 included addressing matters of finances for the Congress through the authorisation of loans, mortgages, and similar forms of help from people, commercial banks, organisations and even the Zambian government, and considering any union decision referred to it among other functions.¹³⁶

Some of the functions of the General Council were amended in line with prevailing political conditions. For example, in the Third Republic, the General Council was mandated to approve, authorise or sanction the soliciting for funds even from foreign governments.¹³⁷ Such a stance was not allowed during the UNIP days where government categorically stopped ZCTU and trade unions in general from getting financial aid from foreign agencies as it was felt that they were partly the cause of the confusion and weakening of the labour movement in the country.¹³⁸ In a move of appeasement to the UNIP government, ZCTU amended the powers of the General Council to suit government. For instance, at the height of UNIP's one party state in 1978, ZCTU enshrined as one of the functions of the General Council that:

On recommendation of the Executive Committee, the General Council may approve or sanction the obtaining of a loan from any person, union, bank, building society, corporation or Government of the Republic of Zambia of the investments and property of the Congress or on such other terms as may be negotiable.¹³⁹

¹³⁵Interview with Kennedy Sichinsambwe, Director of Workers Education and Training at CSAWUZ, 30th May, 2016.

¹³⁶For more on the functions of the General Council, refer to the ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, pp.28-29.

¹³⁷ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p. 26.

¹³⁸GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.71.

¹³⁹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), 1978 Amended Constitution, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1979), p.12.

However, with the fall of the one party state, ZCTU amended that same clause and included a part where obtaining money from foreign governments, organisations, persons, banks or corporate entities was allowed.¹⁴⁰ This shows that some clauses under the function of the General Council were amended to suit the prevailing political environment while others were amended to make the General Council function more effectively.

2.4.3 Executive Committee

This is where top members of ZCTU meet with elected officials of member unions to discuss pertinent issues which need immediate attention within ZCTU.¹⁴¹ The Executive Committee did not remain the same as regards its composition and functions. During the First and Second Republics, its composition was made up of the Chairman General, the Vice Chairman General, the Secretary General, and two Assistant Secretary Generals, three trustees and Secretary Generals of National Unions or one representative of each union.¹⁴² In the Third Republic, the composition of the Executive Committee changed to include the President, two Deputy Presidents, the Secretary General, two Deputy Secretary Generals, Four Trustees, General Secretaries of National Unions, two representative of the Women's Committee, two representative of Youth Committee and, an associate member who would be represented by not more than one representative who could take part in the deliberations of the Committee, but could not have the powers to vote.¹⁴³ The Executive Committee sought to be more representative. For instance it was agreed at the 1998 Quadrennial Congress that women should also be included

¹⁴⁰ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.28.

¹⁴¹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹⁴²ZCTU, 1978 Amended Constitution, p.18.

¹⁴³ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.29.

in the Committee and this was done.¹⁴⁴ The composition of the Executive Committee as of December, 2011 showed an all-round representation of everyone involved with ZCTU.

The meeting times of the Executive Committee also changed with changing times. During the First and Second Republics, it met at least once every four months. However, extra-ordinary meetings of the Executive Committee were summoned at any time by the Secretary General in consultation with the president.¹⁴⁵ In the Third Republic, the Executive Committee met at least twice a year to deal with matters prescribed to it by the constitution.¹⁴⁶

As regards its functions, the Executive Committee was mostly concerned with the general well-being of the congress and the discipline of officials, affiliate members or associate members.¹⁴⁷ The powers and functions of the Executive Committee seemed to have been well defined in the Third Republic unlike in the First and Second Republic. For example, in the first two Republics, there was not much written to give direction to the Executive Committee other than stating that it would be responsible to the General Council, its composition and when it was supposed to meet.¹⁴⁸ However, the amendment of the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 in 1990, ZCTU sought to make their organisational structure even more viable and one way of doing this was to clearly define the roles of its structures.

2.4.4 Executive Board

The Executive Board of ZCTU was non-existent until the 1978 when it was included in the amended constitution.¹⁴⁹ The major reason why it was agreed that there should be an executive

¹⁴⁴ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.14.

¹⁴⁵ZCTU, 1978 Amended Constitution, p.18.

¹⁴⁶ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.29.

¹⁴⁷See ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, for more on the functions of the Executive Committee, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴⁸ZCTU, 1978 Amended Constitution, p.18.

¹⁴⁹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

board of ZCTU was that prior to its formation, executive members of ZCTU would differ publicly in front of the affiliate members during the Quadrennial Congresses and this painted a very bad picture to the general membership.¹⁵⁰ And so to avoid such public bickering among the top leadership, the Executive Board was created so that issues could be ironed out within a meeting of the top leadership. By the time an issue was tabled at a public forum, the top leadership would have already discussed it at length.¹⁵¹

The composition of the Executive Board has changed over time. Initially it consisted of the President, the Deputy President, the General Secretary, the Assistant General Secretary, the Financial Secretary, three Trustees, and the Chief Executive Officers of seven member unions with the largest following.¹⁵² The notable inclusion to this composition was that of the Chief Executive officers of seven unions who had the largest following. These were not elected members of ZCTU. However, in the ZCTU Executive Board of the Third Republic, the Chief Executive officers of the seven unions were omitted. The Executive Board from 1994 and beyond included; the President, first Deputy President, second Deputy President, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General (Organisation and Administration), Deputy Secretary General (Finance and Business Administration) and four Trustees.¹⁵³

In early 1990, there was a wave of feminism in the world. The United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women observed that the statistical picture of women's participation at high levels of decision making was bleak.¹⁵⁴ Governments and a number of institutions yielded to the call by the United Nations to increase women representation following the Beijing Conference of

¹⁵⁰Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹⁵¹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹⁵²NAZ/ MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Constitution, p.9.

¹⁵³ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.31.

¹⁵⁴Bizeck J. Phiri, "Gender and politics: The Zambia national women's lobby group in 2001 tripartite elections," in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, (Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2008), pp.261.

1995 in China. In their quest to be relevant and socially conscience, ZCTU also decided to include women on their board. Therefore in the amended constitution of the Third Republic, women were included. The Chairperson of the Women's Committee was made a member of the Executive Board. ZCTU equally recognised the importance of youths as future leaders. To this end, the Chairperson of the Youth Committee was also made a member of the Executive Board.¹⁵⁵

The Executive Board in spite of it being constituted initially to avoid embarrassments among the top leaders during the general meetings of ZCTU by ironing out their differences behind closed doors¹⁵⁶ was given defined functions later in its life span. Top on its functions was the mandate to manage the daily affairs of the business of ZCTU.¹⁵⁷

The functions of the Executive Board were all primarily concerned with the welfare and smooth running of ZCTU. What was notable from its functions was that the Executive Board was not dictatorial in its operations and functions as regards policy as it was accountable to the Executive Committee. In as much as the Executive Board held its meetings behind closed doors, when it came to matters which centred on policy, the Executive Board was scrutinised by the Executive Committee. This transparency helped with the smooth running of ZCTU as a whole.

The Executive Board has had different meeting times from 1978 when it was constituted through to 2011. Between 1978 and 1994, the Executive Board used to meet more often than it did between 1995 and 2011. During the reign of the UNIP government for example, the Executive Board used to have ordinary meetings once every month; provided an extra-ordinary meeting of

¹⁵⁵ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.31.

¹⁵⁶Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹⁵⁷See all its functions in the ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p. 32.

the Executive Board was summoned at any time by the President of ZCTU.¹⁵⁸ Scholars may have different views as to why the meetings of the Executive Board were more frequent during the UNIP days as compared to the MMD days. However, one reason could be that ZCTU had developed into an unofficial opposition to UNIP which constantly gave checks and balances to government of the day.¹⁵⁹ The Executive Board therefore had to constantly meet to discuss some of the pertinent issues facing society and the Zambian worker in particular.

During the Third Republic however, the amended constitution of ZCTU reduced the meeting times of the Executive Board and allowed it to meet at least three times in a year.¹⁶⁰ That was a major reduction, especially at the time when ZCTU faced both internal and external problems concerning its own membership and finances, due to harsh economic realities following the liberalisation of the economy by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy Government.¹⁶¹ One would have expected the Board to have several meetings to tackle these challenges. Nevertheless, it was agreed that extra-ordinary board meetings could be convened to tackle pressing matters as long as they had the blessings of the president of ZCTU.¹⁶²

2.4.5 Secretariat

The Secretariat of ZCTU was the organ responsible for the central administrative duties of the Congress.¹⁶³ It played a crucial role in facilitating the operations of other line departments.¹⁶⁴ As a result of the financial challenges which ZCTU faced due to non-payment of subscription fees

¹⁵⁸NAZ/ MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Constitution p. 10.

¹⁵⁹Friday E. Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia: A Historical Perspective," in Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *The Labour Movement in Zambia-A Monogram* (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011), p.21.

¹⁶⁰ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.31.

¹⁶¹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.2.

¹⁶²ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.31.

¹⁶³ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.28.

¹⁶⁴Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, 31st October to 3rd November, 2006, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2006), p.44.

by some of its affiliates over its lifespan, the Secretariat on many occasions had to make do with the meagre resources allocated to it.¹⁶⁵ But that did not deter it from working. Together with other line departments, the Secretariat ensured that ZCTU programmes and activities were running. One such programme was the workers' education programme in which the Secretariat worked in conjunction with the Department of Workers Education and Training to improve the status of labour leaders in Zambia by enhancing their awareness and knowledge to meet the ever increasing challenges which confronted the trade unions.¹⁶⁶

The Secretariat from inception of the Congress had been involved also in capacity building through research activities in line with the prevailing social, economic and political environment in Zambia's development. This had helped not only ZCTU but its affiliated unions with policy frame-works. The Secretariat had over the years kept and managed the records of the Congress and ensured that acceptable standards of communication processes existed for a better and reliable system, necessary for modern administration.¹⁶⁷

2.4.6 Women's Committee

The Women's Committee was included to the Organisational Structure of ZCTU in 1978. Its aim was to fully integrate gender at all levels in the developmental process in order to ensure equality and equity between women and men for sustainable development.¹⁶⁸ Its composition consisted of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and three committee members of ZCTU Women's Committee; Chairpersons and Secretaries of the women committees of the National Unions.¹⁶⁹ ZCTU, especially at the beginning of the 1990s, worked in

¹⁶⁵ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p. 20.

¹⁶⁷ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p. 7.

¹⁶⁸ZCTU, 1978 Amended Constitution, p.26.

¹⁶⁹ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p. 34.

collaboration with government to ensure that women were well represented in trade unions at all levels of decision making. To achieve this, the Women's Committee was given the mandate to improve the welfare of women in the labour movement.¹⁷⁰

In 1998, the Women's Committee was also mandated to ensure that ZCTU affiliates recruited more women in their respective unions.¹⁷¹ Following that decision, there was a steady rise in the number of women in most of ZCTU affiliate unions. The gender distribution of trade union membership over the years showed a bias towards men. The Women's Committee worked tirelessly to ensure that the situation changed and by 2002, five unions had at least 50 per cent or over of female representation. These were CBUW, CSUZ, NUCW, UHDWUZ and ZULAWU.¹⁷² (See Appendix 3. for ZCTU Affiliate Unions' Female Membership in 2002).

Primarily, the Women's Committee was given the mandate to ensure that women were well represented in ZCTU affiliate unions and that they enjoyed the same rights and privileges as their men folk in the work place.¹⁷³ The Women's Committee worked towards capacity building for improved communication among women structures, training for women leaders, mobilisation and recruitment of membership and strengthening of women participation in the trade union movement.¹⁷⁴

2.4.7 District Congress

The District Congress had been meeting in various Districts once every four years from inception of ZCTU to 2011. It consisted of the District Committee, Regional Coordinator, two

¹⁷⁰ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.36.

¹⁷¹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.63.

¹⁷²Austin C. Muneku, Report: Trade Union Membership and Profile in Zambia, (Kitwe: ZCTU Economics and Research Department, 2002), p.18.

¹⁷³Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

¹⁷⁴ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.63.

representatives from each associate member operating within the district and representatives from each union.¹⁷⁵The whole idea of having a District Congress had been to ensure that the activities of the District Committee were monitored and guided. The District Congress had the mandate to organise ZCTU programmes at the grassroots, but to do that effectively, it had to be well composed. Just like the Quadrennial Congress or the General Council, representatives from all national unions were represented based on the number of their membership.¹⁷⁶

The District Congress existed ensure that the District Committees were functional. According to Newstead Zimba, the District Committee ensured that the right leaders were elected at district level and that district offices were coordinating ZCTU activities at that level smoothly.¹⁷⁷

2.4.8 District Committees

The District Committees were set up in 1966. They were very important in the Organisational Structure of ZCTU as they provided leadership and executed ZCTU activities countrywide.¹⁷⁸The District Committees consisted of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, Deputy Treasurer, three Committee members and one observer from each associate member operating in the district.¹⁷⁹ The District Committees were responsible for ZCTU programmes at district level. One of their paramount functions was to effectively assist in the organisation of trade unions and associate members operating within a District.¹⁸⁰ZCTU leadership ensured that District Committees were widespread. As of 2006,

¹⁷⁵ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p. 39.

¹⁷⁶ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.40.

¹⁷⁷Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

¹⁷⁸ ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, 31st October to 3rd November, 2006, p.55.

¹⁷⁹ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p. 40.

¹⁸⁰ ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p.12

there were sixty-five ZCTU District Committees country wide whose mandate was to ensure that ZCTU members at District level were served according to their needs.¹⁸¹

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the genesis of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. It has shown that the Congress was born out of a need by the UNIP government at the time to thwart the dissention in the labour movement and bring about industrial harmony which would help propel Zambia to the much needed development. The Zambia Congress was established by an Act of Parliament of 1964. It started operating officially on 10th of January 1966.

This chapter has also explored the challenges which ZCTU faced in its early years. One major challenge was on the role of ZCTU in the Zambian society. Stakeholders who included politicians tried to prescribe what they felt should be the role of ZCTU. However, ZCTU leaders respected the fact that its primary role was to partner government in bringing development to Zambia in line with government policy. They argued that its role in the Zambian society had an economic, social and political dimension to it. ZCTU carried out these roles on its own behalf and on the behalf of its affiliates. The other challenges ZCTU faced had to do with leadership. At the beginning of its operations, it was feared that the Congress did not have a capable leadership which would manage its affairs to carry out its major role as a partner in the government's quest to bring development to Zambia. ZCTU took it upon itself with the help of the government to address that leadership problem. The other challenge had to do with attracting members from all sectors of the economy, lack of adequate finances and exerting its authority over its members.

¹⁸¹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, 31st October to 3rd November, 2006, p.55.

This chapter has also looked at the Organisational Structure of ZCTU. ZCTU had eight organs in its structure and they were analysed accordingly. These structures included the Quadrennial Congress, the General Council, the Executive Committee, the Executive Board, the Secretariat, the Women's Committee, the District Congress and the District Committee. The fact was that the organisational structure of the Congress was not always the same from inception. It underwent changes in line with the changing labour laws or the availability of funds.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ZCTU, ITS AFFILIATES AND GOVERNMENT

3.1 Introduction

Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) is a federation of trade unions. That means that ZCTU does not exist on its own but relies on the support of its affiliates. At its peak in 1990, the Congress had a total membership of 343,443 from its eighteen affiliates. The government of Zambia played a vital role in that relationship based on the labour laws which were passed from 1964 onwards.¹⁸²

This chapter analyses the relationship between ZCTU, its affiliate unions and government. The chapter will first look at affiliate unions of ZCTU from its establishment taking into consideration their initial reluctance to affiliate. Thereafter, the laws regarding operations of the labour movement, particularly those which affected the operations of ZCTU, will be examined and then the chapter will focus on the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions. Secondly, the chapter will examine the early encounter of African trade unionism with politics prior to independence and thereafter focus will be cast on the relationship between ZCTU and successive governments up to 2011. Then a conclusion will be reached.

3.2 The Affiliate Unions of ZCTU

ZCTU could not exist on its own without the affiliate members. Its very existence centred on the fact that it was not a trade union but an association of trade unions.¹⁸³ Trade unions in Zambia were expected to affiliate to ZCTU. However, in the initial stage, affiliation to ZCTU was not

¹⁸²Darlington Amos Banda, *The Trade Union Situation in Zambia: An Overview of the Law Practice and the Way Forward-A Monograph*, (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung), 1997, pp.1-4.

¹⁸³Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.7, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Third Session (Resumed) of the First National Assembly, 20th July -23rd July, 1966,(Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.646. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.7).

automatic but was by application. According to the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance of 1965, affiliation to ZCTU was to be made by a trade union if a majority of the members of that particular union so resolved. Therefore, though it was expected that trade unions in Zambia would affiliate to the Congress, the law dictated that affiliation to ZCTU be based on the views of the members of that particular union.¹⁸⁴ That made matters difficult for ZCTU which was in dire need of members in order for it to be effective.

As of 24th December, 1965, the Congress had six trade unions affiliated to it and these included MLSA, ZMPA, NUBEGW, RAWU, NUPTW and NUPSW. This number was too small considering the number of industries with workers needing representation in the country.¹⁸⁵ By February, 1966, ZCTU improved on their quest to recruit members and its membership improved significantly to eleven trade unions namely NUBEGW, NUCIW, RAWU, ZNUT, NUPTW, MLSA, ZMAPA, ZLDHHU, NUPSW, NULAW and NUPAW.¹⁸⁶ Though there was this marked improvement in affiliated members, more work still needed to be done to ensure that more trade unions affiliated to the Congress. Unfortunately, by the end of 1969, the number of affiliates was still small as compared to the number of trade unions in the Country.¹⁸⁷ (See Appendix 4. for the list of ZCTU Affiliate Unions in 1969 and Appendix: 5. for ZCTU Affiliate Unions from 1966 to 1986).

¹⁸⁴National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; Notes on the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, 1965 and subsequent Legislation, p.5.

¹⁸⁵Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour; Report for December, 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.3. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

¹⁸⁶Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour; Report for February, 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.4. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

¹⁸⁷Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1969, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), p.31.(Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

The 1971 Industrial Relations Act made some radical changes as regards affiliation to ZCTU; section 26 of the Act made it mandatory for any trade union in Zambia to affiliate to ZCTU.¹⁸⁸ The Congress now had a stable membership and some level of control of the trade unions following the passing of this legislation. For example, where a dispute arose between two or more trade unions as to which of them had the exclusive right to represent employees of a particular industry, the parties to such disputes referred such disputes to the Congress for its decision.¹⁸⁹ ZCTU enjoyed such powers following the passing by government of the policy of one union, per industry.¹⁹⁰ The advantage of having one union in each industry was that the labour movement avoided the problem of multiple representations; inter union conflicts, multiplicity of negotiations within the industry as well as the problem of overlapping membership.¹⁹¹ It can be said that this put ZCTU in a good position for expansion and helping the nation with its objective of national development.

By 1972, ZCTU had eighteen national unions affiliated to it and these unions exercised their own rights to determine for themselves their own internal organisation and policy.¹⁹² ZCTU involved itself in the affairs of individual trade unions only when it came to offering technical and financial support where it was needed.¹⁹³ When it came to offering technical support the Congress took it upon itself to defend at all costs its eighteen member unions and to oppose and fight all designs aimed at maiming the work and structure of the labour movement.¹⁹⁴ This the top

¹⁸⁸Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1976, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977), p.15. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

¹⁸⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Industrial Relations Act No. 36 of 1971 of the Laws of Zambia, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1972), p.666. (Hereafter Industrial Relations Act).

¹⁹⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1974, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1975), p.18. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

¹⁹¹“Affiliation to the ZCTU,” URL <http://www.library.fes.de/.../zambia/00521b.html/>. (Accessed on 22nd July, 2016).

¹⁹²The Workers Voice, September, 1979.

¹⁹³The Workers Voice, September, 1979.

¹⁹⁴The Workers Voice, October, 1980.

leadership of ZCTU did even if it meant differing with the government.¹⁹⁵ The strong stance by the Congress to defend its membership made the workers to strongly rally behind ZCTU, making it one of the strongest in Southern Africa.¹⁹⁶ This research found that all this was possible because of the favourable Industrial Relations Act of 1971 which strengthened the labour movement in Zambia.

In 1990, the 1971 Industrial Relations Act was amended. It can be argued that this was the beginning of the weakening of the labour movement and ZCTU in particular. The 1990 Act allowed the proliferation of trade unions as it gave the workers the right to form more than one trade union per industry.¹⁹⁷ The then Minister of Labour and Social Services Lavu Mulimba, repeatedly explained in parliament and outside it that the amendment to the Act was meant to democratise the labour movement since that was what the workers wanted.¹⁹⁸ This was a misconstrued interpretation of the actual intentions of the labour movement by the government. The labour movement, particularly ZCTU, was calling for changes in the running of government from an authoritarian system to a real democratic structure of society because they felt that the country was in a crisis. The Secretary General of ZCTU argued in his report to the Quadrennial Congress in 1990 that:

Our country has entered a dramatic stage in its history after the events sweeping The one-party states in the world. The authoritarian and totalitarian systems, and one-party monopoly of power has equally brought the Zambian society to a deep crisis. Grave damage has been afflicted on the economy, the living standards and social security on man's moral principles and Zambia's international prestige.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵Times of Zambia, September 29, 1980.

¹⁹⁶Tayo Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," in *International Labour Organisation*, Issues No. 29, Sub-Region Office for Southern Africa, Zimbabwe, January 2008, p.7.

¹⁹⁷Friday E. Mulenga, "Fighting for democracy of the pocket: The labour movement in the Third Republic," in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar & Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories*, (Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2008), p.251.

¹⁹⁸National Mirror, March 16, 1992.

¹⁹⁹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 8th Quadrennial Congress, 25th to 27th October, 1990, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1990), p. ii.

Government passed the Industrial Relations Act of 1990 to punish the labour movement. After the passing of the 1990 amendment bill, the inevitable happened and continued to happen as many unions were formed which contributed to conflicts between ZCTU with its affiliates.²⁰⁰ (See Appendix 6. For ZCTU Affiliates Unions in 1990 before the Negative impact of the Amendments to the IRA of 1990).

ZCTU found itself losing members because of the legal backing of proliferation of trade unions and in the process its strength and financial stability was compromised. Five strong trade unions, the Mineworkers Union of Zambia, the Zambia National Union of Teachers, Zambia Union for Financial Institutions and Allied Workers, the National Union of Building, Engineering and General Workers, and the National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers, disaffiliated from ZCTU in 1994.²⁰¹ The splits by the five unions seemed to have encouraged other unions to do the same. There were splits in national unions which exposed the weaknesses and failure of ZCTU to hold on to its members. The situation was made worse with the formation of the FFTUZ in 1998.²⁰²

However, ZCTU managed to organise itself in order to be relevant and still retained the bigger number of affiliates, a trend which continued to 2011. For example, as of 1998, there were twenty-seven trade unions in Zambia. Out of that number, twenty-three were affiliated with ZCTU. By 2002 affiliation to ZCTU had increased to twenty-six out of the total of twenty-nine registered unions in the country and the trend continued.²⁰³ Had the labour laws remained strong and favourable as they were before 1990, the Congress would have avoided the splits.

²⁰⁰Friday E. Mulenga, "Fighting for democracy of the pocket," p.251.

²⁰¹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1998), p.5.

