

**NKUMBI INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE IN THE ERA OF THE LIBERATION OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1965-1994**

BY

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Mary Jope is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis of this study is that Zambia contributed to Southern Africa from the educational perspective and benefitted from hosting a refugee institution during the era of the liberation.

The study argues that the establishment of Nkumbi International College (NIC) in Mkushi District of Zambia was subsequent to earlier attempts by the African American Institute (AAI) to place African refugees in secondary schools in Tanzania. As an extension of the AAI educational project, NIC exclusively offered academic education during the early years of which 25 per cent of the total enrolment was allocated to *Zambian* students.

The study demonstrates that NIC was expanded through the introduction or incorporation of some courses notably Agricultural Mechanics, Clerk Typing, Farm Machinery Operation, English as a Foreign Language (EFL), Shorthand Typing, Automotive Mechanics and Basic Training in English, Mathematics and Science. The development was not only coupled with an upward adjustment of 60 per cent allocation of the anticipated student capacities of 400 and eventually 500 to *Zambians*, but the appearance of the local administrative and academic staff on the scene. The systematic and successful implementation of the *Zambianisation* policy in the teaching fraternity at NIC was anchored on the devised variables. Besides, manual labour was prominently *Zambian* throughout the liberation period.

NIC contributed to the education and training of human resource in Southern Africa during the liberation period. The strategic position of the institution, through refugee student admission and staff employment, attempted to reduce the refugee population in residential areas and camps so as to lessen the adverse effects of bomb attacks on humanity in Zambia during the time.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAI	African American Institute
ANC	African National Congress
B A	Bachelor of Arts
BA Ed	Bachelor of Arts with Education
B Sc	Bachelor of Science
B Sc Ed	Bachelor of Science with Education
CABS	Certificate in Accounts and Business Studies
CCSS	Consultative Committee of Sponsorship Sponsors
CCZ	Christian Council of Zambia
CKDs	Complete Knocked Down Parts
CTEVT	Commission of Technical Education and Vocational Training
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DTEVT	Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training
DVS	Danish Volunteer Service
ECZ	Examination Council of Zambia
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
GVS	German Volunteer Service
HoDs	Heads of Departments
IBM	Industrial Business Machine

IRCZ	International Refugee Council of Zambia
JSSLE	Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination
IUEF	International University Exchange Funds
KM	Kilometre
KITE	Kabwe Institute of Technology Education
LIBC	Lusaka International Bursary Committee
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
M A	Master of Arts
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
M Sc	Master of Science
M SW	Master of Social Work
NIC	Nkumbi International College
NORAD	Norwegian Aid for Development
Nortec	Northern Technical College
NRDC	Natural Resources Development College
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OBF	Otto Benecke Foundation
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SATP	Southern Africa Training Programme
SCAT	School and College Ability Tests
SNDP	Second National Development Plan
SSAT	Special Scholastic Aptitude Tests

SWAPO	South West Africa Peoples' Organization
TEVT	Technical Education and Vocational Training
TSC	Teaching Service Commission
TTI	Trades Training Institute
TVTC	Technical and Vocational Teachers College
UBZ	United Bus Company of Zambia
UK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIN	United Nations Institute for Namibia
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNITA	Union for Total Independence of Angola
UNZA	University of Zambia
US AID	United States Agency for International Development
USA	United States of America
WUS	World University Services
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCA	Zambia College of Agriculture
ZCRS	Zambia Christian Refugee Service
ZIT	Zambia Institute of Technology

ZLS Zambia Library Service

ZNBC Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

LIST OF OLD AND NEW NAMES

South West Africa	Namibia
Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
Tanganyika	Tanzania
Zaire	Democratic Republic of Congo

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The chapter traces the development of Nkumbi International College (NIC) in Zambia and its early history from 1965 to 1970. It demonstrates that NIC emerged as an expansion of the African American Institute (AAI) educational project from Tanzania to Zambia to specially cater for the needs of refugees from Southern Africa in 1965. The college exclusively offered academic education from 1966 to 1970. The academic education took three forms notably secondary education that is Forms One to Five, English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and the commercial programme which started as an alternative course for students who found the secondary education challenging.

Establishment and Early History of Nkumbi International College, 1965-1970

Prior to Zambia's independence, frantic effort was made by the AAI to provide African refugees with academic education in Tanganyika (Tanzania). Initially, government schools were used for the purpose but proved futile as a result of extreme age variation between the refugees in their twenties and Tanzanian boys and girls in their teens. Eldridge recorded an extreme case in Tanzania where a man ready for Form One was placed into a vacancy in Form Three at a girls' school in 1962.¹ A little later in 1963, a refugee international education centre named Kurasini Secondary School was set up in rented premises before the actual site was developed. The essence was to isolate the refugees from students in government schools.

¹ John Eldridge, 'Education and Training of Refugees and their Potential Contribution to Development', in Sven Hamrell (ed.). *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 74.

The centre was successful on account that it addressed periphery problems, contrary to the previous case.²

At this point, the AAI sought to expand its educational project by establishing a much larger school than Kurasini to primarily cater for the needs of refugees from Southern Africa. Northern Rhodesia and particularly Chief Chitina's area in Mkushi District was earmarked for the project. According to Chief Chitina VI, Joseph Musonda, the plan to establish a school in the chiefdom was initiated by the Americans in the early 1960s, before Zambia became independent. The British Crown government was however hesitant about the development since it was to leave the territory.³ Nevertheless, the AAI went ahead with construction.

Zambia gained independence in October 1964, after which liberation from colonial rule for four of her neighbours namely Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa (Namibia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was to take years of armed struggle.⁴ Zambia aided the territories in Southern Africa in their struggles through political and diplomatic means even to a point where her security was threatened.⁵ The United National Independence Party (UNIP) government also actively supported the struggle against the apartheid regime in South

² Eldridge, 'Education and Training', p. 75.

³ Interview with Chief Chitina VI, Joseph Musonda in presence of his Committee at Kamweendo Village in Mkushi, 4th July, 2015.

⁴ Flip de Haan, 'Refugees', in Tom Draisma and Ella Kruzinga (eds.). *Inside Zambia, 1964-2004* (The Hague and Wageningen: Cordaid/ICCo/NCDO/Werkgroep Zambia, 2004), p. 73.

⁵ Joseph P. Smaldone, 'Historical Setting', in Irving Kaplan (ed.). *Zambia; A Country Study* (Washington: The American University, 1979), p. 43. Timothy M. Shaw and Douglas G. Anglin, 'Zambia: The Crisis of Liberation', in Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meare (eds.). *Southern Africa: The Continuing Crisis* (London: Indiana University Press, 1979), p. 207. Clarence Chongo, 'The Impact of Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence on Zambia's Economic and Socio-Political Developments, 1965-1979', M A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2009, pp. 76-7. K. W. Grundy, 'Host Countries and the Southern African Liberation Struggle', *African Quarterly: A Journal of African Affairs*, Vol. X, No. 1 (April- June 1970), 15-24.

Africa even when the latter was not a neighbour of Zambia.⁶ The developments owed much to Zambia's foreign policy anchored on four principles notably the ideology of Zambian Humanism, racial equality and harmony, non-alignment and support for international organisations particularly the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and United Nations (UN).⁷ The stance taken by Zambia alongside Tanzania and a little later Botswana, won the three countries the status of being militant frontline states.⁸

Eventually, Zambia became an important base for various liberation movements in Southern Africa. For instance, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU), South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia, Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa had offices in Lusaka in the Liberation Centre.⁹ The political leaders and freedom fighters of various liberation movements were followed into Zambia by refugees.¹⁰ As a result, the Zambian government with aid from the UN established temporary settlements in various places such as Mkushi, Zambezi and Mayukwayukwa where thousands of refugees from the sub-region lived.

However, it was not good enough to restrict the refugees to camps and other residential areas; instead providing the youth with education in preparation to takeover positions from colonial

⁶ Haan, 'Refugees', p. 73.

⁷ Benedict Vulindlela Mtshali, 'Zambia's Foreign Policy: The Dilemma of a New State', Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Thesis, New York University, 1972, p. 94.

⁸ Haan, 'Refugees', p. 73.

⁹ Benedict Vulindlela Mtshali, 'Zambia's Foreign Policy', in UNZA; School of Humanities and Social Sciences/ Zambia and the World; Essay on Problems relating to Zambia's Foreign Policy (1970), pp. 5-10.

¹⁰ Richard Gibson, *African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles against White Minority Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 23.

regimes after independence became an alternative idea.¹¹ It was at this point that the school earlier constructed by the AAI in Mkushi District became ideal. Chief Chitina V, Loti Nakafwaya Mfungashi, named the school *Nkumbi* in honour of *Nkumbi wa Mulilo*, the founder of the chiefdom. Ndashe Nkumbi was the first chief who ruled the chiefdom from 1892 to 1900.¹²

Initially, the title *Nkumbi wa Mulilo* meaning the flame of fire predominantly referred to the chief and the Lala and Swaka of the North Swaka Reserve in Mkushi. This was because they were great fighters and farmers.¹³ On the one hand, their fighting spirit was evident in the manner the chiefdom was extended over the north of Mulungwe Nafulama's area. This occurred in 1896 when Mulungwe and some of his people fled to Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) to take refuge from the Ngoni raids. On the other hand, it denoted the resistance exhibited when Mulungwe Nafulama's successor drifted back in 1924 to reclaim the area. The dispute was finally settled by locating Mulungwe near the Mkushi River on the edge of the Lala Luano Reserve adjoining Chief Shaibila's area.¹⁴ Their greatness in farming was symbolised by smearing the *ilinga* (stockade) or any other structures such as huts and food storage bins with nshima prepared from finger millet meal, the staple food instead of mud.¹⁵ This owed much to the rich soils endowed in the chiefdom which enabled the local people grow food in abundance. The title *Nkumbi wa Mulilo* later changed to Chitina as a result of

¹¹ Barbara Rogers, 'Namibia: Economic and Other Aspects', in Olav Stokke and Carl Widstrand (eds.), *Southern Africa* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1973), pp. 126-7.

¹² Mkushi District Council file for Chief Chitina, family tree, 16th April, 1992.

¹³ Interview with Chief Chitina VI, 4th July, 2015.

¹⁴ NAZ, NAT/A/A/3, Letter from Mr T. F. Standford, Provincial Commissioner to the Mkushi District Commissioner, 23rd September, 1936.

¹⁵ Interview with Chief Chitina VI, 4th July, 2015.

misunderstanding between the British officials and the indigenous people due to language barrier.

It was during the reign of Chilubi Chitima Muchime (1901-1936), *Nkumbi wa Mulilo* II that the Mkushi District Commissioner and his entourage took a tour of duty to the palace. According to a letter in the Mkushi District Native Affairs file, that was a fourth tour conducted in 1934 to facilitate the official appointment of chiefs in the district.¹⁶ Since the District Commissioner was dreaded, the chief ran into hiding. The officials had no option but to inquire the name of the chief from the people they found. Chief Chitina VI stressed that the British officials asked that, ‘what is the name of your chief?’ Out of misunderstanding the people answered that, ‘*bacitiina nababutuka*’ meaning the chief was scared thus, ran away. With little knowledge and understanding of the local language the officials emphasised, ‘*ba Chitina?*’ The people ignorantly responded ‘*eeye*’ meaning yes. The officials mistakenly took it that the name of the chief was Chitina. They filled in the official appointment documents reflecting Chief Chitina as the title for the chief of the Swaka and Lala people of the North Swaka Reserve and forwarded them to government for approval.¹⁷

Since then, the chief was officially addressed as Chief Chitina. All government correspondence was directed to the chief through the title Chitina. The situation was never reversed because the people lacked the necessary knowledge required to do so. Eventually, the title Chief Chitina was embraced by the local people at the expense of *Nkumbi wa Mulilo*. By the time the facility was developed in the chiefdom, the title Chief Chitina was prominent than *Nkumbi wa Mulilo*.

¹⁶ NAZ, NAT/A/A/3, Letter from Provincial Commissioner to the Mkushi District Commissioner, 23rd September, 1936.

¹⁷ Interview with Chief Chitina VI, 4th July, 2015.

The *international* aspect in the name of the institution denoted the international organisations and donors involved in the implementation of the project as well as the international community served during the era of liberation of Southern Africa. Besides the AAI, student groups, individuals, various governments, international and voluntary organisations such as the OAU, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations Representative for Namibia, World University Services (WUS), International University Exchange Funds (IUEF), Otto Benecke Foundation (OBF), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Zambia Christian Refugee Service (ZCRS), Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ) and Lusaka International Bursary Committee (LIBC) contributed to either infrastructure development, acquisition of teaching and learning equipment and materials, installation of appropriate equipment or sponsorship of students.¹⁸

The institution drew most of the refugee students from the non-independent territories of Southern Africa, notably South West Africa, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. As earlier alluded to, the refugees at NIC were usually men in their twenties who hardly fitted into government schools and classes of teenagers during the early years. Lastly, the aspect of *college* signified the special administrative training the facility anticipated to

¹⁸ NIC/F/9, Letter from the Administrative Secretary of the Lusaka International Bursary Committee, Margaret W. Buckley to the Director DTEVT, 7th November, 1974. NIC/A/37, Letter from Director CTEVT, Dr C. R. Ford to Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 4th December, 1972. NIC/A/14, Minutes of the NIC Advisory Committee meeting, 17th May, 1972. NIC/A/37, Programme of Educational Assistance to African Refugees from A. G. A. Faria to Mr T. Gordon-Somers (UNDP), 5th June, 1973. NIC/F/9, Letter from Deputy Director CTEVT, Mr R. G. Proudfoot to Principal NIC, Mr Ritchie, 11th January, 1973.

offer in due course of the liberation period in order to prepare the refugees for civil-service tasks assumed to be ahead of them.¹⁹

Therefore, NIC was a refugee educational institution established by the AAI in 1965 in Chief Chitina's area of Mkushi District in Zambia. The institution was an extension of the AAI educational project designed to place African refugee students in secondary schools.²⁰ At the time, the newly independent Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) struggled to raise the educational levels of the citizens. Consequently, the AAI extended the opportunity to Zambia by advocating for continuity of secondary education for a few adult Zambians at NIC, whose age matched with that of the refugees considering that the latter were delayed due to political instability in their respective territories. The regulation was that Zambians entering Forms One and Three were supposed to be out of school for at least two years. Thus, 25 per cent of the total enrolment during the early years comprised of adult Zambians.²¹

The study adopted the concept of *institution* as postulated by Lars-Gunnar Eriksson to mean the buildings that were neither expensive nor grandiose.²² The initial buildings of NIC were constructed with baked bricks and materials like wooden frames and shatters, as opposed to steel and glass.²³ The infrastructure comprised of ten hostels, each with sixteen compartments, one science block, three classroom blocks, administration offices, library,

¹⁹ Eldridge, 'Education and Training', pp. 77-9.

²⁰ Eldridge, 'Education and Training', pp. 78-9.

²¹ NIC/A/39, Report on the historical development of NIC by the Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 26th May, 1972. See also Cato Aall, 'Refugee Problems in Southern Africa' in Sven Hamrell (ed.), *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 40.

²² Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Director of IUEF Education and Training Programmes. A paper presented to the International Conference of experts for the support of victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, 9th to 14th April, 1973, p. 12.

²³ NIC/A/26, Letter from the Principal NIC, Mr Haatyoka to LWF Representative, Sylvia Thorncroft, 13th November, 1992.

dining room, recreation area and the maintenance workshop in 1965. Twenty housing units, ranging from four-roomed flats to three-bedroomed houses, were built for the teaching and administrative staff alongside nine additional houses for the maintenance staff.²⁴ Such an appearance was to change in the later years with aid from well-wishers.

The college opened with an enrolment of a hundred students. This owed much to the available infrastructure coupled with the American domestic standards adopted in terms of care, sanitation and menu. For example, students did not serve themselves in the dining room instead food was served to them by the cooks at a table. It was in that light that Jacob Siriya a Form Five student was admonished by Mr Kalt, a teacher for returning a cob of fresh maize he received from the cook in a pot.²⁵ This is an indication that students were not allowed to handle food for sanitary purposes. Additionally, the menu for breakfast comprised of eggs, bacon and even steak, standards which would be hardly maintained when catering for a huge number of people.²⁶ Cato Aall commented that:

The menu at the school [NIC] was in fact very good, far better than many boarding schools and indeed much better than most Zambians could dream of.²⁷

NIC offered secondary education from 1966 onwards. There were no official examinations conducted during the initial year because the facility was just developing. Instead students progressed through various education levels as part of their preparation. The authority to conduct the London University General Certificate of Education (GCE) examinations was

²⁴ NIC/D/81, Report on NIC historical development by the Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 26th May, 1972.

²⁵ NIC Student file for Jacob Siriya, memorandum from Mr S. Kalt, teacher to the Counsellor NIC, 9th November, 1969.

²⁶ NIC/D/81, Report on the historical development by Principal NIC, 26th May, 1972.

²⁷ Aall, 'Refugee Problems', p. 34.

granted on the 17th January 1967.²⁸ Coupled with that development was the appointment of the institution as Mkushi London University GCE external centre number 81145.²⁹ The centre was open to the general public such as residents in Mkushi and Serenje who wished to enrol for GCE examinations.

The first London University GCE at NIC was conducted in June 1967.³⁰ The exercise was undertaken by Form Five students specially prepared for the sole purpose in their capacity as external students. Nahas Gideon Angula, from South West Africa, was one of the candidates who sat for that particular examination.³¹ Like any other centre in the country, examinations were invigilated and conducted by an external and independent examiner appointed by Ministry of Education (MoE), whose accommodation logistics were catered for by the administration. However, candidates who were non-students looked for their own accommodation. By virtue of being an external examination, students undertook the London University GCE at two different occasions in subsequent years. This made up for the required number of subjects for admission into institutions of higher learning. Thus Angula's second attempt was in January 1968.³² Success in the London University GCE examinations attracted certificate awards. All successfully attempted subjects appeared on a single certificate that facilitated admission for professional development studies at higher institutions.

²⁸ NIC/A/14, Letter from Permanent Secretary, MoE to the principal NIC, Mr R.H. Iglehart, 17th January, 1967.

²⁹ NIC/A/14, Letter from Acting Chief Education Officer, M. J. Kasanga to the Principal NIC, Mr R. H. Iglehart, 21st January, 1967.

³⁰ NIC/A/14, Letter from Acting Chief Education Officer, to the Principal NIC, 21st January, 1967.

³¹ NIC Student file for Nahas Angula, letter from the Vice Principal NIC, Mr P. C. Freund, to Nahas Angula, 15th January, 1969.

³² NIC Student file for Nahas Angula, photocopy of the University of London General Certificate of Education Examination, January, 1968.

According to A. G. Hansen, Zambia experienced an influx of Angolan refugees fleeing from war zones in their territory beginning from 1966 onwards. Some youthful refugees were admitted to NIC to continue with their education. Since Angolans were a Portuguese speaking people, EFL was introduced at NIC in July 1967. The course converted the non-English speaking students to the English medium of instruction.³³ Students recruited from the territories of Angola and Mozambique pursued the EFL course prior to attempting secondary education. For instance, Dacosta Alphonse Rana and Alphonse Philemon Nzoanene from Angola pursued the EFL course in 1969 before their enrolment into Form One in 1970.³⁴ In the same vein, Gracia Lumfunkenda yet another Angolan pursued EFL in 1970 before he proceeded to Form One in 1971.³⁵

In 1968, the commercial course comprising of subjects like Commercial English, Commercial Practice (Economics, Typing, Office Practice, Book Keeping and Business Mathematics), African Literature and African Studies was introduced at NIC.³⁶ This emerged as an alternative programme to students who did not cope with the demands of secondary education. For instance, Jose Santos Da Silva from Angola enrolled for commercial studies in 1968 after unsuccessful attempts in Form Two.³⁷ His performance improved so much in the former programme that he was commended in the third and fourth terms of 1969 by the

³³ Arthur G. Hansen, 'Once the Running Stops: The Socio-economic Resettlement of Angolan Refugees (1966-1972) in Zambian Border Villages', PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 1977, p. 183.

