

**THE CHANGING ROLES AND CHALLENGES OF TRADE UNIONS IN ZAMBIA: A
CASE OF ZAMBIA NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS, 1953-1991**

BY

CHIKONDE NAOMI CHIBANGULULA

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History**

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DECLARATION

I, Chikonde Naomi Chibangulula, declare that the dissertation represents my own work and has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

Signed

.....

Date

.....

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Chikonde Naomi Chibangulula is approved as fulfilling the Partial Requirement for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

Examiner 1..... Signature..... Date.....

Examiner 2..... Signature..... Date.....

Examiner 3..... Signature..... Date.....

CHAIRPERSON

Board of Examiners..... Signature..... Date.....

Supervisor..... Signature..... Date.....

ABSTRACT

This study is a historical investigation of the changing roles and challenges of trade unions in Zambia using the case of Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT). It started as Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association (NORATA), in 1953 and became Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers (NORUT) in 1962 and finally ZNUT in 1964. The research was prompted by the fact that there is a gap in literature regarding the history of worker consciousness among teachers. Whereas there is so much literature regarding the history of other unions such as the Mine Workers' Union of Zambia, literature on Teachers' Unions in Zambia tends to cover only a short period and this makes it highly difficult to understand how the latter thrived in different eras of Zambia's political history. Three main areas were investigated which included the roles, the unions' relationship with government and the challenges and ways of response.

This study utilised the qualitative method of data collection. Both primary and secondary data was collected from the University of Zambia Main Library, National Archives of Zambia and ZNUT Offices. Oral interviews were also conducted with former union officials. In analysing the data, historical evidence was scrutinized by comparing what each source stated.

The major findings of the research were that the general roles and challenges changed in nature due to several factors unique to each period. There was a shift from being mundane in the federal period to being creative during self-rule. For instance, in the area of advocating for improvement in working conditions, the NORATA and NORUT maintained in the federal era that the only solution for the accommodation crisis affecting teachers was to build more houses. As more teachers were unaccommodated in independent Zambia, the contentions changed when the union was known as ZNUT. Government was advised to explore other avenues such as appealing to councils and mining companies to accommodate teachers in their houses. The general challenges such as disunity took on a different nature. Disunity in the federal days was characterized by most primary school teachers feeling alienated because they believed that NORATA and later NORUT only served the interests of secondary school teachers. The opposite occurred in the era of independence as the later were outnumbered. The climax of this disunity was 1991 when Secondary School Teachers formed their own union. Relations with government also changed as they tended to be cordial if it honoured its obligation of paying salaries and hostile if it failed. Furthermore, the ways of response to the challenges were never static. The union moved away from being dependent on financial aid in the federal days to being self-reliant by establishing credit unions in the era of independence.

The study concluded that NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT thrived in a changing political economic and social environment and this fact made it possible for the roles, challenges, ways of response and relationship with government to change overtime. The study further concludes that a number of successes were scored such as the introduction of maternity leave for both married and unmarried female teachers. However, the ZNUT could not foster real unity among all its members by 1991 as Secondary School teachers decided to leave the union.

Key words: Worker consciousness, Association, Trade union and Credit union

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents Sylvia and Joseph Chibangulula who have always supported my academic endeavours.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

COPYRIGHT	i
DECLARATION	ii
APPROVAL	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF APPENDICES	xii
LIST OF PLACES – NAMES OF TOWNS AND COUNTRIES	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	17
1.3 Objectives of the study.....	18
1.4 Rationale	18
1.5 Literature review.....	18
1.6 Research methodology.....	29
1.7 Organisation of the study	31
CHAPTER TWO	33
ROLES OF THE ASSOCIATION AND TEACHERS’ UNIONS, 1953-1991	33
2.1 Introduction	33
2.2 The Roles of the Association and the Unions	33
2.2.1 Advocating for good working conditions	33
2.2.2 Influence on Educational Policy.	47
2.2.3 Educating Teachers on their Roles	53
2.2.4 Uplifting the status of a learner	57
2.2.5 Speaking out on Societal Issues.....	58