²⁰²ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.13.

²⁰³Interview with Leonard Hikaumba, Former President of the ZCTU, Lusaka District, 10th June, 2016.

It can be argued that the increase in national unions affiliated to the Congress did not in any way show that ZCTU was growing in strength. Rather the opposite was true. The national unions which had mushroomed in Zambia were once part of the initial eighteen ZCTU affiliates but changes in the law caused them to mushroom. (Appendix 7. Shows ZCTU Membership Trends from 1990 to 2006). By 2010, the trade union situation was worrisome for ZCTU which could only hope that trade unions representing the same group of workers would one day merge into one union and reduce on the proliferation which existed.²⁰⁴

ZCTU could not deny the fact that the proliferation of trade unions had weakened it and the labour movement in general.²⁰⁵ The proliferation of trade unions was something which even worried government. For instance President Rupiah Banda on 1st May, 2010 stated that government was concerned with the proliferation of trade unions whose multiplicity within the same industries exerted pressure on the employers as they had to negotiate with every union separately. He said this tended to weaken the bargaining power of the unions and took away much of the needed time for production.²⁰⁶

3.3 Legislation which guided the Labour Movement in Zambia

It is important to understand the legislation which guided the labour movement in Zambia from 1964 to 2011. We have argued that the legislation guiding the operation of the labour movement was critical when it came to the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions. There were

²⁰⁴Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, (Lusaka: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2010), p.11.

²⁰⁵ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p.11.

²⁰⁶Sunday Times of Zambia, May 2, 2010.

about fifteen major laws that regulated labour and labour relations in Zambia.²⁰⁷ The government made attempts to extensively control the labour movement in Zambia, particularly ZCTU.²⁰⁸

There were many laws which successive governments used to regulate labour and labour relations in Zambia. The notable ones which this study will examine in detail include the 1965 Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, the 1971 Industrial Relations Act, the 1990 Industrial Relations (amendment) Act, the 1993 Industrial and Labour Relations Act and the Industrial Relations Act of 1997.

To begin with, it has been argued that the 1965 Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (amendment) Act was designed to encourage the development of a strong and independent trade union movement which would carry out its functions in a manner best suited to further the interests of workers and the nation generally. It was this same piece of legislation which affected the operations of ZCTU.²⁰⁹ Before the 1965 legislation was passed, the UNIP government pointed out in parliament that it wanted a situation where sanity was introduced to the labour movement following the continued disruption of industrial harmony which was partly blamed on foreign influences on the trade union movement.²¹⁰ They further argued that the 1965 legislation would help government to have a considerable amount of control over the labour movement and that this would help ensure industrial harmony and national development.²¹¹ This was what led to the passing of the 1965 Trade Unions and Trade Dispute Ordinance (amendment) Act. It should

²⁰⁷Herbert Jauch, *Trade Unions in Africa*, (Johannesburg: African Labour Research Network, 2003), p. 9.

²⁰⁸Paschal Miho, "Against Overwhelming Odds: The Zambian Trade Union Movement," in Henk Thomas (ed.), *Globalization and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*, (London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995), p. 201.

²⁰⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.23. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

²¹⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.1b, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the First Session of the First National Assembly, Daily Hansard Tuesday 15th December, 1964, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.71. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b).

²¹¹Mbaalala B. Munungu, "Trade Union Development and the Law in Zambia," M.A dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988, p.86.

be noted that the 1965 Act was a continuation of the colonial law which had a number of its clauses amended to suit the Zambian situation at the time.²¹²

New provisions governing the qualifications of trade union officials and prohibition of certain kinds of assistance were also introduced by this 1965 legislation.²¹³ The provision regarding the prohibition of certain kinds of assistance was included so as to avoid a situation where the labour movement received funding from institutions or government who would influence the labour movement to overthrow or to jeopardise the developmental projects of government.²¹⁴ At the same time, provisions were included to ensure that the trade unions and the Congress were financially viable. The Minister of Labour was empowered to make an order requiring the employers to deduct union dues from their employees' wages for remission to a trade union.²¹⁵ This was a welcome move to trade unions considering that for a long time prior to independence, trade unions and the federations struggled to raise funds from their members.

The 1965 Ordinance was later replaced by the 1971 Industrial Relations Act. It has been argued that the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 (IRA of 1971) was enacted as a means to achieve the goals of the UNIP government in terms of labour relations.²¹⁶ However, what cannot be disputed is the fact that the Act created a prominent position for ZCTU and determined that the organisation would be the central regulatory agency for trade union affairs in Zambia.²¹⁷

²¹²Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.2, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Second Session of the First National Assembly, 12th January-22nd January, 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965) p.17. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.2).

²¹³Annual Labour Report, 1965, p.23.

²¹⁴Friday E. Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia: A Historical Perspective," in Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *The Labour Movement in Zambia-A Monograph*, (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011), p.6.

²¹⁵Annual Labour Report, 1965, p.23.

²¹⁶Lise Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation: A Study of Party Labour Relations in Zambia," Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, Report No.6, 1992, p.82.

²¹⁷Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.82.

The Act also ensured that each industry had only one union and if a trade union was found to purport to represent a class or classes of workers already represented by or eligible for membership of another trade union, such a trade union was not registered.²¹⁸ The inclusion of such a clause in the labour laws strengthened the labour movement in that the divisions which rocked it as a result of the proliferation of trade unions were a thing of the past.²¹⁹ It can be argued here that employers now had to deal with one union only when it came to negotiations and this reduced the number of meetings held at the expense of national development.

The IRA of 1971 further ensured that all the trade unions in the country were automatically affiliated to the Congress by stating in Part II section 15 that:

From the commencement of this Act-

- (a) every trade union which is in possession of a valid certificate of registration issued under the provisions of the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance-
 - i. shall be deemed to have been duly registered under this Act as if it were in fact registered under this Act; and
 - ii. shall be deemed to be a trade union duly affiliated to the Congress under this Act.²²⁰

The IRA of 1971 furthermore made it mandatory for trade unions to remit subscriptions to ZCTU and that such subscriptions were to be in equal proportion to the prescription made in the constitution of ZCTU of the total deductions made.²²¹ The benefits of this were that ZCTU was able to strengthen its administrative structure by ensuring that full time staff was employed to run the programmes of the Congress.²²²

²¹⁸Industrial Relations Act of 1971, p.654.

²¹⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Mines, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year, 1964, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1965), p.18. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

²²⁰Industrial Relations Act of 1971, p.658.

²²¹Industrial Relations Act of 1971, p.663.

²²²Interview with Hikaumba, Former President of ZCTU, Lusaka District, 10th June, 2016.

During this period ZCTU saw the rise of economically oriented leaders. These leaders were very much concerned with the economic well-being of their members and their allegiance was more with the worker and not the government.²²³ The financial status of ZCTU was the concern of many stakeholders who wanted to see the Congress financially stable which would consequently lead it to perform to the greater good of its affiliates and the nation. The government for instance argued that its concern over the finances of ZCTU arose from its desire to see that the labour movement did not disintegrate into a worthless organisation bearing in mind its importance when it came to maintaining good industrial relations and improving the working conditions in Zambia.²²⁴

Another important development out of the IRA of 1971 was the establishment of the Industrial Relations Court.²²⁵ The Industrial Relations court made it possible for trade unions and even the Congress itself to take an employer to Court on matters which the Labour Commissioner for example failed to arbitrate or did arbitrate but the union still felt aggrieved by the verdict passed.²²⁶ The IRA of 1971 stated that:

...it was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Court to resolve any ambiguity brought to its notice by any of the parties concerned in any collective agreement, its award or decision, and the Court may give its decision on any such ambiguity only after hearing the parties concerned and its decision thereon shall be final and binding upon the parties, and such decision shall be deemed to form part of the collective agreement, award or decision.²²⁷

²²³Beatrice B. Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," PhD Thesis, The University of Leeds, 1989, p.141.

²²⁴National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966 Trade Unions; United Trade Union Congress now to be Zambia Congress of Trade Unions JA/128 Vol. V; The Minister of Labour and Social Services' Address to the General Council of the ZCTU 12/07/71, p. 22.

²²⁵Industrial Relations Act of 1971, p.692.

²²⁶Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.84.

²²⁷Industrial Relations Act of 1971, p.694.

The Court had the responsibility of doing substantial justice to all matters before it and was therefore relatively free from technicalities that abound in ordinary courts.²²⁸

The 1971 Industrial Relations Act was also replaced by the 1990 Industrial Relations (amendment) Act. This Act was seen by the labour movement as a complete departure from the Industrial Relations Act of 1971.²²⁹ There was a strong conviction among ZCTU leadership that the Act was passed in order to destroy or weaken the labour movement in Zambia.²³⁰ In their defence, the UNIP government argued that the new Act was introduced in the spirit of pluralism.²³¹ However, evidence suggests that the UNIP government seemed angered by the call by the workers through their union leaders for pluralism in the political arena. The government then rushed a bill to parliament to amend the 1971 Industrial Relations Act under the premise that the labour movement needed to be democratised since that was what the labour movement wanted.²³²

The notable changes in the 1990 Industrial Relations (amendment) Act were that the right to strike was limited, the one industry, one union clause was removed consequently encouraging splinter unions, and new tripartite structures of negotiations were established.²³³ To the worker, the 1990 Act removed the statutory obligation for the employer to provide housing and the early retirement facility in respect of Civil Servants.²³⁴ Clearly, the 1990 Act was not one passed to improve the labour movement and the welfare of the workers. It has been argued in the labour movement that this Act was passed so as to punish the labour movement for being a united force

²²⁸Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, Lusaka, December, 2003, p.14.

²²⁹Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.121.

²³⁰Interview with Newstead Zimba, Former Secretary General of the ZCTU and also Former Minister of Labour, Lusaka District, 18th May, 2016.

²³¹Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.121.

²³²National Mirror, March 16, 1992.

²³³Government of the Republic of Zambia, Industrial Relations Act No. 36 of 1990 of the Laws of Zambia (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1991), p.672. (Hereafter Industrial Relations Act).

²³⁴Industrial Relations Act of 1990, p.672.

against some of the policies of the UNIP government. ZCTU felt strongly that the IRA of 1990 was meant to threaten the existence of ZCTU and to undermine the cohesion of the labour movement.²³⁵

The IRA of 1990 however introduced some positive measures for the trade unions such as the revocation of the clause which made illegal strike activity result in detention, the lifting of travel restrictions imposed on union leaders and a clarification of the functions of Works Councils vis-à-vis trade unions.²³⁶ In spite of this, ZCTU maintained that the core reason of the IRA of 1990 was to weaken the labour movement in Zambia.²³⁷

The coming of the MMD into power in 1991 did not help matters for ZCTU and the labour movement in general when it came to the legislation concerned with the labour movement. ZCTU thought that since some former top trade unionists such as President Frederick Chiluba, Newstead Zimba and Chitalu Sampa were in the new government, some favourable laws would be passed to help strengthen the Congress. However, that was not the case.²³⁸

In 1993, the 1990 Act was replaced with the Industrial and Labour Relations Act (ILRA). The ILRA of 1993 was the first Act by the new MMD government in the Third Republic to put its own stamp relating to the formation and organisation of trade unions in Zambia.²³⁹ As earlier stated, having supported the MMD government during the re-introduction of multiparty democracy, the labour movement particularly ZCTU thought the MMD government would favourably pass laws which would strengthen it, but the government was undoubtedly reluctant

²³⁵Jauch, *Trade Unions in Africa*, p.9.

²³⁶Industrial Relations Act of 1990, p.674.

²³⁷Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.122.

²³⁸Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

²³⁹Fanuel K.M. Sumaili, "Trade Unions – Political Party Relations under Zambia's Changed Political and Economic Realities", Paper presented at Mulungushi Conference Center during the Patriotic Front-Trade Union Dialogue under the theme, "Labour Legislation and Trade Union Organisation in the Third Republic," 23rd -24th April, 2012, p. 6.

to tinker with Part II of the Act which dealt with trade unions.²⁴⁰For instance, ZCTU was interested in seeing the MMD government change section 17(b) of the ILRA, which gave the mandate to affiliate or not to affiliate to the Congress, to its favour but the government did not change it.²⁴¹ Section 17(b) of the ILRA of 1993 stated that:

A trade union affiliated to the Congress may by a simple majority decision of the members present and voting at a general conference of that trade union cease to be affiliated to the Congress.²⁴²

Leaving the above law unchanged in the ILRA of 1993 was not good for ZCTU as it weakened it. This even necessitated the breakaway of five major affiliate unions of ZCTU namely Mineworkers' Union of Zambia (MUZ), National Union of Building, Engineering and General Workers (NUBEGW), Zambia Union of Financial Institutions and Allied Workers (ZUFIAW), Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) and National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers (NUCIW) in 1994.²⁴³

Leonard Hikaumba further observed that some sections of the ILRA of 1993 did not make ZCTU happy as its ripple effect negatively affected it.²⁴⁴For instance, ZCTU was not happy with section 5(i) which made it an individual's choice to belong or not to belong to a trade union²⁴⁵as well as section 22 (1) which ensured that the mandatory check-off system was stopped leaving the deduction of union membership fees to the discretion of the worker and employer²⁴⁶ and this left some unions in financial difficulties hence affecting the finances of the Congress as those Unions in financial challenges had arrears with their Congress subscriptions.

²⁴⁰Sumaili, "Trade Unions – Political Party Relations under Zambia's Changed Political and Economic Realities,"p.6.

²⁴¹Industrial Relations Act of 1990.

²⁴²Government of the Republic of Zambia, Industrial and Labour Relations Act Chapter 269 of 1993of the Laws of Zambia, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1994), p.10. (Hereafter Industrial Relations Act).

²⁴³Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.8.

²⁴⁴Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

²⁴⁵Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1993, p. 6.

²⁴⁶Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1993, p. 12.

Further, the Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1993 upheld the restriction on the right to strike under section 78.²⁴⁷ This made a strike action or lockout a complicated procedure which could even be overruled by the Minister of Labour after consultations with the Tripartite Consultative and Labour Council and an application to the Industrial Court on an argument that it was not in public interest.²⁴⁸

The ILRA of 1993 also established the Tripartite Consultative and Labour Council. This institution was intended to serve as the forum for dialogue on broader social and economic development. The creation of this body was crucial to the liberalisation programme as it was intended to allow for tripartite dialogue on the formulation and implementation of policies.²⁴⁹

The ILRA was amended again in 1997. This Act provided for the formation of union federations and employer organisations. For ZCTU, the biggest change which adversely affected its status in the Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1997 (ILRA of 1997) was the allowing, by law, of more than one federation of trade unions.²⁵⁰ This change weakened and affected the operations of the Congress as shortly after its passing, the Federation of Free Trade Unions (FFTUZ) became operational claiming the former members of ZCTU who included the MUZ, ZNUT, ZUFIW, NUBERG and NUCIW.²⁵¹ The amendments also redefined recognition and collective agreements and reviewed dispute settlement procedures.²⁵² The Act of 1997 introduced amendments to

²⁴⁷Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1993, p. 26.

²⁴⁸Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1993, p. 26.

²⁴⁹Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p. 16.

²⁵⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Industrial and Labour Relations Act Chapter 269 of 1997 of the Laws of Zambia, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1998), p.16. (Hereafter Industrial Relations Act).

²⁵¹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016;

Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

²⁵²Jauch, *Trade Unions in Africa*, p.9.

accommodate among others, the dictates of the liberalised political and economic environment.²⁵³

The Industrial Relations Act directed the operations of the labour movement in Zambia and in particular ZCTU from independence to the period under consideration. The Industrial Relations Act, in its original form and later on as an amended Act, provided detailed provisions on the rights of employees in respect of trade union membership and its activities, the establishment and organisation of trade unions and indeed employers' associations in Zambia.²⁵⁴

3.4 The Relationship between ZCTU and its Affiliate Unions

The primary role of trade unions is to improve the welfare of the workers. However, they need the support of their members and the national centre for them to perform that role effectively. ZCTU offered its support to its affiliate unions in their quest to improve and provide better conditions of service to their members. In a similar manner, ZCTU equally needs the support of its members for it to perform its duties effectively.

It has been discovered that the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions was one which was subject to a number of debates. Lise Rakner for instance, argues that the relationship between the Congress and its affiliated national unions had been an issue of conflict throughout the history of trade unionism in Zambia.²⁵⁵ The relationship was friendly at times and unfriendly at other times.

To start with, ZCTU and its affiliate unions were expected to enjoy a good working relationship so as to help foster national development because that was one of the fundamental reasons why

²⁵³Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, p. 6.

²⁵⁴Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, p.8.

²⁵⁵Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.141.

the Congress was set up in the first place.²⁵⁶ The legislation during the UNIP regime tended to support such good relations between the Congress and trade unions in Zambia. For example, the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance of 1965 gave ZCTU powers to approve some decisions to be carried out by trade unions before they could have effect.²⁵⁷

It can be argued then that trade unions needed to have a friendly relationship with ZCTU or it would not approve some of its decisions. The powers of ZCTU vis-à-vis affiliate unions included; to hold a strike ballot or call a strike, dissolve a trade union, reconstitute a trade union as two or more unions, amalgamate with one or more other trade unions, impose a levy, increase or decrease the subscriptions or affiliation fees of members, and to alter or amend the rules of a trade union or to change the organisational structure of a trade union.²⁵⁸

It was argued at that time in 1965 that the need for ZCTU to approve any of the decisions made by its affiliate unions gave it considerable control over its affiliates.²⁵⁹ With such powers, affiliate unions had no option but to ensure that they had a good relationship with the Congress. Of course affiliate unions exercised their own rights to determine for themselves their own internal organisation and policy.²⁶⁰ But as has been shown, the approval of ZCTU was necessary on some major decisions.

The good relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions could also be seen in the manner ZCTU promoted and safeguarded the interests of affiliate unions, and workers, throughout

²⁵⁶Liatto, *Organised Labour and the State in Zambia*, p.135.

²⁵⁷NAZ/ MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Notes on the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, 1965 and subsequent Legislation, p.3.

²⁵⁸NAZ/ MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Notes on the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, 1965 and subsequent Legislation, p.3.

²⁵⁹NAZ/ MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Notes on the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, 1965 and subsequent Legislation, p.3.

²⁶⁰The Workers Voice, September, 1979.

Zambia.²⁶¹For example, one of the traits of trade unions, it has been argued, was to enjoy their autonomy. But in Zambia, the UNIP government sought to control trade unions.²⁶²However, ZCTU with the backing of their affiliate trade unions resisted being incorporated into the government machinery and insisted on their autonomy.²⁶³ This militancy by ZCTU to safeguard its own autonomy and that of its affiliate members led the government to develop mistrust of ZCTU and the trade union movement in general. It alleged that the top leadership of the trade union movement was being used by outside forces of western capitalism among other such allegations.²⁶⁴ It can be argued therefore that though ZCTU lost the trust of the UNIP government which championed for its establishment, it gained the trust and friendship of its affiliate unions and hence fostered a good relationship with them.

In the same way, when conditions of service for the workers deteriorated in the 1980s for example, ZCTU stood by the workers and in the process cemented their relationship with them. For instance, on 28th September 1980, Frederick Chiluba, the chairman general or president of ZCTU, warned government that if it did nothing to respond favourably to the call by the workers through their respective unions to improve their conditions of service, ZCTU would be left with no option but to call for a national wide strike by the end of the year.²⁶⁵Such was the militancy of ZCTU on behalf of their affiliate unions. To its credit, all the eighteen affiliate unions through their representatives present at that meeting addressed by Chiluba pledged their support to ZCTU

²⁶¹National Archives of Zambia (Thereafter NAZ)/ MLSS1 26/258/2307-1965-1967 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; Government of Zambia, Statutory Instrument No.228 of 1965, p.1107.

²⁶²Friday E. Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness Among African Railway Workers in Zambia, 1953-1972," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1987, p.118.

²⁶³Neo Simutanyi, "Political Economy of Workers' Participation: Role of Trade Unions in promoting Industrial Participatory Democracy in Zambia," M.A. Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1987, p.35.

²⁶⁴Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness," p. 122.

²⁶⁵Times of Zambia, September 29, 1980.

on its call for a national wide strike.²⁶⁶ The result of it all was the fostering of a good relation between ZCTU and the affiliate unions.

Another way in which ZCTU built a good relationship with its affiliate unions was by settling disputes between member trade unions and, in particular, disputes concerning representation and demarcation matters.²⁶⁷ This was a fundamental obligation of ZCTU. During the First Republic, the labour movement lacked unity as more than one union was fighting for membership in one industry.²⁶⁸ Disputes also arose over recognition of one union at the expense of another by an employer.²⁶⁹ It can be argued that trade unions were caught in a confused situation where they approached the same employer with two different voices. And so a campaign was launched by ZCTU to amalgamate multiple trade unions operating in one industry so that they would speak with one voice for the greater good of its members.²⁷⁰ The mining industry was one such industry where MUZ was at loggerheads with the Expatriate Mineworkers Association (formerly European Mineworkers Union). ZCTU, with the support of the government, engaged the two unions in negotiations to merge into one union. The aim was to help settle existing disputes between the two unions.²⁷¹

In the Second Republic, because of the passing of the IRA of 1971, there were no such matters involving settling disputes between member trade unions and, in particular, disputes concerning representation and demarcation matters. This was because under the IRA of 1971, no trade union

²⁶⁶Times of Zambia, September 29, 1980.

²⁶⁷NAZ/ MLSS1 26/258/2307-1965-1967 Government of Zambia, Statutory Instrument No.228 of 1965, p.1107.

²⁶⁸Annual Labour Report, 1964, p. 11.

²⁶⁹Annual Labour Report, 1964, p. 11.

²⁷⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year, 1968, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1969), p.30. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

²⁷¹Annual Labour Report, 1968, p.30.

could be registered if it purported to represent a class or classes of employees already represented by, or eligible for membership of, another trade union.²⁷²

The situation was not very different in the Third Republic. With the proliferation of trade unions in the aftermath of the IRA of 1990, and the consequent registration of the FFTUZ in 1998, ZCTU agreed with its member unions that those splinter groups which were once part of a particular affiliate union to ZCTU would not be allowed affiliation to ZCTU unless with the consent of the original union they split from.²⁷³ This also helped to build a friendly relationship between the Congress and its affiliate unions.

Further, ZCTU endeavoured to secure the complete organisation of all workers in Zambia into the ranks of a united trade union movement.²⁷⁴ ZCTU for instance went flat out in the early stages of Zambia's existence to establish trade unions where none existed by encouraging the workers in such industries to organise themselves into unions.²⁷⁵ By 1974, ZCTU had eighteen well established unions representing a number of workers in all sectors of the economy.²⁷⁶ Following amendments to the IRA of 1971 which encouraged the proliferation of trade unions, ZCTU also welcomed newly formed trade unions from industries and institutions where none existed. For example, according to the 1998 Secretary General's report the National Union of Technical Education Lecturers, Zambia Revenue Authority Workers Union and Copperbelt University Workers Union of Zambia were formed in industries where no union existed and subsequently, they chose to affiliate to ZCTU.²⁷⁷ The Congress also campaigned for the police and prison

²⁷²Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.82.

²⁷³Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

²⁷⁴National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; ZCTU Constitution, p.6.