³⁴ NIC Student file for Alphonse P. Nzoanene, progress report, 3rd July, 1969. See also NIC Student file for Dacosta Alphonse Rana, progress report, 1st June, 1970.

³⁵ NIC Student file for Gracia Lumfunkenda, progress report, 30th April, 1970.

³⁶ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, evaluation report for term one, 1st April, 1969.

³⁷ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, evaluation report for term three, July to September, 1968.

Principal on behalf of the staff and students.³⁸ Similarly, Fernando Ditu Dos Santos, an Angolan took on the commercial course on account of his linguistic incapacitation which would have affected him more had he continued with the secondary education programme.³⁹

Students who pursued the commercial programme were subjected to the Pitman examinations. The first Pitman examinations at NIC were conducted in November and December 1969. Da Silva and Dos Santos are examples of candidates who undertook the examination. Each subject attempted during examination attracted a certificate. Thus, the total number of subjects passed determined the total number of certificates an individual student was awarded such as the English Language for overseas candidates Elementary first class, Principles of Accounts Elementary, Office Practice Elementary, Typewriting Elementary and English for overseas candidates intermediate stage one and two certificates.⁴⁰ This was different from the London University GCE where all the subjects passed appeared on a single certificate. Therefore, academic education in this study will refer to the secondary education, EFL and the commercial programme.

Location of Nkumbi International College

NIC was located in Chief Chitina's area in Mkushi District of Zambia. The site was 52 kilometres (km) north of Kapiri-Mposhi, 40 km south of Mkushi Boma and 4 km off the Great North Road. It was adjacent to the Lunsemfwa River on one side and bordered the Musofu, a tributary of the former river on the other. Both rivers had water in abundance all year round. Thus, the facility obtained water from the nearby Musofu River. NIC bordered

³⁸ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, commendation by the Principal NIC, James Williams to Silva, 2nd December, 1969 and 10th January, 1970.

³⁹ NIC Student file for Fernando Dos Santos, Letter from the HoD for English, William Jones to the concerned, 28th March, 1969.

⁴⁰ NIC Student file for Fernando Dos Santos, Photocopies of Pitman Examination Certificates, November/December, 1969 and June, 1970.

the temporary agriculture refugee settlement set up in Mkushi. Both were rich in fertile soils thus the latter served as a training farm for the village refugees. Training involved the usage of farm machinery, fertilisers and pesticides, water management, poultry and irrigation.⁴¹

There were 100 trainees in 1969, together with their families made a total of about 500 people on the site.⁴² Permanent houses and two storage facilities were constructed for the convenience of the families. However, the Refugee Control Act of July 1970 demanded that refugees reside in designated settlements for humanitarian and national security reasons.⁴³ The Act led to the development of Maheba Refugee Settlement in 1971, a well-organised and more permanent agriculture settlement in Solwezi and abandoning of the early camps.⁴⁴ The refugee trainees and their families on the Mkushi temporary settlement eventually moved to Maheba in 1971, leaving the site unoccupied.⁴⁵

Statement of the problem

The humanitarian role (provision of immediate and long-term assistance to refugees) played by Zambia during the liberation period has been studied by scholars such as Timothy M. Shaw and Douglas G. Anglin, Joseph P. Smaldone, Flip de Haan, Earnest T. Kasuta, Arthur G. Hansen and Wamburakwao A. Sapao.⁴⁶ As opposed to other types of humanitarian

⁴¹ NIC/A/39, Report on the historical development by Principal NIC, 26th May, 1972.

⁴² NIC/D/81, Report on the historical development by Principal NIC, 26th May, 1972.

⁴³ Nsolo Mijere, 'The Socioeconomic Impact of Settled Refugees on Host Communities in Zambia: The case of Maheba', in Nsolo Mijere (ed.). *African Refugees and their Human Rights in Host Countries: The long-term Demographic, Environmental, Economic, Social and Psychological Impacts of Angolan Refugees in Zambia* (New York: Vantage Press), p. 128.

⁴⁴ Hansen, 'Once the Running Stops', pp. 27-8.

⁴⁵ NIC/D/81, Report on historical development by Principal NIC, 26th May, 1972.

⁴⁶ Smaldone, 'Historical Setting', p. 43. Shaw and Anglin, 'Zambia', p. 207. Haan, 'Refugees', p. 73. Hansen, 'Once the Running Stops', pp. 27-8. Wamburakwao J. Sapao, 'A Social and Economic History of Displaced People: The Maheba Refugee Settlement Experience, 1971-1994', M

support, a historical study of NIC examines Zambia's role and contribution, particularly in the production of educated and skilled human resource in Southern Africa during the liberation period.

Objectives of the study

The study had three objectives: the first objective was to examine the establishment and expansion of Nkumbi International College; the second objective was to examine the process and role of Zambianisation policy on Nkumbi International College during the liberation period; and the third objective was to assess the contribution of Nkumbi International College to Southern Africa during the liberation period.

Rationale of the study

Zambia's contribution to Southern Africa from the educational avenue has not attracted much scholarly attention. A historical study of NIC provides an understanding and appreciation of Zambia's role and contribution to Southern Africa from the educational view as well as her benefit from hosting a refugee institution during the liberation period.

Literature review

T. Peter Omari's work, 'From Refugee to *Émigré*: African Solutions to Refugee Problem', is illuminating to the study at hand in that it provides a background understanding to the emergence of the refugee problems in Africa. Dissatisfactory local conditions and inferior educational opportunities such as the Bantu education laws of South Africa prompted the

A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1997, p. 26. Earnest Tewa Kasuta, 'Refugee Education and Training in Zambia: Policies and Administration', M SW Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1991, pp. 41-8.

youthful refugees to flee their territories of origin and seek better education facilities elsewhere.⁴⁷

Basil Davidson's study on 'The Liberation Struggle of Angolan and 'Portuguese' Guinea' highlights the inhuman conditions subjected to Africans by the Portuguese colonial regimes in Angola and Mozambique during the liberation of Southern Africa. There were constant aerial bombardments of grass huts in villages and fields as well as places in the site of the second congress of the Mozambican liberation movement in Niassa Province. Angola shared a similar experience of unnecessary bombings and burnings.⁴⁸ Consequently, people from both territories fled to the neighbouring countries such as Zaire and Zambia. The present study extends Davidson's study by focusing on the humanitarian assistance rendered to the Angolan and Mozambican refugees in host Zambia, from the educational perspective.

In the same vein, Philemon T. Makonese's study on 'ZAPU and the Liberation of Zimbabwe' exposes the negative attitude of the colonial regime in Southern Rhodesia towards African Education during the era of the liberation of Southern Africa. The Smith regime spent heavily on perfecting its oppressive methods and drastically reduced its expenditure on African education. About 26, 000 youths were neither enrolled in schools nor employed in 1968. Over 1, 000 African teachers were expelled from their posts resulting in school closures.⁴⁹ Our study demonstrates that some refugees from Southern Africa, inclusive of ZAPU and ZANU political affiliated Rhodesians were educated at NIC during the liberation period.

⁴⁷ T. Peter Omari, 'From Refugee to Émigré: African Solutions to the Refugee Problem', in Sven Hamrell (ed.). *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 87.

⁴⁸ Basil Davidson, 'The Liberation Struggle of Angolan and 'Portuguese' Guinea', *African Quarterly: A Journal of African Affairs*, Vol. X, No. 1 (April-June 1970), pp. 25-6.

⁴⁹ Philemon T. Makonese, 'ZAPU and the Liberation of Zimbabwe', *African Quarterly: A Journal of African Affairs*, Vol. X, No. 1 (April-June 1970), pp. 48-9.

Some teachers and a few uneducated Zimbabweans were employed at NIC as academic and general staff respectively.

Wamburakwao J. Sapao in his Master of Arts (M A) Dissertation attributes Zambia's post-colonial complex history as a country of asylum in Southern Africa to her political stability, geographical position and the political leadership's commitment to the liberation of the region.⁵⁰ Even if Sapao does not really capture the issue of NIC, his work is helpful to our study in that it provides an insight of the conditions that attracted refugees to Zambia and eventually the establishment of the institution in Mkushi, Zambia.

Cato Aall in his study, 'Refugee Problems in Southern Africa', acknowledged that NIC admitted a large proportion of semi-educated political refugees from South Africa and South West Africa whose intention was to further their education impossible to acquire at home. Aall never gave detailed information as to what kind of education the refugees were subjected to at NIC.⁵¹

In the same vein, Phinias-Mogorosi Makhurane who attempted to do so in his work, *An Autobiography*, neither exhausted all the programmes that were offered at NIC nor showed the purpose and composition of a few he highlighted.⁵² The present study therefore, goes an extra mile to discuss in reasonable depth the academic and technical programmes conducted at the institution during the liberation period.

Margaret Legum in her study, 'Problems of Asylum for Southern African Refugees', observed that the intensified desire for continuity of education by majority refugees in various countries of asylum in Africa was accelerated by their wish to make useful

⁵⁰ Sapao, 'A Social and Economic History of Displaced People', p. 26.

⁵¹ Aall, 'Refugee Problems', p. 32.

⁵² Phinias-Mogorosi Makhurane, *An Autobiography* (Bulawayo: Booklove Publishers, 2010), p. 130.

contribution to their societies and earn better rewards. The fact that many refugees intended to return to their countries of origin soon after independence indicated the desire for full utilisation of their capabilities. Legum's work is however inadequate considering that she overgeneralised the anticipated contribution by refugees. This study is more specific in that it explores various ways in which some NIC refugee graduates contributed to their countries of origin during the liberation period.⁵³

John Eldridge, Z. K. Matthews and George Ivan Smith in their studies, 'Education and Training of Refugees and their Potential Contribution to Development', 'The Role of Voluntary Organisations in the Refugee Situation in Africa' and 'The Role of the United Nations' respectively, appreciated the individual donors, student groups, voluntary and international organisations that offered sponsorships to refugees. As a principal form of educational assistance to the refugees, scholarships were a mechanism through which refugee students attended schools in various African countries, the Middle East, Europe, Asia and North America. The present study attempts to explore the extent to which sponsorships enabled NIC contribute to Southern Africa.⁵⁴

Whereas Makhurane and Omari ignored the fact that Zambians were educated and trained alongside the refugees at NIC, Eldridge, Aall and Legum acknowledged it. However, much

⁵³ Margaret Legum, 'Problems of Asylum for Southern African Refugees', in Sven Hamrell (ed.), *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 55.

⁵⁴ Eldridge, 'Education and Training', pp. 67-8. Z. K. Matthews, 'The Role of Voluntary Organisations in the Refugee Situation in Africa', in Sven Hamrell (ed.), *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), pp. 101-2. George Ivan Smith, 'The Role of the United Nations', in Sven Hamrell (ed.) *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), pp. 119-21.

focus was placed on the refugees thereby side-lining the Zambians.⁵⁵ This study extends to demonstrate how Zambia benefited from the institution through the education and training of her citizens during the period under study. Further, the study examines the input of Zambians in the successful accomplishment of the prime goal of the college, an aspect not tackled by any of the stated scholars above.

Bizeck Jube Phiri's study, *The Crisis of an African University: A Historical Appraisal of the University of Zambia, 1965-2000*, is critical to the present study in that it provides information from which issues surrounding the recruitment of Zambian skilled labour are analysed. The opening of the University of Zambia (UNZA) in 1966 by the GRZ facilitated the production of local human resource in various sectors of the economy.⁵⁶ The development went a long way in the implementation of full Zambianisation at NIC.

The work by Hugh Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years; The ANC in Exile in Zambia 1963-1994*, is crucial in shaping the study at hand as it provides insights from which the contribution of NIC to Southern Africa is anchored. The study avails information with regards to the history and operations of the ANC of South Africa in Zambia during the liberation period from which crucial issues surrounding NIC's attempt in enhancing security in the region are analysed.⁵⁷ Some of the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) men who were re-directed towards education ended up at NIC where they pursued their academic education and other courses.

⁵⁵ Makhurane, *An Autobiography*, pp. 129-31. Omari, 'From Refugee to Émigré', pp. 85-7. Eldridge, 'Education and Training', pp. 78-9. Aall, 'Refugee Problems', p. 33. Legum, 'Problems of Asylum', p. 61.

⁵⁶ Bizeck Jube Phiri, *The Crisis of an African University: A Historical Appraisal of the University of Zambia, 1965-2000* (Denver and Colorado: International Academic Publishers, 2001), pp. 11 and 25-6.

⁵⁷ Hugh Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years; The ANC in Exile in Zambia 1963-1994* (Sunnyside: Jacana Media Private Limited, 2013), pp. 129, 186 and 314.

Thus, the measure scattered people in different areas of the country in an attempt to reduce the ANC population in Lusaka.⁵⁸

Similarly, Fay Chung's study, *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle*, influenced the present study in several ways. It provided insights on the refugee staff employment and student admission at NIC. The experiences of the Zimbabweans who took refuge in Mozambique during the liberation period were critical in analysing the strategic position of NIC in Zambia and the region as a whole.⁵⁹

Earnest Tapa Kasuta in his Master of Social Work (M SW) Dissertation demonstrated that NIC was mandated to enrol a large number of refugees on account of the assistance received from the UN. He recorded that, 'at Nkumbi International College, over 40% [per cent] of pupils and students are refugees [in 1991]'.⁶⁰ In contrast, the present study shows that the 40 per cent allocated to refugees in the IUEF-GRZ Agreement of early 1970s was difficult to realise due to challenges associated with student recruitments. Moreover, the refugee population at NIC dwindled drastically by 1988 because most countries in Southern Africa attained their independence.

The study by Irene M. Sinyangwe, 'Attitude of Angolan Refugees and their Zambian Hosts towards Each Other', provides a scenario of two kinds of relationships that existed between the local people and the agricultural refugee settlement of Maheba as well as the local people and the self-settled refugees in Chavuma. She demonstrated that the relationship between the local people and Angolan refugees in Maheba was hostile contrary to the situation of their

⁵⁸ Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years*, pp. 174, 228 and 318.

⁵⁹ Fay Chung, *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (Harare: The Nordic African Institute; Uppsala and Weaver Press, 2006), p. 224.

⁶⁰ Kasuta, 'Refugee Education and Training in Zambia', pp. 41-8.

counterparts in Chavuma whose relationship with the local communities was cordial.⁶¹ The study helped to assess the kind of a relationship that prevailed between NIC and the local or surrounding community where the manual workers were drawn during the liberation period.

Flip de Haan's work, 'Refugees', highlighted the humanitarian role played by Zambia as a frontline state in Southern Africa from the political, military and economic perspectives. Zambia became an important base for various liberation movements in the region. Maheba refugee settlement established with the help of foreign aid in North-Western Province of Zambia promoted self-reliance among the refugees.⁶² This therefore necessitates the present study on NIC focused on Zambia's contribution to Southern Africa from the educational view.

Methodology

The study employed qualitative research methodology. Data was collected from various sources over a period of time beginning August 2014. Initially, published data was collected from the UNZA Library where books, theses and dissertations were consulted. These sources yielded information regarding the establishment of NIC and refugee support.

NIC Private Archives was the main source of unpublished data. Document analysis was used to select appropriate information. Student files, letters in various administration files such as those of statistical returns, IUEF and UNDP projects, the farm and library, annual reports, academic, administrative and general staff files were consulted. These provided bulky information on the history, development and operations of the institution, staff and students,

⁶¹ Irene M. Sinyangwe, 'Attitude of Angolan Refugees and their Zambian Hosts towards Each Other', in Nsolo J. Mijere (ed.). *African Refugees and Human Rights in Host Countries: The Long-Term Demographic, Environmental, Economic, Social and Psychological Impacts of Angolan Refugees in Zambia* (New York: Vantage Press, 1995), pp. 143-9.

⁶² Haan, 'Refugees', p. 73.

inclusive of the official statistics on which the study was anchored. Statistical evidence pertaining to the staff, student enrolments and courses offered was also obtained from annual reports consulted at National Assembly Library.

Raw data obtained from the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) notably the Zambianisation government statement and policy document, Daily Hansards and Northern newspapers helped to assess the process and role of Zambianisation on NIC. The unpublished data from UNIP Political Archives in form of reports of Zambianisation Committee yielded information on the objectives of Zambianisation. Published documents notably the First, Second and Third National Development Plans furnished the study with information related to the expansion of NIC.

From Mkushi District Council, the file for Chief Chitina availed the necessary detail regarding the chiefs' family tree. This helped to determine the biological names of the specific chiefs referred to in the work and ascertain some facts about the study.

The internet facility was a vital source of some selected dissertations and acquisition of information pertaining to the progress and aftermath of some Namibian and Angolan graduates of NIC during the liberation period. The information was useful in assessing the contribution of NIC to South Africa. Credit goes to the Embassies of Namibia and Angola for connecting the researcher to appropriate people.

Lastly, oral interviews were conducted in Mkushi, Kabwe and Lusaka with the Zambian graduates of the time. This provided first-hand information regarding the academic education and tertiary training received at NIC during the liberation era in terms of personal and Zambian national development. The information obtained was necessary for assessing the contribution of NIC to Southern Africa. Oral interviews with Chief Chitina VI in Mkushi provided bulky historical background information to the study.

Limitation of the study

The former refugee students of NIC left Zambia soon after the liberation of their respective countries. Hence, it was difficult for the researcher to locate their whereabouts. The Embassies of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa were of less help in that they were also unable to locate the whereabouts of their fellow citizens who were educated and trained at NIC in their respective countries, even after presenting them with lists of such people. Consequently, the study captured only a few Angolan and Namibian national, formerly refugee students at NIC.

The study dealt with refugees who were already in their twenties when they attended school at NIC. Some of these people were already dead at the time the study was conducted. As such, it was impossible to obtain their first-hand experiences and incorporate them in the study.

Organisation of the study

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is the introduction. It explores the establishment of NIC and its early history from 1965 to 1970. Chapter Two investigates the expansion of NIC from 1971 to 1987. This is evident from the desired programmes incorporated at the institution. Chapter Three examines the process and role of the Zambianisation policy on NIC. Chapter Four assesses the contribution of NIC to Southern Africa in the period under study. The final chapter is the conclusion which summarises the findings of the study. It reflects the major conclusions drawn from the study with regards to Zambia's contribution to Southern Africa from the educational perspective as well as her benefit from hosting a refugee institution during the liberation period.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPANSION OF NKUMBI INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE, 1971-1987

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the expansion of Nkumbi International College (NIC) during the liberation period. The chapter initially discusses the expansion strategies embarked on by the Commission of Technical Education and Vocational Training (CTEVT) in the period 1971-2. It demonstrates that when the CTEVT took over the responsibility of NIC in 1971, it devised two mechanisms with the ultimate goal of expanding the institution. It began with the acquisition of a vast area of land to be used as a training farm for agricultural courses. A little later, financial aid was sought from international organisations. The aid from International University Exchange Funds (IUEF) facilitated infrastructure development with special attention to student facilities. The financial aid from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) enabled the purchase of necessary expendable and non-expendable equipment and materials as well as the offer of sponsorships to associate trainees. The aid from the United Nations (UN) Representative for Namibia was spent on the language laboratory facility in order to upgrade students' English as a second language.

The chapter shows that NIC was expanded by the Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training (DTEVT) through the introduction of some courses from 1973-87. These ranged from Agriculture Mechanics in July 1973, Clerk Typing, Farm Machinery Operation and English as Foreign Language (EFL) in January 1974, Shorthand Typing in July 1974 and Basic Training in English, Mathematics and Science in March 1976 to Automotive Mechanics in July 1981. The introduction of Certificate in Accounts and Business Studies (CABS) towards the end of the liberation era suggested a diversion in the focus of NIC from

the refugee oriented institution to one that addressed Zambian national interest. The chapter demonstrates that some incorporated programmes supplemented the academic education already in progress at NIC, while others were agricultural, technical and vocational courses. The chapter shows that some projected programmes at NIC did not materialise.