2.2.6 Conclusion.....	61
CHAPTER THREE	61
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT, TEACHER ASSOCIATION AND UNIONS, 1953-1991	61
3.1 Introduction	61
3.2 Relations between the Government, NORATA and NORUT in the Federal Period (1953- 1963).....	62
3.2.1 The 1963 Copperbelt Strike	66
3.2.2 The Aftermath of the 1963 Strikes	70
3.3 Relations between the Teachers' Union and the Government after Independence	74
3.3.1 The First Republic (October 1964- December 1972)	74
3.3.2 The 1968 Strikes	78
3.3.3 The 1970 Teachers' Strike	80
3.4 The Relationship between ZNUT and the Government in the Second Republic 1972-1991	85
3.5 Conclusion.....	93
CHAPTER FOUR.....	94
THE CHALLENGES AND WAYS OF RESPONSE, 1953-1991	94
4.1 Introduction	94
4.2 Challenges of the Association and the Unions	94
4.2.1 Apathy	94
4.2.2 Financial Bankruptcy	97
4.2.3 Disunity and Lack of Coordination	102
4.3 Ways of Response.....	109
4.3.1 Federal Period, 1953-1963	109
4.3.2 Response in the Post-Independence Period, 1964- 1991	113
4.4 Conclusion.....	131

CHAPTER FIVE.....	132
CONCLUSION	132
BIBLIOGRAPHY	135
APPENDICES	151

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre.
CSUZ	Civil Servants Union of Zambia
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
IFFTU	International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions
IMF	International Monetary Fund.
IRA	Industrial Relations Act.
LEA	Local Education Authority.
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NORASA	Northern Rhodesia African Civil Servants Association.
NORATA	Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association.
NORUT	Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers.
NUT	National Union of Teachers.
NUPSW	National Union of Public Service Workers.
PTUZ	Professional Teachers' Union of Zambia.
PTA	Parents Teachers' Association.
SHAPE	Self Help Action Plan for Education.
SESTAZ	Secondary School Teachers' Association of Zambia.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
UNIP	United National Independence Party.
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.
WCOTP	World Confederation Organisation for Teaching Professionals
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines.
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions.
ZNPF	Zambia National Provident Fund.
ZNS	Zambia National Service.
ZNUT	Zambia National Union of Teachers

LIST OF TABLES

		Page no
Table 1	Zambianisation	46
Table 2	Subscription from Eight Provinces in 1964	99
Table 3	The Growth in Membership of ZNUT 1964-1991	117.

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Membership of Norut against other unions in 1962 and 1963	151
APPENDIX 2: Disputes from various industries in Zambia 1963 – 1964	152

LIST OF PLACES – NAMES OF TOWNS AND COUNTRIES

OLD

NEW

Abercorn.....	Mbala.
Bancroft.....	Chililabombwe.
Northern Rhodesia.....	Zambia
Tanganyika.....	United Republic of Tanzania

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

A trade union according to S. Webb and B. Webb is a continuous organisation of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives.¹ The Industrial Relations Act of Zambia of 1971 defines a trade union as “a combination of employees which is registered as a trade union under the constitution of which the principal objects are the regulation of collective relations between employees and employers or between employees and employees.”²

A trade union in this study will have the meaning of the first definition because there were workers’ organisations which were allowed to operate as if they were trade unions but they were not.

Trade unions seek to improve the conditions of workers by negotiating for increase in salaries or wages, improvement in accommodation and lobbying governments for favourable policies. The improved conditions which the trade unions campaign for are the needs of most workers and it was such needs which propelled the skilled craftsmen of Britain to form one of the earliest unions in that country.³ The British workers were the first-born children of modern industry hence becoming pioneers of trade unionism.⁴

The growth of the labour movement in Britain in the nineteenth century was necessitated by the industrial revolution. Due to the revolution, labour was perceived as a commodity which could easily be hired and fired. Therefore, workers joined trade unions with the view of protecting

¹ Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (London: Longmans Green and Co 1920), p.1.

² Republic of Zambia Gazette Supplement Acts 1971 Act No 36 of 1971.Part I, Section Part 3, .p.650.

³ Stephen Edgell, *The Sociology of Work: Continuity and Change in Paid and Unpaid Work* (London: Sage, 2012), p.80.