²⁷⁵Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour; Report for June 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.7. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

²⁷⁶Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

²⁷⁷ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p. 18.

services to be unionised. They argued that workers in the police and prison services needed representation as a matter of human and trade union rights.²⁷⁸ However, the police and prisons services were still not unionised.

ZCTU did not stop there but went on to champion for the unionising of the informal sector in the Third Republic. Workshops were organised by ZCTU in conjunction with co-operating partners such as Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TEVETA), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) German Development Services (DED), Private Sector Development Services (PSDP), Oxfarm and the ILO to provide leadership training for the leadership in the informal sector.²⁷⁹ ZCTU affiliate unions joined this cause also and as of 1998, thirteen associations had applied for affiliation to ZCTU.²⁸⁰ By 2006, organising the informal sector had continued under the Workers Education Association of Zambia (WEAZ) and the Centre for Informal Sector Employment Promotion (CISEP), institutions which were set up to help ZCTU serve the informal economy workers.²⁸¹

Furthermore, ZCTU developed a good relationship with its affiliates unions by promoting international friendship, cooperation, solidarity and fraternal understanding with all workers in the world.²⁸² This ZCTU did by affiliating to a number of organisations such as the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination Council (SATUCC), International Confederation of Free Trade Unions-African Regional Organisation (ICFTU-AFRO), Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC), and International

²⁷⁸Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, 31st October to 3rd November, 2006, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2006), p.16.

²⁷⁹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p. 25.

²⁸⁰ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p. 25.

²⁸¹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, 31st October to 3rd November, 2006, p.55.

²⁸²Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), 1996 Amended Constitution, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1997), p.7.

Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).²⁸³The ICFTU-AFRO later changed to the International Trade Union Confederation Africa (ITUC-AFRICA).²⁸⁴ Such associations with international trade union movements helped ZCTU to solicit for help for its members in various areas such as capacity building, education and training, workers' rights campaigns, elimination of child labour, HIV/AIDS and observance of international labour standards and conventions.²⁸⁵

The Congress also ensured workers' education and training and encouraged participation in national development programmes in Zambia.²⁸⁶The Industrial Relations Act of 1971 for example specifically required all unions to state in their constitutions that worker's education was a main purpose of trade unionism to which trade union funds would be spent.²⁸⁷ The Department of Workers Education of ZCTU has been running educational programmes in conjunction with other departments for the Congress. The activities were designed to develop the status of trade unions in Zambia as well as enhancing awareness and knowledge to meet the ever increasing challenges that confronted trade unions.²⁸⁸ZCTU made sure that they trained trade union officials in leadership, organising, administration, financial management, training of trainers, conflict resolution, negotiating and entrepreneurship.²⁸⁹ All this was important in building a strong relationship between the Congress and its affiliate unions.

Finally ZCTU built a strong relationship with its affiliate unions when it helped marginalised groups of workers such as women, youths and the physically challenged with a number of skills and technical support.²⁹⁰ For instance, ZCTU with the assistance of the ILO organised a

²⁸³ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.16.

²⁸⁴ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p.12.

²⁸⁵ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p.12.

²⁸⁶ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, p.7.

²⁸⁷Industrial Relations Act of 1971, p.654.

²⁸⁸ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.20.

²⁸⁹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, p.20.

²⁹⁰ZCTU, 1996 Amended Constitution, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.7.

women's workshop for its affiliate unions where a knowledge data base was created on the status of women workers' rights in Zambia. At the same time capacity of the labour movement was strengthened through the skills offered to women leaders in the area of fighting for women workers' rights.²⁹¹ ZCTU through the Centre for Informal Sector Employment Promotion (CISEP) also tried to equip the youths with entrepreneurship skills which would promote decent and productive work.²⁹²

Other than the above positive relationship which ZCTU had with its affiliate unions, there was also a negative side to the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions. ZCTU and its affiliate unions have had countless conflicts some of which threatened the very existence of the Congress. The most contentious conflicts involved subscriptions fees, management of funds, the militancy of ZCTU towards matters which affected the workers in the country, changes to the Industrial relations act and leadership positions. It can be argued that some of the conflicts could have been addressed earlier had the Congress with its affiliate unions found enough time to do so and hence avoid the conflicts which brought the labour movement particularly ZCTU to its knees in the Third Republic. However, they were not and once the labour movement was liberalised following amendments to the IRA of 1971, rifts began to show up. For example, the conflicts between ZCTU and its affiliate unions which were not addressed during the First and Second Republics manifested in 1994 when five prominent trade unions left ZCTU over reasons which could have been handled without resulting in a breakaway.²⁹³ These conflicts are addressed specifically in detail below.

²⁹¹ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p.22.

²⁹²ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, p.22.

²⁹³Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.7.

One contentious issue which was a major source of conflict between the Congress and its affiliate unions pertained to subscriptions. By law, all trade unions which were affiliated to ZCTU had to pay twenty per cent of their union dues to the mother body.²⁹⁴ However, the payment of these subscription fees was not a straight forward matter as some unions failed to pay. The Congress in the early years often times rushed to the government to help push unions which had arrears to pay up.²⁹⁵ The government through the Labour Commissioner carried out investigations on behalf of ZCTU and those trade unions found guilty were punished in accordance with the recommendations by the Ministry of Labour Permanent Secretary.²⁹⁶ The subject of arrears by the unions to ZCTU caused heated debates to the extent that in 1969, Amonson Mugala the president of ZCTU accused the Secretary Generals of the affiliate unions of being thieves. The General Secretaries demanded for an apology arguing that they had no problems with making payments to the Congress but were often times discouraged by unexplained deficits in ZCTU accounts as reported in the Auditor General's Report.²⁹⁷

Trade unions also expressed their anger at the continued calls by ZCTU for officials of defaulting unions to resign. They argued that they were struggling financially and implored the government to amend the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act of 1964 to allow for automatic membership to a union for any worker who joined a particular industry which was unionised as such a move would reduce their hardships tremendously.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴NAZ/MLSS1/ 26/ 292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; Acting Permanent Secretary's Letter to the Labour Commissioner, 10th July, 1969.

²⁹⁵NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307-1965-1966 Trade Unions: United Trade Union Congress now to be Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, JA/128 Vol. V. Labour Minister's Letter to the Permanent Secretary, 24th September, 1971.

²⁹⁶National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ) NAZ/MLSS1/26/264/2304-1965-1970 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions Accounts; Acting Labour Commissioner's Letter to the Permanent Secretary, 17th May, 1970.

²⁹⁷NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; Record Note: ZCTU Second Annual Conference, 2nd September, 1969.

²⁹⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; Record Note: ZCTU Second Annual Conference, 5th September, 1969.

The issue of subscriptions must have been taking so much of the government time that it decided that ZCTU must handle the issue on its own by collecting union contributions as it was its primary responsibility to press affiliates to pay up union fees.²⁹⁹ The government argued that since ZCTU was legally entitled to receive twenty per cent of union dues from affiliate unions, it would be good that the Congress itself pressed for that money instead of relying solely on the Registrar of Trade unions, who should be called in as a last resort.³⁰⁰

In 1994, the Secretary General of ZCTU observed in his report that there was an increase in subscription income to the Congress but there was still a problem of not remitting subscriptions which had been increased to thirty per cent from the initial twenty per cent.³⁰¹ The Congress accused the affiliate unions of deliberately withholding the subscription and this was evident when it was discovered that some entered into agreements with employers to remit the whole one hundred per cent of members' subscription to the union.³⁰² This equally contributed to a strained relationship between the Congress and its affiliate unions.

Apart from the payment of subscriptions, the way in which ZCTU utilised the funds of the Congress was also a source of conflict between ZCTU and its affiliate unions. Affiliate unions were fully aware that the income of ZCTU was greatly enhanced by Statutory Instrument (SI) No.440 of 1967 which came into force on 1st January, 1969. This SI amended the rate of subscriptions to Congress by member unions by substituting twenty per cent of the monthly union dues from ten per cent and this immediately doubled the Congress' income from the MUZ,

²⁹⁹NAZ/ MLSS1/ 26/ 292/2317-1969-1969 Acting Permanent Secretary's Letter to the Labour Commissioner, 10th July, 1969.

³⁰⁰NAZ/ MLSS1/ 26/ 292/2317-1969-1969 Acting Permanent Secretary's Letter to the Labour Commissioner, 10th July, 1969.

³⁰¹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 9th Quadrennial Congress, 26th to 29th October, 1994, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1994), p.1.

³⁰²ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 9th Quadrennial Congress, 26th to 29th October, 1994, p.1.

its chief source of revenue.³⁰³ It can be argued that such a scenario generated a lot of interest and mistrust from the affiliate unions. Unions often times felt that the increase in funds led the Congress not to work within the approved budget, a situation which led to uncontrolled expenditure on things like office expenses, travelling on duty allowances and so on.³⁰⁴

Such mistrusts by the affiliate unions towards ZCTU were made worse when MUZ found its secretary general, Edwin Thawe who was also ZCTU deputy president, guilty of dishonesty with union funds in 1973. This was after Thawe came back from a conference he went to attend of the International Metal Workers' Federation in Belgium in 1969. MUZ expelled Thawe and passed a motion on the ZCTU General Council to have him removed from his ZCTU post but instead ZCTU ignored that motion and went on to back Thawe for the position of secretary general of the Organisation of African Trade Unions Unity (OATUU). MUZ accused ZCTU, which was under the leadership of Newstead Zimba, of shielding the dishonest Thawe by backing him for the OATUU job; an act which was considered to be a stab on the back of MUZ by the Congress.³⁰⁵ It can be argued that the affiliate unions of ZCTU viewed such handling of affairs by the Congress as a reflection of some of its own financial irregularities and hence developed mistrust towards ZCTU. This mistrust which the affiliate unions held towards ZCTU and its management of finances could explain why some unions decided not to remit their subscriptions to the Congress over the 47 year period under discussion.³⁰⁶

³⁰³Annual Labour Report, 1968, p.30.

³⁰⁴Annual Labour Report, 1974, p.18.

³⁰⁵Friday E. Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless: The Unrealised Potential of the Labour Movement in Zambia, 1945-1995," (Unpublished Paper), 2005, p.9.

³⁰⁶NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307-1965-1966 Trade Unions: United Trade Union Congress now to be Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, JA/128 Vol. V. Labour Minister's Letter to the Permanent Secretary, 24th September, 1971. ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 9th Quadrennial Congress, 26th to 29th October, 1994, p.1.

Affiliate unions also felt that ZCTU had lost its militancy. Timothy Walamba, who served as MUZ president from 1981 to 1991, observed that the labour movement led by ZCTU was completely dead.³⁰⁷ This was especially so in the Third Republic from 1991 to 2011. The loss of militancy affected the good relationship which existed between the Congress and its affiliate unions. Walamba's assertion that ZCTU was dead or rather had lost its militancy was the argument of many affiliate unions. Even among its own rank and file, ZCTU differed as regards its militancy to offer the necessary checks and balances to the government and fight for the general welfare of a worker. For instance, the ZCTU District Committee in Solwezi through its district secretary charged in 2011 that ZCTU top leadership had lost its militancy by being selective on comments to do with workers welfare so as to appease the government.³⁰⁸

When one considered the operations of ZCTU in the Second and Third Republics, it was easy to see why the Congress was accused of losing its militancy by its own affiliates unions. For example, in the 1980s during one of Zambia's major economic slump when workers' hardships reached alarming levels, ZCTU stood by the Railway Workers Union of Zambia (RWUZ) and the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) in their call for better working conditions or they would strike. RWUZ was demanding for a one hundred per cent salary increment while ZNUT was demanding for better housing for its members. The chairman-general of ZCTU quickly threw the Congress' weight behind the two unions by stating that there was nothing wrong with their demands and ultimatums as they were made in the interests of the workers.³⁰⁹

The militancy of ZCTU was further shown that same year for instance when ZCTU categorically rejected the ten per cent wage ceiling by the government but instead demanded a free collective

³⁰⁷The Post, January 24, 2011.

³⁰⁸The Post, June 1, 2011.

³⁰⁹Times of Zambia, April 7, 1983.

bargaining.³¹⁰ Because of this fearless stance by ZCTU in support of its affiliate unions in 1983, the government and trade unions agreed to form a committee to analyse the labour leaders' proposal and demands.³¹¹ This was the type of militancy which was lacking in ZCTU during the Third Republic under the MMD regime according to the affiliate unions of ZCTU.³¹² Affiliate unions such as MUZ even went on to ask the top leadership of ZCTU to resign on allegations that they had failed to fulfil the aspirations of its affiliate unions.³¹³

Of course ZCTU claimed that it did not lose its militancy. Leonard Hikaumba who served as ZCTU president from 2002 to 2014, observed that it was just that some people were trying to use ZCTU for their expediency, for example the opposition political parties, and these were the ones who went round saying ZCTU had lost its militancy.³¹⁴ However, officials talked to from ZNUT and the Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ) argued that ZCTU was no longer militant as the case was during the days of UNIP.³¹⁵

The relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions was further constrained when the unions started to challenge the powers the Congress had over them. In 1988, the powers of the Congress were challenged by the National Union for Building, Engineering and General Workers (NUBEGW). The facts were that NUBEGW decided to suspend Frederick Chiluba who was the Chairman-General of ZCTU for three months for abuse of office. This led ZCTU to convene its own General Council where it also decided that the entire Executive Committee of NUBEGW be

³¹⁰Times of Zambia, June 12, 1983.

³¹¹Times of Zambia, June 29, 1983.

³¹²Interviews with Kennedy Sichinsambwe-Director of Workers Education and Training at CSAWUZ, Lusaka District, 30th May, 2016.

Interview with Auster Kabalo-Director Human Resource and Administration at ZNUT, Lusaka District, 30th May, 2016.

³¹³Times of Zambia, August 11, 2010.

³¹⁴Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

³¹⁵Interviews with Sichinsambwe, Lusaka, 30th May, 2016;

Interview with Kabalo, Lusaka, 30th May, 2016.

suspended including some of its full time employees.³¹⁶ NUBEGW challenged the legality of the stance taken by ZCTU and when the matter was taken to court, NUBEGW lost in the High Court but appealed that ruling to the Supreme Court which ruled in its favour. The Supreme Court observed that the power to expel or suspend members could be enforced if such a power was expressly provided by the rules or could arise by necessary implication. Such implication could not be drawn by the court from ZCTU constitution.³¹⁷

The amendments to the Industrial Relations Acts of 1990 and 1993 did not help matters for the Congress. Both Acts seemed to reduce the powers ZCTU had on its affiliate unions and in the process strained the relationship between the unions and the Congress. The labour movement, in particular ZCTU, lamented that the IRA of 1990 was meant to undermine the powers of the trade union movement.³¹⁸ As a result of that, it can be argued that unions saw a loophole to ensure that ZCTU did not have a strong hold on them. Hence they challenged some of the powers the Congress had on them which consequently led to strained relations at times.

Finally, another source of strained relations was over leadership positions in ZCTU. It must be argued here that leadership positions in ZCTU were attractive not only for their financial benefits but because of the status they bestowed on the individual. Most of the disagreements for the top jobs of ZCTU, especially the presidency, involved MUZ members. Sources have shown that there was a general feeling among the members of MUZ that they deserved to serve in the top leadership of ZCTU. But often times when that did not happen, conflicts arose which brought about disunity between ZCTU and MUZ. Other affiliates were mostly caught in the cross fire. For example, in 1974, MUZ national chairman David Mwila contested for the ZCTU presidency

³¹⁶Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p. 20.

³¹⁷Banda, *The Trade Union Situation in Zambia*, p.3.

³¹⁸ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 9th Quadrennial Congress, 26th to 29th October, 1994, p.2.

against Frederick Chiluba of NUBEGW. Mwila lost the chairmanship to Chiluba and in the aftermath of that loss, the former threatened to take his union out of ZCTU in protest against his failure to secure the top job of the Congress.³¹⁹ Mwila behaved in that manner fully aware that MUZ was the single largest financial contributor to ZCTU³²⁰ and hence if it pulled out, the Congress would choke financially.³²¹

One could understand the frustration of David Mwila considering the fact that all the officials from MUZ who stood for elections with him that year lost to candidates of even smaller unions.³²² Mwila interpreted this loss as a lack of faith by trade unions affiliated to the Congress in MUZ, whose financial contribution made it possible for ZCTU to survive as a viable institution.³²³ This election process adversely affected the relationship between MUZ and ZCTU.

Further, in 1994 when MUZ president Francis Kunda contested and lost the presidency of ZCTU to Fackson Shamenda, he pulled out of ZCTU immediately.³²⁴ It has been argued that Kunda pulled MUZ out of ZCTU because the law at the time allowed trade unions to do that³²⁵ but another argument to explain this pull out by MUZ could be that the relationship between MUZ and ZCTU had deteriorated. The decision by MUZ to pull out of ZCTU as a result of an election dispute was that four of its supporters who included NUBEGW, ZNUT, ZUFIAW and NUCIW decided to leave ZCTU also.³²⁶ This exit of five affiliate unions, who included two of the most financially stable unions, that is MUZ and ZNUT, really shook the Congress.³²⁷

³¹⁹Annual Labour Report, 1974, p.19.

³²⁰Zambia Daily Mail, March, 18, 1999.

³²¹Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.7.

³²²Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.18.

³²³Annual Labour Report, 1974, p.19.

³²⁴Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.7.

³²⁵Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.8.

³²⁶ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, p. 5.

³²⁷Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.7.

Leadership wrangles concerning ZCTU top jobs continued in the Third Republic much to the detriment of relations between ZCTU and its affiliates. In 1999 for instance, clashes occurred between Zambia Electricity and Allied Workers Union (ZEAWU) Austin Liato who was also ZCTU Vice President and President Fackson Shamenda. Clashes occurred because Liato started to challenge the legitimacy of Shamenda as a labour leader as well as ZCTU president through the industrial relations court.³²⁸ Liato argued that Shamenda was part of management at the Communications International and as such, the interests of the workers would not be properly catered for. But Shamenda contended that he was still a trustee of National Union of Communications Workers (NUCW) but was merely seconded to Communications International. Shamenda argued that since he was still a trustee with NUCW, he qualified to contest ZCTU elections. With that, the industrial relations court threw out the application by Liato.³²⁹ This incidence strained relations between the Congress and its affiliates, especially those who backed Liato such as ZEAWU and Civil Servants Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ).

After the above incident, ZCTU president was accused of trying to punish Liato by encouraging a splinter union to challenge the ZEAWU which was under Liato.³³⁰ This led to leadership wrangles within ZEAWU believed to have been fuelled by the top leadership of ZCTU who seemed threatened by Liato.³³¹ Liato was dismissed as ZEAWU president on various charges prior to and after ZCTU congress.³³²

Matters became worse for Liato when Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) workers in Ndola went on strike demanding for their Christmas bonuses. The ZESCO management was split when it came to negotiations between ZEAWU led by Liato and a splinter union led by

³²⁸Zambia Daily Mail, January 1, 1999.

³²⁹Zambia Daily Mail, January 1, 1999.

³³⁰Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

³³¹Zambia Daily Mail, January 6, 1999.

³³²Zambia Daily Mail, January 6, 1999.

Peter Chupa.³³³ Meanwhile, within ZEAWU a faction existed which continuously challenged the presidency of Liato.³³⁴ There was confusion everywhere and an accusing finger was pointed at ZCTU leading to bad relations. The situation was worsened when the government intervened by deregistering ZEAWU and appointed ZCTU to look into the interest of workers as they planned for a new union. This seemed to confirm the allegation that ZCTU was behind the confusion in ZEAWU.³³⁵

3.5 ZCTU and Government

ZCTU being the product of government through an act of parliament seemed to be two sides of the same coin with government. Its very existence in as far as government was concerned was to help it develop a cadre of workers who would rally behind the government in its service delivery to the nation. Through that, ZCTU developed a relationship with government. This section will discuss that association in details starting by looking at ZCTU's relationship with UNIP first then its relationship with MMD. But before doing that, this section will examine the early encounter of the labour movement with government.

3.6 The Early Encounter between the Labour Movement and Politics

The labour movement in Zambia has had a close association with national politics for a long time stretching from the period before independence. This association saw the labour movement play a role in the liberation struggle of Zambia. As Matthew Mwendapole, the Secretary General of the UTUC observed in 1962:

The struggle for Self-Government and independence is the struggle of the workers. We have shown by the high sacrifice we have paid that we value freedom. And freedom to us can only have concrete meaning when the reins

³³³Zambia Daily Mail, January 7, 1999.

³³⁴Zambia Daily Mail, January 6, 1999.

³³⁵Zambia Daily Mail, January 13, 1999.

of power have passed on from foreign hands to the people of this country. All our trade union rights, important as these are, cannot be secured under foreign and imperialist government. We have already had enough experience of what it means to organise trade unions in a country still under foreign domination.³³⁶

Also J.B Ponde observed that:

...from the beginning, up to this time, a trade union movement in Zambia has closely identified itself to the liberation struggle....³³⁷

The formation of the NRTUC in 1951 coincided with the passing of a White Paper in 1952 by the Colonial government for the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland also known as the Central Africa Federation.³³⁸ The African opposition towards the Federation needed the workers to rally behind it and the NRTUC quickly constituted a political action committee to challenge the passing of the government White Paper on the federation.³³⁹ The political action committee of the NRTUC was made up of some of the top trade unionists at the time that had great influence and following of the workers. They included Dixon Konkola as chairman, Matthew Nkoloma as secretary while ordinary members included Paul Kalichini, Jonathan Mubanga, James Chapoloka and Gordon Chindele.³⁴⁰ These men spearheaded the involvement of the labour movement in the liberation struggle.

The partnership between the labour movement and the only political party at the time, the African National Congress (ANC), to oppose the federation came from the strong view among most trade unionists and politicians that economic exploitation and political oppression were

³³⁶Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Working Party appointed by the General Council to Enquire into the Structure of Trade Unions in Zambia (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1973), p. 12.

³³⁷NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969; Report by J. B. Ponde, Assistant General Secretary, to a Kitwe Seminar held on 17th-21st February, 1969 at the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions Education Centre, p.3.

³³⁸Henry S. Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism: The Origins, Growth and Struggles of the Zambian Labour Movement to 1964*, (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1986), p. 422.

³³⁹Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.72.
Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p. 422.

³⁴⁰Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p. 422.

synonymous and as such, the two needed to be fought in unison.³⁴¹The labour movement chose to commit itself to the political struggle because in as far as it was concerned trade unionism and politics complimented each other.³⁴² The labour movement chose to be involved in the political struggle prior before Zambia's independence for the sake of the welfare of its members and as such it refused to be used as a tool by politicians to achieve political means.³⁴³In 1972, the ZCTU General Council appointed a Working Party to enquire into the Structure of Trade Unions in Zambia and it observed in its report that:

This alignment with political or nationalist agitation was basically spontaneous in that the identity of the ultimate objectives was the same. Trade Unions believed, and quite rightly too, that a government controlled by their kith and kin was more likely to pursue a vigorous policy of African advancement. The political leaders too believed that this alliance would ensure a united front against the resistance of the colonial government to grant majority rule. Besides, politicians banked on the support of men of influence in society to make their struggle more acceptable.³⁴⁴

In order to play its role in the liberation movement, the NRTUC needed better organised and strong unions such as the African Mineworkers Union (AMU) which had strong branch structures in strategic industrial towns on the Copperbelt and capable of stopping production and paralysing the mines which were the major foreign exchange earner of the colonial masters.³⁴⁵However, the AMU refused to get involved in politics and the man who ensured that AMU took that stance was its president, Lawrence Katilungu. This took place in April 1953 when Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, president of the ANC, organised a two-day national prayer

³⁴¹ZCTU, Report of the Working Party, p. 11.