Expansion strategies embarked on by the Commission of Technical Education and Vocational Training, 1971-1972

The CTEVT was set up by Presidential decree in 1967. In 1969, President Kenneth David Kaunda tasked Dr C. R. Ford, a Canadian to co-ordinate Technical Education and Vocational Training (TEVT) in Zambia and devise a training programme to do away with the British system of trade apprentices.¹ This resulted in the TEVT Act of 1970 which established the CTEVT as a corporate body under Ministry of Education (MoE). On 1st January 1971 therefore, the African American Institute (AAI) handed over the responsibility of NIC to the CTEVT.² The transition went with intentions to expand NIC through the introduction of agriculture oriented vocational courses. At this point, NIC still operated as a secondary school with 109 students. This comprised of 98 students in Forms One to Five and 11 who pursued the EFL course.³

The Commission's desire to expand the institution was in line with two objectives of the Second National Development Plan (SNDP): the first was improvement of the quality of life in rural areas through a vigorous programme of rural development which emphasised increasing agricultural output and raising efficiency in production and marketing; and the second was the expansion of agricultural production to achieve self-sufficiency in Zambia's

¹ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the NIC Advisory Committee meeting, 17th May, 1972.

² NIC/A/14, Minutes of the Advisory Committee meeting, 17th May, 1972.

³ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the Advisory Committee meeting, 17th May, 1972.

basic foodstuff and provide surplus for export.⁴ Consequently, NIC acquired 241 hectares of the land previously used as a temporary refugee settlement, as an expansion strategy in 1971.⁵ The move secured more land for the institution which was later used as a training farm. The farm was immediately put into good use as about K7, 000 was expected as income from maize production in 1972.⁶ It was further hoped to develop the farm to a point where the college would become self-sufficient in basic foodstuff.

Secondly, the CTEVT sought financial assistance from the IUEF for infrastructure development.⁷ This culminated into the IUEF-GRZ Agreement. On the one hand, the IUEF provided funds that amounted to K690, 000. The sum of K460, 000 released in the first phase catered for additional academic staff and student facilities.⁸ The projected student capacity was 400 and eventually 500. On the other hand, the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) reserved 40 per cent of the student capacity to declared refugees and other students sponsored by United States Agency for International Development (US AID), IUEF and other international agencies.⁹ The other 60 per cent was allocated to Zambian students in contrast to the earlier arrangement where they constituted just a quarter of the total

⁴ UNIP5/5/2/7/12, Address by His Excellency the President Dr K. D. Kaunda as Secretary General of United National Independence Party on the occasion of the opening of the Seventh General Conference of UNIP, 25th August, 1973.

⁵ NIC/A/34, December Crop-forecasting Survey 1981-82 (phase 1) form, 18th December, 1981.

⁶ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the NIC Advisory Committee meeting, 28th June, 1972.

⁷ NIC/A/14, Letter from the Director CTEVT, Dr C. R. Ford to the Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 9th May, 1972.

⁸ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the Advisory Committee meeting, 17th May, 1972.

⁹ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the Advisory Committee meeting, 17th May, 1972.

enrolments.¹⁰ Consequently, the Zambian student population outnumbered the refugees at the college in the later years.

As a requisite for the provision of financial assistance by IUEF, an Advisory Committee that assisted with the organisation and administration of the programmes was constituted. This was composed of Mr Hugh Mc Eney, Mkushi District Governor, Dr Phinias-Mogorosi Makhurane, IUEF representative, Mr R. Anderson, the Secretariat to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr W. M. Barraclough, AID representative US Embassy, Dr H. Idoyaga, UN representative for Refugee Assistance Committee, Mr C. Clark of Kuwana Farm in Mkushi and the Headmaster, Mkushi Secondary School. Unfortunately, Mr Clark did not live long enough to serve on the committee.¹¹ The NIC Advisory Committee and the CTEVT collaborated. For example, they together called tenders for the project, sourced for a contractor and awarded a tender supply for steel frames for the workshop buildings.¹²

Moreover, the CTEVT solicited aid from UNESCO through the UNDP for the purchase of the necessary teaching and learning equipment and materials as well as sponsorship for prospective students.¹³ The UNDP assisted NIC through the purchase of the expendable and non-expendable equipment and sponsorship for 15 students to take associate courses.¹⁴ Expendable equipment comprised of the teaching and learning aids while non-expendable equipment were the surveying-cartography equipment and typewriters. An allocation of \$60,

¹⁰ NIC/A/14, Letter from Director CTEVT, Dr C. R. Ford to the Secretariat, Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr R. Anderson, 9th May, 1972.

¹¹ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the NIC Advisory Committee meeting, 28th May, 1972.

¹² NIC/A/14, Minutes of the Advisory Committee meeting, 28th May, 1972.

¹³ NIC/A/37, Letter from Director CTEVT, Dr C. R. Ford to Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 4th December, 1972.

¹⁴ NIC/A/37, Letter from Director CTEVT to the Principal NIC, 4th December, 1972.

000 was provided for equipment; notably \$20, 000 each for the surveying and cartography equipment, \$10, 000 each for typewriters and expendable equipment. An additional amount of \$75, 000 was channelled towards student sponsorship.¹⁵

Furthermore, the Director of the CTEVT, Dr Ford through a discussion with the UN Representative for Namibia, Mr Omayad sought aid that facilitated the acquisition of a language laboratory facility for upgrading students' English as a second language at NIC.¹⁶ A total amount of \$25,000 was reserved for the project. The logistics secured eventually facilitated the expansion of the institution. Expansion in this study is understood as the incorporation or introduction of the desired courses.

Expansion of Nkumbi International College, 1973-1987

The TEVT Act of 1972 turned the CTEVT into the DTEVT under the MoE. Thus on 1st January 1973, NIC was incorporated into the MoE by virtue of being part of the Department.¹⁷ This development saw transformation related to NIC staff recruitment to be discussed in Chapter Three. Nevertheless, the NIC infrastructure development project began by the CTEVT was implemented during the Department period. Lars-Gunnar Eriksson confirmed by April 1973 that:

¹⁵ NIC/A/37, Programme of Educational Assistance to African Refugees from A. G. A. Faria to Mr T. Gordon-Somers (UNDP), 5th June, 1973.

¹⁶ NIC/F/9, Letter from Deputy Director CTEVT, Mr R. G. Proudfoot to Principal NIC, Mr Ritchie, 11th January, 1973.

¹⁷ NIC/A/14, Circular from Principal NIC to all students, 17th November, 1972.

. . . a secondary school in Zambia [NIC] is currently being extended to provide technical, vocational and agricultural education and some 200 places will be made available to refugees, to a large extent from Southern Africa.¹⁸

The additional infrastructure at NIC paved way for the incorporation of some courses. The programmes were introduced at different times because the necessary equipment was acquired in phases as discussed below.

Agriculture Mechanics

Agriculture Mechanics was the first technical and vocational programme introduced at NIC in July 1973.¹⁹ After that, NIC became a two-tier institution that provided both academic and tertiary education. The development distinguished NIC from other secondary schools in the country in that the latter exclusively offered academic education. The Agriculture Mechanics course comprised of English, Mathematics, Technical Drawing, Practical Mechanics, Workshop and Metal Work.²⁰ It was later in February 1975 that Welding Practice was included.²¹ The course equipped the trainees with necessary knowledge and skills ranging from making spare parts, repairing faulty or broken down agricultural equipment and machinery to fashioning some whole equipment such as the ox drawn plough. The acquired skills were further developed from student experiences during industrial attachment in firms and organisations such as Maamba Collieries, Luapula Co-operative Union Limited (Ltd), Contract Haulage Ltd, Freight Holdings Ltd, United Bus Company of Zambia (UBZ),

¹⁸ Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Director of IUEF Education and Training Programmes. A paper presented to the International Conference of experts for the support of victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, 9th to 14th April, 1973, p. 11.

¹⁹ NIC/A/46, DTEVT Termly Programme Information Returns Form 1 for NIC, 20th September, 1975.

²⁰ NIC Student file for Godfrey Simbeye, letter from Principal NIC to the Concerned, 14th July, 1977.

²¹ NIC/F/16, Letter from Director DTEVT to Principal NIC, 14th February, 1975.

Municipal Council of Kabwe, Blackwood Hodge (Zambia) Ltd, Mukonchi Tobacco Training and Settlement Scheme and Zambia Railways, organised by the college authorities. Agriculture Mechanics was a two year programme thus, the first intake completed in July 1975.

Clerk Typing

Clerk Typing was the second commercial programme introduced at NIC in January 1974. The development was influenced by receipt of the first consignment of non-expendable equipment furnished as UNDP assistance to NIC in October 1973. This comprised of four boxes of machine calculator ribbons, 20 tubes of five rolls each, 90 mm paper, four electric calculators-Olivetti, 100 tubes of five rolls each paper, 24 red and black ribbons, one Industrial Business Machine (IBM) electric typewriter, three elements for the typewriter, 24 carbon ribbons, one plastic cover and two lamps.²² The equipment was received in good condition thus incorporation of the course was possible. The minimum entry level considered was Form Three (now Grade 10).

The DTEVT never had a detailed Clerk Typing syllabus by then. As a temporary measure therefore, NIC used the Social Studies Curriculum for Evelyn Hone College with minor adjustments such as exclusion of study periods.²³ The programme comprised of Typewriting, Office Practice, English, Social Studies and Mathematics.²⁴ The college organised a two weeks industrial break which enabled the trainees gain practical experience. For instance, seven Clerk Typist students worked at the DTEVT office in Lusaka from 27th March to 6th

²² NIC/A/37, Letter from the Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox to the Regional Representative UNDP, Mr A. C. Gilpin, 19th November, 1974.

²³ NIC/F/15, Letter from Director DTEVT to Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox, 25th January, 1974.

²⁴ NIC/F/15, Letter from Supervisor Commercial DTEVT, Mr M. Cunningham to the Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox, 14th November, 1973.

April 1975. Godfridah Lungu, Dorothy Kamwi, Selina Motsoenyena, Ruth Fundulu, Joyce Ngosa, Obious Ndalama and Charles Kapolo were the beneficiaries of that arrangement.²⁵

The course lasted for eighteen months.

Farm Machine Operation

Farm Machine Operation was yet another programme introduced in January 1974. The course comprised of Mathematics, Engine Theory with special attention to the tractor engine, Maintenance of Farm Machinery, Safety, English and Communication Skills, Soil and Crop Protection, Theory Farm Machinery and Job Operation.²⁶ The six months programme equipped trainees with the basic knowledge of operating farm machinery. The initial intake of January 1974 comprised of two students. Thereafter, 32 students trained as farm machine operators with effect from July the same year. The two groups make up for the 34 graduates produced by NIC by the end of 1974 as confirmed by the DTEVT Development and Planning Section.²⁷

Surveying and Cartography

Surveying and Cartography were some of the projected courses for NIC. The two courses however never materialised. The Director for the DTEVT made a decision that the courses be offered by Zambia Institute of Technology (ZIT) in Kitwe.²⁸ This was because the Industrial Representatives in Zambia saw no necessity of additional courses on assumption that refugee

²⁵ NIC/F/15, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White to the Director, DTEVT, 14th March, 1975.

²⁶ NIC Student file for Bernard Ngosa, end of Term Two report, 1974, 7th July, 1974.

²⁷ NIC/A/46, DTEVT Development and Planning Section, Educational Statistics, full-time employment training programmes graduates by institution, 1973-76.

²⁸ NIC/A/37, Letter from the Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox to the Regional Representative UNDP, Mr A. C Gilpin, 7th January, 1973.

graduates would find it difficult to seek employment in Zambia due to the Zambianisation policy.²⁹ Besides, NIC had no appropriate staff to handle Surveying and Cartography courses.³⁰ The development was retrogressive in that the two programmes never contributed to the expansion of NIC in terms of student capacity.

Once delivered, the surveying-cartography equipment was immensely useful to classes that took Technical Drawing at NIC. Much of the surveying equipment like tables, T squares and angle templates were removed by Mr Johansen with authority from the Principal, for use by the students.³¹

The Principal sought approval to transfer the rest of the surveying-cartography equipment to ZIT as it deteriorated over time. However, this was prohibited by UNDP office because the equipment was initially meant for the refugees. Instead, an alternative means which allowed for the admission of the refugees who were the intended beneficiaries of associate stipends to the equipment in other institutions such as ZIT was sought.³² Only then was the issue of equipment transfer considered. All the unused surveying-cartography equipment at NIC was delivered to ZIT in February 1975.

²⁹ NIC/A/37, Minutes of the 13th meeting of the Consultative Committee of Sponsorship Sponsors (CCSS), 25th April, 1973.

³⁰ NIC/ D/81, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox to Director DTEVT, Mr Simukonda, 26th October, 1973. Also see NIC/D/81, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1974, 29th April, 1974.

³¹ NIC/A/37, Letter from the Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox to the Stores Officer, 25th January, 1974.

³² NIC/A/37, Letter from Regional Representative UNDP, Mr A. C. Gilpin to Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox, 14th January, 1974.

English as a Foreign Language

Following the appointment of the EFL specialist, Miss Nancy Lee on 1st September 1973, NIC introduced the EFL programme in January 1974.³³ The six months course did not only convert the Portuguese refugee speakers to the English medium of instruction but enabled Zambians educated through the French medium of instruction in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) acquire linguistic skills which facilitated admission to higher institutions of learning and employment in Zambia. For example, the admission of Bwale Mpundu Ivette to the University of Zambia (UNZA) in December 1987 depended on her acquisition of the necessary linguistic skills which facilitated her academic pursuit.³⁴ Antoinette Nsiranuye and Chabala Bwalya were also admitted to Ndola School of Nursing only after pursuing the EFL course.³⁵ Mr Alexander Kasapo also obtained employment as a teacher of French at Masala Secondary School in Ndola after successful completion of the EFL course.³⁶ Mr Mwitwa, a trained engineer was equally employed by Civil Aviation after pursuing the course at NIC.³⁷

The language laboratory facility enhanced the teaching and learning of EFL. The course lasted for six months as opposed to the one year programme offered during the early years on the basis that the former was handled by specialists and not just ordinary teachers of English. Additionally, the former programme catered for the needs of both the refugees and Zambians

³³ NIC/ D/ 81, Staff information return form for Term One 1974, 29th April, 1974.

³⁴ NIC/F/9, Letter from Director DTEVT, Mr Richard Lubasi to Acting Principal NIC, Mr W. L. M. Mazyopa, 6th November, 1987.

³⁵ NIC/F/9, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. C. Govil to Principal Tutor, Ndola School of Nursing, 12th February, 1981.

³⁶ NIC/F/9, Letter from Headmaster Masala Secondary School, Mr D. J. Nicholls to Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox, 15th July, 1974.

³⁷ NIC/F/9, Letter from the teacher of English, Mr Birthe Lemley to Mr Mkamanga, 10th January, 1976.

in contrast to the latter which targeted only the refugees. The later development was possible because the DTEVT offered certificates to successful graduates.³⁸

Interruptions in the provision of the EFL programme during the liberation period were experienced due to non-availability of specialists at times. For example, the January 1978 intake never materialised because Mrs D. C. Hare, a Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) volunteer left the institution at the end of 1977.³⁹ It was only in October, 1978 that the intake took off when another instructor, Mr Martino was recruited. The other time was in 1990 when the second intake was suspended.⁴⁰ Such times were a blow to NIC and detrimental to the IUEF-GRZ Agreement in that reduced enrolment levels were experienced.

Shorthand Typing

Once purchased and shipped, the equipment under UNDP assistance to NIC was not delivered at once. This partly accounts for the reasons why the courses were introduced at intervals. In that light, the 24 Olympia branded typewriters received by NIC from UNESCO in March 1974 necessitated the introduction of Shorthand Typing yet another commercial course in July 1974.⁴¹ Even if nine of the typewriters arrived in a damaged state, the ones not damaged enabled the course be introduced. The minimum entry level for Shorthand Typing was Form Five (Grade 12). The 18 months scheduled programme commenced with 24 students.

³⁸ NIC/F/9, Letter from Director DTEVT to the Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox, 21st November, 1974.

³⁹ NIC/D/81, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1977, 28th February, 1977.

⁴⁰ NIC/F//9, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr W. L. M. Mazyopa to Deputy Director DTEVT, 30th October, 1990.

⁴¹ NIC/A/37, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox to the Regional Representative UNDP, Mr A. C. Gilpin, 3rd March, 1974.

The Rural Craftsman Programme

The Rural Craftsman Programme, also referred to as the NIC Special Programme was scheduled for introduction at NIC in January 1975. The three year proposed programme constituted a basic common core and ancillary programmes in agriculture, technical and commercial skills. It was suggested that trainees study the basic common core and the basic elements of the three ancillary programmes in the first year. In the second year, they were expected to continue with the common core and any two of the ancillary programmes opted for at a slightly higher level than before. In the final year, students were to take the common core and specialise in one ancillary area in which they had aptitude and likeness or as was to be directed by the authorities.

The common basic core comprised of areas like development of personal and vocational skills, knowledge of safety and accidents prevention procedures, communication skills, review of basic numeracy skills and basic science, gradually leading to simple accounts and commerce in the later part of the course, simple business management and marketing, home craft, health, intermediate technology and conservation. The agriculture ancillary area was planned to progress from crop production, animal husbandry and simple farm management to improved subsistence cash crops and increased cash production. The technical ancillary area comprised of knowledge and use of materials, metalwork and carpentry, building, leatherwork and tools. The commercial ancillary area constituted a simple office practice and procedure (filing, typing, simple accounts), simple Book Keeping, basic post office work, savings accounts, credit union organisation, simple business management and marketing.⁴²

The programme intended to produce graduates who would seek gainful self-employment in rural areas by combining the earlier introduced commercial, technical and agricultural

⁴² NIC/A/14, Report of the Curriculum Sub-Committee, 2nd April, 1974.

courses at the institution. The Rural Craftsman Programme however never materialised; instead the earlier introduced courses notably Agriculture Mechanics, Clerk and Shorthand Typing existed as single entities even in the later years as shown below.

Table I: Nkumbi International College 1976 enrolment by course and gender

Course	Enrolment		Total
	Male	Female	
Agricultural Mechanics	16	–	16
Basic Training/Course	15	–	15
Clerk Typist	–	22	22
Shorthand Typist	–	20	20
Academic	225	28	253
EFL	12	–	12
Total	268	70	338

Source: NIC/A/46, DTEVT Development and Planning Section, Educational Statistics 1976. Note that the table above excludes Farm Machine Operation programme.

The courses incorporated by the DTEVT at NIC beginning from 1973 onwards did not only change the status of NIC from being a secondary school to a two-tier institution that offered academic and tertiary education, but swelled the enrolment level from 124 students in 1973 to 416 students in 1974. According to the DTEVT Development and Planning Section, the figure comprised of 320 academic students, 24 Clerk Typists, 24 Shorthand Typists, 16 Agricultural Mechanics and 32 Farm Machine Operators.⁴³ Regardless of the student nationalities, the 1974 student capacity for NIC suggested a successful fulfilment of the IUEF-GRZ Agreement.

Table II below shows the statistical data of the academic, technical and vocational programmes that were offered at NIC in 1975 according to nationality.

⁴³ NIC/A/46, DTEVT Annual Statistics for 1974, 26th June, 1974.

Table II: Breakdown of Nkumbi International College students by nationality (1975)

Class	Zambian		Namibian		Rhodesian		Angolan		Mozambican		South African		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
IA	23	1	–	–	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	30
IB	25	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	30
IIA	21	2	–	–	6	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	30
IIB	20	3	1	–	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	28
III	9	1	1	–	7	1	8	–	2	–	1	–	30
IV	8	–	2	3	13	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	31
V	14	–	–	–	6	–	5	–	2	–	1	–	28
EFL	5	–	3	6	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	18
C/T	2	10	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13
S/H	–	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19
Ag/M	17	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	18
Total	144	36	7	10	43	4	24	–	5	–	2	–	275

Total percentage: Zambian 65.45% Non-Zambians 34.55% Male 82% Female 18%

Source: NIC/A/32. Note that the table does not reflect the enrolment for Farm Machinery Operation.