⁴ Allen Hutt, *British Trade Unionism: A Short History* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975), p.7.

themselves from abuse such as long working hours.⁵ The inception of trade unions in the world was a difficult process. Most of them faced the hostility of the employers and at times the law. Employers responded to the unions by refusing to negotiate with them and enlisted the support of the state in the form of the police. This was the case in Britain and America in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth Century.⁶ In Britain, the labour movement was even made illegal through the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800.⁷ These Acts prohibited workers to join together against the employer. In addition to this, a prison sentence of up to three months was effected against anyone who did not adhere to this legislation. This period of illegality lasted until 1824.⁸ Once they were made legal, labour movement initially developed among factory workers and then spread from there to “white collar industries.” Amongst these were office workers and teachers.⁹

Teachers formed unions because they were of the notion that society undervalued the teaching profession. In the case of Britain, the National Union of Elementary Teachers was set up in 1870.¹⁰ Another teachers’ union was set up in 1890 and it was known as the British National Union of Teachers (NUT).¹¹ This union worked towards the improvement of working conditions for teachers. These improved conditions of service included higher salaries and exemptions from

⁵ Albert Rees, *The Economics of Trade Unions* (London: James Nisbet and Co Ltd, 1962), p.27.

⁶ Edgell, *Sociology of Work*, p.23.

⁷ Eric Wigham, *Trade Unions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 8.

⁸Eric Wigham, *Trade Unions*, p.8.

⁹ George Cyriax and Robert Oakeshott, *The Bargainers: A Survey of Modern Trade Unionism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p.12.

¹⁰ John Lovell, *British Trade Unions: 1875-1933* (London: Anchor Press, 1977), p.9.

¹¹ Webb and Webb, *Trade Unionism*, p. 506.

duties which were not in their contracts such as lunch time supervision and teaching for absent colleagues.¹²

The union was also an educational pressure group. It influenced educational policy by sending letters to Members of Parliament regarding some issues in education. The union also demanded for a maximum class size of thirty pupils in the 1970s and 1980s in order to ensure efficiency in the teaching and learning processes.¹³ Additionally, the British NUT spoke against various societal ills in the country.¹⁴ For example in the year 1978, the union condemned racism in society as a deterrent to civilization.¹⁵

The NUT just like the other unions was not safe from the actions of employers who sought the assistance of the law through the courts. The end result of its campaign against duties which it termed as “non –contractual” was the deduction of pay from their members as recommended by the Local Education Authorities (LEA) in 1984.¹⁶ Fredman argued that such an experience strengthened the LEAs and weakened the union which wanted to avoid legal action.¹⁷ Furthermore, the law also tended to negatively affect the smooth running of the NUT. An example that can be given is the Teachers Pay and Conditions Act of 1987. This Act gave the Secretary of State the authority to impose terms and conditions.¹⁸ Therefore, the union could not freely carry out its task of collective bargaining.

¹² Sandra Fredman, “The Teachers’ Lesson: Collective Bargaining and the Courts” In *The Industrial Law Journal Volume 16 No: 4.* (1987) p.218.

¹³National Union of Teachers (NUT), “Extra Push on Class Sizes Needed.” In *The Teacher: Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers VOL 33*, 1st December, 1978. P.4.

¹⁴ National Union of Teachers (NUT), “Society threatened by racism – not race.” In *The Teacher: Newspaper of the National Union of Teachers. Vol 33 No: 7.* 13th October 1978, p.1.

¹⁵ NUT, “Society Threatened”, p.1.

¹⁶ Fredman, “ Teachers’ Lesson”, p.218.

¹⁷ Fredman, “ Teachers’ Lesson”, p.218.

¹⁸ Fredman, “Teachers’ Lesson”, p.215.

In the United States of America, the American Federation of Teachers which started as the Independent Chicago Teachers Federation in 1897 is worth mentioning.¹⁹ Teachers formed this union because their salaries had been static for most part of the late nineteenth Century.²⁰ Apart from demanding for higher salaries for its members, the federation fought for federal aid for education especially for the poor, minorities, handicapped and college students.²¹ It further spoke against unfavourable economic policies such as budget cuts of the 1980s which were carried out by President Ronald Reagan's administration.²² Furthermore, it condemned the injustice which Americans were subjected to in other parts of the world as was the case in 1980 when it supported the nationwide campaign to demand the immediate release of U.S. citizens who were held illegally in Iran.²³

In Asia, a union for elementary teachers was formed among elementary teachers of Siatama Prefecture (near Tokyo), Japan in 1919 and it faced great opposition from the government such that it had withered away by 1928.²⁴ The death of this union did not stop the spread of unionism among teachers in the country. Another teachers' union was formed in 1946 called Zenkyo which later changed its name to Nikkyoro. It did not restrict itself to demanding for higher wages as was the case with the one before it.²⁵ It focused on other issues such as menstrual leave for women, school building reconstruction, elimination of Education Ministry control over curriculum and the

¹⁹ Everett M. Kassalow, "White Collar Unionism in the United States" in Adolf Sturmthal (ed) *White Collar Trade Unions: Contemporary Developments in Industrialised Societies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), p.325.