³⁴²Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p. 416.

³⁴³Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness," p.50.

³⁴⁴ZCTU, Report of the Working Party, p. 11.

³⁴⁵G. Adler and E. Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation: The Labour Movement, Policy-Making and Transition in Zambia and South Africa," Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Witwatersrand, Institute for Advance Social Research, 4th August, 1997, p. 5.

supported by a general strike among African workers against the federation. Katilungu refused to allow the mine workers to get involved in what he viewed as a politically motivated strike.³⁴⁶

Katilungu was seen as a traitor by his fellow Africans in the labour movement and nationalist groups for his position not to engage the miners in a political activity. However, prior to his refusal to get involved in the strike action of 1953, the AMU was accused by the mine companies of engaging in politics and as a result of that, the check-off system through which it obtained money from its members was cancelled and was only restored in March, 1958.³⁴⁷ The position taken by Katilungu over the strike against the federation was probably necessitated by the cancellation of AMU's check-off system in 1953 and he did what he did in the interest of the AMU. Following that move by Katilungu and the AMU, the NRTUC found itself divided between a radical leadership supportive of the ANC and its aspirations and the leadership of the AMU headed by Katilungu.

However, in a complete turn of events shortly after, Katilungu entered into an alliance with Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula the leader of the ANC.³⁴⁸ Katilungu's involvement with politics had begun. Scholars like Meebelo argue that in as much as Katilungu denied the NRTUC the right to engage in politics, at an individual level, he himself was an ardent supporter of the ANC, a move he made as far back as 1952.³⁴⁹ In 1957 when he was re-elected as president of NRTUC, and being a supporter of the ANC, Katilungu tried to persuade the NRTUC to equally support the ANC. However, some members of the NRTUC did not agree with him. Katilungu then chose to

³⁴⁶David C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence 1957-1964*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 26.

³⁴⁷Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.7.

³⁴⁸Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.13.

³⁴⁹Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.420.

ignore those with different views from his and went on to throw the weight of NRTUC behind the ANC. This put him in collision with much of the leadership of the NRTUC.³⁵⁰

In 1958, the ANC split over the choice of strategies for opposing the federation with the more militant members forming the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) which later changed its name to UNIP.³⁵¹ Katilungu chose to support the ANC as opposed to UNIP which was against the federation. His decision brought divisions between him and the leadership of the NRTUC and that division widened when in 1959 Katilungu accepted to sit on the Monckton Commission to consider the future of the Federation.³⁵² Attempts were made to remove Katilungu from the NRTUC and he reacted by instantly dismissing a number of small unions who were in affiliation arrears with the NRTUC. All the affiliated unions except AMU, the Mines African Staff Association (MASA) and the Mine African Police Association (MAPA) left NRTUC.³⁵³ In the same year 1959, the NRTUC split and an alternative congress, the Reformed Trade Union Congress (RTUC) was formed in February, 1960.³⁵⁴ The members of RTUC decided to support UNIP which was formerly ZANC. Their argument for supporting UNIP instead of ANC was that UNIP was the most progressive party.³⁵⁵ A second attempt to remove Katilungu from NRTUC was launched in December, 1960.³⁵⁶

What was apparent from the labour movement's early association with politics was that the labour movement lacked a clear political direction. This is so because if the labour movement had a clear political direction, the political moves by Katilungu, a mere individual, would not

³⁵⁰Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.73.

³⁵¹Adler and Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation," p. 5.

³⁵²Friday Eliya Mulenga, "Crisis of Expectations: Workers' Struggle in Zambia, 1964-2011," PhD Thesis, The University of Zambia, 2017, p.7.

³⁵³Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, pp. 453-454.

³⁵⁴Mulenga, "Crisis of Expectations," p. 7.

³⁵⁵Adler and Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation," p. 5.

Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.454.

³⁵⁶Mulenga, "Crisis of Expectations," p. 7.

have split it.³⁵⁷ To the political protagonists, Katilungu was an obstacle who needed to be removed from the trade union in order to develop a health marriage between the labour movement and the nationalists. Therefore, radical members of UNIP orchestrated the fall of Katilungu from the AMU in December 1960 and in February 1961 he was expelled from NRTUC.³⁵⁸ With Katilungu out of the way, the NRTUC and RTUC merged in the same year 1961 to form the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).³⁵⁹

The birth of the UTUC did not signify the end of the division in the labour movement brought about by association with politics. Instead it seemed to exacerbate them.³⁶⁰ This was so because to the ANC, a major opposition party at the time, UTUC was a wing of UNIP and so they called on their members in the labour movement not to join it. Following that call by the ANC, the AMU which for the most part was pro-ANC decided to de-affiliate from the UTUC on grounds that UNIP was interfering in its dispute with the copper mining companies over African advancement, wages and other matters of conditions of service.³⁶¹ At this time, the division in the UTUC had reached a breaking point and December, 1962, another split occurred with the birth of the Zambia Trade Union Congress (ZTUC) which earned the support of former UTUC affiliates who included AMU, Mines African Staff Association (MASA) and the Railway African Workers Union (RAWU).³⁶²

³⁵⁷Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.16.

³⁵⁸Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, pp. 432-436 & p.454.

Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.14

³⁵⁹Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.5.

³⁶⁰Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.5.

³⁶¹Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence 1957-1964*, pp. 172-4.

³⁶²Robert H. Bates, *Unions, Parties, and Political Development: A Study of Mineworkers in Zambia*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1971), pp.146-53.

UNIP, through its national treasurer Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, managed to unite the UTUC by persuading some of the rival members of the congress to accept government positions.³⁶³ There was division in the labour movement even at the time of Zambia's independence.³⁶⁴ However, despite the divisions, it managed to organise itself to the point where it had an impact on the life of independent Zambia.³⁶⁵

3.7 The Relationship between ZCTU and the UNIP Government, 1964-1991

The discussion above has shown how the labour movement was divided in the period leading to Zambia's independence in 1964 as a result of its involvement with politics. As was shown, whether the labour movement liked it or not, it could no longer separate itself from politics at this point.

The relationship between ZCTU and government started when the UNIP government decided to dissolve the UTUC because of the divisions within it³⁶⁶ and replace it with ZCTU.³⁶⁷ It was also as a result of the realisation by labour leaders that the betterment of the workers economic plight could be achieved only by political action and victories.³⁶⁸

From the beginning, it seemed as though nothing would go wrong between ZCTU and government. The government cleared the debts of the former UTUC and even gave the new Congress a loan of £5000. President Kaunda went further by giving ZCTU a personal donation

³⁶³Annual Labour Report, 1964 p.18.

³⁶⁴NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969; Minutes of the (Third) General Council Meeting, 22ndFebruary, 1969, p.6.

³⁶⁵Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.6.

³⁶⁶Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1966), p.18;(Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

³⁶⁷NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967; Presidential Address, 21st January, 1966, p.1.

³⁶⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969; A brief Report by J.B. Ponde, Assistant General Secretary, p.3. Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.416.

of £1500 to help it start afresh and enable it focus on working towards industrial development.³⁶⁹ He even dismissed those who accused his government of not being interested in the labour movement by stressing that not only did the UNIP government have the best interest of the labour movement, but that his government was also interested in seeing a strong and dynamic labour movement which worked with government and did not spend its time fighting it.³⁷⁰

As a result, ZCTU was fully behind the UNIP government. Addressing the labour leaders in July of 1966, Nezia Tembo, the first president of ZCTU, made it clear that ZCTU was in a strong relationship with government to the extent that the problems of government were also the problems of ZCTU. He told his delegates that ZCTU could not isolate itself from the government and the party because they were both working towards uplifting the social life of Zambians, finding employment for the unemployed, changing the economic environment of Zambia and stabilising the political structure.³⁷¹ In as far as the Nezia Tembo-led executive of the Congress was concerned, the problems of the government were its problems and hence there was no need for ZCTU to even give the necessary checks and balances needed to the government.³⁷²

The relationship with government was made apparent when the government even started engaging some ZCTU leaders in politics. The reaction from its senior party officials to such a move was one of approval. For example, when Wilson Chakulya who was the General Secretary of ZCTU was nominated, and subsequently elected, as Member of Parliament (MP) for Kantanshi in 1968, the UNIP leadership applauded the move. ZCTU itself had no major problem with Chakulya's involvement with politics besides only asking him to stop using ZCTU property

³⁶⁹NAZ/MLSS1/26/264/2309 1965-1970; Memorandum by the Minister of Labour and Social Development, 1st January, 1967, p.1.

³⁷⁰Times of Zambia, October 25, 1965.

³⁷¹NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307 1965-1967; Presidential Address, 21st January, 1966, p.2.

³⁷²NAZ/MLSS1/26/258/2307 1965-1967; Presidential Address, 21st January, 1966, p.2.

during his political engagements.³⁷³ Later in 1969, ZCTU through its first elected president Amonson Mugala, even thanked President Kaunda for adopting eighteen labour leaders, all of whom went through as MPs in the general election of that same year.³⁷⁴

Although ZCTU had no problem initially with the government getting some of its leaders and engaging them in politics, such a move soon created problems between the two. In 1969 for example, some labour leaders felt that those of their colleagues who were adopted and some appointed as Ministers had become stooges of government.³⁷⁵ Also, reports started to emerge that there was strife within the executive committee of ZCTU following the election of Wilson Chakulya as MP for Kantanshi. The president of ZCTU and some executive committee members wanted to get rid of Chakulya from ZCTU because in as far as they were concerned he was not supposed to hold two positions. It was either he served as Secretary General of the Congress or as an MP, but not both. Chakulya did however receive support for his candidature as MP from ZCTU and so it seemed strange when the people who supported him within the Congress started to oppose him once he was elected as MP.³⁷⁶ Later, when he became Minister of Labour, Chakulya argued on behalf of government that ZCTU and the labour movement as a whole was some sort of school of administration where government would go to get capable leaders to serve the nation.³⁷⁷ One thing was apparent however, the marriage of convenience between ZCTU and the UNIP government was headed towards troubled waters.

³⁷³Zambia Mail, December, 31, 1968.

³⁷⁴NAZ/ MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969; Minutes of the (Third) General Council Meeting, 22nd February, 1969, p.3.

³⁷⁵NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969; A brief Report by J.B. Ponde Assistant General Secretary, p.3.

³⁷⁶Zambia Mail, December, 31, 1968.

³⁷⁷NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966; Record of the General Council Meeting of the Zambia Congress of Trade Union addressed by the Honourable W.M. Chakulya, M.P., Minister of Labour and Social Services, held at the National Centre, Kitwe, at 11:00A.M on Sunday 11th July, 1971, p.2.

A clear evidence of problems between ZCTU and the government happened when a number of labour leaders started to accuse government of weakening the labour movement through the appointment of its leaders to government positions. Government reacted strongly to such accusations by calling the labour leaders irresponsible and childish in their accusations and pointing out that the president had the right to appoint available manpower to public office.³⁷⁸ Government pointed to the fact that its concern over the financial problems of the Congress was further proof and irrevocable evidence that the desire of government was that ZCTU would not disintegrate to levels it was prior to independence but that it would contribute to good industrial relations and improving the plight of the workers in Zambia.³⁷⁹ The government argued that it was not bent at weakening the labour movement but was rather on course of national development by using the necessary available human resources which included appointing some labour leaders to government positions in order to achieve its aims.³⁸⁰ However, arguments of the government trying to weaken the labour movement dominated the relationship between ZCTU and the UNIP government for many years.

The other source of strife between ZCTU and government involved the powers the government exercised over it. Some of the top leadership of ZCTU felt that the government had too much power over the Congress. For instance in 1973, government decided to make changes to ZCTU set up at headquarters by creating four new departments without even consulting its leadership. These departments were the treasury, workers' education, technical and social affairs, and international affairs.³⁸¹ Further, the government through its Minister of Labour Wilson Chakulya

³⁷⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966; The Minister of Labour and Social Services' Address to the General Council of ZCTU 12/07/71, pp.20-21.

³⁷⁹NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966; The Minister of Labour and Social Services' address to the General Council of ZCTU 12/07/71, p.22.

³⁸⁰NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966; The Minister of Labour and Social Services' address to the General Council of ZCTU 12/07/71, p.20.

³⁸¹Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.28.

went on to give the General Secretary two assistant secretaries all without consulting the Congress. This angered the then president of ZCTU Newstead Zimba who argued that it was too much of politicians pushing and bulldozing ZCTU.³⁸²

The 1970s and 1980s saw the relationship between ZCTU and the UNIP government move from one which was moderately good to one built on suspicion and bickering. Wilson Chakulya the former trade unionist who now was Minister in the UNIP government seemed to be at the centre of the early deep rooted quarrels between ZCTU and government. For example in 1971, while addressing a contentious debate that government was coercing ZCTU to support UNIP, Chakulya accused labour leaders of wanting to loosen the relationship between UNIP and the labour movement forgetting the role which the government was playing in the whole fracas.³⁸³

What was clear in this whole fracas between the government and ZCTU was that government sought to make ZCTU a branch of UNIP while the Congress struggled to preserve its autonomy. This was made evident when Chiluba pointed out that:

We as workers must know not only our rights but we must also know our obligations to the party and its government and the latter should also know its obligations to us to give the necessities of life so that we can become party members without being forced out of buses in order to do so.³⁸⁴

The fact that Chiluba said that the labour movement must not be forced into supporting UNIP implied that some form of force could have been used. The UNIP hierarchy was indeed using its powers to coerce the Congress into supporting and turning it into a wing of the party. The top leadership of the party was willing to do anything within its powers to achieve that end. Other scholars have argued that Kaunda and his comrades wanted to turn ZCTU into a wing of the

³⁸²Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.28.

³⁸³NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966; The Minister of Labour and Social Services' Address to the General Council of ZCTU 12/07/71, p. 25.

³⁸⁴Times of Zambia, April 14, 1980.

government. According to Tayo Fashoyin, much of the mid-1960s to the 1980s, Kaunda did make unsuccessful attempts to co-opt or subordinate ZCTU to his government.³⁸⁵ However, such actions by the party and its government did not go well with the leadership of ZCTU and that affected their relationship for the worst.

From 1972 to 1991, Zambia was under the One-Party Participatory Democracy. This One-Party Participatory Democracy came into being on 13th December, 1972 when President Kaunda signed the Constitutional (Amendment) Bill No.5 of 1972.³⁸⁶ This gave Kaunda and his government absolute power and they did not take kindly to fierce criticism. Unfortunately for them, ZCTU under the leadership of Chiluba andimba did not shy away from giving government fiery checks and balances on matters to do with the welfare of the workers in general.³⁸⁷ This was done to the point where the good relationship which once existed between government and ZCTU broke down. In fact government even reached a point where they started accusing ZCTU of being an opposition political party.³⁸⁸

During the era of the one-party state, the other source of strife between ZCTU and government involved the powers government had over the Congress. Some of the top leadership of ZCTU felt that the government had too much power over it. For instance in 1973, government decided to make changes to the ZCTU set up at headquarters by creating four new departments without even consulting the leadership of the Congress. These departments were the treasury, workers' education, technical and social affairs, and international affairs.³⁸⁹ Further, the government

³⁸⁵Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.5.

³⁸⁶Government of the Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Fifth Session of the Second National Assembly, 10th January-2nd March, 1973, Vol. XXXII, (Government Printer, 1973), p.28. (Hereafter GRZ, Verbatim Report...).

Times of Zambia, November 13, 1983.

³⁸⁷Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.5.

³⁸⁸Times of Zambia, August 15, 1983.

³⁸⁹Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.28.

through its Minister of Labour Wilson Chakulya went on to give the General Secretary two assistant secretaries all without consulting the Congress. This angered the then president of ZCTU Newstead Zimba who argued that it was too much of politicians pushing and bulldozing ZCTU.³⁹⁰

Another major source of the strained relations between ZCTU and the UNIP government was the poor economy which in turn affected the worker. When UNIP formed government, it inherited a strong economy which was highly dependent on copper. Nevertheless, as the young country progressed, poor copper prices coupled with policy inconsistencies and poor economic management led to the worsening of the economy during much of the UNIP regime.³⁹¹

Being the voice of the worker, ZCTU found the economic woes Zambia was experiencing under the UNIP government unacceptable as they caused suffering among the workers. Chiluba argued that government had become too ideological to be practical leading to high poverty levels among the Zambian populace.³⁹² He pointed out that as a result of the poor economy, unemployment was high, salaries were poor and the future of the youths was not guaranteed. Chiluba made it clear that ZCTU would not shy away from highlighting such problems which befell the nation.³⁹³ The government did not take kindly however to the hard stance taken by ZCTU in criticising it on a number of issues concerned with uplifting the welfare of the Zambian worker.

Also, the decentralisation bill of 1980 seriously eroded the relations between ZCTU and the government.³⁹⁴ According to ZCTU the era of decentralisation began in 1978 when changes were

³⁹⁰Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.28.

³⁹¹Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.1.

³⁹²The Workers Voice, October, 1980.

³⁹³Times of Zambia, October 21, 1983.

³⁹⁴Government of the Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Third Session of the Fourth National Assembly, 16th January-27th February, 1981, No.56, Part 1, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1981), p. 1003. (Hereafter GRZ, Verbatim Report...)

introduced to the UNIP constitution at a UNIP conference which immediately approved it despite the item not being discussed by the delegates.³⁹⁵ Decentralisation Bill of 1980 or The Local Government Act, which was enacted in 1981, was a Bill which aimed at eliminating a system consisting of two parallel and largely competing hierarchies into one local government hierarchy.³⁹⁶

However, before the Bill became law, ZCTU objected to it by raising a petition against it consisting of three principal points. Those points centred on politics, economics and industrial relations. Beatrice Liato observed that ZCTU argued that politically, the bill contravened the rights of the citizens as granted in the Republican Constitution while economically it introduced new costs to an already outstretched government budget by creating new administrative posts in the form of 1, 340 full time local government councillors. As regards industrial relations, ZCTU's petition objected to the retirement of local government employees.³⁹⁷

Meanwhile, MUZ joined the cause against the Decentralisation Bill. During its Bi-annual Conference in 1980, the supreme authoritative body of the union, it was decided that the MUZ would second the petition of ZCTU.³⁹⁸ Lise Rakner observes that MUZ arrived at this decision after discovering that the Local Government Act intended to abolish the Mine Townships Act of 1933 through which the mining companies were authorised to provide services such as health, electricity, water and houses to the mining townships. In as far as MUZ was concerned, decentralisation was a strategy of the party to penetrate the mine townships and break the union's power.³⁹⁹ MUZ also passed a resolution at the same Bi-annual Conference stating that any MUZ

³⁹⁵Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.223.

³⁹⁶Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.98.

³⁹⁷Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.224.

³⁹⁸Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.101.

³⁹⁹Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.101.

leader contesting for leadership in the local government elections should either withdraw or resign from leadership positions in the union. Sixteen shop stewards were then dismissed from their union positions because they took part in party contests and ZCTU supported that move.⁴⁰⁰ Government responded by demanding that the shop stewards be reinstated by MUZ or the union officials risked facing disciplinary action from the UNIP government.⁴⁰¹ But ZCTU dared government that if there was any punishment to be meted out, it must start with ZCTU leaders. UNIP responded by suspending both ZCTU and MUZ leaders from the party. Those suspended included ZCTU Chairman-General Frederick Chiluba, his general secretary Newstead Zimba, assistant secretary general Chitalu Sampa, MUZ Chairman-General David Mwila, his deputy Timothy Walamba and an official Herbert Bweupe.⁴⁰²

Soon after the suspension, UNIP wasted no time in expelling seventeen leaders of ZCTU and its affiliate MUZ from UNIP. The reasons given for the expulsion by the Central Committee of the party was that ZCTU and MUZ leaders had defied the party by disobeying the law.⁴⁰³ In justifying the expulsion of ZCTU and MUZ leaders further, UNIP made reference to the suspension of sixteen shop stewards who participated in the local government elections by MUZ which ZCTU endorsed.⁴⁰⁴ The expulsion of ZCTU and MUZ in 1981 leaders led to wildcat strikes by the miners who called on government to reinstate their labour leaders, failure to which they would not return to work. The strike which began in Nkana with 5,000 miners spread to the

⁴⁰⁰Times of Zambia, December 10, 1980.

⁴⁰¹Times of Zambia, December, 29, 1980.

⁴⁰²Times of Zambia, December, 29, 1980.
Times of Zambia, January, 10, 1981.

⁴⁰³Times of Zambia, January, 17, 1981.

⁴⁰⁴Times of Zambia, December 10, 1980.

other copper mines until 50,000 miners had joined the strike in order to force the government to reinstate their union representatives.⁴⁰⁵

Knowing how important the mining industry was to the Zambia economy, the UNIP government could not afford a prolonged industrial action by the miners. UNIP therefore pushed ZCTU to call for a special General Council meeting of ZCTU in February 1981.⁴⁰⁶ At this meeting, ZCTU accepted participation in the Local Government Act. The leadership of the national unions even urged the workers to go back to work making it clear to them that the seventeen leaders expelled from the party had not forfeited their union posts.⁴⁰⁷ By February 1981, the conflicts seemed to have reached a conclusion and in April, the UNIP government readmitted the union officials to the party. But the relations between the party and the labour movement had deteriorated and the trust eroded.⁴⁰⁸

In 1989, ZCTU took up a new challenge when it differed with government over the one-party participatory democracy as a governance system for Zambia.⁴⁰⁹ During this same period, ZCTU became the most important force in Zambian politics as it gave the UNIP government the necessary checks and balances. It has been argued that unionism as practiced by ZCTU was a counter-force to the one-party participatory democracy introduced by UNIP.⁴¹⁰ The challenge ZCTU gave the government also contributed to the bad relationship between ZCTU and government.

⁴⁰⁵Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.103.

⁴⁰⁶Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.103.

⁴⁰⁷Times of Zambia, January 24, 1981.

⁴⁰⁸Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation," p.103.

⁴⁰⁹Adler and Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation," p. 9.

⁴¹⁰Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless," p.31.

3.8 The Relationship between ZCTU and the MMD Government, 1992-2011

In 1990 ZCTU opted to live up to its reputation of supporting a progressive party of the day by throwing its weight behind the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). This was important for the MMD because as Adler and Webster observed, ZCTU had the necessary structure and material resources to fight an election campaign and it had these considerable resources at the disposal of the MMD.⁴¹¹ The MMD went on to form government in 1992 and the Congress looked up to it with renewed hope of a better future. However, after some years of MMD being in power, the Congress realised that they had claimed a false victory as the workers still had to fight for economic democracy.⁴¹² The relationship between ZCTU and the MMD government was later characterised with conflicts over the well-being of the workers and the general economic environment in Zambia. Such a scenario affected the once health relationship between ZCTU and government.