The table reflects a drop in the enrolment level from 416 in 1974 to 257 (exclusive of 18 students who pursued EFL) in 1975 at NIC as confirmed by the DTEVT Development and Planning Section.⁴⁴ The total percentage stood at 65.45 for Zambians and 34.55 for non-Zambians. NIC experienced challenges in finding sufficient numbers of refugees to fill the reserved places in the IUEF-GRZ Agreement, contrary to Earnest Tapa Kasuta's assertion that over 40 per cent of pupils and students at the institution were refugees.⁴⁵ The screening (selection and testing) process embarked on by the DTEVT in conjunction with NIC to

⁴⁴ NIC/A/46, DTEVT Development and Planning Section, Education Statistics, full-time pre-employment training programmes by institution, 1972-1976.

⁴⁵ Earnest Tapa Kasuta, 'Refugee Education and Training in Zambia: Policies and Administration', M SW Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1991, pp. 41-8.

facilitate admission showed that some refugees were not suitable candidates owing to their poor primary educational background. By virtue of being a secondary school, NIC never catered for their needs as it did not provide primary education. The screening process therefore partly restricted the enrolment levels. The essence was to ensure admission of the right people for the purpose. Screening was necessary because most refugees never carried their certificates along.⁴⁶ However, it was only in 1976 upon the introduction of the Basic Training course that such students were admitted to NIC as will be later discussed in this chapter.

To an extent, the IUEF-GRZ Agreement was not realised because the projected programmes notably Surveying, Cartography and the Rural Craftsman Programme planned for as part of the UNDP assistance to NIC did not take off. Refer to Appendix I.⁴⁷ The Industrial Representatives in Zambia saw no need of introducing additional Surveying and Cartography courses at NIC; instead ZIT was opted for the purpose. Besides, the Farm Machinery Operation course ceased to be offered. Consequently, a dwindled enrolment level was inevitable. The adverse development therefore never contributed to the expansion of the institution.

Table II above suggests that the Zambia/Rhodesia border closure had no or very minimal contribution to the dwindling of the enrolment at NIC in 1975. This was because an alternative means of entry of Rhodesian students into Zambia for educational purpose was devised. For example, the UN sponsored Rhodesian students travelled via Botswana where the UNDP office made arrangements for their travel to Lusaka.⁴⁸ The arrangement applied also to Rhodesian students in other institutions such as UNZA. Besides, some students from

⁴⁶ NIC/A/37, Minutes of the 13th meeting of the CCSS, 25th April, 1973.

⁴⁷ NIC/A/39, Projected training programmes for NIC, 26th May, 1972.

⁴⁸ NIC/A/37, Minutes of the 12th meeting of the CCSS, 20th March, 1973.

Rhodesia already lived in the diaspora with their families within Zambia. Travelling for such students was not affected as they crossed no borders at all.

The Basic Course

The Basic Course was a remedial programme specifically meant for Namibian candidates whose education was only part way through primary school.⁴⁹ It was introduced at NIC in March 1976 with the help of Professor K. Cripwell of the London University.⁵⁰ This was necessary in that the performance of Namibian students at junior secondary school showed great weakness in Science, English and Mathematics owing to their poor primary educational background.⁵¹ The weaknesses were evident during the screening processes. The initially six months scheduled course was later extended to nine months considering that the students needed more time to grasp the concepts involved. John Eldridge observed that a similar remedial programme known as *Ensimo Primario* was mounted by the Mozambique Institute much earlier for the Mozambican students in Tanzania.⁵²

The Basic Course proved to be the only means through which candidates without adequate primary training were co-opted into the academic educational system at NIC. Consequently, the enrolment levels were boosted from 275 in 1975 to 338 in 1976. This was satisfactory though considering that the number 15 was not good enough. The DTEVT Development and

⁴⁹ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the Advisory Committee meeting, 28th June, 1972.

⁵⁰ NIC/A/46, NIC Quarterly Programme Information Return Form 1 from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White, Director DTEVT, 16th August, 1976.

⁵¹ NIC/A/37, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White to Regional Representative UNDP, 17th April, 1975.

⁵² John Eldridge, 'Education and Training of Refugees and their Potential Contribution to Development' in Sven Hamrell (ed.). *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 79.

Planning Section confirmed that the total enrolment for NIC in 1976 was 326 (338 – 12 EFL students).⁵³ Refer to table I above.

Automotive Mechanics

The Automotive Mechanics course at NIC commenced in July 1981 with 18 male students of whom 15 were Zambians and three were Namibians. The successful implementation of the programme lay in the recruitment of Mr Sitali in May 1981 who handled the course. Automotive Mechanics programme lasted for two years hence the intake graduated in June 1983.⁵⁴ So far it seemed to have been the only group trained during the liberation era because the available evidence showed no continuity of the course in the later years.

Certificate in Accounts and Business Studies

The last commercial programme introduced at NIC towards the end of the liberation period worth mentioning was CABS. The programme began to be offered in 1987. At the time, the refugee population had drastically reduced because the political unrest experienced in Angola and Mozambique after their independence in 1975 had normalised. Zimbabwe too gained her independence in 1980. Thus, there were hardly refugee students from the three countries. Following Namibia's independence in 1990, the majority of students at NIC were Zambians while the minority were South Africans. Consequently, the incorporation of CABS at NIC by the DTEVT was coupled with considerable change in the focus of the institution. NIC became more concerned about the needs of Zambia since only one of her neighbours had not gained political freedom. South Africans were the last refugee students to leave the institution.

⁵³ NIC/A/46, DTEVT Educational Statistics, 1972-1976.

⁵⁴ NIC/A/46, NIC staff information return form for Term Three 1981, 9th September, 1981.

CABS was a two year course. It comprised of Book Keeping and Accounts One and Two, Elementary Economics and Commerce, General Principles of Law, Elementary Costing, Mathematics and Statistics, Introduction to Business and Communication Skills.⁵⁵ Industrial attachments in private and parastatal companies, public corporations and government institutions during vacation broadened the students' acquired skills and knowledge.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the expansion of NIC during the era of the liberation Southern Africa. The chapter opened with a discussion on the two expansion mechanisms embarked on by the CTEVT in the period 1971-2: first was the acquisition of a training farm; and second was soliciting financial aid from various international organisations for infrastructure development, purchase of teaching and learning equipment and materials and student sponsorship.

The chapter demonstrated that NIC was expanded through the incorporation of some courses from 1973-87. The expansion began with the introduction of Agriculture Mechanics in July 1973, then Clerk Typing, Farm Machine Operation and EFL in January 1974. Shorthand Typing was incorporated in July 1974, the Basic Training course in March 1976, Automotive Mechanics in July 1981 and the CABS programme in 1987. The chapter showed that some of the introduced programmes supplemented the academic education already in existence while others were agricultural, technical and vocational courses. However, some projected courses at NIC never took off.

⁵⁵ NIC Student file for Phillimon C. Ndhlovu, testimonial by HoD Commercial, Mr N Mwendabai to the concerned, 6th December, 1988.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PROCESS AND ROLE OF THE ZAMBIANISATION POLICY ON NKUMBI INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

Introduction

Zambia did not only provide the land on which Nkumbi International College (NIC) was built but her people contributed greatly and in various ways to the successful accomplishment of the prime goal of the institution during the liberation period. The chapter examines the input of Zambians in the provision of education at NIC and the general wellbeing of the institution during the period under study. In doing so, the chapter identifies three categories of workers that existed at NIC namely the academic, administrative and general staff, in which the people of Zambia served.

From inception through to the early 1970s, highly qualified expatriates of different nationalities offered the academic knowledge to the students. Zambia lacked the adequate skilled human resource required to undertake the task. It was in 1973 that Zambian technical teachers began to appear on the scene to strictly offer the incorporated technical and vocational courses. With effect from 1974, Zambian teachers handled academic classes on account of their degree and diploma qualifications obtained from the University of Zambia (UNZA) and teacher training colleges respectively. Credit goes to the expatriates who played a pivotal role in the training of the local human resource. However, the former were phased out as recruitments for the latter intensified. In 1979, the local teachers began to actively participate in the administration of the institution. By May 1985, the entire administration of NIC rested on the shoulders of Zambians. The rest of the expatriate teachers however were completely phased out in 1988 after which the academic staff at NIC comprised only Zambians.

The administrative staff were second in the rank. The institution exhibited total dependence on expatriate administrative personnel from inception on the basis of their trade and qualifications. However, Zambianisation was implemented for the institution in 1971. It accelerated at a faster rate that full implementation was realised by June 1973. The general workers were the third category of workers at NIC. The group predominantly comprised of Zambians from inception owing to the fact that very minimal or no qualifications or specialisation was required. The manual workers provided the much needed labour for various undertakings at the institution.

The academic staff

Zambianisation affected many sectors of private and public organisations in the country since independence, of which the teaching fraternity at NIC was not an exception. This was because the country lacked the necessary and adequate skilled human resource.¹ Zambianisation was a natural right and the declared policy of the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) that the economy be manned by her qualified and competent citizens if those were available.² The objective was to ensure that Zambians took up the jobs that were done by expatriates as long as they qualified without any deliberate hindrance to the progress of the former. In this study, Zambianisation will mean the occupation of key positions in an organisation by Zambians. The academic staff will refer to the Principal, Vice Principal, three Heads of Departments (HoDs) and teachers.

The African American Institute (AAI) conducted the academic staff recruitment exercise for NIC. The criterion used for recruitment was contractual agreements coupled with gratuity.

¹ UNIP 6/7/34, A memorandum from D. L. Kambilumbila of the Institute of Public Administration to the National President, Dr D. K. Kaunda, 17th March, 1964.

² NAZ MLSS1/18/006/2149, Zambianisation: government statement and policy, 13th March, 1969.

The minimum required standard of qualification for consideration was a bachelor's degree or something equivalent.³ This was to facilitate quality knowledge delivery for quality secondary school graduates. Consequently, the academic staff at inception comprised of expatriate personnel. The situation was not peculiar to NIC as most secondary schools in Zambia were served by expatriate teachers at independence.

The Americans who financed and managed the institution turned to the outside world for academic staff recruitment because Zambia did not have trained human resource. This was in accordance with Clause II of the Zambianisation policy which stated that:

Should trained and competent local manpower not be available non-citizens are allowed entry into the Republic of Zambia in that they do skilled jobs for which no citizens are currently available⁴

Bizeck Jube Phiri supported that heavy dependence on expatriate academic staff in Zambia was inevitable because UNZA was just opened in 1966, thus had not yet started producing the required graduate teachers to undertake the task.⁵ However, the deliberate programmes and courses developed in the School of Education were tailored to address educational needs of the country. Therefore, there was hope that the local trained human resource from UNZA would eventually takeover from expatriates in various secondary schools including NIC.

Among the first nine academic staff to be recruited at NIC in 1965 and 1966 were Messrs C. R. Wilson, A. R. Kirwin, James Williams and V. P. Allman, the teachers of English, History, Geography and Science respectively. Others were Mrs M. D. Quinn as a Commercial teacher, Mr R. Macconi as teacher of English and Mr Donald Tsolo as teacher of History. Mr T. S.

³ NIC/A/39, Report on the historical development of NIC by Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 26th May, 1972.

⁴ NAZ MLSS1/18/006/2149, Zambianisation, 13th March, 1969.

⁵ Bizeck Jube Phiri, *The Crisis of an African University: A Historical Appraisal of the University of Zambia, 1965- 2000* (Denver and Colorado: International Academic Publishers, 2001), p. 11.

Turbyfill was recruited as the first Principal of NIC and Mr Philip C. Freund as the Vice Principal and teacher of Mathematics in February and July 1966 respectively. By September 1966 however, Mr Robert Iglehart replaced his predecessor as the second Principal of the institution.⁶ Academic staff recruitment was given priority since no institution can operate without them. The academic staff were the core staff at NIC because they were directly linked to the core business of the institution notably the execution of educational knowledge to students or rather teaching.

The recruited academic staff prepared for the teaching and learning processes at NIC which finally commenced at the onset of 1966. Firstly, they facilitated the placement of prospective students in appropriate levels of instruction. This was done by administering the Special Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SSAT) and the School and College Ability Tests (SCAT) to gauge the ability of the students.⁷ After marking the two tests, recommendations with regards to appropriate levels of instruction for individual students were made and implemented. The placement exercise was an on-going activity during the liberation period as students trickled in NIC at different times. However, the prospective students were expected to be at Form One level or above because the institution was a secondary school thus never catered for primary education. Secondly, the teachers prepared teaching requisites notably schemes of work, lesson plans, records of work, teaching and learning aids for various subjects and classes.

Considering the calibre of the opening academic staff at NIC, Phinias-Mogorosi Makhurane commented that:

⁶ NIC/D/81, Record of NIC staff list, 21st January, 1977.

⁷ NIC Student file for Goolam Nabbie Abdullah Hassim, the SSAT and SCAT marked Scripts, 23rd July, 1966.

It is difficult to describe how gratifying it was to see the first building at Nkumbi nearing completion and eventually to watch the young men and women from South West Africa [Namibia] stream into classes to learn from high qualified staff.⁸

The recruited academic staff were specialists or experts in various subjects of the academic course. They actually determined the subjects taught at NIC at inception. These ranged from English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Biology, English Literature, Typewriting to General Science.⁹ It was through the teaching of those subjects that the institution contributed to the formative years of individual students.

To cushion the effort of the academic staff, the AAI sought for volunteers. This became a supplementary mode of academic staff recruitment. The possible sources of volunteer service for NIC included the German Volunteer Service (GVS), Danish Volunteer Service (DVS), United Nations (UN), Norwegian Aid for Development (NORAD) and the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). The first ever volunteers at NIC were Messrs R. Stillman and Bruce Detwiler. The two taught Mathematics and General Science and English respectively.¹⁰ Their service to the institution was undoubtedly of standard quality. This is justified by the volunteers' qualifications as well as the successful performance of students they handled like Nahas Gideon Angula who made it in the London University General Certificate of Education (GCE) Examination in June 1967 and January 1968.¹¹ However, the commendation of the two volunteers is not to undermine the effort of other academic staff.

⁸ Phinias-Mogorosi Makhurane, *An Autobiography* (Bulawayo: Booklove Publishers, 2010), p. 131.

⁹ NIC Student file for Alexius Vingo, evaluation form for April-June 1967, 3rd July, 1967.

¹⁰ NIC Student file for David Kadhila, evaluation form for April to June 1967, 30th June, 1967.

¹¹ NIC Student file for Nahas Angula, photocopies of the June 1967 and July 1968 certificates, 1967 and 1968.

With effect from June 1967 therefore, the academic staff administered the London University GCE Examinations. The exercise was a means through which individual students were awarded with certificates. The certificates were a reflection of the passed subjects only. Consequently, certification determined the performance of individual students and facilitated professional development as will be later discussed in the succeeding chapter.

Alongside their core business, the academic staff performed administrative duties to ensure smooth operations of the institution. This was inevitable because the recruited administrative staff were few at NIC during the early years. A good example is that of Mr Kalt who served as a catering officer in 1969.¹² Other administrative duties such as hostel attendant and guidance and counselling were executed by other academic staff. It should be noted here that the Counsellor was only sought in 1969. Such an arrangement was possible because the institution was still small in terms of infrastructure, enrolment levels and number of classes. The expansion of NIC during the early 1970s went with intensified recruitments of all the three categories of staff. It was then that the academic staff were relieved of the extra administrative duties. This was a positive development in that teachers fully concentrated on their academic duties.

A. G. Hansen recorded that Zambia experienced an influx of refugees from Angola, a Portuguese speaking territory in 1966.¹³ Some of these attended school at NIC. Thus, the teachers of English operated the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) section with effect from 1967. As earlier discussed in Chapter One, the non-English speaking students acquired the necessary linguistic skills which converted them to the English medium of instruction.

¹² NIC Student file for Jacob Siriya, memorandum from Mr S. Kalt to the Counsellor NIC, 9th December, 1969.

¹³ Arthur G. Hansen, 'Once the Running Stops: The Socio-economic Resettlement of Angolan Refugees (1966-1972) in Zambian Border Villages', PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 1977, p. 183.

The establishment for NIC at the time never had a post for the EFL specialist. Therefore the teachers of English took turns to handle the class. The EFL course was actually longer during the early years than the one introduced later in 1974 on the basis that the latter was handled by specialists as discussed in Chapter Two.

In the later years, the EFL course helped Zambians educated through the French medium of instruction in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) acquire linguistic skills that facilitated admission to higher institutions of learning and employment in Zambia. For instance, the admission of Bwale Mpundu Ivette to UNZA in December 1987 depended on her acquisition of the necessary linguistic skills coupled with other documentary evidence.¹⁴ The EFL course she pursued at NIC enabled her meet those demands. Similarly, Antoinette Nsiranuye and Chabala Bwalya were admitted to Ndola School of Nursing only after pursuing the EFL course.¹⁵ Mr Alexander Kasapo also obtained employment as a teacher of French at Masala Secondary School in Ndola after successful completion of the EFL course.¹⁶ Mr Mwitwa, a trained engineer was employed by Civil Aviation after pursuing the EFL course at NIC.¹⁷

The academic staff closely monitored the progression of individual students. This was done during the teaching and learning processes as well as through written and practical testing instruments. Student attendance, participation and performance were constantly checked on. Weaker areas were identified and assistance given accordingly. This accounts for the

¹⁴ NIC/F/9, Letter from Director DTEVT, Mr Richard Lubasi to Acting Principal NIC, Mr W. L. M. Mazyopa, 6th November, 1987.

¹⁵ NIC/F/9, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. C. Govil to Principal Tutor, Ndola School of Nursing, 12th February, 1981.

¹⁶ NIC/F/9, Letter from Headmaster Masala Secondary School, Mr D. J. Nicholls to Principal NIC, Mr J. E. Fox, 15th July, 1974.

¹⁷ NIC/F/9, Letter from the teacher of English, Mr Birthe Lemley to Mr Mkamanga, 10th January, 1976.

introduction of the commercial studies programme as an alternative to the academic secondary course in 1968. As discussed in Chapter One, it was an initiative that helped students who did not cope with the demands of the latter programme. It constituted subjects like African Studies, Book-Keeping, Office Practice, Commercial English and Mathematics, African Economic Development and Elementary Shorthand Typing.¹⁸

Jose Santos Da Silva, an Angolan who enrolled for commercial studies at NIC in 1968 after unsuccessful attempts in Form Two, is an example.¹⁹ His performance in the commercial programme was remarkable that he was commended twice in two different terms of 1969 by James Williams, the Principal on behalf of the staff and students.²⁰ Similarly, Fernando Ditu Dos Santos, another Angolan had challenges with the English Language despite undertaking the EFL programme previously.²¹ He therefore undertook the commercial course on account of his linguistic incapacitation which would have affected him more had he continued with the secondary school programme.

The first official examinations for students who undertook the commercial programme was conducted in November and December 1969.²² It was at this point that the duties of the academic staff diversified to embrace the administration of Pitman Examinations. As was the case with the London University GCE Examinations, certification applied to this category of

¹⁸ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, evaluation form for April to June 1969, 9th July, 1969.

¹⁹ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, evaluation report for Term Three, July to September, 1968.

²⁰ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, recommendations by the Principal NIC, James Williams to Silva, 2nd December, 1969 and 10th January, 1970.

²¹ NIC Student file for Fernando Ditu Dos Santos, letter from the HoD for English, William Jones to the concerned, 28th March, 1969.

²² NIC Student files for Jose Santos Da Silva and Fernando Dos Santos, photocopies of Pitman Examination Certificates, November and December, 1969 and June, 1970.

students. Each component of the programme attracted a certificate. Thus several of them such as the Principles of Accounts Elementary, Typewriting Elementary and Intermediate, Arithmetic Elementary, Book Keeping Advanced, Office Practice Elementary and English for overseas candidates' intermediate stage one and two certificates were issued to individual students.²³ The total number of certificates received by different students varied on account of the subjects passed. This was a contrast to the London University GCE where all the subjects appeared on a single certificate.