One source of strained relations between ZCTU and MMD was privatisation. The MMD government during its tenure supported the intensification of a market economy in which prices and wages were determined mainly by supply and demand and not a government directive. This economic transformation began in earnest in 1992 with the support of the IMF through SAP.⁴¹³ President Chiluba embraced SAP with a key focus on privatisation of the extensive public enterprises while President Mwanawasa and later Banda placed less emphasis on the privatisation of state owned enterprises probably because they realised its disruptive effects on the social and economic fabric of society.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹Adler and Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation," p. 10.

⁴¹²Friday E. Mulenga, "Fighting for democracy of the pocket," p.247.

⁴¹³Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, p. 3.

⁴¹⁴Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.1.

When the MMD government started implementing SAP immediately it formed government, ZCTU supported the programme. However, the Congress did not agree to the immediate implementation of all the economic measures which the government entered into with the IMF, World Bank and the Paris Club within a single time frame. In as far as ZCTU was concerned the measures taken were devoid of any social dimension to mitigate the adverse effects of adjustment on the workers and vulnerable groups. The measures did not address the issues of employment and poverty which in the belief of ZCTU were more pressing.⁴¹⁵

Privatisation led to a lot of job losses which worried the Congress. For instance, a survey conducted by the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA), an organisation in charge of privatisation, which looked at 23 of the 210 companies privatised showed that about 6,000 jobs were lost by the late 1990s.⁴¹⁶ The employment situation continued to deteriorate. The government policies which were driven by the conditionalities (demands) of the IMF and the World Bank brought untold misery to the Zambian work force.⁴¹⁷ After seeing the damage which privatisation had caused to the economy and the suffering of the citizenry, ZCTU regretted its earlier support of privatisation. ZCTU vice-president Austin Liato stated that:

We thought by privatising we would create jobs and we supported the move but instead it has killed industries and made our once happy workers destitute in their own homes.⁴¹⁸

However, despite strong opposition by ZCTU towards privatisation which even led to a bad relationship between ZCTU and government, it seemed the Congress lacked a serious policy direction on the matter. It for example came out in support of the same privatisation it strongly

⁴¹⁵Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamed during the meeting with the Head of State Mr. F.T.J Chiluba on the Current Social and Economic situation in the Country at State House, Lusaka on 22nd December, 1994, p.1.

⁴¹⁶ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p. 9.

⁴¹⁷Government of the Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Fourth Session of the Seventh National Assembly, 13th January-17th March, 1995, No.100, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1995), p.1206. (Hereafter GRZ, Verbatim Report...).

⁴¹⁸The Post, January 6, 1997.

condemned earlier when it backed the sale of Zambia Telecommunication (ZAMTEL) during the tenure of Rupiah Banda.⁴¹⁹ It was therefore difficult to know ZCTU's position on privatisation because it kept on changing its position on the matter. Hikaumba justified this by arguing that ZCTU would agree and disagree with government on a number of issues such as privatising based on the immediate environment and benefits to the workers and the country at large.⁴²⁰

Another source of strained relations between the Congress and government involved the wage freeze. The MMD government imposed two wage freezes. One was in 1998 while the other was in 2004. Both the 1998 as well as the 2004 wage freezes received strong condemnation from ZCTU who called on their members to go on a work stoppage in order to force government to rescind its decision.⁴²¹ The strong opposition by ZCTU to the 1998 wage freeze was referred to court for arbitration and ZCTU further made a formal complaint to the ILO over the imposition of the wage freeze by government.⁴²²

Meanwhile, in denouncing the imposition of the 2004 wage freeze, Hikaumba pointed out that the MMD government contravened the ILO Convention 98 on the right for a free and fair collective bargaining to which Zambia was a signatory and also breached the 1999 Supreme Court ruling which stated that the imposition of a wage freeze was an illegality.⁴²³ Though the MMD government went ahead with both wage freezes, ZCTU showed that they would stand with the workers even in the face of intimidation from government.⁴²⁴ Hikaumba observed that because of ZCTU coming out strongly on economic issues such as the sale of companies and high taxation, some government leaders even challenged him to stop using ZCTU to pursue his

⁴¹⁹Times of Zambia, June 12, 2010.

⁴²⁰Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁴²¹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.11.
ZCTU: Minutes of the General Council Meeting Held at Edinburgh Hotel, p. 14.

⁴²²ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.12.

⁴²³ZCTU, Minutes of the General Council Meeting Held at Edinburgh Hotel, p. 14.

⁴²⁴ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.12.

political aspirations but instead come out of ZCTU and face them in the political arena. All this was in an effort to stop him and his leadership from fighting for the plight of the worker and yet that was the primary role of ZCTU. Hikaumba argued that this also contributed to strained relations between ZCTU and government.⁴²⁵

The lack of consultation and implementation on economic and labour matters also became a major source of tension between ZCTU and the MMD government in the Third Republic. ZCTU pointed out that this contributed to the poor industrial relations environment in the country.⁴²⁶ The Congress also argued that even when the MMD consulted the labour movement it did not listen to them as the case was on Zambia Airways. ZCTU had a number of discussions during the course of 1993 to 1994 with the government on how best to revive the ailing airline and they were assured that their submissions would be considered. However, much to the surprise of ZCTU, the government went on to liquidate the airline in December, 1994, something which was not discussed with ZCTU.⁴²⁷ This was one argument which ZCTU used to support their stance that the MMD government did not consult nor consider the views of the Congress and that contributed to making the relationship between the two bad.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter began by looking at the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions. It argues that the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate unions was by no means perfect. ZCTU at times enjoyed good relations with its affiliate unions and at other times struggled as has been discussed in this chapter. One important thing is that moving forward the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliate was seriously tested with amendments to the IRA of 1971 which

⁴²⁵Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁴²⁶ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.10.

⁴²⁷ZCTU, A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamenda, p.7.

allowed for the proliferation of trade unions. There were splits by ZCTU affiliates and these splits had implications on the strength of ZCTU in terms of both membership and finances. It may be argued that the membership of ZCTU in the Third Republic increased to about thirty-three but what is apparent is that the majority of those affiliates sub-divided from the initial eighteen ZCTU affiliates before the passing of the IRA of 1990. During this same period, ZCTU found itself accused of being behind some of these splits within its membership as the case was with ZEAUWU. Such was the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliates in the Third Republic. ZCTU found itself being accused by its own members of lacking the militancy that saw it challenge the autocratic regime of Kenneth Kaunda. Blame however could be heaped on ZCTU but it is important to note that the changes made to the labour laws by the UNIP and later on the MMD government did not help ZCTU and its affiliates to foster a healthy relationship.

This chapter further examined the relationship between ZCTU and successive Zambian governments from 1964 to 2011. In order to show that the relationship between the Zambian government and the labour movement did not develop from a vacuum, this chapter first began by looking at the early encounter of the labour movement and African politics prior to independence.

The chapter then moved to examine the relationship between ZCTU and the UNIP government. This particular section of the chapter argued that from the beginning the relationship between ZCTU and the UNIP government was good to the point where the government even cleared the debts of the UTUC to allow ZCTU to start on a clean sheet. President Kaunda even made a personal donation of £ 1,500 to the ZCTU to boost their operations. However, Zambia moved to a one party participatory democracy in 1972. During the same time, ZCTU elected a new executive in 1974 which chose to align more with the workers and not the UNIP government.

Relations between ZCTU and government started to get bad to the point where government started accusing ZCTU of behaving as an opposition political party.

The chapter also investigated the relationship between ZCTU and the MMD government. The chapter showed that under the MMD government, the strained relationship between ZCTU and government, which started during the latter days of UNIP, continued. The major source of strife during this period was the poor economy especially when government started to privatise state owned enterprises into private hands. The situation led to many job losses which saw many Zambian workers become destitute in their own land. The continued changes to the industrial relations act and the formation of a second trade union congress, the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ) did not make that relationship any better.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF ZCTU IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

4.1 Introduction

Zambia is a former British colony which attained its independence on 24th October, 1964. The party which pioneered the fight for independence was the United National Independence Party (UNIP) which was under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda. When the young nation of Zambia was born, its leaders were interested in bringing development to all its citizens. However, the industrial and labour movement unrests prior to and at the time of independence bothered UNIP. Therefore, a deliberate attempt was made to come up with a strong national centre which would partner government in its development agenda.⁴²⁸ It was for that very reason that the Minister of Labour, Justin Chimba, argued in parliament that the labour movement was important in Zambia as it played a big role in the country's social, economic and cultural development.⁴²⁹

This chapter therefore seeks to examine the role ZCTU played in national development from 1964 to 2011. Before doing that, Zambia's economic background will be reviewed. This will be in a quest to highlight the environment in which ZCTU operated in. The chapter will further look at whether or not ZCTU merely followed the ideologies of successive governments or it had its own ideology as it played its role in national development. Then the chapter will analyse how ZCTU played its role in national development during the rule of the UNIP government and later on the MMD government. Finally, the major achievements of ZCTU from 1964 to 2011 will be analysed. Thereafter, a conclusion will be reached.

⁴²⁸Friday E. Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness Among African Railway Workers in Zambia, 1953-1972," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1987, p.118.

⁴²⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.1b, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the First Session of the First National Assembly, Daily Hansard Tuesday 15th December, 1964, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.72. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b).

4.2 Zambia's Economic Background, 1964 -2011.

In 1924 Zambia, which was then called Northern Rhodesia, was under the colonial rule of the British government. At that time, its economy relied on two major sectors namely mining and agriculture. The two industrial sectors were labour intense and the colonial government then deliberately left indigenous sectors such as agriculture, education, health and others underdeveloped to ensure the supply of cheap labour.⁴³⁰

When Zambia attained its independence in 1964, it inherited the dual economy from the British colonial government. However, of the two, the country's economic development heavily depended on the mining of copper which unfortunately empowered the Europeans more than the Africans.⁴³¹ Many Africans were unemployed and the young nation found itself battling with the prospect of providing employment to its citizens. Small holder agriculture, which was expected to be the solution, was underdeveloped due to the agricultural policies left by the colonial government which favoured European commercial farmers.⁴³²

Chipungu observes that at independence, the Zambian agricultural sector was still rooted in the past colonial legacy which continued to shape the future. Zambia had become independent without a well-conceived developmental plan including agriculture. It was not until the Seers Report of 1964 that the Zambian government forged the First National Development Plan for the period 1966 to 1971 which aimed at increasing employment opportunities for Zambians and to raise Zambian living standards.⁴³³ Evidently, the economic gap between the Europeans and indigenous population in Zambia was quite wide. The UNIP government then embarked on an

⁴³⁰Themba Chirwa and Nicholas Odhiambo, "Macroeconomic Policy Reform and Economic Growth," in <http://www.journals.univ-danubius.ro> (Accessed on 24th March, 2020).

⁴³¹P.E.N. Tindall, *A History of Central Africa*, (Longmans, Green & CO Ltd, 1969), p.267.

⁴³²Chirwa and Odhiambo, "Macroeconomic Policy Reform and Economic Growth," in <http://www.journals.univ-danubius.ro>.

⁴³³Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986*, (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia), p.136.

intensive indigenisation programme which was termed Zambianisation in accordance with the First National Development Plan. Through this programme, qualified and semi-qualified Zambians were elevated to higher positions in various government apparatus.⁴³⁴

In 1968, the UNIP government realised that its developmental plan was not yielding positive fruits which benefitted the majority of the citizens. Kaunda then went on to announce the Mulungushi Economic Reforms which led to his government nationalising major companies and other associated industries such as textiles, chemicals, construction and manufacturing.⁴³⁵

President Kaunda further announced that resident expatriate businesses and foreign businesses would only be allowed to operate in ten business centres of Chingola, Mufulira, Kitwe, Luanshya, Ndola, Kabwe, Lusaka, Mazabuka, Choma and Livingstone, and that no new licences would be issued for such businesses within the centres of the ten towns.⁴³⁶ According to Paul Semonin the Mulungushi Economic Reforms aimed at disciplining that portion of the private sector where inflammatory price policies and exchange control evasion were undermining the government's developmental agenda. They further sought to encourage Zambian enterprises into the process of rural development. The UNIP government even formed a company called Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO) which became the key agency in the synchronising of the Mulungushi reforms and administration of government participation in concerned industries.⁴³⁷

In 1969, new reforms called the Matero Reforms were introduced and they covered the mining sector where the UNIP government was to own majority shares of up to 51 per cent in all

⁴³⁴Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia*, p.133.

⁴³⁵Chirwa and Odhiambo, "Macroeconomic Policy Reform and Economic Growth," in <http://www.journals.univ-danubius.ro>.

⁴³⁶Hugh Macmillan, "The devil you know": The Impact of the Mulungushi economic reforms on retail trade in rural Zambia, with special reference to Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn, 1968-80," in Jan-Bart Geward, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, many histories: Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia*, (Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 191.

⁴³⁷Paul Semonin, "Nationalization and Management in Zambia," in <http://www.newworldjournal.org> (Accessed on 24th March, 2020).

mines.⁴³⁸ These were Roan Selection Trust and Anglo-American Corporation which owned all the mines in Zambia.⁴³⁹ Following the announcing of the Matero Reforms, Roan Selection Trust became Roan Consolidated Copper Mines comprising of Mufulira Mines, Luanshya Mines, Chibuluma Mines, Chambishi Mines, Kalengwa Mines and Ndola Copper Refinery. The Zambian arm of Anglo-American Corporation became Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines and was in charge of Rhokana, Nchanga and Konkola mines.⁴⁴⁰ The UNIP government further decided to form an umbrella company for INDECO and MINDECO called Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO) in 1969 and incorporated in 1970. Its aim was to minimize political interference in the running of state-owned businesses by serving as a buffer between the UNIP government and its investments.⁴⁴¹

By 1970, the Zambianisation programme was almost complete. The UNIP government extended the economic reforms into retail and trading and in 1972 the government stated that only genuine Zambian companies and individuals could participate retail and trade. The government also emphasized that any businesses that were foreign owned would be limited to the prescribed designated areas in the ten major urban centres as stated in the Mulungushi Economic Reforms.⁴⁴²

The Zambianisation programme sadly did not do much to help improve the economy to the point of it benefitting the majority of the Zambians. Things began to deteriorate from mid-1970s, due to a fall in the export price of copper and an increase in the prices of imported petroleum

⁴³⁸Chirwa and Odhiambo, "Macroeconomic Policy Reform and Economic Growth," in <http://www.journals.univ-danubius.ro>.

⁴³⁹J. Shikamo, A. Mwanza and C. Mweemba, "Copper Mining in Zambia-history and future in <http://www.doi.org> (Accessed on 29th March, 2020).

⁴⁴⁰Shikamo, Mwanza and Mweemba, "Copper Mining in Zambia-history and future in <http://www.doi.org>.

⁴⁴¹James Garvin, "Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation," in <http://www.rhodesianstudycircle.org.uk> (Accessed on 29th March, 2020).

⁴⁴²Chirwa and Odhiambo, "Macroeconomic Policy Reform and Economic Growth," in <http://www.journals.univ-danubius.ro>.

products.⁴⁴³ This external shock resulted in the depletion of the country's external reserves, a rise in external borrowings and foreign aid. The external borrowings and foreign aid were not only inadequate, but also not sustainable in the long run because they increased the country's indebtedness.⁴⁴⁴ Zambia experienced economic downturns, largely due to little or no investment in many sectors of the economy, especially the state-dominated parastatal sector, which controlled over 80 per cent of the economy, including the mainstay, the mining sector, until early 1990s.⁴⁴⁵ Further, the little investment that took place continued to be in the traditional raw material production, an area that was very sensitive to the adverse impacts of the lowering prices and competition from synthetic products.⁴⁴⁶

During that same period government felt compelled to engage the help of international financial institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank which would help the indebted economy recover. These financial lending institutions were willing to render help to the UNIP government provided they accepted the imposition of economic programmes in the form of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP).⁴⁴⁷ Zambia was forced to accept financial bail-outs from the IMF in an effort to stabilise the economy as the world price of copper began to fall in 1975, with not less than seven stabilisation and adjustment programmes which included the

⁴⁴³CUTS, Investment Policy in Zambia-Performance and Perception, Discussion Paper, Jaipur, Jaipur Printers P. Ltd, 2003, p.13.

⁴⁴⁴Alex Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," in *International Journal of Organisational Theory and Behaviour*, 3 (3-4), 2000, p. 531.

⁴⁴⁵Andrew A. Beveridge, "Economic Independence, Indigenization, and the African Businessman: Some effects of Zambia's Economic Reforms," in <http://www.jstor.org> (Accessed 29/03/2020).

⁴⁴⁶CUTS, Investment Policy in Zambia-Performance and Perception, p.13.

⁴⁴⁷Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," p. 533.

devaluation of the currency, the decontrol of prices and a wage ceiling being introduced between 1975 and 1986 alone.⁴⁴⁸

The Minister of Finance, Kebby Musokotwane, stated in 1983 that the measures had been taken to enable a drastic adjustment to the economy if Zambia had to survive. The stabilisation measures were aimed at curtailing inflation and ensuring sustainable external payments position. This would be through the control of money supply and reducing fiscal and balance of payments deficits to manageable levels.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, poor copper prices coupled with policy inconsistencies and poor economic management led to the worsening of the economy during much of the UNIP regime.⁴⁵⁰

Appendix 8. shows the percentage contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by various sectors in Zambia at constant 1977 prices from 1977 to 1986. It shows that most sectors contributed less to the GDP over the years up to 1986 as compared to their 1977 contribution. The mining sector for instance which was the major income earner for the government contributed less to the GDP from 1979 onwards up to 1986. The collapse of copper prices on the international market contributed largely to the intractable economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s to the point where the national GDP declined from 6.7 per cent to a negative of 2.4 per cent.⁴⁵¹ Also, the collapse of Zambia's terms of trade, government's failure to develop a dynamic and diversified economy and the oil shock of 1973 all contributed to the drastic economic decline.⁴⁵² Critics cited the philosophy of humanism pursued by UNIP which stressed state

⁴⁴⁸Peter Gibbon, "Structural Adjustment and Pressures Toward Multipartyism in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Yusuf Bangura, Peter Gibbon and Arve Ofstad (eds.), *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment. The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa*, (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1992), p.151.

⁴⁴⁹Times of Zambia, January 8, 1983.

⁴⁵⁰Tayo Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," in *International Labour Organisation*, Issues No. 29, Sub-Region Office for Southern Africa, Zimbabwe, January 2008, p.1.

⁴⁵¹Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.1.

⁴⁵²Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," p. 531.

ownership, administrative control coupled with mismanagement as major causes of Zambia's economic decline.⁴⁵³

In 1991, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) came to power ending the UNIP government's 27-year reign.⁴⁵⁴ The MMD government was committed to a free market capitalist system. It embraced SAP in late 1991, following the conclusion of agreements with the IMF and the World Bank. SAP was embraced with the aim of transforming a state-led, stagnating economy into a market-driven economy.⁴⁵⁵ The economic reform programme pursued by the new government with the support of the IMF and World Bank consisted of three policy objectives. These were the restoration of macroeconomic stability through monetary and fiscal reforms; facilitation of private sector growth by removal of price, exchange rate, import and export controls; and shift agriculture and industry from public monopolies to private and decentralised institutions.⁴⁵⁶

President Chiluba embraced SAP with a key focus on privatisation of the extensive public enterprises while President Mwanawasa and later Banda placed less emphasis on the privatisation of state owned enterprises probably because they realised its disruptive effects on the social and economic fabric of society.⁴⁵⁷ Privatisation led to a lot of job losses. For instance, a survey conducted by the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA) which looked at 23 of the 210 companies privatised showed that about 6,000 jobs were lost by the late 1990s.⁴⁵⁸ The employment situation continued to deteriorate. The government policies which were driven by

⁴⁵³Michael Bratton, "Economic Crisis and Political Realignment in Zambia," in Jennifer A. Widner, *Economic and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 106.

⁴⁵⁴Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.1

⁴⁵⁵Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, (Lusaka: FES, 2003), p.3.

⁴⁵⁶CUTS, Investment Policy in Zambia-Performance and Perception, p.18.

⁴⁵⁷Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.1.

⁴⁵⁸Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1998), p. 9.

the conditionalities of the IMF and the World Bank had brought untold misery to the Zambian work force.⁴⁵⁹

4.3 ZCTU's Ideology which guided its Role in National Development, 1964-2011

ZCTU as will be shown later in this chapter played a role in the development of Zambia. Before going into the discussion of how ZCTU played that role, this section of this chapter will examine what ideology guided ZCTU in carrying out its developmental role. The question is did ZCTU work within whatever ideologies successive government embraced or did it have its own ideology as it played its role in national development?

An ideology is a set of beliefs and ideals which one can apply to policies and events. It forms the political moral code and world view of an individual, organisation or nation.⁴⁶⁰ In Zambia successive governments had different ideologies they followed. This section will examine the ideological differences between successive governments and ZCTU.

ZCTU was fully operational on 10th January, 1966 and shortly after, the UNIP government started to develop a home grown form of socialism called Zambian humanism, an ideology which guided Zambia's early economic reform initiatives, which was based on the principles of socialism.⁴⁶¹ At that time, it was expected that ZCTU would follow the same ideology as the government but this study discovered that ZCTU's ideological pursuit over the years was highly

⁴⁵⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Fourth Session of the Seventh National Assembly, 13th January-17th March, 1995, No.100, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1995), p.1206. (Hereafter GRZ, Official Verbatim Report...).

⁴⁶⁰"Political Ideology," URL <http://www2.palomar.edu/.../...html> (Accessed on 21 November, 2016).

⁴⁶¹Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," p. 522.
Geoffrey Lungwangwa, "Education and Humanism: An investigation into the ideology of Zambian Humanism as a basis of Education in Zambia," M.A Thesis, The University of Zambia, 1980, p.2.

influenced by the personal beliefs of its leadership and not entirely that of the government of the day.⁴⁶²

The UNIP government adopted the Zambian humanism on 27th April, 1967 as an ideology for the Zambian society. It was interpreted to mean a set of philosophical guidelines rooted in the Zambian cultural heritage which was intended to unite the country in the common task of economic, social and political development.⁴⁶³ Zambian humanism placed man at its core-it was concerned with an all-round development of man in Zambia. It held the view that man was the centre of all human activity; that man was the chief end of all action- the teleology.⁴⁶⁴ Zambian humanism rejected communism and capitalism. According to Kaunda:

Zambia's destination is neither capitalism nor orthodox socialism...to be humanist one must be a socialist, but it is possible to have socialism without humanism.⁴⁶⁵

Zambian Humanism was credited to Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's first president, as being its creator. Richard Hall argues that as early as 1967, Kaunda began to codify his ideas of man's rights and duties in society into a system of ideological thought.⁴⁶⁶ However, Geoffrey Lungwangwa points out that although Kaunda is credited with being the architect of Zambian humanism, the principles of Zambian humanism he articulated, have their origin in the general values which nationalist leaders professed even before humanism became the established ideology in Zambia.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶²Beatrice B. Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," PhD Thesis, The University of Leeds, 1989, p.208.

⁴⁶³Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," p. 523.

⁴⁶⁴Timothy K. Kandeke, *Fundamentals of Zambian Humanism*, (Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Ltd, 1977), p.12-14.

⁴⁶⁵Howard Simson, *Zambia: a Country Study*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985, p.21.

⁴⁶⁶Richard Hall, *The High Price of Principles: Kaunda and the white South*, (London: Holdore and Strongton, 1969), p.30.

⁴⁶⁷Lungwangwa, "Education and Humanism," p.39.

The UNIP government strived relentlessly to establish a true socialist state in Zambia but it emphasised that Zambian humanism differed from socialism in that it placed people above ideology and institutions.⁴⁶⁸

Once Zambian humanism was fully developed, ZCTU through the guidance of its leaders who in the early years were mostly UNIP loyalists supported it. They held to the view that just like the philosophical teachings of Zambian humanism, the Congress was also against the exploitation of man by man.⁴⁶⁹ The UNIP government ensured that the trade unionists in the country were well guided in the philosophical teachings of Zambian humanism. To achieve this, workers' education was launched in 1968 with the aim of inculcating the principles of Zambian humanism in the worker so as to achieve greater productivity for national development.⁴⁷⁰

Initially, leaders of ZCTU between 1965 and 1976 were UNIP loyalists who found nothing wrong with Zambian humanism at the time. These were men such as Abel Musonda and Wilson Chakulya who served as Vice President and General Secretary of ZCTU respectively.⁴⁷¹ Such leaders of ZCTU chose to support and be guided by humanism as their ideology. For example when it came to resolving matters which centred on industrial relations, humanism was their guiding principle.⁴⁷² According to Beatrice Liato, ZCTU accepted the fact that they had to work within the guidelines of Zambian humanism. However, she observes that between 1977 and 1987, ZCTU came to realise that Zambia was not yet the socialist state of the humanist aspirations. This was so because the UNIP government was not yet in full control of all the

⁴⁶⁸Kandeke, *Fundamentals of Zambian Humanism*, p. 20-21.

⁴⁶⁹Interview with Newstead Zimba, Former Secretary General of ZCTU and Labour Minister, Lusaka District, 18th May, 2016.

⁴⁷⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1969, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), p.7. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report)

⁴⁷¹Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia,"p.135.

⁴⁷²Zambia Daily Mail, June 12, 1976.

means of production in the country and that meant that Zambia was still a capitalist society in which international finance capital established its hold and the IMF at least until 1987.⁴⁷³

When the new Executive of ZCTU under the leadership of Chiluba came into office, it promised to continue working within the realms of Zambian humanism while giving the necessary checks and balances to it unlike the previous executives. ZCTU Secretary General Newstead Zimba stated in 1974 that:

...the United National Independence Party and the ZCTU should be close allies. The aims of UNIP, to create a state based upon the humanistic socialist pattern of society, adapted to suit the Zambian conditions, are identical with the aims and aspirations of the labour movement in the country.⁴⁷⁴

ZCTU began to question the economic policies of Zambian humanism in relation to uplifting the living standards of the Zambian workers in spite of still having UNIP loyalists within its rank and file such as Basil Kabwe, the General Secretary. Chiluba as president of ZCTU argued that in as much as ZCTU supported UNIP, it did not exist as an ideological institution but rather as a practical institution whose fundamental principle was to uplift the plight of the worker.⁴⁷⁵ Chiluba chastised the government by pointing out that they had become too ideological to be practical. He accused them of engaging in costly and negative experiments while producing humanistic texts on how to run government, the economy and almost everything from the alphabet right through social morals.⁴⁷⁶

Such a strong stance by Chiluba and other top members of the Executive of ZCTU against socialism led to suspicions among UNIP leaders of ZCTU having its own ideology. A number of members of the Central Committee of UNIP such as Wesley Nyirenda, who was the Chairman of the Finance and Economic Sub-Committee, accused ZCTU leaders of being capitalists who were

⁴⁷³Liatto, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.212.

⁴⁷⁴The Workers Voice, December, 1974.

⁴⁷⁵Times of Zambia, April 10, 1980.

⁴⁷⁶The Workers Voice, October, 1980.

being used by outside forces to destabilise the country.⁴⁷⁷ Chiluba seemed to have confirmed this accusation when he pointed out that socialism was a myth in Zambia. He argued in 1981 that scientific socialism could not work in Zambia because it was not being pursued in its truest sense as some people had amassed wealth in the form of property and businesses as encouraged by the ideology of capitalism.⁴⁷⁸ He emphasised his argument by stating that:

When our leaders show us honestly that we are going socialist and all our families will not be allowed to hold property on our behalf, at that time I promise this nation that this Congress will talk, eat and walk socialism.⁴⁷⁹

Chiluba was stating the fact that the government was being hypocritical in its ideological pursuit. By owning property, government leaders were contravening the very humanist ideology which made them to pass the Mulungushi Reforms which emphasised man-centeredness as opposed to property-centeredness.⁴⁸⁰ ZCTU was left to wonder whether humanism was being pursued to create false hopes and expectations which were sanguine in the people of a veritable society to come which never dawned. The government was asked to instead be practical in improving people's lives or else ZCTU was not going to accept socialist policies for the sake of being called comrades to please authorities.⁴⁸¹

ZCTU therefore found itself being humanistic in the early years of its existence but by 1975, because of the economically oriented leaders, ZCTU silently pursued capitalism as its ideology of choice. As Beatrice Liato argued that the Zambian society with its socialist aspirations offered a challenge to the labour movement as they had to work in a capitalist reality and a home grown socialist ambition.⁴⁸² The labour movement discovered that Zambia was still a capitalist society

⁴⁷⁷Times of Zambia, January 15, 1981.

⁴⁷⁸Times of Zambia, December 31, 1981.

⁴⁷⁹Times of Zambia, December 31, 1981.

⁴⁸⁰Kandeke, *Fundamentals of Zambian Humanism*, p.45.

⁴⁸¹Times of Zambia, April 23, 1982.

⁴⁸²Liatio, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.212.

in reality and their operations were capitalist in nature and so to continue pretending that everything worked in a humanist realm was a fallacy. ZCTU Chairman-General, Chiluba, argued that the Zambian version of socialism, humanism, was a misnomer in a country with a mixed economy.⁴⁸³ By 1982, it became apparent that ZCTU had chosen to align itself with capitalism as an ideology of choice when its leader, Chiluba, bravely stated at the height of the one party state that:

If changing ideological concept of the country's development will provide the panacea to the cries of woe which we so often hear from the unemployed, the unhoused, the unfed and under-nourished then we have no quarrel in the labour movement.⁴⁸⁴

Chiluba argued that ZCTU would not agree to any humanist policies for the sake of being called comrades to please the UNIP government.⁴⁸⁵

When Zambia entered the Third Republic, the MMD government decided to pursue capitalism as an ideology of choice.⁴⁸⁶ The major features of capitalism as it applied to the MMD included plans to resuscitate the economy through the reduction of government control of the economy, privatisation of state owned enterprises, diversification of the economy, reduction of debt, balance the budget and reduction of the public sector.⁴⁸⁷ The problem with this new found ideology by the MMD was that it was not home grown but rather one based on IMF and World Bank SAP with its conditionalities.⁴⁸⁸

ZCTU felt that the implementation of SAP was torturous for the labour movement. During a meeting with the President Chiluba, ZCTU Chairman-General Jackson Shamenda pointed out

⁴⁸³Times of Zambia, December 31, 1981.

⁴⁸⁴Times of Zambia, April 23, 1982.

⁴⁸⁵Times of Zambia, April 23, 1982.

⁴⁸⁶James R. Scarritt, "The Explanation of Change and Continuity in Zambian Presidential Selection and Power: Leaders' Strategic Interaction, Institutions and Social Structure," Working Paper, University of Colorado at Boulder, April 2012, p.13.

⁴⁸⁷Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," p. 537.

⁴⁸⁸Sekwat, "Beyond Africanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independent Zambia," p. 541.

that at the beginning ZCTU and its affiliates was not opposed to the economic restructuring and adjustment by the MMD government as they hoped that it will restore growth and sustainable development. However, ZCTU and its affiliates also cautioned government on the need for popular participation and consensus on the economic measures to be taken in the implementation of SAP.⁴⁸⁹

ZCTU was later opposed to this capitalistic approach by the MMD government under Chiluba. The Congress did not agree to the immediate implementation of all the economic measures which the government entered into with the IMF, World Bank and the Paris Club within a single time frame. In as far as ZCTU was concerned, the measures taken were devoid of any social dimension to mitigate the diverse effects of adjustment on the workers and vulnerable groups. The measures did not address the issues of employment and poverty which in the belief of the Congress were more pressing.⁴⁹⁰

Leonard Hikaumba observed that the Chiluba government delinked itself from doing business and as such it went about to privatise a number of state owned parastatals thereby leaving the running of the economy in private hands. ZCTU therefore felt that that was a wrong approach and ideology altogether. It argued that government should instead have partnered with the private sector in order to run viable industries which would secure jobs for the Zambian workers.⁴⁹¹ For example like the way government did when it sold 49 per cent shares of the Zambia National Commercial Bank (ZANACO) to Rabo Bank of the Netherlands while the government retained 51 per cent shares in 2007. In 2010 ZCTU even described ZANACO as

⁴⁸⁹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamenda during the meeting with the Head of State Mr. F.T.J Chiluba on the Current Social and Economic situation in the Country at State House, Lusaka on 22nd December, 1994, p.1.

⁴⁹⁰ZCTU, A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamenda, p.1.

⁴⁹¹Interview with Leonard Hikaumba, Former President of the ZCTU, Lusaka District, 10th June, 2016.

viable following its privatisation.⁴⁹² ZCTU was of the view that the government over-looked the trade-offs involved in implementing the IMF and World Bank conditionalities. Of particular concern to the ZCTU and its affiliates was the lack of transition in the whole process.⁴⁹³

Therefore, during the Third Republic during the tenure of the MMD government, ZCTU chose to embrace capitalism as its ideology of choice. However, capitalism as practised by the MMD government which was driven by the conditionalities of the IMF and the World Bank brought untold misery to the Zambian work force.⁴⁹⁴ Because of that, ZCTU cautiously followed the ideology of capitalism while giving vital checks and balances to the MMD government.⁴⁹⁵

4.4 The Role of ZCTU in National Development, 1964 -2011

This section will not address the main theme of the chapter and that is the role ZCTU played in national development from 1964 to 2011. The section will start by looking at how ZCTU played that role under the UNIP regime and thereafter, the role of ZCTU under MMD's rule will be addressed as well.

4.4.1 The Role of ZCTU in National Development during the Era of UNIP

The formation of ZCTU in 1964 by government was purely based on development. The UNIP government wanted to have a trade union congress which would help bring harmony to the industrial sector and hence propel national development.⁴⁹⁶ ZCTU's primary role was to act as

⁴⁹²Times of Zambia, June 12, 2010.

⁴⁹³ZCTU, A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamenda, p.1.

⁴⁹⁴GRZ, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Fourth Session of the Seventh National Assembly, 13th January-17th March, 1995, No.100, p.1206.

⁴⁹⁵Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁴⁹⁶GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.1b, p.72.

the labour arm of the party and government's arm on matters of national development. ZCTU was to do that by communicating to the workers UNIP's and government's production ethics.⁴⁹⁷

In the early years, ZCTU played a role in national development by committing itself to educating the workers in production ethics of the UNIP government. This was in a programme called workers education. The UNIP government even put in place plans to establish a trade union school called the President's Citizenship College to be based in Kabwe where the government hoped that once established, trade unionists would play their full part in workers education.⁴⁹⁸ Through workers education, ZCTU was expected to inculcate in its members the principles of collective bargaining and the value of trade unionism.⁴⁹⁹ In order to carry out workers education, ZCTU needed resources and therefore, it aligned itself with government and co-operating partners such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO). By February, 1967, with the help of ILO, seminars were intensified with labour leaders from ZCTU affiliate unions receiving lessons in English, economics and accounts. The University of Zambia was engaged to help run these seminars.⁵⁰⁰ ZCTU also sponsored some trade unionists from affiliate unions such as National Union of Local Authorities Workers to go abroad and train in the best practices of trade unionism.⁵⁰¹

ZCTU further invited experts from ILO in October, 1967 to train its secretariat on how to facilitate seminars so that they could intensify workers education. Following that seminar,

⁴⁹⁷G. Adler and E. Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation: The Labour Movement, Policy-Making and Transition in Zambia and South Africa," Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Witwatersrand, Institute for Advance Social Research, 4th August, 1997, p. 6.

⁴⁹⁸Government of the Republic of Zambia, Zambia Hansard No.6, Official Verbatim Report of the Debates of the Second Session (Resumed) of the First National Assembly, 8th March-6th April, 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1966), pp.717 &1178. (Hereafter GRZ, Zambia Hansard No.6).

⁴⁹⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for July, 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.7. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁵⁰⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for February, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p.3. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁵⁰¹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for April, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p.4. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

several seminars were conducted by ZCTU in Lusaka and the Copperbelt for shop stewards and branch trade union officials.⁵⁰²

Therefore, ZCTU played a role in national development by equipping its members with the necessary professional skills with support from its co-operating partners. The Congress also committed itself to educate trade unionists in the best practices of trade unionism so as to help have a cadre of trade unionists who carried out the government agenda of national development. This ZCTU did in accordance with Article 2(h) of its constitution which aimed at settling disputes between unions and management.⁵⁰³

ZCTU also played a role in national development by establishing co-operatives and enterprises which were owned wholly or partially by the Congress on behalf of the workers. By 1969, ZCTU established the Workers' Development Corporation, a private company, and it invested K50, 000 in it.⁵⁰⁴ Although it was established in 1969, the Workers Development Corporation was born out of a meeting called the Joint Committee of Economic Reforms and Industrial Relations organised by ZCTU on 7th September, 1968. During the same meeting, ZCTU arrived at the decision to involve its affiliate unions in economic development with the objective of service through national development. The Workers' Development Corporation also aimed at reducing the cost of living and to stabilise prices.⁵⁰⁵ Once established, affiliate unions were invited to buy shares in the Workers' Development Corporation and the National Union of Building,

⁵⁰²Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1968), p.12. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report).

⁵⁰³National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/279/2314-1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; ZCTU Constitution, p.2.

⁵⁰⁴National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; ZCTU, Minutes of the (Third) General Council Meeting held in Buchi Community Centre on the 22nd of February, 1969 at 11:00 a.m., p.16.

⁵⁰⁵National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; Zambia Congress of Trade Unions: Report of the Joint Committee on Economic Reforms And Industrial Relations, Ref. No. AD/5 Vol. II/ 485/68, pp. 3-4.

Engineering and General Workers (NUBEGW) was the first to respond to that invitation when it bought shares worth K10, 000.⁵⁰⁶

ZCTU through the Workers' Development Corporation participated in national development by engaging in businesses such as brewery, transport, manufacturing, building and construction, all types of agriculture as well as mining and quarrying. The Congress also engaged itself in small scale businesses such as shoe repairing, restaurants among others.⁵⁰⁷

ZCTU also engaged itself in national development by urging the workers to increase productivity through hard work, efficiency and general responsibility to the country. Such involvement is what the Joint Committee saw as indirect involvement of ZCTU into national development.⁵⁰⁸ The call for hard work efficiency and general responsibility was one ZCTU continued to make to its members in an effort to raise a cadre of workers who would contribute to national development in line with the economic reforms announced at the Mulungushi Conference in April, 1968. ZCTU used the programme of workers education launched in 1968 to make that call of hard work, efficiency and general responsibility to the workers.⁵⁰⁹

During the one party participatory democracy which began in 1972, ZCTU chose to play its role in national development by monitoring government progress in the economic sector. In spite of the UNIP government undertaking an ambitious economic programme in 1968 and 1969, Zambia by the mid-1970s was facing economic challenges which made the life of the worker

⁵⁰⁶NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; ZCTU, Minutes of the (Third) General Council Meeting, p.16

⁵⁰⁷NAZ/MLSS1/26/292/2317-1969-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15 Vol. III; ZCTU, Minutes of the (Third) General Council Meeting, p.16.

⁵⁰⁸NAZ/MLSS1/26/279/2314 1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; Zambia Congress of Trade Unions: Report of the Joint Committee, p.2.

⁵⁰⁹Annual Labour Report, 1969, p.7 and p.31.

miserable.⁵¹⁰ The ZCTU argued that the economic challenges Zambia was facing was because of the vigorous nationalisation process which started following the economic reforms announced by President Kaunda. ZCTU therefore appealed to the party and its government to scale down on the nationalisation of industries and encourage private investment which would grow the economy.⁵¹¹

In making their plea, ZCTU was also interested in seeing jobs created for Zambians if meaningful national development was to be realised. However, as the situation stood in 1980, there were very few jobs created by the nationalised industries whose performance was generally poor.⁵¹² For example in the mining sector, statistics showed that copper production reached its peak of 720, 000 tonnes in 1969 the same year of nationalisation. However, by the time nationalisation was completed in 1973, production had dropped slightly to 700, 000 tonnes.⁵¹³ Production continued to drop in almost all industries in the subsequent years following nationalisation and as a result, the country's GDP continued to drop to levels where the Zambian government could not absorb all the available labour force.⁵¹⁴

ZCTU still continued to demand for more jobs to be created and for salaries to be improved as part of its role in national development. The Turner Report produced by ILO even advised the UNIP government to reduce the civil service if Zambia was to make a meaning economic recovery. The report agreed that salaries for civil servants should be increased but that that increment could only be made once the civil service is reduced.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁰Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.1

⁵¹¹Times of Zambia, July, 19, 1980.

⁵¹²Times of Zambia, July, 19, 1980.

⁵¹³Shikamo, Mwanza and Mweemba, "Copper Mining in Zambia-history and future in <http://www.doi.org>.

⁵¹⁴Chirwa and Odhiambo, "Macroeconomic Policy Reform and Economic Growth," in <http://www.journals.univ-danubius.ro>.

⁵¹⁵ Times of Zambia, July 23, 1980.

In spite of the negative Turner report, ZCTU continued to fight for more jobs and better salaries for the workers as they believed that a productive and better paid workforce would contribute to the much needed national development.⁵¹⁶ Sadly, the economic situation could not allow. This made ZCTU Chairman-General, Chiluba, to accuse the UNIP government of being irresponsible to job creation. He stated that the UNIP government had become too ideological to be practical all because of costly and negative experiments on how to run government.⁵¹⁷

ZCTU however continued to lobby government to improve the employment situation in the country.⁵¹⁸ In as much as the UNIP government was struggling to solve the unemployment problem, they did manage to increase salaries although not to the satisfaction of ZCTU with its affiliate unions. On 27th October, 1983, President Kaunda announced to the nation that salaries for civil servants had been increased by 10 per cent after long discussions with the labour movement which included ZCTU.⁵¹⁹ Of course, this was a small victory but it was a step in the right direction in as far as ZCTU was concerned.⁵²⁰ All this was a clear demonstration of the efforts ZCTU made towards national development. ZCTU leaders were at times jailed for their efforts to see to it that Zambia achieved national development while not leaving the workers undeveloped.⁵²¹

ZCTU also contributed to national development by encouraging and promoting the development of a strong, unified, dynamic and financially viable labour movement.⁵²² Once ZCTU was

⁵¹⁶The Workers Voice, October, 1980.

⁵¹⁷The Workers Voice, October, 1980.

⁵¹⁸Times of Zambia, October, 23, 1983.

⁵¹⁹Times of Zambia, October, 27, 1983.

⁵²⁰The Workers Voice, October, 1980.

⁵²¹Times of Zambia, July, 28, 1981.

⁵²²NAZ/MLSS1/26/279/2314-1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; ZCTU Constitution, p.1.

registered as a congress of trade unions on 10th January, 1966⁵²³, it started to carry out its work by encouraging and promoting the formation of trade unions in industries where none existed.⁵²⁴ ZCTU further encouraged trade unions operating in the same industry to merge. For example, in 1967, ZCTU encouraged the National Union of Transport and General Workers as well as the Zambia Long Distance and Haulage Union to merge into a new union called the National Union of Transport and Allied Workers.⁵²⁵

In 1968, ZCTU continued with its efforts of merging unions existing in one industry in one entity. Knowing how important the mining industry was to the development of the nation, ZCTU directed its efforts to merging unions in the mining sector most of which existed mainly on racial grounds. ZCTU's efforts were complimented by the UNIP government which appointed a committee to help merge the Mineworkers Union of Zambia and the Expatriate Mineworkers Association into one.⁵²⁶ The spearheading of the formation of and the amalgamation of trade unions into one by ZCTU helped productivity towards national development. This was so as workers spoke through their union representatives thereby bringing sanity to the process of negotiations in case of a dispute and management reduced on many meetings with different unions in one industry when it can to settling industrial disputes.⁵²⁷ This led to industrial harmony and greater productivity in line with the aspirations of the UNIP government.⁵²⁸

⁵²³National Archives of Zambia (Hereafter NAZ)/MLSS1/26/258/2307-1965-1967 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; Secretary General's Report, 21st January, 1966, p.3.

⁵²⁴Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for June, 1966, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p.1. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

⁵²⁵Annual Labour Report, 1967, p.12.

⁵²⁶Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1968, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1969), p.30. (Hereafter Annual Labour Report)

⁵²⁷Annual Labour Report, 1969, p.7.

⁵²⁸Neo R. Simutanyi, "Political Economy of Workers' Participation: Role of Trade Unions in promoting Industrial Participatory Democracy in Zambia," M.A. Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1987, p.35.

ZCTU further contributed to national development by protecting and strengthening democratic and humanistic institutions of the Republic of Zambia, preserved and cherished traditions of democracy and secured full recognition and enjoyment of rights and liberties to which labour was entitled.⁵²⁹ The leaders of ZCTU were committed to the democratic process and they took the government's professed commitment to democracy seriously.⁵³⁰ ZCTU was not only interested in political democracy but economic democracy as well. This was so because ZCTU was alive to the fact that for political democracy or any political system to survive, it needed a strong economy. Chiluba, the Chairman-General of ZCTU, observed in 1980 that the stability of Zambia's political system would certainly depend on the ability of the economy to fund it.⁵³¹

Beatrice Liato also quotes the then Secretary General of ZCTU Newstead Zimba as having argued in 1982 that:

Democracy should include economic democracy and the distribution of collective national wealth of this country, without these democracy leaves little to be grateful for.⁵³²

The above arguments by the Chairman-General and the Secretary General of ZCTU respectfully did not suggest that political democracy was not important to the Congress. ZCTU during the one-party state was the only organised force to challenge authoritarian tendencies of the UNIP government so as to promote political democracy. The Congress felt the need to do that due to the absence of formal political opposition during the one party state which began in 1972.⁵³³ ZCTU also felt compelled to safeguard the labour movement's rights to participate in the participatory democracy proclaimed by the UNIP government. Chiluba observed that:

⁵²⁹NAZ/MLSS1/26/279/2314-1967-1969 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions 100/TU/15; ZCTU Constitution, p.1.

⁵³⁰Liatto, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.213.

⁵³¹Times of Zambia, December, 29, 1980.

⁵³²Liatto, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.213.

⁵³³Neo Simutanyi, "Political Challenges facing the Zambian Labour Movement ahead of the 2011 General Elections," in Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *The Labour Movement in Zambia-A Monograph*, (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011), p.19.

We want to participate at all levels of decision-making, not just by having six members on the (UNIP) National Council. That is not full participation. We need and we must be involved in the mechanisms of implementing policy, not just its declarations. Trade unions helped in the freedom struggle, now we want to help run and reconstruct Zambia.⁵³⁴

In as far as ZCTU was concerned, the democratic rights and freedoms of the workers and the labour movement included the right to criticise government policy and advise it on industrial relations in the country.⁵³⁵ All this was in line with the Congress' role of contributing to national development.