Like any other secondary school in independent Zambia, academic staff recruitment was an on-going phenomenon at NIC. Labour stabilisation was impossible because of total dependence on expatriates who were engaged on contractual agreements which lasted for one, two or three years. For instance, Mr Iglehart served as the Principal for NIC for three years from 1966 to 1969, Mr Williams for two years from 1969 to 1971 and Mr Peacock for a year in 1971. In few cases, some teachers never even lasted a year. This is true of Mr Turbyfill who was recruited in February 1966 and left by September the same year.²⁴ Clause III (i) of the Zambianisation policy confirmed that employment permits were issued for periods ranging from four months to five years.²⁵ Besides, new contracts were signed as earlier ones expired.

The transitional development in the administration of NIC from the AAI to the Commission of Technical Education and Vocational Training (CTEVT) on 1st January 1971 was accompanied with transformation. To begin with, it shifted the teaching staff recruitment exercise from the Americans into the hands of the Canadians. The latter however adopted the

²³ NIC Student file for Fernando Dos Santos, photocopies of Pitman Examination Certificates, November/December, 1969 and June, 1970.

²⁴ NIC/D/81, Staff list, 21st January, 1977.

²⁵ NAZ MSS1/18/006/2149, Zambianisation, 13th March, 1969.

recruitment standards initiated by the former to ensure quality. Only candidates with bachelors' and masters' degrees were considered. For example, Mr F. Madzima, a Rhodesian and holder of a Bachelor of Arts (B A) degree taught Geography; Messrs P. V. Varkey and S. C. Govil who held both the Bachelor of Science (B Sc) and Master of Science (M Sc) degrees offered general Science and Biology respectively; Messrs J. Glancy (British) and M. P. Murimirwa (Rhodesian) held B Sc degrees.²⁶ Therefore, Makhurane's observation that students at NIC during the liberation period were taught by highly qualified staff was correct.²⁷ Heavy dependence on the expatriates was anticipated in the Ministry of Education (MoE) on account of the plans to expand the educational programmes.²⁸

Secondly, the transition created new posts on the school establishment owing to the technical and vocational courses which were yet to be incorporated. These included posts such as practical instructors for secretarial and agricultural courses as well as HoDs for Academic, Technical and Agriculture Departments. Thus, Mr A. S. Kadyan who held both the B Sc and M Sc degrees in Agriculture Science was recruited as HoD for the Agriculture Department in May 1972.²⁹ He organised the department to an extent where the Agricultural Mechanics course was introduced in 1973. As a supervisor, he prepared schemes of work and monitored the pace at which the planned work was covered. This was done by constantly checking the lesson plans and records of work of the staff in the department. The lesson observations he conducted ensured quality education delivery. The departmental meetings he organised and chaired went a long way in enhancing the operations of the institution. Similar academic duties were performed by his counterpart Mr S. C. Govil in the Academic Department.

²⁶ NIC/A/46, NIC staff information return for Term Two 1976, 6th May, 1976.

²⁷ Makhurane, *An Autobiography*, p. I31.

²⁸ NAZ MLSS1/18/001/2147, Report on the employment on non-Zambians in government, 6th April, 1966.

²⁹ NIC/A/46, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1976, 6th February, 1976.

In addition, Mr Kadyan formulated the curriculum for the Rural Craftsman Programme that was anticipated to begin in January 1975 at NIC. This was on the basis of his vast knowledge in the agricultural field. The programme however never materialised. As the overseer of the college farm, Mr Kadyan planned and monitored all farm undertakings to ensure the farm was well utilised to the betterment of NIC. Where necessary, he informed the administration about any development on the farm that attracted attention.

Zambian teachers slowly began to penetrate the teaching fraternity at NIC in 1973 after the CTEVT was turned into the Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training (DTEVT) under the MoE. This was because the academic staff recruitment for NIC became a responsibility of the Teaching Service Commission (TSC) as was the case with other government schools.³⁰ The development was a deliberate mechanism adopted by government to deploy and stabilise Zambian labour at NIC in an attempt to gradually do away with expatriates. The vacancies that existed in the NIC establishment were advertised by MoE and people of different nationalities applied. Eligible candidates were then shortlisted to occupy the positions.

The TSC gave first preference to Zambian academic staff as long as they qualified in accordance with the Zambianisation policy earlier described in this chapter. The practice was in line with John Eldridge's observation that independent African states naturally preferred to reserve the few positions at the middle human resource levels for their own citizens.³¹ Zambians were engaged on probation pending confirmations resulting in permanent and pensionable employment. This was in effort to stabilise Zambian labour once deployed and

³⁰ NIC/A/14, Report on NIC from Principal NIC, Mr S. C. Govil to the members of the Central Committee, Central Province, 3rd June, 1981.

³¹ John Eldridge, 'Education and Training of Refugees and their Potential Contribution to Development' in Sven Hamrell (ed.), *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 73.

prevent acute staff shortages at the institution due to expiring contracts. In principle, it was cheaper for the country since Zambians never attracted certain allowances entitled to expatriates. The Minister of State, Mr Aaron Milner stated that:

I have recently returned from a tour of Europe where I have been recruiting qualified men from 10 different countries. We don't like doing this as these men have to be paid high salaries and transport costs.³²

The appearance of the Zambian academic staff at NIC began with technical teachers. Among the first ones were Messrs H. Syamayuwa and A. Mutuna, secretarial instructors recruited in July 1973 and May 1974 respectively. Whereas the former trained the Clerk Typists, the latter trained Shorthand Typists.³³ The two collaborated in their academic duties. Mr Mutuna served as an assistant librarian in the later years starting from 1976.³⁴ The other one was Mr Mutambalilo who was recruited in March 1974 as a practical instructor in the Agriculture Department. He was intended to facilitate the incorporation of the prospective Rural Craftsman Programme in January 1975 which never commenced. He therefore supervised all farm operations and allocated duties to the farm workers appropriately.³⁵ He equally organised and chaired meetings for farm workers. Mr Mutambalilo later rose to a position of acting HoD Agriculture Department.³⁶

The first Zambian graduate teacher to be recruited at NIC in July 1974 was Mr L. M. Longa. He taught Mathematics and Political Education among other duties earlier discussed in this chapter. It was at this point that Zambians began to handle academic classes at NIC on account of degree qualifications. Mr Longa's appointment however, coincided with the

³² NAZ MLSS1/18/001/2147, Northern newspaper, 28th June, 1965.

³³ NIC/A/46, Staff information return for Term One 1976, 6th February, 1976.

³⁴ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the academic staff meeting, 9th January, 1976.

³⁵ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the farm workers meeting, 25th June, 1975.

³⁶ NIC/A/34, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1984, 20th May, 1984.

expiry of a good number of contracts for expatriates.³⁷ For example, Mrs M. M. Varkey, teacher of Mathematics, Messrs S. P. Pillay and P. V. Varkey, teachers of Mathematics and Science respectively proceeded on long leave at the onset of 1975 pending the expiry of their contracts.³⁸ Therefore, a critical shortage of the academic staff experienced at NIC in the first term of 1975 was inevitable.

Eventually, instruction periods were reduced from 40 to 32 in January as Mathematics was temporarily eliminated from the timetable since there were no teachers. NIC administration contracted Mr Thompson, Mrs Kurian and Mrs Pillay on part-time basis.³⁹ While Mr Thompson and Mrs Kurian taught English, Mrs Pillay taught History. The DTEVT turned to the aid of volunteers; Messrs Losekann, Lemley and White Head served as instructors in Agriculture Mechanics, while Mr Dladla and Mrs Lemley taught English.⁴⁰ Mrs Govil continued teaching Geography and Civics on full-time pending an appointment. Mr James Joseph, an Indian graduate teacher of Mathematics and Science was finally recruited in February 1975.⁴¹ It was then that Mathematics lessons resumed at the institution.

The predicament of early 1975 at NIC was unsatisfactory in the sense that time lost is never gained. However, it was mainly influenced by the TSC's deliberate decision to engage local human resource as much as possible in order to avoid expatriates. Apart from being cheaper, Zambian labour was opted for because it was easier to stabilise once deployment took place. However, there were challenges in recruiting enough labour for NIC at this stage despite the

³⁷ NIC/D/81, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1974, 29th April, 1974.

³⁸ NIC/D/81, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1975, 23rd January, 1975.

³⁹ NIC/D/81, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White to Director DTEVT, 13th January, 1975.

⁴⁰ NIC/D/81, NIC staff information return form for Term One, 1975, 9th April, 1975.

⁴¹ NIC/D/81, NIC staff information return form for Term Three 1975, 9th October, 1975.

fact that UNZA produced graduates as early as 1969. As observed by Phiri, the need for human resource continuously rose in all sectors of the country of which education was not an exception.⁴² The establishment of more government secondary schools after independence increased the demand for graduate teachers. Once deployed in the MoE, Zambian graduates served anywhere in the country and not necessarily at NIC. It is therefore not surprising that NIC still heavily relied on expatriates in 1975.

Like any other institution, the enrolments for UNZA were low during the early years. Phiri held that:

In 1966 when UNZA first opened it had an enrolment of 312 students. The number rose to 536 in 1967; 706 in 1968; 991 in 1969; 1,184 in 1970; 1,580 in 1971; 1,723 in 1972; 2,424 in 1973; 2,576 in 1974 to just over 4,000 in 1975.⁴³

Most likely the number of graduates beginning from 1969 through to the 1970s followed the same order. Therefore the produced human resource from UNZA never tallied with the human resource demands of the time. Worse still, the enrolment figures above were not exclusively for the School of Education, but a reflection of students from other schools as well.

Moreover, UNZA had eight schools notably Education, Humanities and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Law, Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture and Mines in 1974 against the total enrolment of 2,576.⁴⁴ The student school ratio was 322 to 1 (322:1) which was not sufficient enough to cater for the educational needs countrywide. Hence, the critical shortage of staff at NIC at the onset of 1975 was unavoidable.

⁴² Phiri, *The Crisis of an African University*, p. 26.

⁴³ Phiri, *The Crisis of an African University*, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Phiri, *The Crisis of an African University*, pp. 25-6.

Besides, not all students who were either enrolled at UNZA or graduated from there were Zambian. Instead students of other nationalities were as well trained in various fields. For example, Nahas Angula a Namibian studied in the School of Education from 1968 to 1973; Lando Nkanu an Angolan studied in the School of Agriculture from 1975 to 1978; Others were Alphonse P. Nzoanene and Lucas P. K. Kiwanuka (Angolans) admitted to the Schools of Natural Sciences and Humanities and Social Sciences respectively in the 1975/76 academic year. The point here is that expatriate labour unlike Zambian was difficult to stabilise as the former went back to serve their countries of origin after independence.

Therefore, the predicament of 1975 at NIC still revealed the need for expatriate academic effort as was the case elsewhere in the country. The Minister of Development Planning in 1976 stated that:

The country is still largely dependent on foreign sources for meeting the manpower requirements of the economy as far as technical, highly skilled, professional and other management personnel are concerned. . . . Teachers particularly in secondary schools, technical schools and institutions of higher learning are in short supply and a large proportion of them are expatriates.⁴⁵

Consequently, some expatriates were recruited alongside Mr W. L. Mazyopa a Zambian secretarial instructor in 1976. The latter took over from Mr Mutuna and trained the Shorthand Typists, among other academic duties. The educational statistics for 1976 confirmed that out of the twenty-five teaching staff posts approved on the establishment for NIC, only five were held by Zambians notably Messrs Syamayuwa, Mutambalilo, Mutuna, Longa and Mazyopa. Seventeen places were occupied by non-Zambians while three were vacant.⁴⁶ This owed much to the fact that the much sought for Zambian graduate teachers were still scarce in the country.

⁴⁵ UNIP 7/11/12, Comments of the Honourable Minister of Development Planning on Education for Development draft statement on Education Reforms, 1976.

⁴⁶ NIC/A/46, DTEVT NIC teaching staff for 1976, 19th January, 1976.

Contrary to the earlier standards set for academic staff recruitment at NIC, Zambian Diploma holder teachers from the teacher training colleges were sought for the first time to teach junior classes. Messrs A. Kabwe and Kapasa taught Agriculture Science and Mathematics and Science respectively. This development contributed to the required human resource without adverse effects on the standards of the institution because the staff were qualified to handle junior students.

Deliberate strategies were formulated by government through the Zambianisation Committee to implement full Zambianisation at NIC. For example, the Central Statistical Office sent questionnaire forms on employment and manpower enquires quarterly during the 1970s and 1980s to NIC to obtain what prevailed at the institution with regards to the policy.⁴⁷ Besides, directives to Zambianise posts were issued as was the case in 1976 when vacancies that existed in the establishment for NIC were advertised.⁴⁸ The measures speeded up the pace of Zambianisation at the institution.

Zambianisation at NIC gained momentum in the early 1980s when majority of the recruited academic staff were graduates mainly from UNZA. Among others Messrs S. C. Tembo (BA Ed) and E. R. Tembo taught Geography and Agriculture Science respectively; Miss Kalumbi and Mr P. M. Liswaniso holders of BA Ed degrees offered History and English and History respectively.⁴⁹ Messrs A. L. H. Moonga (BA Ed) and C. Lungu (B Sc Ed) taught English and Biology respectively.⁵⁰ Consequently, the expatriates were gradually phased out in line with Clause IV (c) of the Zambianisation policy which stated that no employment permit was

⁴⁷ NIC/A/46, Letter from Director Census and Statistics, Mr M. S. C. Mulenga to Principal NIC, 9th October, 1978.

⁴⁸ NIC/D/81, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White to the Permanent Secretary Personal Division, 28th February, 1977.

⁴⁹ NIC/A/34, NIC staff information return form for Term Three 1984, 14th August, 1984.

⁵⁰ NIC/A/34, Staff information return form for Term Two, 20th May, 1984.

issued or renewed in respect of posts for which Zambian citizens were qualified and available.⁵¹

Zambianisation at NIC reached its climax in 1985 when all administration posts were held by Zambian academic staff owing to the fact that they had the qualifications required. This was a gradual process that started with Mr Mutambalilo who ascended to the position of acting HoD Agriculture Department in 1979.⁵² He was followed by Mr K. D. Mulenga who became the HoD for the Technical Department in 1985 on account of his speciality in Auto Mechanics. Later, Mr J. Chileshe replaced Mr Ulahannan as HoD for the Academic Department. The latter thereafter served NIC in his capacity as a mere teacher pending the expiry of his contract on 31st March 1987. He offered Mathematics.⁵³ According to Clause I of the Zambianisation policy, it was cardinal to relieve Mr Ulahannan of his duties because qualified and competent Zambians were available.⁵⁴ Messrs Mazyopa and C. L. Shikambo rose to the positions of Vice Principal and Principal respectively.⁵⁵

The performances of the five Zambian staff in the administration at NIC were exceptional. They contributed greatly to the successful implementation of full Zambianisation at the college without lowering the quality of its standards. It should be noted here that the two top most administration posts were occupied by Zambian teachers from both the academic and tertiary sections. This struck a balance considering that NIC was a two-tier institution. It was a sharp contrast to what prevailed previously when both positions were held by expatriate teachers from the academic section. The implication was that the academic section, being the oldest was superior.

⁵¹ NAZ MSS1/18/006/2149, Zambianisation, 13th March, 1969.

⁵² NIC/A/34, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1984, 20th May, 1984.

⁵³ NIC/A/34, NIC staff information return form for Term One 1985, 22nd March, 1985.

⁵⁴ NAZ MSS1/18/006/2149, Zambianisation, 13th March, 1969.

⁵⁵ NIC/A/34, NIC staff information return form for Term Three 1985, 18th October, 1985.

By 1985, NIC had enough Zambian graduates to handle academic classes. The 1985 annual return showed that the institution was served by 11 Zambian graduates comprising of ten males and one female.⁵⁶ The Zambian non-graduate teachers were four and all males. These were supplemented by three expatriate graduates notably Messrs Ulahannan, N. K. Shaw and M. C. Sreevalsan who waited for the expiry of their contracts on 31st March 1987, 30th September 1987 and 31st May 1988 respectively. Only then was Zambianisation fully and successfully implemented.

The implementation of Zambianisation policy among the academic staff at NIC did not undermine the standards of the institution. This achievement was anchored on two variables. Firstly, the technical staff never handled the academic classes on account of their diploma and certificate qualifications. The decision was arrived at with full realisation that the academic section was sensitive in that students were subjected to writing official public examinations. Instead, technical teachers were exclusively reserved to handle the technical and vocational courses.

Secondly, professional advancement was fully embraced at NIC. Zambian teachers with diplomas and certificates were encouraged to advance their knowledge to the recommended standard regardless of the section (academic or technical) they operated in. In the process, they acquired skills which enabled them take over positions from the expatriates. Examples of teachers who pursued further training are Messrs Syamayuwa, Mwale and Chileshe.⁵⁷ Mr Chileshe who later became HoD for the Academic Department executed his duties skilfully. It should be stressed therefore that expatriates played a pivotal role in the training of Zambians. Clause II of the Zambianisation policy confirmed that expatriate personnel were allowed entry into the country to do skilled jobs with assurance to the government that

⁵⁶ NIC/A/34, NIC Annual Returns for 1985, 17th June, 1985.

⁵⁷ NIC/A/34, Staff information return form for Term Three 1985, 18th October, 1985.

training of the citizens was undertaken in a systematic and orderly fashion.⁵⁸ The non-graduate teachers strictly handled junior classes while the graduates handled both junior and senior classes. The impact of Zambianisation on the academic staff at NIC is discussed below.

To begin with, Zambianisation facilitated the expansion of the College. The availability or presence of local technical teachers made it possible for the DTEVT to offer more technical and vocational courses in addition to the Agriculture Mechanics programme began in 1973. This is true of Messrs Syamayuwa, Mutuna and Sitali whose recruitment enabled the incorporation of Clerk Typing in January 1974, Shorthand Typing in July 1974 and later Automotive Mechanics in July 1981 respectively. The development contributed to the swelling of the enrolment level from 124 students in 1973 to 416 in 1974. The DTEVT Development and Planning Section confirmed the figure comprised of 320 academic students, 24 Clerk Typists, 24 Shorthand Typists, 16 Agricultural Mechanics and 32 Farm Machinery Operators.⁵⁹

Besides, the recruitment of more Zambian technical and subject teachers ensured sustainability of the programmes that already existed at the College. This is true of all the local teaching staff recruited in succeeding years. For example, the recruitment of Messrs Mazyopa and Miyanda in 1975 and 1977 respectively as well as Miss Shipunga in 1980 (secretarial instructors) enabled the continuity of both Clerk and Shorthand Typing Courses. Similarly, Mr Sakala who was recruited in 1980 contributed to the continuity of Agriculture Mechanics programme at the time when expatriate specialists were phased out at NIC. Moreover, the recruitment of Messrs Longa in July 1974, Kabwe and Kapasa in 1977 as well

⁵⁸ NAZ MSS1/18/006/2149, Zambianisation, 13th March, 1969.

⁵⁹ NIC/A/46, DTEVT Annual Statistics for 1974, 26th June, 1974.

as all other subject teachers in the later years equally sustained the provision of academic education at NIC.

In an event where skilled local teachers were not available to handle specific technical and vocational courses, sustainability was impossible. This is true of the Farm Machinery Operation Course which was no longer offered after producing two intakes in 1974. The breakdown of student enrolment at NIC in 1975 showed no reflection of the Farm Machinery Operation Course. Refer to table II in Chapter Two.⁶⁰ The negative development extended to succeeding years. According to DTEVT Development and Planning Section, the 1976 education statistics for NIC excluded Farm Machinery Operation Course.⁶¹ This was an indication that the programme was discontinued. The Automotive Mechanics Course was also not sustained after 1983 due to unavailability of the local skilled human resource. In that sense therefore, Zambianisation was retrogressive and detrimental to the International University Exchange Funds and the Government of the Republic of Zambia (IUEF-GRZ) Agreement discussed in the previous chapter. The adverse impact never yielded to the increased enrolments as earlier anticipated.