ZCTU further played a role in national development by continuously fighting for improved workers' conditions of service which made the UNIP government to adopt strategies to improve the situation.⁵³⁶ By the late 1970s and the early 1980s, when Zambia's economy began to decline drastically,⁵³⁷ ZCTU became so militant such that the country was plunged in a number of strikes. Such militancy on matters which involved the welfare of the workers led the UNIP government to start accusing ZCTU of working with foreign organisations to bring division in the country.⁵³⁸ However, that did not deter the ZCTU leadership from continuing with the fight for better conditions of service for their workers. If anything, such accusations seemed to energise them to fight even more. By July 1981 for example, ZCTU Chairman-General and two of his top officials namely Newstead Zimba the Secretary General and Chitalu Sampa the Assistant Secretary-General including MUZ Deputy Chairman Timothy Walamba were detained for allegedly inciting workers to disrupt industrial peace and overthrow the UNIP government.⁵³⁹ President Kaunda claimed that he decided to take the action of arresting the ZCTU leaders

⁵³⁴Liatto, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia," p.213.

⁵³⁵Times of Zambia, October, 23, 1983.

⁵³⁶Adrian Shikwe, *Gender and Labour Market Liberalisation in Zambia*, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2002), p.57.

⁵³⁷CUTS, *Investment Policy in Zambia-Performance and Perception*, p.13

⁵³⁸Times of Zambia, January 15, 1981.

⁵³⁹Times of Zambia, July 28, 1981.

because he wanted industrial peace to prevail and Zambia to go back to work. He accused ZCTU of using workers under the pretence of better conditions of service when their real objective was to gain political mileage.⁵⁴⁰

The relations between ZCTU and the UNIP government caused a lot of concern and anxiety among the citizens. This was because there was no need why a state of misunderstanding existed between the two when both of them aimed at bringing development to the country.⁵⁴¹ In playing their role in national developmental, ZCTU was of the view that humanistic policies were not working to the satisfaction of the workers. ZCTU Chairman-General pointed out that:

We are pragmatic trade unions crying out for better conditions for workers and their rights. We can't wait for ism to bring better things to us. That is why we say no to ideological experts.⁵⁴²

The above statement was a clear indication that the UNIP government were failing to improve the living standards of the workers. However, the checks and balances given by ZCTU made the government aware that its humanistic policies were failing the workers. In an attempt to improve the standard of living in the country and salvage the economy from continued decline, government employed a number of strategies including external borrowing and IMF/World Bank SAPs, which were started in 1980.⁵⁴³

ZCTU furthermore played a role in national development by serving on the board of directors of all state industries.⁵⁴⁴ President Kaunda further mandated ZCTU to submit names of leaders of their affiliate unions to serve on those boards also. This was in an attempt by the UNIP government to demonstrate that ZCTU was indeed its partner in national development.⁵⁴⁵ The

⁵⁴⁰Times of Zambia, July 28, 1981.

⁵⁴¹Times of Zambia, July 28, 1981.

⁵⁴²Times of Zambia, April 11, 1983.

⁵⁴³Shikwe, *Gender and Labour Market Liberalisation in Zambia*, p.57.

⁵⁴⁴Times of Zambia, January, 14, 1983.

⁵⁴⁵Times of Zambia, January, 30, 1983.

Congress had no problems with the demand by Kaunda to admit only party members to the board of directors of state industries. The request ZCTU made was that those affiliate members so appointed to serve on the board of the state industries had to be educated enough for them to understand proceedings of the board thereby making meaningful contributions which would lead to greater productivity.⁵⁴⁶

ZCTU also played a major role in the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in 1990 as part of its contribution to national development. The Congress contributed to the political development of Zambia by joining other individuals and groups to fight for and witness the re-introduction of multiparty politics in the interest of the nation.⁵⁴⁷ ZCTU began the fight for multiparty democracy on 30th December 1989, during its General Council meeting. This was when Chiluba declared that Africa and Zambia in particular had to abandon the concept of one-party democracy since the nations that founded it in Eastern Europe had abandoned it.⁵⁴⁸ During the same time, ZCTU called on other organisation with similar intentions to join forces with the labour movement in asking for the reintroduction of multiparty politics.

In March 1990 a special UNIP national convention was called to discuss democratisation. ZCTU used the opportunity to again make the demand for the reintroduction of multiparty democracy. The UNIP leadership and Kenneth Kaunda in particular opposed these demands. But mounting pressure from civil society and the general citizenry for multiparty democracy coupled with a renewed outbreak of rioting in June caused by an increase in maize prices forced the

⁵⁴⁶Times of Zambia, January, 15, 1983

⁵⁴⁷Lise Rakner, "Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation: A Study of Party Labour Relations in Zambia," Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, Report No.6, 1992, p.58.

⁵⁴⁸Paschal Mihyo, "Against Overwhelming Odds: The Zambian Trade Union Movement," in Henk Thomas (ed.), *Globalisation and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*, (London& New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995), p. 209.

government to change track.⁵⁴⁹ By June, 1990, a national interim committee was formed to press for multiparty democracy and ZCTU was asked by other interest groups to lead the campaign. ZCTU gladly took up the challenge and on 17th July, 1990, President Kaunda and UNIP lifted the ban on opposition parties and the MMD.⁵⁵⁰

On 20th July, 1990 an opposition political party, called the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), was founded at Garden House Hotel in Lusaka. The influence of ZCTU was seen when the members of the newly formed MMD elected its Chairman-General, Frederick Chiluba, as its Vice Chairman.⁵⁵¹ ZCTU therefore contributed to the political development of Zambia by fighting for and witness the re-introduction of multiparty politics in the interest of the nation.

4.4.2 The Role of ZCTU in National Development during the Era of MMD

The MMD formed government in 1991. Its 1991 Manifesto and the Policy Framework Paper agreed to with the IMF and World Bank emphasized three main economic measures; to restore macro-economic stability through monetary and fiscal reforms, to facilitate private sector growth through liberalising price and exchange-rate regulations and remove trade restrictions and finally, to remove the public monopolies in the industrial and agrarian sectors.

ZCTU looked up to it with renewed hope of a better future. However, after some years of MMD being in power, the Congress realised that they had claimed a false victory as the workers still had to fight for economic democracy.⁵⁵² This section will therefore examine the role ZCTU played in national development under the MMD rule in spite of it facing a number of challenges

⁵⁴⁹Adler and Webster, "Bargained Liberalisation," pp. 9-10.

⁵⁵⁰Mihyo, "Against Overwhelming Odds," p.209.

⁵⁵¹Interview with Zimba, Lusaka, 18th May, 2016.

⁵⁵²Friday E. Mulenga, "Fighting for democracy of the pocket: The labour movement in the Third Republic," in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar & Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories*, (Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2008), p.247.

which involved its existence following changes to the Industrial Relations Act as well as the welfare of its members.⁵⁵³

When MMD formed government, ZCTU decided to support the implementation of its economic reform programmes as a way of playing its role in national development. This was in line with the traditional policy of trade unions and congresses of trade unions to support or work with any political party or government in power.⁵⁵⁴ However, ZCTU also warned the MMD to approach its economic reform programmes with caution and the need for popular participation and consensus.⁵⁵⁵ It sympathised with the difficulties President Chiluba and the MMD government faced in trying to revive the economy after years of mismanagement. The Congress supported the government's economic programmes by practically refraining from public criticism. According to Emmanuel Akwetey and Jon Kraus, in December 1991, the MMD government began to implement the stabilisation package of the IMF/World Bank SAP with great speed and enthusiasm. This entailed them removing food subsidies, liberalisation of export and import trade, restrictions of public sector wage increases, abolition of all tax free allowances and curtailment in public expenditures in 1992. The MMD government implemented those measures in order to reduce inflation which stood at 191 per cent in 1991. In response, ZCTU controlled unionised workers from opposing the measure in the interest of national building.⁵⁵⁶

The MMD government also started privatising state enterprises as part of their economic recovery measures. Privatisation started in 1996 and it continued into the next millennium.⁵⁵⁷ ZCTU would agree or disagree with government on privatisation based on the immediate

⁵⁵³Miyo, "Against Overwhelming Odds,"pp.211-213.

⁵⁵⁴Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report, p.3.

⁵⁵⁵ZCTU, A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamenda, p.1

⁵⁵⁶Emmanuel Akwetey and Jon Kraus, "Trade Unions, Development, and Democratization in Zambia: The Continuing Struggle," in <http://www.researchgate.net> (Accessed on 24th March, 2020).

⁵⁵⁷Shikamo, Mwanza and Mweemba, "Copper Mining in Zambia-history and future," in <http://www.doi.org>.

environment and the long term benefits to the workers and the country at large in its quest to contribute to national development.⁵⁵⁸

The leadership of ZCTU under Shamenda and later Hikaumba started opposing privatisation once they realised that it led to a number of Zambian workers losing their jobs and becoming destitute in their own nation.⁵⁵⁹ Because of the bad effects of privatisation on the economic situation in the country, Shamenda as ZCTU president even called for national wide revolts and work stoppages against privatisation. The idea was to send a strong message to the government that privatisation was failing the nation and as such the MMD government should abandon it in the interest of national development.⁵⁶⁰ ZCTU clearly chose to side with the worker once privatisation was not yielding the intended results of economic development and this was in an effort for it to be an active player in national development.

ZCTU also noticed a situation where the government wanted to remove itself from the running of the economy through privatisation. Hikaumba pointed out that the idea by government to remove itself from the economic activities of the country as prescribed by the IMF was detrimental to national development as even in developed countries governments were actively involved in their economies. It was as a result of that realisation that ZCTU joined other stakeholders such as the Oasis Forum, an organisation of various civil societies, to call upon government to halt the continued sale of state parastatals.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁵⁹Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 1998), p. 9.

⁵⁶⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Fourth Session of the Eighth National Assembly, 16th January-3rd April, 1998, No.109, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1998), p.1854. (Hereafter GRZ, Official Verbatim Report...).

⁵⁶¹Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

According to Hikaumba, during the period when government was privatising its parastatals, it was also aiming at delinking some of its civil service so as enable them run as autonomous entities from government. ZCTU was opposed to such a program as it disregarded the law to do with transfers of workers and they felt that it may lead to the collapse of the delinked entities leading to loss of work and misery. For example, it opposed the delinking of health workers from government to the newly created Central Board of Health without due regard for their accrued benefits. ZCTU backed its affiliate union, CSAWUZ, and took government to court to stop that process and they won the case. Government later failed to run the Central Board of Health and the few workers who were transferred to it had to be brought back to government thereby justifying the opposition from ZCTU.⁵⁶²

As earlier stated, there were situations when ZCTU chose to support privatisation especially when it strongly believed that it was going to benefit the workers and contribute meaningfully to national development. For example, the Congress backed the sale of Zambia Telecommunication (ZAMTEL) during the tenure of Rupiah Banda. At the time, ZCTU believed that the sale of ZAMTEL will improve the operations of the company to the benefit of the whole nation.⁵⁶³ The support ZCTU gave towards the privatisation of ZAMTEL was backed by the fact that earlier in 2007, the MMD government had sold the Zambia National Commercial Bank (ZANACO) to Rabo Bank of Netherlands and the said commercial Bank was doing far much better that it was before it was privatised.⁵⁶⁴ Hikaumba justified the support ZCTU gave towards the privatisation process during late years of the MMD regime. He argued that such a stance where ZCTU would

⁵⁶²Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁶³Times of Zambia, June 12, 2010.

⁵⁶⁴Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

agree or disagree with certain government policies such as privatising was based on the immediate environment and benefits to the workers and the country at large.⁵⁶⁵

As part of its role in national development, ZCTU played a significant role in the formulation of the Tripartite Consultative Labour Council (TCLC). The TCLC was born out of the need for a whole round consultative process on economic and labour matters.⁵⁶⁶ ZCTU pointed out that during the Third Republic under the MMD government there were a number of major decisions made on economic and labour matters that did not involve a whole round consultative process. According to the Congress, this contributed to the poor industrial relations environment in the country.⁵⁶⁷ ZCTU also argued that even when the MMD consulted the labour movement it did not listen to them as the case was on Zambia Airways. The Congress argued that the Airline was liquidated despite government holding consultative meetings with the labour movement which included ZCTU.⁵⁶⁸

As a response to the complaints of ZCTU and its affiliates over lack of consultation, the MMD government established the TCLC and other forums for consultations. Hikaumba argues that this was a major landmark in ZCTU's quest to bring development to the industrial sector.⁵⁶⁹ The TCLC was established under section 79 of the Industrial and Labour Relations Act of 1993. It was the most significant institution through which the tripartite partners who included the government, employers and workers, discussed labour market issues and other issues of a social and economic nature particularly impacting on employment. The mandate of the TCLC as

⁵⁶⁵Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁶⁶Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁶⁷ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p.10.

⁵⁶⁸ZCTU, A Paper Presented by the Chairman-General Mr. F.U. Shamenda, p.7.

⁵⁶⁹Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

prescribed under the Act was to advise the Government on all issues relating to labour matters, manpower development and utilization and any other matters referred it by the Government.⁵⁷⁰

The TCLC was made up of an equal number of representatives of the government, employers and workers who debated on labour laws and policies involving the worker.⁵⁷¹ The TCLC played its role in the process of reviewing labour laws and generally afforded the social partners an opportunity to discuss many issues of mutual importance related to employment policy and its implementation.⁵⁷² ZCTU being part of the TCLC contributed to national development in that respect as good labour laws and policies led to good working environments which in turn led to better productivity in national interest.⁵⁷³

The economic reforms prescribed by the IMF and World Bank and adopted by the MMD government were clearly having a negative impact on the Zambian labour force. The economy recorded a decline in real GDP growth from 1990 to 1997. ZCTU had to adopt new strategies aimed at continuing its quest of being an active player in national development. In order to do that, ZCTU engaged cooperating partners.⁵⁷⁴

One of the strategies ZCTU used to continue being relevant as an active player in the development of Zambia was to address the problem of unemployment and redundancies caused by the IMF and World Bank policies. From 1992, Zambia started to experience a decline in economic activities. The decline in economic activity translated into decline in employment and an increase in redundancies. The total loss of formal employment in Zambia between 1992 and 1995 was 77,300. By 1998, formal sector employment continued to decline to an annual average

⁵⁷⁰Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, pp.15-16.

⁵⁷¹Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁷²Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Trade Union Report-Zambia, p. 16.

⁵⁷³Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁷⁴ ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, pp.7 & 15.

of 2 per cent.⁵⁷⁵ ZCTU decided to tackle the problem of unemployment and redundancies by forming the Centre for Informal Sector Employment Promotion (CISEP) which was launched on 26th July, 1998.⁵⁷⁶ According to the Secretary General's Report in 1998:

...activities of CISEP will be to provide assistance to informal sector associations to help them get organised. CISEP will also provide services for retrenches and retirees to help them start a new life. CISEP will be more of an information and advisory centre. The activities of the centre will include; provision of linkages to organisations and institutions, providing information to informal sector in of credit, training, organisational development, marketing and product design. The centre will also collect and disseminate data on employment opportunities and market opportunities in the formal and informal sectors.⁵⁷⁷

Upon inception, CISEP was approved, controlled and monitored by the Board of major stakeholders which included ZCTU, Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TEVETA), the Integrated Skills Training for Employment Promotion (STEP-IN), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), German Development Services (DED), Private Sector Development Services (PSDP), Oxfarm and ILO.⁵⁷⁸ With the support of the stakeholders, ZCTU trained a number of technical people to help CISEP meet its objectives. For example business counsellors were trained as trainers to run CISEP service centres in Lusaka, Kitwe and Chingola in Basic Business Management courses such as Start and Improve Your Business under the ILO training programme.⁵⁷⁹ Therefore, through CISEP, ZCTU continued to play its role in national development in the face of high unemployment and redundancies by providing workable solutions to the retrenches and the unemployed which would enable them contribute to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

⁵⁷⁵ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p. 8.

⁵⁷⁶Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, 31st October to 3rd November, 2006, (Kitwe: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2006), p.76.

⁵⁷⁷ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 10th Quadrennial Congress, 30th to 31st October, 1998, p20.

⁵⁷⁸Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, 26-29 December, 2010, (Lusaka: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, 2010), p.25.

⁵⁷⁹ ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p. 76.

ZCTU also played its national development agenda by strongly condemning acts of corruption which had taken root in the Zambian society. ZCTU joined the crusade against corruption when President Mwanawasa announced that he was going to pursue all the so-called plunderers of national resources, which included his predecessor, former President.⁵⁸⁰ This was after revealing what was known as the Matrix of Plunder where public funds, mainly from the intelligence Zamtropol Account, were diverted for personal gain by the previous government administration.⁵⁸¹

The press and civil society organisations joined and led the campaign for the prosecution of plunderers of national resources. This led to mass protest at National Assembly building where parliamentarians were debating the removal of former President Chiluba's immunity so that he could be prosecuted for his alleged role in the plunder of national resources. President Mwanawasa appointed a special Task Force on Corruption to prosecute and recover public resources that were diverted for personal gain.⁵⁸²

ZCTU Secretary General's Report of 2006 observes that in 2003, Chiluba, with other close collaborators, were arrested and charged with corruption by the Task Force. In September 2004, many charges of corruption against Chiluba were dropped but Chiluba was rearrested on six new counts of theft by public resources within few hours. ZCTU argued that the Task Force was not doing a good job of concluding cases brought before it and as such they were wasting public resources. The Congress therefore had advocated for the disbanding of the Task Force and transfer its work to already existing statutory structures, such as Anti-Corruption Commission who will do a good job of prosecuting the cases.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸⁰ ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p.29.

⁵⁸¹ The Post, June 25, 2002.

⁵⁸² ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p.29.

⁵⁸³ ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p.30.

A number of corruption cases were unearthed involving government officials and workers between 2002 and 2010. In some cases this led to suspension of financial aid to government ministries by various donors. ZCTU and many other civil society organisations increased calls for the government to take punitive measures against perpetrators of such vices.⁵⁸⁴ It was in this respect that the Congress equally supported and advocated for laws that strengthened the fight against corruption as it deprived the country of resources meant for social and economic development.⁵⁸⁵

ZCTU also committed itself to fighting the scourge of HIV/AIDS and the problems associated with it as a way of contributing to national development. The nation was losing a lot of human resource when they lost civil servants and other productive members of society to the HIV/AIDS.⁵⁸⁶ The HIV/AIDS pandemic was a challenge to any development achievement as Zambia strived to reverse the down turn in the overall economic performance. ZCTU joined the fight against HIV/AIDS by working with stakeholders such as the ILO HIV and AIDS Stakeholders Group, the Ministry of Transport Working Group and the National Aids Council Working Group.⁵⁸⁷ In order to reduce the impact of HIV/AIDS on the labour force, ZCTU with its affiliate unions carried out programmes, with the support of its stakeholders, which mainstreamed HIV and AIDS among the workers and ensured easy access to HIV/AIDS information materials, Anti-Retroviral Treatment (ART) and reproductive health services.⁵⁸⁸

On 9th April, 2002, ZCTU with its affiliates unions launched the ZCTU Crusade Against HIV/AIDS. The objectives of the crusade included; contribution towards formulation and

⁵⁸⁴ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, p.2.

⁵⁸⁵ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, p.3.

⁵⁸⁶Shikwe, Gender and Labour Market Liberalisation in Zambia, p.64.

⁵⁸⁷ZCTU, Secretary General's Report to the 13th Quadrennial Congress, p.12.

⁵⁸⁸Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU), Youth Policy: Promoting Youth Participation in Decision Making at all levels, (Lusaka: ZCTU Secretariat, 2015), p. 15.

implementation of effective and non-discriminatory HIV/AIDS Policy and Code of practice at national and workplace levels, provision of an effective dependable means of coordination and networking of workers efforts in the fight against HIV/AIDS locally and globally, participation in the development and implementation of workplace preventive and supportive measures, empowerment of workers through collective bargaining and other means to campaign against discrimination, stigmatisation and secure acceptable benefit schemes for persons living with HIV/AIDS, and the development of training materials and maintenance of continuous campaigns in both the informal and formal sectors of employment.⁵⁸⁹ All this was part of ZCTU's contribution to national development in the face of globalisation.

ZCTU furthermore played its role in national development by committing itself to fully integrate gender at all levels in the development process to ensure equality and equity between women and men for sustainable development. ZCTU Secretary General's Report for 2006 states that through its Department of Gender, the Congress put in place women specific programmes as well as gender sensitive programmes and policies with the intention of changing past imbalances. Deliberate action was made to train as many women as possible by ensuring equal opportunities for training and education to women and men.⁵⁹⁰ The MMD government also recognised the existence of numerous gender imbalances, which rarely favoured women and thus took a position to formulate an explicit gender policy for the nation. That action by the MMD government inspired ZCTU which, in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, also came up with a Gender Policy, which promoted women participation in the unions and the nation at all levels of decision making.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p.61.

⁵⁹⁰ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p.64.

⁵⁹¹ZCTU, Report of the Secretary General to the 12th Quadrennial Congress, p.67.

Finally, ZCTU played its role in national development by stopping the abrogation of the constitution by President Chiluba when he wanted to go for a third term in office. ZCTU joined other civil society groups and formed the Oasis Forum which fought tirelessly to engage the whole nation to stop Chiluba's third term bid. ZCTU therefore played a role in national development by ensuring that democracy thrived and that there was respect for the constitution in that aspect.⁵⁹²

4.5 The Major Achievements of ZCTU, 1964-2011

Having examined the role ZCTU played in national development, this study concludes that the same roles also constitute the achievements of the ZCTU. The following however, are the major achievements of the Congress according to this study.

The first major achievement of the Congress was its ability to successfully fight and maintain its autonomy during the era when UNIP wanted to turn it into its branch.⁵⁹³ Secondly, ZCTU operated very well during the one-party state as a de-facto opposition by giving the necessary checks and balances to the government such as opposing the Decentralisation Bill of 1980 and the IMF adjustment programmes of 1975 and 1986.⁵⁹⁴

The third major achievement of ZCTU according to this study was when it helped the nation with the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in 1990. The General Council of ZCTU resolved in December 1989 to work towards the immediate re-introduction of multiparty politics, a demand which the Congress repeated at a special UNIP national convention in March 1990. By

⁵⁹²Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁹³Fashoyin, "Policy Reforms and Employment Relations in Zambia," p.5.

⁵⁹⁴Friday E. Mulenga, "Prostrate and Powerless: The Unrealised Potential of the Labour Movement in Zambia, 1945-1995," (Unpublished Paper), 2005, p.31.

July 1990, that demand was actualised with the formation of the MMD as an opposition political party which went on to contest and win the general elections of 1991.⁵⁹⁵

The fourth major achievement of ZCTU was the establishment of the Tripartite Consultative Labour Council (TCLC) by the MMD government, following complaints of lack of consultation on labour matters by the government with the labour movement, was yet another major achievement of the ZCTU. The Tripartite Consultative Labour Council was made up of an equal number of representatives of the government, employers and workers who debated on labour laws and policies involving the worker.⁵⁹⁶

The fifth major achievement of ZCTU was that it contributed leaders who served in various positions in government.⁵⁹⁷ Some of the notable leaders which the ZCTU contributed to the governance of Zambia include Wilson Chakulya who served as Labour Minister in the UNIP government, Frederick Chiluba who became republican president under MMD, Newstead Zimba, Austin Liato and Fackson Shamenda who of whom served as Labour Ministers in their respective governments.