The administrative staff

Though not directly involved in the execution of educational knowledge to students, the administrative staff at NIC greatly contributed to the operations of the institution during the liberation period. In this study, administrative staff include the recreation and counselling officer, farm manager, nurse, bursar, accountant, maintenance supervisor, estate and plant maintenance officers, business manager, catering officer, librarian, stenographer, sports officer, hostel attendant, typist, clerical officer, stores officer, registrar and matron.

⁶⁰ NIC/A/32, Breakdown of students of NIC, 10th March, 1975.

⁶¹ NIC/A/46, DTEVT NIC 1976 enrolment by course and gender, 1976.

At inception, the AAI was responsible for recruitments of administrative staff required. The exercise took into consideration the trade and qualifications of the required officers. Zambia at the time lacked skilled human resource, thus the AAI sought the administrative personnel from elsewhere. Among the earliest recruited personnel was the maintenance supervisor, Mr Baines recruited in 1965. He ensured that various facilities of the newly established infrastructure functioned properly. Any points of weaknesses identified were worked on promptly. Another administrative worker recruited in 1965 was the business manager, Mr W. T. Watson.⁶² He helped the administration keep official records of students once admitted at NIC. Beginning from 1967, the business manager had an additional task of helping administration organise for the London University GCE examinations. In 1969, his duties were extended to include the organisation of the Pitman Institute examinations.⁶³

The librarian, Mr R. V. Martz was recruited in 1966. He arrived at NIC in April during the Easter holiday. At the time, a library centre was not yet opened with the Zambia Library Service (ZLS). However, a safe room with necessary facilities free from burglary, water, rats and book-eating insects existed.⁶⁴ Necessary books and educational materials were stocked which teachers and students conveniently used with aid from the librarian for consultative and study purposes. In that sense therefore, the librarian indirectly helped to improve the academic standards at the school.

With effect from 1969 through to 1970, Miss Georgia Berland acted as Counsellor for NIC. Her duties were mainly concerned with student affairs to create a good learning atmosphere at the institution. She dealt with any kind of misbehaviour among students. For example, Mr

⁶² NIC/D/81, Record of staff by Principal NIC, S. C. Govil, 21st January, 1977.

⁶³ NIC/D/81, Staff list, 21st January, 1977.

⁶⁴ NIC/A/28, Application for opening a library centre from Principal NIC, Mr James Glancy to the ZLS MoE, 9th December, 1969.

Kalt referred Jacob Siriya to Miss Berland for handling food with his hands and rude reaction upon being rebuked for appropriate advice before any form of punishment was administered.⁶⁵ She conducted counsellor-student interviews on account of students' poor performance and drew them to the areas of weakness. Interviews were also held towards completion of a course to determine further plans. For example, Jose Santos Da Silva and Fernando Dos Santos were recommended to the Institute of Book-Keepers at Evelyn Hone College for further Education after successful completion of the commercial studies programme at NIC in 1970. This kept the NIC secondary school graduates on track and helped them achieve their goals in life.

As earlier noted in this chapter, the administrative personnel at NIC were few in number during the early years and they were all expatriates. Like their counterparts in the teaching fraternity, they acquired work permits. Consequently, some administrative duties were performed by the academic staff to ensure smooth operations of the institution. For example, Mr Kalt helped as a catering officer alongside his teaching duties in 1969.⁶⁶ This was possible because the institution was still small in terms of infrastructure, enrolment levels and number of classes.

The inception of Zambianisation among the administrative staff at NIC was influenced by the transitional development of 1971. The development went with the creation of new posts and abolition of some old ones. This was coupled with the desire to expand the institution. For example, the post of the farm manager came into being. This was necessary considering the college farm which was acquired in 1971 as discussed in Chapter Two. Two other posts

⁶⁵ NIC Student file for Jacob Siriya, memorandum from Mr S. Kalt to the counsellor NIC, Miss Georgia Berland, 9th December, 1969.

⁶⁶ NIC Student file for Jacob Siriya, memorandum from Mr S. Kalt to the Counsellor NIC, 9th December, 1969.

created in place of the post of maintenance supervisor were those of the estate and plant maintenance officers.⁶⁷ This promoted efficiency in the manner work was conducted.

The CTEVT used volunteers to fill some of the administrative posts. Mr J. D. Erskine, Mr Ken W. May and Mrs May, the CUSO volunteers were appointed recreation and counselling officer, farm manager and agriculturalist and nurse respectively.⁶⁸ Mrs May was responsible for the welfare of the students, staff and their families to ensure they enjoyed good health. Mr May, the farm manager was in charge of all farm operations. In 1971, the farm was put into good use as about K7 000 was expected as income in 1972.⁶⁹ Mr Erskine, the recreation and counselling officer took over from Miss Berland. Similarly, Mrs Ritchie was appointed librarian thus took over from the previous librarian. Additionally, the CTEVT turned to the use of the local skilled human resource. Messrs J. Muchindu and J. N. Kamuti were recruited as bursar (and accountant at the same time) and plant maintenance officer respectively.⁷⁰ It was at this point that Zambianisation began among the administrative staff at NIC. Its immediate impact on NIC was a slight increase in the number of administrative workers in 1971 as compared to the previous years.

Zambianisation gained momentum in 1972 when more Zambian personnel were recruited to occupy the administrative vacancies that existed on the establishment. Messrs L. H. Choonga, G. Mulilo, H. H. Mulomba, K. K. Mweene and J. C. Singuluma were recruited as business manager, catering officer, typist, clerical officer and plant maintenance officers respectively. Miss C. Chitah was recruited as a secretary to the Principal while Mr D. Chulu acted as stores officer pending an official appointment. A further development in 1972 was that Mr

⁶⁷ NIC/A/39, NIC staff projection for 1972, 29th October, 1973.

⁶⁸ NIC/A/14, Minutes of the NIC Advisory committee meeting, 28th June, 1972.

⁶⁹ NIC/A/39, Staff projection, 29th October, 1973.

⁷⁰ NIC/A/39, Staff projection, 29th October, 1973.

Muchindu, the bursar for NIC was replaced by Mr E. E. Muwanei.⁷¹ Later Mr S. C. W. Makala took over from the latter. By the end of 1972 therefore, the administrative staff at the institution predominantly composed of Zambians. Only four posts were occupied by non-Zambians, notably Messrs Erskine and May, Mrs May and Mrs Ritchie. Zambianisation therefore accelerated recruitment of the administrative personnel to a reasonable number. This promoted efficiency in the manner work was carried out. Eventually, teachers were relieved of the additional administrative duties assigned to them. They concentrated on their academic duties which were to the betterment of the institution.

Moreover, the policy of Zambianisation at NIC was fully implemented during the administration of the DTEVT. This was because of the rise in the number of administrative staff in Zambia. Besides, TSC which was in charge of recruitment gave first priority to Zambian personnel as opposed to non-Zambians. This was in line with clause IV (c) of the Zambianisation policy referred to earlier in this chapter.

With the departure of the three CUSO volunteers from NIC in 1973, Mr Mutambalilo and Mrs Glancy (Indian) acted as farm manager and nurse respectively for administrative convenience.⁷² The former supervised all farm operations, allocated duties to the farm workers appropriately and helped the farm supervisor, Mr Siame B. Kanganga with his supervisory duties.⁷³ The latter however, hoped for an appointment as a nurse which never came her way as the post was eventually abolished on the establishment for NIC. The post of a nurse was subsequently taken over by the DTEVT on 1st May 1973 on demand that it be

⁷¹ Parliament Library box number 69, CTEVT Annual Report for 1972, p. 55.

⁷² NIC/D/81, Circular from Permanent Secretary, Personnel Division to Permanent Secretary MoH, 30th April, 1974.

⁷³ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the farm workers meeting, 25th June, 1975.

occupied by a registered nurse on secondment to the DTEVT by Ministry of Health (MoH).⁷⁴ This development culminated into full implementation of Zambianisation of the administrative staff at NIC as everyone else was Zambian.

It can therefore be deduced that Zambianisation at NIC accelerated faster among the administrative personnel than the academic staff. It started in 1971 and was successfully implemented by June 1973. This was because the sector required minimum qualifications such as certificates in trades affordable to the majority Zambians at the time. It raised the number of administrative staff at the institution thus promoted efficiency in the operations of the institution. This was because work was shared accordingly and carried out at a faster rate than before.

The contribution of general staff to Nkumbi International College

The general staff was the third category of workers at NIC. In the case of UNZA, Phiri recognised this group as the ‘other staff’.⁷⁵ The group comprised of the drivers, kitchen handy men, head cook, cleaners, farm workers, plumbers, mechanics, electricians, carpenters, painters, office orderlies, laboratory assistants, watchmen, bricklayers, sanitary officers, laundry men and assistant librarians. Though the general workers never participated directly in the execution of educational knowledge to the learners, they greatly contributed to the well-being and general operations of the institution during the liberation period. Their labour went a long way in ensuring the continuity of the programmes conducted at the college.

By virtue of being manual workers, the Zambianisation policy never applied to them. All that was required of this group was the use of their labour or energy. Among other duties, they were responsible for cleaning the general college surroundings, the administration block,

⁷⁴ NIC/D/81, Letter from Director DTEVT to Principal NIC, 23rd May, 1974.

⁷⁵ Phiri, *The Crisis of an African University*, p. 27.

hostels and student ablution blocks for sanitation purposes. They laundered for students, prepared meals in the kitchen and served the students in the dining hall. They provided the necessary farm labour in the growing of crops and rearing of animals in an effort to provide food for students.⁷⁶ The kind of work the general personnel undertook required very little or no form of specialisation and qualifications at all. The more they practiced, the more experience they gained.

Like any other group of workers, the general staff were few in number during the early times because the institution was still small. However, with effect from the early 1970s when NIC became a responsibility of the CTEVT and a little later the DTEVT, the institution experienced an increased demand of manual labour. The development went with the expansion works embarked on at the college. In 1971, NIC authorities employed 28 general workers of whom 27 were Zambians and one notably Mr Marriot Kasai who served as a tractor driver was a Rhodesian. In 1972, 20 more general staff were employed. Of these, 19 were Zambians and one was Rhodesian notably Mr Mathias N. Machingaiifa who worked as a kitchen handy man. In 1973, five more general personnel were engaged. As usual, the majority were Zambians. Only one notably Mr M. Chimanya who served as a driver was Rhodesian. A year later in 1974, 11 more manual workers were employed. Ten were Zambians and one was Rhodesian notably Mr C. M. G. Chirima who was engaged as a head cook.⁷⁷ By 1975, they were 66 general personnel at NIC of which four were Rhodesians.

The general personnel were recruited from nearby villages. This was because the NIC authorities did not cater for their accommodation. Undoubtedly, some refugees were considered for recruitment in fewer cases as reflected above. Rhodesian labourers too arranged for their accommodation in nearby villages. The wages of manual workers were

⁷⁶ NIC/D/81, MoE employment inquiry returns, August, 1975.

⁷⁷ NIC/D/81, Employment inquiry return, August 1975.

calculated on daily basis and met by college authorities. Therefore, as a source of employment and livelihood, the existence of the institution in the vicinity partially suggest that a cordial relationship prevailed with the surrounding community where the labour force was drawn.⁷⁸ However, there is no certainty as to what became of the labourers such as the painters engaged for the sole purpose of expansion works after the exercise.

The college authorities conducted promotional tests to determine the general workers worthy promoting when need arose. For example, Mr B. Siame Kanganga employed as a farm supervisor in 1971 was promoted to the position of farm manager in 1975 on the basis of his impressive hard work.⁷⁹ Other examples are that of Messrs Nickson Laishi, Nathan Nkhata and Peter Mambwe who were promoted to positions of office orderly, laboratory assistant and tractor driver respectively in 1976.⁸⁰ The promotions were then communicated to the DTEVT for implementation and the concerned workers became permanent and pensionable. Only then were their salaries paid by government.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the contribution of the people of Zambia in the provision of educational knowledge to learners at NIC and the general wellbeing of the institution during the era of the liberation of Southern Africa. This is achieved by examining the different roles played by some Zambians who served as academic, administrative and the general staff at NIC. The process of Zambianisation in the teaching fraternity at NIC began with the appearance of technical teachers who offered the incorporated technical and vocational

⁷⁸ Irene M. Sinyangwe, 'Attitude of Angolan Refugees and their Zambian Hosts towards Each Other', in Nsolo J. Mijere (ed.). *African Refugees and Human Rights in Host Countries: The Long-Term Demographic, Environmental, Economic, Social and Psychological Impacts of Angolan Refugees in Zambia* (New York: Vantage Press, 1995), pp. 132- 49.

⁷⁹ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the farm workers meeting, 25th June, 1975.

⁸⁰ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the non-teaching and administrative staff meeting, 29th June, 1976.

courses in 1973. With effect from 1974, the Zambian subject teachers handled academic classes on account of their degree and diploma qualifications. The positive development was achieved by the systematic and orderly training that the local human resource received from expatriates. Consequently, the latter were phased out as the former took over their right places. Zambian teachers began to occupy high administrative posts in 1979. Eventually, the entire administration was in their hands by May 1985. Full Zambianisation was implemented in 1988 when the contracts for expatriate personnel finally expired.

The chapter further argued that Zambianisation proceeded faster among the administrative staff as compared to the teaching fraternity at NIC. It commenced in 1971 and was fully implemented in 1973. This owed much to the recommended qualifications affordable to the majority Zambian citizens at the time. The manual workers were a source of labour for variously undertakings at NIC during the liberation period of Southern Africa. The category neither considered ones' qualifications nor specialisation. Thus it predominantly comprised of Zambians.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTRIBUTION OF NKUMBI INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

Introduction

The chapter assesses the contribution of Nkumbi International College (NIC) to Southern Africa during the liberation period. This is achieved through a careful examination of the involvement of the institution in educating and training of human resource and its strategic position in the region. NIC provided an isolated and suitable study environment for the refugees and adult Zambians. This enabled the former to acquire academic education at a time when their respective territories of origin faced colonial constraints. Learning at NIC was concluded with various official public examinations subjected to the students. The certificates awarded determined individual performance and facilitated admission to institutions of higher learning within Zambia and abroad.

The employment of refugee staff from the region at NIC complemented human resource needs in Zambia. The strategic position of the institution, through staff employment and admission of refugees, attempted to reduce the refugee population in the refugee residential areas and camps in the country so as to alleviate severe effects of bomb attacks on humanity. The institution contributed to the production of educated and trained human resource in Southern Africa through the provision of academic and tertiary education. Host Zambia benefited from NIC as some of her citizens were educated and trained at the institution. Some Zambian nationals educated and trained at NIC served in various sectors of the economy. The knowledge and skills acquired were further enhanced by professional advancement embarked on elsewhere.

Besides Zambia, Southern Africa in this study is limited to the territories of South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. Zambia is unique in that she hosted the institution on account of her independence gained much earlier than the rest and the political will of the leadership. In his description of Lusaka in the late 1970s, Ronnie Kasrils cited by Hugh Macmillan acknowledged that, 'geo-politically this country [Zambia] is placed at the strategic crossroads of the battle to liberate Southern Africa and Kaunda is foursquare behind us'.¹ Similarly, Wamburakwao J. Sapao attributed Zambia's post-colonial complex history as a country of asylum in Southern Africa to the commitment of her political leadership to the liberation of the region, among other aspects.²

The contribution of Nkumbi International College during the Liberation Period

NIC provided an isolated and suitable environment where some refugees and adult Zambians studied, free from intimidation by teenage students in government schools as a result of extreme age variations.³ The boarding facilities were still an attraction even as late as 1990 that Eita Christopher, John Tega Amakali, H. Nakasole and K. N. Kamati, the Namibian refugees who were initially admitted to Broadway Secondary School in Ndola got transferred to NIC.⁴ The refugees acquired necessary skills, attitudes and knowledge in preparation to take over from colonial regimes once independence was secured for their countries. Alphonse P. Nzoanene and Alphonse Kwafwuidiko from Angola confirmed in their application letter to NIC that:

¹ Ronnie Kasrils cited by Hugh Macmillan, 'The African National Congress of South Africa in Zambia: The Culture of Exile and the Changing Relationship with Home, 1964-1990', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (June 2009), pp. 307.

² Wamburakwao J. Sapao, 'A Social and Economic History of Displaced People: The Maheba Refugee Settlement Experience, 1971-1994', M A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1997, p. 26.

³ NIC/A/39, Report on the historical development of NIC by Principal NIC, Mr P. J. Ritchie, 28th May, 1972.

⁴ NIC/A/26, Letter from SWAPO to NIC administration, 9th August, 1990.

We consider education as the lever to uplift mankind and a tool of man in his battle against ignorance The age prevailing [liberation period] is characterised by numerous technological, social, economic and political changes we cannot face with confidence without a sound intellectual base.⁵

Eldridge commented that intensified demand for education among political refugees went with a belief and realisation that their countries were approaching independence and self-government of which they wanted to be part and parcel of.⁶

The refugees pursued their academic education at NIC at a time when the territories they originated from faced unfavourable colonial policies such as racial segregation and Bantu Education in South Africa and South West Africa. An example is that of Nahas Gideon Angula, a youth activist who was threatened with imprisonment by the apartheid regime in South West Africa. He left the territory in the company of his friends to join their compatriots in exile in order to fight for freedom.⁷ Angula stated that:

When I left Namibia, South Africa had imposed upon Namibia racial education called Bantu Education basically saying that the blacks cannot really master intellectual kinds of challenges. All professions were locked out, because you assumed that as a black person, you were not able to master those things. So as young people [we] were determined to prove this to be wrong.⁸

He came in Zambia as a political refugee during his twenties in 1966. Angula was privileged to foster his educational pursuit at NIC where he studied Forms Three, Four and Five from 1966 through to early 1968.

⁵ NIC Student file for Alphonse Philemon Nzoanene, application letter from A. P. Nzoanene and Alphonse Kwafwuidiko to the Principal NIC, Mr James Williams, 3rd July, 1969.

⁶ John Eldridge, 'Education and Training of Refugees and their Potential Contribution to Development', in Sven Hamrell (ed.). *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 67.

⁷ Personal Communication with Nahas Gideon Angula via email, Monday 22nd June, 2015.

⁸ Nahas Angula, MA'78 EdM'79- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4FVh6-cIOh0> # action = share. (Accessed on 4th May, 2015).

Similarly, white colonial legacy prompted Nangolo Nicanor Mbumba who is currently a minister in the Namibian cabinet to leave Oshigambo High School in South West Africa in December 1965. He went into exile at the age of 24 with a view to continue with his studies.

Mbumba observed that:

We left Namibia without passports or permission. But we were grounded in the politics of our movements. We knew we had a duty to stick to our principles and to our studies so that we could go back home and serve our people.⁹

Mbumba was admitted to NIC on 6th May 1966 where he studied for his senior secondary school course, particularly Form Five work. His general performance in all the subjects was exceptional and impressive throughout his stay at NIC on account of his adequate educational background. This is justified by several schools he attended in South West Africa notably Onupa Boys School, Onguediva Secondary School and Oshigambo High School and the qualifications obtained; the Standard VI and Junior Certificates in 1960 and 1963 respectively.¹⁰ The teachers' remarks about his performance at NIC in the evaluation period starting from 1st March to 25th June 1966 ranged from good, very good to excellent.¹¹ Similarly, the comments in the evaluation period that started from July and ended in September 1966 ranged from good to very good.¹² In the same vein, the remarks ranged from good, very good to excellent in the evaluation period that began from 11th October and ended on 23rd December 1966.¹³

⁹ AAI-Biennial-v4-REV-AAI-2004-2005pdf. <https://www.aaionline.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/AAI-2004-2005.pdf>. (Accessed on 5th May, 2015).

¹⁰ NIC Student file for Nangolo Nicanor Mbumba, record card, 6th May, 1966.

¹¹ NIC Student file for Nangolo Nicanor Mbumba, student evaluation forms, 6th, 28th and 29th June, 1966 and 5th July, 1966.