The final major achievement was that ZCTU joined other civil society groups in stopping Former Republican President Chiluba to go for the third term in office.⁵⁹⁸ This was a landmark victory for democracy.

⁵⁹⁵Adler and Webster, “Bargained Liberalisation,” pp. 9-10.

⁵⁹⁶Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

⁵⁹⁷NAZ/MLSS1/26/257/2307 1965-1966 Trade Unions; Record of the General Council Meeting of the Zambia Congress of Trade Union addressed by the Honourable W.M. Chakulya, M.P., Minister of Labour and Social Services, held at the National Centre, Kitwe, at 11:00A.M on Sunday 11th July, 1971, p.2.

⁵⁹⁸Interview with Hikaumba, Lusaka, 10th June, 2016.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the role ZCTU played in national development. Before going into that analysis, the chapter looked at the economic environment in which ZCTU operated in. The economics of Zambia at independence were such that there was heavy dependence on mining as a foreign exchange earner. Agriculture was the second major industry in that respect. However, when UNIP formed government they realised that in as much as Zambia was independent politically, economically Zambia was still dependant on European capital. Following recommendations from the Seers Report of 1964, Zambian government forged the First National Development Plan for the period 1966 to 1971 which aimed at increasing employment opportunities for Zambians and raise Zambian living standards.

Evidently, the economic gap between the Europeans and indigenous population in Zambia was quite wide. The UNIP government then embarked on an intensive indigenisation programme which was termed Zambianisation in accordance with the First National Development Plan. Through this programme, qualified and semi-qualified Zambians were elevated to higher positions in various government positions. The Zambian government was still not satisfied and in accordance with the ideals of the First National Development Plan, the UNIP government embarked on an intensive nationalisation programme which transferred private industries into public ones in 1968 and 1969 respectfully. This was done through the Mulungushi and later Matero Economic Reform programmes. Zambian seemed to be performing fine until 1975 when the prices of copper began to fall. At the beginning of the 1980s Zambia began to embrace IMF and World Bank economic policies which brought misery to the Zambian population.

When the MMD government came to power they also engaged the IMF and World Bank with emphasise on privatisation. Privatisation led to many job losses. Towards the end of the 1990s,

most Zambians came to the realisation that the IMF and World Bank conditionalities were not working for Zambia.

This chapter also examined the ideology which ZCTU pursued. This section of the chapter was interested in looking at whether ZCTU had its own ideology as it played its role in national development or it followed whatever ideology successive governments pursued. For example the UNIP government followed a home grown form of socialism called humanism. UNIP ensured that humanism was followed by every Zambian. ZCTU had UNIP loyalist at the helm that followed humanistic ideals to the latter without question until 1974 when the executive of Frederick Chiluba took over. In as much as the Chiluba-led executive respected the ideals of humanism there were times when the questioned its relevance to addressing the economic challenges Zambia was facing. This led to them being branded as capitalists who were working with foreign entities to topple the UNIP government. During this period, ZCTU seemed to align itself more with capitalist ideals.

When MMD came to power, they embrace capitalism in line with changing times. ZCTU cautiously followed the ideology of capitalism while giving vital checks and balances to the MMD government.

This chapter was interested in seeing the relevance of ZCTU in the Zambian society in terms of contributing to national development. ZCTU was important in Zambia as it was expected to play a big role in the country's social, economic and cultural development. The was the core reason why the UNIP government decided to dissolve the UTUC and come up with ZCTU with the hope that it would supplement government efforts to ensure that Zambia developed. ZCTU was expected to train trade unionists in the right ways of collective bargaining which would not disrupt the smooth process of development. Along the course of time, ZCTU redefined its role to

not only raise a cadre of workers who were disciplined at the work place but to also give the necessary checks and balances to government on a number of matters which centred on policy. Not only that, ZCTU allowed its leaders to serve at senior positions in government as a way of contributing to national development. One such leader was Fredrick Titus Jacob Chiluba, the second Republican President of Zambia.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The study was concerned with Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), with special focus on its history. It was concluded during the early stages of this study that there was no exclusive history of ZCTU documented. Therefore this study embarked on filling that knowledge gap.

This study showed that the history of ZCTU was linked to the earlier congresses of trade unions. In 195, the first congress of trade unions, the Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (NRTUC) was formed. However, when the president of the NRTUC Lawrence Katilungu accepted to serve on the Monckton Commission appointed by the British Government to review the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, some members of the NRTUC were against that decision and they split to form the Reformed Trade Union Congress (RTUC) in 1960. This meant that the country now had two congresses of trade unions and it created confusion in the running of trade unions. As a result, in 1961, the NRTUC and the RTUC harmonised their differences and came together to form the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).

The UNIP government under the leadership of Kaunda viewed the confusion in the labour movement as a serious problem which would affect production at the work place and in the end slow down development which the government envisaged for their young nation. The UNIP government then passed an Act of parliament soon Zambia gained independence in 1964 which formulated ZCTU. The existing at the time, the UTUC, was dissolved on 31st October, 1965 and ZCTU came in existence. ZCTU was given the mandate of ending the confusion in the labour movement and to create harmony in the work place. The UNIP government expected it to be a partner in national development.

In order to curb the confusions in the labour movement, ZCTU started to conduct workshops to train labour leaders in trade unionism. This was so as to raise a cadre of trade unionists who would play an important role in national development. This study showed that the UNIP government supported this stance by ZCTU by establishing the President's Citizenship College where labour leaders could be trained and some of them were even sent to study abroad in the Middle East and Europe.

This study explained the history and role in national development of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions by exploring its origin and organisational structure, its relationship with its affiliate unions as well as its relationship with successive Zambian governments from 1964 to 2011. This study also examined the ideology ZCTU pursued.

The origins of ZCTU have already been explained above. However, when it came to its organisational structure, this research concluded that in order for ZCTU to carry out its functions to the benefit of the nation and the worker, it needed to have a strong organisational structure. The advantage ZCTU had when it was created was that it was taking over already existing structures from the UTUC meaning that it merely had the task of strengthening them and adding a few where there was a need. The organisational structure of ZCTU included organs such as the Quadrennial Congress, the General Council, the Executive Committee, the Executive Board, the Secretariat, the Women's Committee, the District Congress and the District Committee. In total, the organisational structure had eight organs which were examined by this study.

Another subject pursued by this study was one regarding ZCTU and its relationship with its affiliates. It was concluded that this relationship was made strong and possible by the labour laws in Zambia. For instance, the relationship was seriously tested in 1990 when amendments were made to the IRA of 1971 which allowed for the proliferation of trade unions as was explained

earlier. There were splinter unions by ZCTU affiliates and these splits had implications on the strength of ZCTU in terms of both membership and finances. The study discovered that the membership of ZCTU in the Third Republic increased to about thirty-three but what was apparent was that the majority of those affiliates sub-divided from the initial eighteen ZCTU affiliates before the passing of the IRA of 1990.

During this same period, ZCTU found itself accused of being behind some of these splinter unions within its membership as the case was with ZEAWU. Such was the relationship between ZCTU and its affiliates in the Third Republic. ZCTU found itself being accused by its own members of lacking the militancy that saw it challenge the autocratic regime of Kenneth Kaunda. Such blame however could not be heaped on ZCTU alone as the changes to the labour laws were made by the UNIP and later on the MMD government. Changes to the labour laws such as the 1990 and 1993 ones did not help ZCTU and its affiliates to foster a healthy relationship.

This study also examined the role ZCTU played in national development. In doing so, the study reviewed the economy of Zambia during the period of study. The idea was to show the economic environment in which ZCTU operated in. The study also examined ZCTU's ideology as it played its role in national development. What was clear was that ZCTU as an organisation chose to work with whatever ideology successive governments pursued. However, the personal ideologies of its leaders strongly dictated what ideology it pursued. For example, during the early UNIP days, ZCTU had UNIP loyalists as top leaders and these leaders chose to follow Zambian humanism as prescribed by the government without question. However, when Chiluba and his counterparts became leaders of ZCTU, they questioned the ideology of Zambian humanism in addressing the many challenges Zambia faced. In so doing, they were accused of being capitalists. A close examination reviewed that indeed, Chiluba and his fellow leaders in ZCTU

held capitalists ideals at the time when it tantamount to being a traitor to do so. In 1991, Chiluba now as Republican president proved that indeed he was a capitalist when he embraced capitalism to the latter. ZCTU at the time merely followed through the government's ideology cautiously.

It was discovered that the involvement of the labour movement especially national centres in politics was not new as it was there even before Zambia became independent. ZCTU itself was created with the mandate of bringing harmony at the work place thereby helping government with its developmental agenda. During the First Republic, ZCTU merely supported government on a number of developmental issues. However, from the Second Republic onwards, ZCTU chose to play a different role in the developmental agenda of the country by giving successive governments the necessary checks and balances. All this was done because ZCTU was fully conscious of the fact that the citizenry was made up of workers who were members of its affiliate unions and whose welfare was the primary concern of the Congress.

To this end ZCTU ensured that it was involved in the social, economic and political affairs of Zambia by offering checks and balances where it felt that the government was pursuing a developmental agenda which was not to the benefit of the larger population. This resulted in so many conflicts between the government and ZCTU. However, the argument which ZCTU made was that its role was not only to regulate trade union activities but to also offer solutions on pertinent issues which affected the country in general and the worker in particular. This study concluded that through its militancy towards the developmental agenda of the country, ZCTU played a pivotal role in the welfare of the workers in Zambia and the general development of the country vis-à-vis the economy and governance issues. It did this by tasking government to make certain policy changes. For instance ZCTU came out strongly on the wage freeze of 1998 and

2004 as well as the high taxation and this made the MMD government to reconsider its earlier stance.

ZCTU also found itself entangled in the politics of the country when it chose to fight for its autonomy. In the early years, the Congress was seen by many members of the Central Committee of UNIP and the government as a wing of UNIP and as such it was expected to be used as a vehicle by the workers to push party as well as government agendas. To the political elite, ZCTU was to not to pursue its own agenda other than that prescribed by the party and its government. Vibrant leaders from ZCTU were taken and given government jobs. As a result, many politicians even saw ZCTU as some sort of school of administration for leaders who wanted to step into the political arena later in life. During the one party state, all ZCTU leaders were even expected to be party members and at times they were tasked to recruit members for the party.

However, during this whole period ZCTU fought for its autonomy, the Chiluba-led executive respected the fact that they were to be loyal to UNIP and the government but they argued that their allegiance was to the Zambian worker. They therefore refused to be used by the party and government for any other reason other than to uplift the plight of the workers. It was primarily for this reason that during the one party regime, ZCTU was seen as a de facto opposition to the government of UNIP as it fought for its autonomy and was not afraid to give checks and balances to the government. During the MMD government ZCTU was free from government interference but the government upheld and passed laws which weakened the Congress.

The role which ZCTU played in national development signifies its achievements. This study therefore argues that its major achievements in that respect included successfully fighting to maintain its own autonomy by resisting attempts by the UNIP government to make it a wing of

the party. Another major achievement was when ZCTU operated as a de-facto opposition during the period of the one-party state by giving the necessary checks and balances to the government such as opposing the Decentralisation Bill of 1980 and the IMF adjustment programmes of 1975 and 1986. Yet another major achievement by the Congress was when it helped the nation with the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in 1990. The establishment of the Tripartite Consultative Labour Council (TCLC) by the MMD government, following complaints of lack of consultation on labour matters by the government with the labour movement, was yet another major achievement of the ZCTU. ZCTU also scored a major achievement when it joined other civil society groups in stopping Former Republican President Chiluba to go for the third term in office. The final major achievement of ZCTU according to this study was the contribution of leaders who served Zambia in various positions in government.

In writing the history of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, this study hoped to fill the knowledge gap which existed from the historical point in that respect. The study also hoped to reconstruct the history of a very important institution in the history of Zambia.

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APPENDICES (1-8)

Appendix: 1. The First {Appointed} Executive of the ZCTU in 1965

NAME	POSITION
Nezia Tembo	President
Edward Mubanga	Deputy President
Augustine Nkumbula	General Secretary
Jonas Ponde	Assistant General Secretary
Matthew Mwale	Financial Secretary
Andrew Leslie	Rep. of Member Trade Union
Peter Chibuye	Rep. of Member Trade Union
Watson Banda	Rep. of Member Trade Union
Bishop Sinyangwe	Rep. of Member Trade Union
Nathan Mbewe	Rep. of Member Trade Union

SOURCE: Monthly Report for November, 1965.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁹Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for November, 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1965), p.4. (Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

Appendix: 2. The First {Elected} Executive of the ZCTU in 1967

NAME	POSITION
Amonson Mugala	President
Abel Musonda	Vice-President
Wilson Chakulya	General Secretary
Jonas B. Ponde	Vice- General Secretary
Safeli K. Mukuka	Financial Secretary
Joseph Musonda	Executive Committee Member
A. Lutanga	Executive Committee Member
R.T. Mubanga	Executive Member
S. Mwale	Executive Member
David Mwila	Executive Member
Nezia Tembo	Executive Member
Bishop Sinyangwe	Executive Member
Vincent Chulu	Executive Member

SOURCE: Monthly Report for July, 1967.⁶⁰⁰

⁶⁰⁰Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Department of Labour, Report for July, 1967, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), p.2.(Hereafter Monthly Labour Report).

Appendix: 3. ZCTU Affiliate Unions' Female Membership in 2002

No.	Affiliate	Total Membership	Female
1.	AAWUZA	703	*
2.	BUZ	135	*
3.	CBUWU	321	140
4.	CSAWUZ	34, 973	12,540
5.	GUZ	8, 500	2,500
6.	HCWUZ	9,918	2,517
7.	MUZ	24, 245	1,310
8.	NESAWU	3,980	*
9.	NUBEGW	15, 463	257
10.	NUCW	3, 980	1,335
11.	NUCIW	16, 270	1,050
12.	NUPAW	17,000	6,000
13.	NUPSW	11,711	*
14.	NUTEL	800	*
15.	NUTAW	3000	300
16.	RWUZ	1,395	102
17.	UHDWUZ	2,000	700
18.	UNZAAWU	2,105	*
19.	UNZARALU	212	*
20.	WUTAZ	1,283	*
21.	ZATAWU	1,401	250
22.	ZNUHAW	2,843	2,634
23.	ZNUT	33,380	*
24.	ZRAWU	1,394	*
25.	ZUJ	363	*
26.	ZULAWU	15,000	500
TOTAL ZCTU MEMBERSHIP		212,375	32,135

*Data not available.

Source: ZCTU⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰¹Muneku, Trade Union Membership and Profile in Zambia, p.18.

Appendix 4. ZCTU Affiliate Unions in 1969

NO.	AFFILIATED MEMBERS OF THE ZCTU-1969	NUMBER OF MEMBERS
1.	Mineworkers Union of Zambia	45,207
2.	Hotel, Catering Workers Union of Zambia	1,638
3.	National Union of Building Engineering and General Workers	15,500
4.	National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers	14,900
5.	National Union of Local Authorities Workers	10,073
6.	National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers	6,000
7.	National Union of Postal and Telecommunications Workers	2,784
8.	National Union of Public Services Workers	10,512
9.	National Union of Transport and Allied Workers	3,801
10.	Zambia Airways Workers Union	428
11.	Zambia National Union of Teachers	6,107
12.	Zambia Railways Amalgamated Workers Union	6,100
13.	Zambia Typographical Union	975
	TOTAL	124,025

Source: Annual Labour Report for 1969, p.31.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰²Government of the Republic of Zambia (Thereafter called GRZ), Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1969, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1969), p.31.

Appendix: 5. ZCTU Affiliate Unions from 1966 to 1986

ZCTU Affiliate	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
AAWUZ	*	1,050	1,542	2,101	10,243
CSUZ	*	*	5,200	24,655	33,000
GUZ	*	*	5,365	11,673	8,000
HCWUZ	*	2,099	4,632	2,500	8,000
MUZ	32,000	46,194	53,000	53,900	45,186
MLSA (Zambia)	2,536	**	**	**	**
NUBEGW	6,200	23,849	30,000	31,770	35,000
NUCIW	15,000	15,400	34,632	28,000	28,000
NULAW	6,486	**	**	**	**
NUCW	*	*	*	*	5,000
NUPAW	4,500	8,247	11,727	15,160	10,143
NUPTW	1,027	2,772	3,320	4,000	*
NUPSW	8,429	20,623	44,026	67,392	82,025
NUTAW	*	6,807	9,780	13,500	9,000
NUTGW	1,114	**	**	**	**
RAWU	4,754	**	**	**	**
RWUZ	*	*	**	11,009	10,243
UNZAAWU	*	554	400	2,251	2,748
ZEWU	*	319	3,658	4,300	4,200
ZLDHHU	871	*	*	*	*
ZMAPA	600	**	**	**	**
ZNUT	4,005	10,030	13,000	25,384	25,000
ZRAW	*	8,250	7,711	**	**
ZTU	*	949	1,500	1,662	1,400
ZUFIW	*	301	4,376	7,840	7,100
ZULAWU	*	12,164	20,000	24,300	24,000
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	87,522	159,608	253,869	331,397	348,288

SOURCE: Labour Reports for 1966,1971,1976,1981, and 1986 respectively.

*It means that particular Union was not affiliated with the ZCTU or did not exist at that particular time.

**It means that particular Union had evolved into another union or ceased to exist e.g. RAWU which

became ZRAW and later RWUZ and NULAW which became ZULAWU respectively. MLSA and ZMAPA ceased to exist.

**Appendix 6: ZCTU Affiliate Unions in 1990 before the Negative impact of the
Amendments to the IRA of 1990**

NAME OF TRADE UNION	MEMBERSHIP
Airways & Allied Workers' Union of Zambia (AAWUZ)	8,558
Civil Servants & Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ) *	28,000
Guards Union of Zambia (GUZ)	13,000
Hotel & Catering Workers' Union of Zambia (HCWUZ)	7,000
Mineworkers' Union of Zambia (MUZ)	58,808
National Union of Building, Engineering & General Workers (NUBEGW)	25,000
National Union of Commercial& Industrial Workers (NUCIW)	27,000
National Union of Communication Workers (NUCW)	6,319
National Union of Plantation &Agricultural Workers (NUPAW)	16,674
National Union of Public Service Workers (NUPSW)	65,610
National Union of Transport &Allied Workers (NUTAW)	7,392
Railway Workers Union of Zambia(RWUZ)	10,000
University of Zambia & Allied Workers' Union (UNZAAWU)	2,794
Zambia Electricity Allied Workers Union (ZEAWU)	3,850
Zambia National Union of Health& Allied Workers (ZNUHAW)	1,219
Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT)	36,000
Zambia Typographical & Allied Workers' Union (ZTAWU)	1,219
Zambia United Local Authorities Workers' Union (ZULAWU)	25,000
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	343,443

Source: One Zambia, Many Histories.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰³Friday E. Mulenga, "Fighting for democracy of the pocket: The labour movement in the Third Republic," in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar & Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories*, (Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2008), p.251.

Appendix: 7. ZCTU Membership Trends from 1990 to 2006

ZCTU Affiliates	1990	1996	2001	2006
AAWUZ	8,858	3,000	775	696
BUZ	**	1000	135	160
BETUZ	**	*	*	8,756
CBUWU	**	1,200	321	284
CUAU	**	*	*	120
CSAWUZ	28,000	29,000	34,973	80,000
GUZ	13,128	10,000	8,500	***
HCWUZ	7,000	6,000	8,000	16,500
MUZ	58,808	*	29,106	13,358
NESAWU	**	**	3,980	3,000
NUBEGW	25,084	*	11,346	15,243
NUCW	6,319	5,000	4,381	5,140
NUCIW	27,000	*	16,270	20,250
NUPAW	16,674	18,000	16,020	12,520
NUPSW	65,610	34,000	11,711	11,500
NUTAW	7,592	5,000	2,050	1,374
NUTEL	**	*	800	***
NUTELAW	**	**	**	3000
RWUZ	8,858	6,000	2,800	1,003
UHDWUZ	**	**	2,000	889
UNZAAWU	2,794	4,000	2,150	1,151
UNZARALU	*	*	220	242
WUTAZ	**	**	2,000	1,421
ZATAWU	1,509	1,500	1,000	***
ZBTWU	**	**	**	10,000
ZEAWU	3,850	4,000	***	***
ZUFIAW	11,754	*	*	*

ZAGAWU	**	**	**	3,200
ZNUHAW	1,219	5,000	2,843	5,000
ZNUT	36,230	*	33,380	30,399
ZRAWU	**	1,400	1,500	1,000
ZUJ	**	300	300	370
ZULAWU	25,000	18,000	15,000	14,000
ZUSOAW	**	**	**	20,978
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	355,287	152,400	211,561	280,954
<p>SOURCES: Various i.e Monogram by Banda, Mulenga in One Zambia Many Histories, Seminar Paper by Adler and Webster, ZCTU S.G's reports for 1998 and 2006 and ZCTU report by Austin Muneku.</p> <p>*Indicates unions which were not members of ZCTU during that particular year under review or had not paid their subscription for a while.</p> <p>**Shows unions which did not exist during that particular year under review.</p> <p>***Indicates unions which had their names changed e.g ZATAWU changed to ZAGAWU and ZEAWU changed to NESAWU.</p>				

**Appendix 8. Percentage Contribution to the GDP by various Sectors in Zambia at
Constant 1977 Prices-1977 to 1986**

Kind of Economic Activity	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHING	16.0	16.1	15.7	14.9	15.3	13.8	15.3	16.2	16.5	17.9
MINING & QUARRYING	11.5	12.0	9.9	10.1	10.0	10.3	10.8	9.8	8.9	8.4
MANUFACTURING	17.4	18.2	19.9	18.9	20.0	19.8	18.7	19.0	20.3	20.3
ELECTRICITY, GAS WATER	2.3	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4
CONSTRUCTION	5.6	5.1	4.5	5.1	3.7	4.0	4.3	4.3	3.7	3.9
WHOLESALE & RETAIL	9.3	9.3	8.9	9.6	9.1	8.5	8.4	8.2	8.4	8.3
RESTAURANTS, BARS & HOTELS	1.7	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.2
TRANSPORT, STORAGE & COMMUNICATION	6.5	5.9	6.3	5.8	5.5	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.3	5.3
FINANCIAL INSTL. & INSURANCE	4.0	3.3	3.7	3.3	3.0	3.4	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.7
REAL ESTATE & BUSINESS SERVICES	5.9	6.2	6.7	7.1	7.1	7.4	8.2	8.8	8.6	8.5
COMMUNITY SOCIAL & PERSONAL SERVICES	16.2	16.2	16.6	17.0	18.2	18.8	17.3	17.3	17.6	17.1
IMPORT DUTIES	2.4	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.7	1.3	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1
LESS: IMPUTED BANKING SERVICES	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: National Accounts, CSO.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁴Central Statistical Office, *Zambia in Figures: 1964 to 2014*, (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 2014), p.8.