¹² NIC Student file for Nangolo Nicanor Mbumba, student evaluation forms, 7th, 11th, 16th and 18th October, 1966.

¹³ NIC Student file for Nangolo Nicanor Mbumba, student evaluation forms, 6th and 26th December, 1966 and 3rd January, 1967.

Another example is that of Joao Baptista Da Costa, the current Consul General or Ambassador of Angola in the Peoples' Republic of China. Political discontent caused by the Portuguese colonial regime in Angola forced Da Costa's way to Zambia where he was admitted to NIC in September 1967. By virtue of coming from a Portuguese speaking territory, he was compelled to undertake the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) course upon arrival. Da Costa confirmed that:

When we arrived at NIC, we had first a one year English course and then . . . we wrote an examination which qualified us into secondary school.¹⁴

As observed in the preceding chapters, the EFL course pursued by Da Costa was necessary in that it converted him from the Portuguese medium of instruction to English. Thus, he adapted to the Zambian system of education. Only then did he successfully study for his secondary school education with effect from 1969 through to November 1973.¹⁵

The learning process at NIC was summarised by various official public examinations subjected to students. Beginning from 1967, the London University General Certificate of Education (GCE) examinations was administered. Angula first attempted the London University GCE examinations in June 1967 when he made it in Biology, Geography, History and Mathematics.¹⁶ In January 1968, he under took the same examination for the second time and passed in English Literature.¹⁷ The Pitman Institute examinations were introduced in 1969. Fernando Ditu Dos Santos and Jose Santos Da Silva undertook the examinations in

¹⁴ Personal communication with Joao Baptista Da Costa via email, Thursday 2nd July, 2015.

¹⁵ Personal communication with Joao Baptista Da Costa via email, Tuesday 30th June, 2015.

¹⁶ NIC Student file for Nahas Angula, letter from the Vice Principal NIC, Mr P. C. Freund to Nahas Angula, 15th January, 1969.

¹⁷ NIC Student file for Nahas Angula, photocopy of the University of London General Certificate of Education, January, 1968.

November and December 1969.¹⁸ Since then, the two examinations ran alongside the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examinations (JSSLE) by Examination Council of Zambia (ECZ). The University of Cambridge examinations were adopted by 1974. Alphonse Nzoanene and Dacosta Alphonse Rana were among the other candidates who took part in that particular examination.¹⁹ The Grade 12 ECZ final examinations were administered beginning from 1984 as a follow up to the grade system introduced in the previous year.²⁰ Watson Kadwali was a candidate for that examination.

The certificates awarded thereafter determined individual performance and facilitated admission to higher institutions of learning within and outside Zambia. Among the refugees admitted to the institutions of higher learning within Zambia was Angula who secured a place at the University of Zambia (UNZA) in the School of Education in the 1968/1969 academic year.²¹ The African American Institute (AAI) sponsored his education under the Southern African Training Programme (SATP). He eventually acquired the education he needed and graduated from UNZA in 1973 with a Bachelor of Arts with Education degree (BA Ed).²² Lucas Kiwanuka, Emmanuel Landu and Alphonse Nzoanene of Angola are other examples of refugees from NIC admitted to various schools at UNZA as reflected in the table below:

¹⁸ NIC Student files for Fernando Ditu Dos Santos and Jose Santos Da Silva, photocopies of Pitman Examination Certificates, November/December, 1969 and June, 1970.

¹⁹ NIC Student files for Alphonse Nzoanene and Dacosta Alphonse Rana, photocopies of the University of Cambridge school certificate, 26th March, 1975.

²⁰ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the teachers' meeting, 18th February, 1983.

²¹ NIC/F/9, Speech by SWAPO students' representative of the one year English and managerial skills course, Lazarous Kornelius, 15th April, 1988.

²² Communication with Mr Angula, 21st June, 2015.

Table III: An extract from the University of Zambia, 1975/6 academic year selection list

SECONDARY SCHOOL	NAME	UNZA SCHOOL
Nkumbi International	Chagomelanya Joy E.	Humanities & Social Sciences
Nkumbi International	Kiwanuka Lucas P. K.	Humanities & Social Sciences
Nkumbi International	Landu Emmanuel A.	Natural Sciences
Nkumbi International	Ngandu Reynolds S. K.	Natural Sciences
Nkumbi International	Nzoanene P. Alphonse	Natural Sciences

Source: NIC/A/46

Besides, Gerald Fabian Haule of Mozambique was enrolled at Evelyn Hone College of Further Education where he studied journalism in 1969.²³ Da Silva and Dos Santos were admitted to the Institute of Book Keepers at Evelyn Hone College of Further Education in 1970.²⁴

Mbumba is an example of the refugees who studied at NIC who later pursued professional development studies at institutions of higher learning abroad. He was admitted to Southern Connecticut State College in the United States of America (USA) in September 1968 where he pursued a Bachelor of Science (B Sc) degree programme. The AAI offered him a scholarship. Mbumba noted that, ‘the AAI scholarship provided hope for me and many other young exiles from Namibia in the 1960s’.²⁵ Realising that he was almost done with the undergraduate studies, Mbumba applied for a United Nations (UN) scholarship to pursue a masters’ degree at the University of Connecticut in January 1971. Upon graduating from

²³ NIC Student file for Gerald Fabian Haule, letter from NIC acting Principal to Immigration Headquarters Lusaka, 8th May, 1969.

²⁴ NIC Student file for Jose Santos Da Silva, to Principal NIC, 20th November, 1970.

²⁵ AAI-Biennial-v4-REV-AAI-2004-2005pdf. <https://www.aaionline.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/AAI-2004-2005.pdf>. (Accessed on 5th May, 2015).

Southern Connecticut State College with a B Sc degree, he immediately enrolled for a Master of Science (M Sc) in Biology programme at the University of Connecticut as his scholarship was already approved by UN. Two years later in 1973, he graduated with the M Sc degree in Biology.²⁶

Another example is that of Da Costa who studied International Political Relations at the Law Faculty of Charles University in Prague in the Czechoslovakia Socialist Republic. The government of Czechoslovakia sponsored his four years programme which commenced on 3rd December 1973 and ended in October 1977. He finally graduated with a bachelors' degree on 26th October 1977.²⁷ It is therefore justifiable that NIC, through the provision of academic education, laid a foundation or base on which profession development was anchored.

Upon completion of professional studies, the refugees were engaged by host governments as they waited for their respective territories to be liberated. There was need to complement the human resource needs of the host countries without creating unnecessary competition with citizens.²⁸ Angula worked for Radio Zambia in 1973 as a broadcaster.²⁹ This was necessary because Radio Zambia ran an extension programme called 'The Voice of Namibia' that was transmitted into Namibia. It was conducted in the Namibian local languages of which Zambian announcers hardly understood and spoke.³⁰ The input of Angula was thus critical. The programme was a mechanism through which South West African Peoples' Organisation

²⁶ NIC Student file for Nangolo Nicanor Mbumba, letter from Nangolo N. Mbumba to the Principal NIC, 26th January, 1971.

²⁷ Personal communication with Joao Baptista Da Costa via email, Thursday 9th July, 2015.

²⁸ T. Peter Omari, 'From Refugee to *Émigré*: African Solutions to the Refugee Problem' in Sven Hamrell (ed.), *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 94.

²⁹ Nahas Angula, Prime Minister of Namibia.

www.tc.columbia.edu/admin/125/moments.asp?id=8998. (Accessed on 4th May, 2015).

³⁰ Private interview with Watson Kadwali in Lusaka, Monday 10th June, 2015.

(SWAPO) in exile communicated to the people in Namibia. Angula stressed that, ‘I was broadcasting revolutionary messages to the youth of Namibia at home’.³¹ The privilege equipped him with technical expertise in the field of media. This was in line with Eldridge’s observation that employment of African political refugees after completion of their studies enabled them to grow in stature, gain the necessary experience and contribute their talents to Africa as a whole.³² Indeed, the platform enabled Angula to perfect his acquired skills before implementing them to the full benefit of Namibia.

He later used the knowledge and experience gained from Radio Zambia to foster the educational development ideals in Namibia shortly after independence in his capacity as the first Minister of Education, Sport and Culture. Consequently, together with other stakeholders, they triumphantly built a modern integrated education system across the nation with diverse ethnic groups far apart. The low-cost technologies deployed such as the radio and later computers fostered equity educational access to all Namibian citizens. Angula stated that:

My assignment both during and after the long, protracted struggle leading to Namibia’s independence was to make sure that the structures and dehumanising impact of apartheid education were eliminated, and an equitable national system of Education was put in place. AAI provided me with an education and SWAPO’s leadership made sure that I put that education to use for the benefit of the Namibian people. I am grateful to both!³³

Similarly, Mbumba was employed as a teacher of Science at Harlem Preparatory School in New York. The institution served as a training ground where he practised the acquired skills in the fields of education and science before he extended his service to the people of his country. It was an opportunity that provided him with vast experience of how education was

³¹ Communication with Mr Angula, 22nd June, 2015.

³² John Eldridge, ‘Education and Training’, p. 72.

³³ AAI-Biennial-v4-REV-AAI-2004-2000pdf. <https://www.aaionline.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/AAI-2004-2005.pdf>. (Accessed on 5th May, 2015).

conducted elsewhere. Evidently, upon his return to Africa, Mbumba served as a Head of the Science Department at the Namibian Education Centre in Cuanza Sul in Angola. Two years later, he was promoted to the position of Principal, the post he held till 1985. Mbumba served as Minister of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development for independent Namibia with effect from 1993.³⁴

NIC offered employment to some of the refugees from Southern Africa during the liberation period. For instance, Messrs M. P. Murimirwa and F. Madzima from Southern Rhodesian were engaged as teachers of Science and Geography in 1969 and 1971 respectively.³⁵ Philemon T. Makonese showed that the incident was influenced by the expulsion of 1,000 African teachers from their posts in Southern Rhodesia in 1968 by the Smith regime.³⁶ The other one was Slim Zindella, a South African employed as a teacher of English in 1971.³⁷ Among the Rhodesian general workers were Marriot Kasai who was engaged as a tractor driver in 1971, Mathias N. Machingaifa as a kitchen handy man in 1972, C. M. G. Chirima as a head cook in 1973 and M. Chimanya, as a driver in 1974.³⁸ The development falls in with Flip de Haan's observation that Zambia attracted contract workers during the liberation period.³⁹ In as much as they complemented the human resource needs in Zambia, the experience gained from NIC broadened their horizons.

³⁴ AAI-Biennial v4-REV-AAI-2000pdf. <https://www.aaionline.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/AAI-2004-2005.pdf>. (Accessed on 5th May, 2015).

³⁵ NIC/A/46, NIC staff information return for Term Two 1976, 6th May, 1976.

³⁶ Philemon T. Makonese, 'ZAPU and the Liberation of Zimbabwe', *African Quarterly: A Journal of African Affairs*, Vol. X, No. 1 (April-June 1970), pp. 48-9.

³⁷ NIC/A/46, NIC staff return for Term Two 1976, 6th May, 1976.

³⁸ NIC/D/81, Employment inquiry return, August 1975.

³⁹ Flip de Haan, 'Refugees', in Tom Draisma and Ella Kruzinga (eds.). *Inside Zambia, 1964-2004* (The Hague and Wageningen: Cordaid/ICCo/NCDO/Werkgroep Zambia, 2004), p. 77.

Moreover, residential areas and camps for the refugees in Zambia were susceptible to bomb attacks during the liberation period. Undeniably, a massive loss of lives and injuries sustained from Rhodesian attacks on ZAPU's Freedom camp at Chikumbi on 18th October 1978 were devastating.⁴⁰ David Nkhata elaborated that many freedom fighters and innocent Zambians were killed by Ian Smith's selous scouts at Chikumbi through hut pursuit. Upon bombing the camp, the scouts pursued the freedom fighters that took refuge in the local villages and shot at whoever they encountered regardless of their nationality, sex and age. Alick Nkhata, David's father and a broadcaster who had visited Chikumbi on personal business is an example of the people who lost their lives.⁴¹

Strategically therefore, some refugees were drawn from various camps and Lusaka and then dispersed in groups to different areas of the country. In case of NIC, this occurred in form of refugee staff employment and student admission. For example, students like Nyambe Waluwa and Veronica Kulu were from Mayukwayukwa, Domingo Karo from Maheba and Abilo Amilcar from Ukwimi in 1990.⁴² Mario Fombe, Fulayi Samiyombo and Stewart Masimong were equally from Ukwimi.⁴³ To that extent therefore, student admission as well as staff employment of refugees at NIC were security measures embarked on in an attempt to reduce the refugee population in residential areas and camps so as to lessen severe effects of attacks on humanity in Zambia in case of eventualities.⁴⁴ Besides, the rooftop of NIC was

⁴⁰ Hugh Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years; The ANC in Exile in Zambia 1963-1994* (Sunnyside: Jacana Media Private Limited, 2013), p. 127.

⁴¹ Private interview with David Nkhata in Mkushi, Monday 26th January, 2015.

⁴² NIC/A/26, Payment list for check No. 03854, 20th September, 1990.

⁴³ NIC/A/26, Payment list for check No. 393545, 22nd October, 1990.

⁴⁴ Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years*, p. 42. See also Fay Chung, *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (Harare: The Nordic African Institute; Uppsala and Weaver Press, 2006), p. 224.

painted green and tall trees around the vicinity were never cut to disguise the institution from above for security reasons.⁴⁵

Though in a slightly different situation and on a small scale, the principle of scattering groups of individuals wide apart was adopted by refugees from Southern Rhodesia who took refuge in Mozambique during the liberation period for security reasons. Fay Chung stated that:

At Matenje, the classrooms were literally grass shelters under trees. All classes had desks and benches made of bamboo, which was in plentiful supply in the area. They were situated around the periphery of the camp, one or two kilometres apart from each other. Supervisors had to walk about ½ an hour to the next class. The idea behind this wide scattering of classes was to avoid a direct hit by bombs on a considerable number of students at any one time . . . the strategy of scattering the classes worked very effectively: The Rhodesian reconnaissance system easily identified the camp itself, but as there were very few people in the camp during the day, the frequent bomb attacks led to few casualties.⁴⁶

The Luthuli Detachment equally applied the principle during the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns of 1967 for security against the Rhodesian and South African forces. Macmillan recorded that:

. . . aerial surveillance was stepped up and the members of his [Hani's] group became aware that spotter planes were searching for them. They had in any case found that there was much less bush cover than they expected, and had taken to marching at night. They marched with scouts and outliers, with the main body of men broken up into small groups. Every morning they scattered in a defensive circle and dug themselves into shallow trenches and foxholes.⁴⁷

Eventually, refugee student admission at NIC attempted to reduce the refugee population in Lusaka and various refugee camps. Cato Aall acknowledged that some Angolan refugees destined to pursue professional development studies elsewhere studied EFL at NIC as their sponsorships were being finalised by IUEF.⁴⁸ In that sense therefore, they did not only

⁴⁵ Interview with Kadwali, 10th June, 2015.

⁴⁶ Chung, *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga*, p. 224.

⁴⁷ Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years*, p. 42.

⁴⁸ Cato Aall, 'Refugee Problems in Southern Africa', in Sven Hamrell (ed.). *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 35.

acquire the necessary linguistic skills but were kept out of Lusaka. The mechanism however proved ineffective among the South Africans who lived in Lusaka during the liberation period. This was because their preference to urban life particularly in Lusaka to elsewhere cut across all the social classes. Worse still, more South Africans from Angola and their homeland continuously flocked into the Zambian Capital City during the 1980s. Macmillan observed that:

The ANC population in Lusaka continued to grow rapidly in the second half of the 1980s. It reached 1,100 in February 1986, 1,500 by the end of 1987, 2,000 by the end of 1988 and nearly 4,000 by the time of the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990.⁴⁹

It was only in 1990 that a reduction in the ANC population was realised when repatriation became possible.

Apart from being a source of employment for her people, as alluded to in the preceding chapter, Zambia benefitted from hosting NIC in terms of human resource development. Some Zambian citizens were educated and trained at NIC during the liberation period. Such Zambians served in either the private or public sectors of the Zambian economy later in life. Kadwali is an example of an adult Zambian who studied alongside the refugees at NIC. His delayed educational progress owed much to the severe burns he sustained on both legs after completion of his primary education in 1975 at Lubanga-Shabongwe Primary School in Namwala District. The accident left him incapacitated and out of school for four years. It was in 1979 that Kadwali learnt of NIC through a newspaper advert which he responded to with full realisation and appreciation of his adult age. He was then invited for interviews of which he attended at Kabwe Trades Training Institute (TTI). Kadwali stated that he was 20 years old in 1980 when he resumed school.⁵⁰ He was among the 30 Zambian students that

⁴⁹ Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years*, pp. 174, 186, 226 and 228.

⁵⁰ Interview with Kadwali, 10th June, 2015.

constituted the Form One intake of 1980 at NIC. He studied Forms One, Two and Three as well as Grades Eleven and Twelve from 1980 through to 1984.⁵¹ Evidently therefore, NIC contributed to the formative years of some adult Zambians during the liberation period.

Kadwali was employed by Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) as a trainee announcer in 1989 on the basis of his academic education acquired from NIC. He operated from Mass Media in Lusaka where he made announcements of already made programmes. In a space of six months, he was confirmed in his appointment as an announcer. Kadwali became so acquainted with his job that he earned promotion as a producer in 1995, thereby skipping the position of senior announcer.

Kadwali was then charged with more challenging responsibilities as a producer. He planned, initiated and collected inserts for programmes. He did not only research and analyse materials before they went on air but wrote scripts and edited programmes for onward transmission. He conducted studio and field interviews for broadcast. He translated programmes' materials from local language (Chitonga) into English and vice versa. He recorded programmes and presented live ones such as those that covered political rallies and football commentary. He prepared budgets, allocated costs to programmes and marketed the Tonga community based programmes.⁵² He also acted as a public relations agent for the corporation. This was through his interactions with different people as a result of the programmes he conducted. As a news reader, he conveyed information to different people of various backgrounds.

With effect from October 1995, Kadwali studied as a full-fledged broadcaster at the African Institute for Broadcasting in English in Egypt. He graduated with a Diploma in Broadcasting Ethics after nine months and returned home where he continued rendering his service to

⁵¹ NIC/A/41, Minutes of the NIC teachers' meeting, 18th February, 1983.

⁵² Interview with Kadwali, 10th June, 2015.

ZNBC. He was transferred from Lusaka to Kitwe as a producer for Radio II in 1997. There were eight producers all together for various languages of which Kadwali particularly served for the English language.⁵³

In his career as a broadcaster, Kadwali was a public educator, informer and entertainer who contributed to the social development of Zambia. He sensitised, educated and promoted public awareness on different aspects of social life. For instance, the weekly programme ‘Today’s Guest’ taught the listeners that through hard work, people made it in life despite their humble background. Honourable Luxon Kazabu, the current Member of Parliament (MP) for Nkana Constituency in Kitwe under Patriotic Front (PF) and a guest for one segment, was once a *kacema* (herdsman) in Musokotwane Chiefdom. At the time of the interview, he was the Director of Human Resource at Zambia Bottlers Company in Kitwe after acquiring a degree from UNZA. The weekly programme ‘Artist of the Week’ promoted art of different kinds in the country. The late Patson Chisenga, by then leader of the Serenje *kalindula* band explained how it developed as a small entity that entertained villagers during beer parties in rural Serenje to a renowned band when they moved to the Copperbelt where they acquired better equipment. In another weekly programme ‘Meet the Diplomat’, Professor Simon Kulusika by then Sudanese Ambassador to Zambia and a guest for one segment highlighted on the level of diplomatic relations that existed between Zambia and Sudan. Professor Kulusika was further invited by the Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies at UNZA to give a talk on the same topic as a follow up to the programme.⁵⁴ Such phone in programmes provided the necessary detail that went a long way in clarifying some aspects in the public domain.

⁵³ Interview with Kadwali, 10th June, 2015.

⁵⁴ Private interview with Watson Kadwali in Lusaka, Friday 6th November, 2015.

Kadwali's effort in disseminating educative information to the general public had an impact. This is justified by a song entitled '*Lesá Alemipala*' meaning God should continue blessing you in which Wisdom Destroyer Nkandu of the Serenje *kalindula* band honoured Kadwali. Refer to Appendix II.⁵⁵ Nkandu appreciated and commended Kadwali for his abilities. However, this is neither to undermine the effort of other employees of ZNBC at the time nor those mentioned in the song.

Other examples of local trained human resource produced at NIC during the liberation period are Andrew Kasanda Syili, the current Principal for Kabwe Institute of Technology Education (KITE), Elias Mulemba, the current Head of Department (HoD) for the Agriculture Department at NIC and Absalom Moyo, a private entrepreneur in Lusaka who trained in Agriculture Mechanics. By virtue of being Zambians, the trio initially pursued the Basic Training Course at Mansa TTI, Kabwe TTI and Livingstone TTI respectively from January to June 1976. This preliminary programme was not offered at NIC because the institution was initially meant for refugees.

The trio was assigned to specialise in Agriculture Mechanics at Livingstone TTI. Thus, the first six months of their training from July to December 1976 was covered from there. Thereafter the whole class of 16 students was transferred to NIC in January 1977 like their predecessors, where the bulk of the workload was covered from. The transfer was necessary because Livingstone TTI lacked adequate training equipment and facilities as well as adequately qualified practical instructors who were available at NIC partly as a result of aid received from the UN and other international organisations. Besides, the practical instructor and Germany volunteer, George Landau contracted at the onset of 1977 among others was

⁵⁵ Wisdom Destroyer Nkandu, '*Lesá alemipala*' in *Fwebene Baino Mpanga* album, 2004.

adequately qualified to handle the practical part of the course.⁵⁶ Thus, the practical lessons at NIC were much more concrete as compared to Livingstone TTI. Tor Langas acknowledged that:

One of the conditions of taking in students at the L.T.T.I. [Livingstone TTI] Agricultural Mechanics Course last year was that we should do the training for six months or one year provided we could get the necessary facilities. The intention was that they would proceed to Nkumbi International College for further training. The arrangement was also due to lack of [qualified] teachers at our L.T.T.I. section.⁵⁷

Consequently, some topics such as forging which demanded that students learn how to make spare parts like bolts and nuts for various agriculture equipment as well as whole equipment like ox drawn ploughs were completely neglected.⁵⁸ The Principal at NIC confirmed that the intake lagged behind in the fields of instruction such as Technical Drawing.⁵⁹ Thus, a six months extension of the instruction period was inevitable.⁶⁰ The course was finally completed in December 1978 instead of July that same year. This enabled all the fields of instruction to be tackled appropriately.

As earlier stated, the tertiary education offered at NIC during the liberation period contributed to the development of trained human resource in Zambia. Syili worked as a mechanic for Kawambwa Tea Company which fell under Rural Development Co-operation from June 1979 to 1984. He repaired the equipment that the company used which ensured continued

⁵⁶ NIC/ D/81, NIC staff information return for Term One 1977, 26th January, 1977.

⁵⁷ NIC/F/16, Letter from a lecturer at Livingstone TTI, Mr Tor Langas to acting Deputy Director DTEVT, Mr G. Mwitwa, 9th July, 1976.

⁵⁸ Private interview with Absalom Moyo in Lusaka, Monday 1st June, 2015.

⁵⁹ NIC/F/16, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White to the Director DTEVT, 27th April, 1977.

⁶⁰ NIC/F/16, Letter from Principal NIC, Mr S. W. White to the Director DTEVT, 20th May, 1977.

production.⁶¹ In 1985, Syili was deployed by government as a technical teacher at Kabwe TTI where he offered Automotive Mechanics and Electrical Courses. He was promoted to the position of HoD for Extension Studies in the same year 1985. In that capacity, his major concern was the provision of education to people who were not catered for under government bursary as some were already independent. The department was a mechanism through which technical and vocational education was made accessible to the rest of the people not considered under government selection. However, students not catered for under government bursary pursued the same courses that regular students took though separately.

Syili contributed to Zambian national development in that he participated in the production of skilled human resource. Some of the people he trained ventured into entrepreneurship while others served in different sectors of the government. Others still combined the former and the latter. For example, Honourable Moses Chishimba the current MP for Kamfinsa Constituency in Kitwe under PF was one of the people Syili trained in Automotive Mechanics and Electrical Courses. Chishimba started his own business based on the skills acquired after completion as a source of livelihood. He later joined politics.⁶²

Syili embarked on professional advancement to broaden his knowledge. No sooner did he become a technical teacher in 1985 than he pursued the Technical Education Course at Technical and Vocational Teachers' College (TVTC) in Luanshya. The one year Technical Education diploma programme equipped him with the necessary and vital educational skills for his teaching career. Later in 1992, Syili went to Japan where he pursued the Automotive Mechanics and Electrical Courses at an advanced level. He graduated with an Advanced

⁶¹ Private interview with Andrew Kasanda Syili in Kabwe, Monday 18th May, 2015.

⁶² Interview with Syili, 18th May, 2015.

Certificate in Automotive Mechanics and Electric.⁶³ His professional advancement extended to the post-liberation period during which he obtained his bachelors and masters degrees.

Similarly, Mulemba was engaged by several parastatal companies beginning with Zambia Sugar Company, then Power Electrical Company and lastly Contract Haulage. He was then deployed in the Ministry of Agriculture as a workshop supervisor at Zambia College of Agriculture (ZCA) in Mpika in 1979. Mulemba then earned promotion as a Practical Instructor right at ZCA in Mpika where he offered Surveying, Physics and Farm Power and Machinery, courses which constituted part of the General Agriculture Course.⁶⁴

At that point, Mulemba contributed to Zambian national development in that he fostered human resource development in the field of agriculture. The fact that he trained a number of students who pursued the General Agriculture Course at Mpika before and after his retirement in 1990 served that purpose. George Manda who later became a Manager for Omnia Fertilisers Limited Company in Mkushi was one of his students at Mpika. Another example is that of Desdelious Musonda who was in charge of the Fisheries Department in Mkushi and Serenje Districts.⁶⁵ However, this is not to downplay the effort of other lecturers at ZCA in Mpika at the time. Mulemba pursued a further three year Agriculture Engineering programme at Natural Resources Development College (NRDC) in 1989 to widen his knowledge. Thus, he graduated in 1991 with a Diploma in Agriculture Engineering. Since he was already retired by then, he served as a part-time lecturer at ZCA in Mpika.

Moyo was also engaged by Livingstone Motor Assembly plant upon completion on assumption that it was diversifying from just assembling cars to agricultural equipment such as tractors, planters, harvesters and ploughs. By virtue of his training, Moyo was intended to

⁶³ Interview with Syili, 18th May, 2015.

⁶⁴ Private interview with Elias Mulemba in Mkushi, Wednesday 13th May, 2015.

⁶⁵ Interview with Mulemba, 13th May, 2015.

open the new section. However, the project never materialised because increased foreign exchange rates proved expensive for the plant to run both projects. Thus, he was re-deployed in one of the production lines in the Quality Control Department as an inspector. He participated in the actual assembling of different Complete Knocked Down parts (CKDs) imported from Italy.⁶⁶ He was promoted as a supervisor in the final inspection section in the Quality Control Department in 1982. He inspected the quality of the produced cars and made recommendations. Moyo became a foreman of the department in 1985. As this was a supervisory role, he was in charge of supervisors of different production lines.

In 1989, he was transferred to Lusaka on promotion as an Assistant Manager for the After Sales Service Department. At this point, he became an administrator and head of the Lusaka branch which sold spare parts for different brands of vehicles. The plant assembled vehicles such as K B 26 Isuzu, Fiat, Peugeot, Mercedes Benz and Mazda.⁶⁷ Consequently, Moyo interacted with many customers at both individual and company levels. He was a link between the customers and the plant. He attended to customer complaints and warrant problems. He worked on broken down cars and gave advice where it was due. He then provided feedback to the factory in respect to the produced cars.

Moyo contributed to national development in that he trained workers from companies such as Duly Motors, Thomas Motors (an Italian company) and Incar Zambia which obtained fleets of vehicles from Livingstone Motor Assembly. He imparted relevant knowledge into the people related to the maintenance and care of various vehicles obtained from the plant. Sometimes, Moyo was invited by industries to solely train the employees. For example, he spent two months in Ndola at Swap Spinning Mills where he provided the expert knowledge with regards to machinery operation and maintenance. The knowledge provided by Moyo

⁶⁶ Interview with Moyo, 1st June, 2015.

⁶⁷ Interview with Moyo, 1st June, 2015.

ensured continuity in production in both instances. Moyo pursued a six months Automotive Mechanics Course at Northern Technical College (Nortec) where he graduated with a Diploma in 1982.⁶⁸ Evidently therefore, NIC played a role in alleviating the acute shortages of skilled labour experienced by Zambia during the early years of her independence. This was realised through the technical and vocational training the institution offered.

Conclusion

The chapter has examined the contribution of NIC to Southern Africa during the liberation period. It demonstrated that NIC provided an isolated and suitable environment where some refugees from Southern Africa and adult Zambians studied during the liberation period, on account of their adult age. The former acquired academic education at a time when their respective territories of origin were bound by unfavourable colonial policies. The refugees who succeeded in their pursuit of academic education at NIC were later admitted to institutions of higher learning both in Zambia and abroad.

The chapter showed that the refugees employed at NIC during the liberation period complemented the human resource needs in Zambia. Consequently, staff employment and student admission of refugees at NIC became strategic security measures that attempted to reduce the refugee population in various camps and Lusaka in order to minimize the severe impact of attacks on humanity. Eventually, NIC contributed to the production of educated and trained human resource in Southern Africa through the provision of academic and tertiary education. The local human resource educated and trained at NIC served in both the private and public sectors of the Zambian economy. The knowledge acquired was further enhanced by professional advancement studies embarked on elsewhere.

⁶⁸ Interview with Moyo, 1st June, 2015.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Our study has documented a history of Nkumbi International College (NIC) in the era of the liberation of Southern Africa from 1965 to 1994. It had three objectives. Firstly, it set to examine the establishment and expansion of NIC during the era of the liberation. Secondly, the study sought to examine the process and role of Zambianisation Policy on NIC. Lastly, it set to assess the contribution of NIC to Southern Africa during the liberation period. Several conclusions emerged from the study with regards to Zambia's role and contribution to Southern Africa from the educational perspective as well as her benefit from hosting a refugee institution during the liberation period.

To begin with, Zambia provided land in Chief Chitina's area of Mkushi District on which NIC, a refugee educational institution was built. As an extension of the African American Institute (AAI) educational project, NIC principally serviced the refugees from Southern Africa during the initial years of its existence. Some refugees from the non-independent territories of Namibia, South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique attended school at NIC. The male refugees outnumbered their female counterparts.

The evaluation instruments administered periodically at NIC exposed the capabilities and inabilities of refugee students, owing to their different educational backgrounds. Some refugees never coped with the demands of academic education despite the incorporation of remedial programmes. Such students had their sponsorship withdrawn and eventually dropped out of the college. However, other refugees flourished in their pursuit for education, thereby rendering the NIC project satisfactory. In that sense therefore, NIC acted as a beacon of development for the refugees who advanced their education in institutions of higher learning elsewhere. Besides, the expansion of NIC to bring in technical and vocational

training did not only offer the refugees an opportunity to further their education but enabled them to acquire skills critical for the development of their countries of origin. Some former refugee students of NIC served in various government positions of their countries after independence.

However, Zambia benefitted from NIC in that a few of her adult citizens whose age matched with that of the refugees were privileged to continue with secondary education. The development was tailored to assist in raising the educational levels of the citizens of newly independent Zambia. The introduction of tertiary education at NIC saw a larger portion of the total student enrolment allocated to Zambia. Of the anticipated 400 and eventually 500 student capacities, the total percentage of 40 and 60 were allocated to the refugees and Zambians respectively. However, the former was not realised partially as a result of challenges associated with refugee recruitment. The screening process hindered the admission of some prospective refugee candidates on account of their poor primary educational background. The predicament was only solved by the commencement of the Basic Training course in the late 1970s, though to a lesser extent. Consequently, to Zambia's advantage, the local students constituted more than 60 per cent of the total enrolments of the institution in the later years.

Another conclusion drawn from the study is that the people of Zambia variously contributed to the successful implementation of the prime goal of the institution during the liberation period. From inception in 1965 through to the end of the liberation period, Zambians predominantly provided manual labour for different undertakings at the college. The category attracted minimal or no form of qualification or specialisation. The local human resource executed administrative duties beginning from 1971. This was on account of their trades and minimal qualifications affordable to the majority at the time. Full Zambianisation among the administrative staff was however realised by June 1973.

Moreover, the presence of Zambian technical staff at NIC with effect from July 1973 facilitated the expansion of the institution. The incorporation and sustainability of some technical and vocational programmes largely depended on the input of the local staff. Some courses were either discontinued or never commenced at all due to non-availability of the local technical staff. With effect from 1974, Zambians offered academic education at NIC on the basis of their degrees and diplomas obtained from the University of Zambia (UNZA) and teacher training colleges respectively. The local academic staff participated in the administration of the institution since 1979. Eventually, the entire administration of NIC rested on the shoulders of the Zambians by May 1985. Full Zambianisation was implemented in May 1988 when the contracts for expatriates finally expired.

The development did not undermine the standards of the college on account of the devised valuables. Firstly, the technical staff never handled the academic classes on account of their diploma and certificate qualifications. The academic section was sensitive in that the students wrote official public examinations. Instead, technical teachers strictly offered the incorporated technical and vocational courses. Secondly, professional advancement was fully embraced at the institution. Zambian academic staff with diplomas and certificates were encouraged to advance their knowledge to the recommended standard regardless of the section they operated in. Eventually, they acquired skills which enabled them take over posts from the expatriates.

The Zambianisation policy was a strategy through which the Zambian government deliberately created jobs in the country for the citizens. The vacancies created at NIC were eventually occupied by the local human resource qualified for the purpose. Consequently, Zambia benefitted from hosting NIC in that the institution was a source of employment for the local people. The Zambianisation policy was however not a hindrance to refugee training and education at NIC in that the local staff engaged were qualified. Among the factors that

hindered refugees' progress at NIC were the low calibre of some students and psychological effects of their experiences in liberation struggles.

The other conclusion reached by the study is that Zambia provided an atmosphere conducive for the education and training of human resource from Southern Africa during the liberation period. As an isolated and suitable study environment for the refugees and adult Zambians, NIC enabled the former to pursue academic education at a time when the territories they originated from were bound by colonial constraints. Various official public examinations undertaken gauged individual performance as reflected by the certificates acquired, which later facilitated admission to higher learning institutions within Zambia and abroad.

Through refugee student admission and staff employment, NIC strategically attempted to reduce the refugee population in respective residential areas and various camps. The essence was to alleviate the adverse impact of attack on humanity in Zambia in case of eventualities during the liberation period. The local human resource educated and trained at NIC during the liberation period served in both the private and public sectors of the country.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Projected training programmes for NIC

- (i) *Continuation of academic secondary programme to Form V for five years:* (refugee, foreign and adult Zambian students).
- (ii) *Basic Education:* in English for students whose mother tongue is other than English (including African Languages) with Mathematics and Science for upgrading to succeed in any training programme.
- (iii) *Commercial & Business Education:* Entry level Form II and of two years duration in Typing, Shorthand, Book-Keeping and Office-Practice.
- (iv) *Surveying:* Entry level Form III or higher of two years duration preparing students for employment as an assistant to a registered surveyor.
- (v) *Cartography:* Entry level Form III or higher of two years duration to develop competence as map draughtsmen using modern techniques including photogrammetry for employment in municipal and central government offices.
- (vi) *Automotive & Farm Machinery Repair;* Agricultural/ General/ Static Plant Mechanics. Educational entry point and course details to be finalized.
- (vii) *Agricultural Equipment Operators:* Entry point Grade VI or better. Duration four to six months. Essentially a preventative and operating maintenance programme.
- (viii) *Irrigation Assistants:* Entrance Form II with course of two years duration in operation and maintenance of equipment for irrigation and management of water resources for dry land agricultural purposes.
- (ix) *Productive Agricultural Education:* Form II or above, duration of three years. To develop agricultural entrepreneurs at a high subsistence level of production. Horticultural and market gardening will be considered for inclusion in this programme.

Appendix II

A song of praise about Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation employees entitled ‘Lesá Alemipala’.

Call- Naile ku Serenje balinjeba abacenjele kumulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bata ba Ben Kangwa.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Naile ku Mkushi balinjeba abacenjele pamulabasa ine, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bata ba Ben Kangwa.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Ba Mwansa Kapeya bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa apo, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bama ba Queen Chungu.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Ba Mwendafilumba bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa apo, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bama ba Queen Chungu.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Sylvester Banda bikenipo abacejele pamulabasa, pamulabasa kuli abacenjele baliya nolulumbi bati.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Lawson Chishimba bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa, pamulabasa kuli abacenjele baliya nolulumbi.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Ndemutotela bonse mwebaice abacenjela kumulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bama ba Queen Chungu.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Naile ku Chipata balinjeba abacenjele kumulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bata ba Ben Kangwa.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Lyonaile ku Kasempa balinjeba abacenjele kumulabasa ine, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bata ba Ben Kangwa.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Lawson Chishimba bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bama ba Queen Chungu.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Ba Mwendafilumba bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele bama ba Queen Chungu.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Sylvester Banda bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele baliya nolulumbi.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Call- Ba Doris Mulenga bikenipo abacenjele pamulabasa, kumulabasa kuli abacenjele baliya nolulumbi.

Response- Twapapata sana bikenipo abacenjele.

Refrain

Call- Ndemutotela sana mwebaice abacenjele kumulabasa.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Watson Kadwali kalya kaice ukucenjelesha ee.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Kafuma ku Namwala kalya kaice akacenjele ka Kadwali.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Kalabila icisuungu wemwana kwati kafuma kumangalande.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Marian Chigwedere umwaice ukucenjelesha.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Kalabila icisuungu ba Nkandu kwati kafuma kumangalande.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Ka George Mubanga kalya kaice kucenjelesha kalubemba.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Isaac Mulinda etwaice tucenjele twaku Lundazi.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Utterances

Abena Victor Kanguya abaice abacenjelesha.

Baice abacenjele kumulabasa abo.

Naletasha pantu bena batemwa kulisha Zambian music, mulebika fye bwinobwino filya fine.

What a wonderful message from Isaac Mulinda.

Marian Chigwedere on Tuesday.

Wamona Watson Kadwali, wamona fyonse nomulabasa.

Wapata Watson Kadwali, apata fyonse nomulabasa.

Wamona Isaac Mulinda, wamona fyonse nomulabasa.

Wamona Marian Chigwedere, wamona fyonse nomulabasa.

Wamona ka Omond Musonda, womona fyonse nomulabasa.

Wamona ba Victor Kanguya, wamona fyonse nomulabasa.

Wamona Justine Nshimbi twiila.

Call- Ka Miyoba Lubaya kalya kaice ukucenjelesha.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Ndemitotela sana mwetwaice utucenjele.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Ka Dorah Siliya kalya kaice ukucenjelesha.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Ka Sombo Makechi etwaice tucenjele.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Ka Mirriam Ndibali kalya akaice kucenjelesha ee.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Esnart Banda etwaice tucenjele kumulabasa.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Alfonsio Kashungwe ulya mwaice kucenjelesha.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebalice abacenjele.

Call- Alfonsio Kashungwe ulya mwaice kucenjelesha ee.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwabalice abacenjele.

Call- Ba David Tembo ebaice abacenjele.

Utterance- Naba Silowa.

Call- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele kumulabasa.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwabaice abacenjele.

Call- Ba Evelyn Tembo ebaice abacenjele.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjela.

Call- Bama ba Maggie Phiri ebaice abacenjele,

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

Call- Ba Adrian Mwiinga ebaice abacenje.

Response- Lesa alemipala mwebaice abacenjele.

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