²⁰ Kassalow, "White Collar Unionism in the United States.", p.325.

²¹ American Teachers Federation, "Solitary Pay: Labour's big triumph", *American Teacher*, November 1981, Vol 66, No 3, p.1.

²² American Teachers Federation, "Protests grow against budget cuts", *American Teacher* April, 1982 Vol 66 p.1.

²³ American Teachers Federation, "Iranian crisis sparks union Letter blitz" *American Teacher*, February, 1980 Vol 64 No 5 p.1.

²⁴ Solomon Levine, "Unionization of White-Collar Employees in Japan" In Adolf Sturmthal, (ed) *White Collar Trade Unions: Contemporary Developments in Industrialised Societies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), p.250.

²⁵ Levine, "Unionism of White-Collar Employees in Japan", p.251.

establishment of a national education board where teachers would have representation. Another teachers' union which was formed in the 1940s was known as Nikkyo which merged with Nikkyoro in June 1947 to form Nikkyoso.²⁶ Nikkyoso was the largest national white-collar union with a membership of six hundred thousand in the 1960s.²⁷

The discussion on teachers' unions from other continents places the current study within the world context of Teachers' unions. It demonstrates that teachers' unions have common roles which include advocating for the improvement in working conditions, influencing educational policy and speaking out on societal issues. The discussion therefore enables the researcher to ask important questions regarding the activities which the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association, (NORATA) the Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers (NORUT) and the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) undertook in order to ensure that general roles were performed. Furthermore, it highlights the possible tools which employers used to control teachers' unions. Therefore, it raises questions regarding which tools the colonial and post-colonial government used to control NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT.

From Europe, America and Asia, the next stop of trade unionism development was Africa. It is important to note that African labourers were conscious of their class way before unions were allowed to be formed by the European colonialists.²⁸ This consciousness was not just among people who worked in mines but even among those who laboured on European farms. According to Robin Cohen their initial consciousness was reflected in what he termed as hidden forms of

²⁶ Levine, "Unionism of White-Collar Employees in Japan", p.251, 253.

²⁷ Levine, "Unionism of White-Collar Employees in Japan", p.249.

²⁸ Ian Henderson, "Wage earners and Political Protest in Colonial Africa" *African Affairs, Vol: 72 Issue 228 (1973)*. p.292.

response to the capitalist system.²⁹ Actions which were a reflection of these forms included desertion, community withdrawal or revolts, sabotage and creation of a work culture. (Behavioural patterns of workers)³⁰

African labour was not always at the mercy of Europeans. Labourers deserted their places of work when they felt exploited especially during the times of high labour demand. This was the case in Nyanza region of Kenya in 1907 where it was reported that railway workers would “throw down their tools and run away on the slightest pretext.”³¹ Beatrice Liato briefly discussed the realities of this act by pointing to Muntamba’s work which highlighted that European farmers along the line of rail in central colonial Zambia complained of labour shortage due to desertion.³² At Roan Antelope Mine in Zambia, the rates of desertion were even exceptionally high in 1930-31 when demand was high.³³ This was two years prior to the retrenchment of many miners as a result of the slump.³⁴

The other methods used against the capitalist system by African workers was community withdrawal and revolts³⁵. Community withdrawals involved moving to inhospitable areas. Community withdrawal was done to ensure that the recruiters did not manage to find the local people they wanted to employ. Cohen gave an example of some Saan people who went into the Kalahari Desert. The Giriama revolt of 1913-1914 in Kenya is among the examples one can give.

²⁹ Robin Cohen, “Resistance and Hidden Forms of Consciousness amongst African Workers.” *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol 1 No: 19. 1980. p. 12.

³⁰ Robin Cohen, “Resistance and Hidden Forms of Consciousness”, p. 12.

³¹ Henderson, “Wage Earners and Political Protest in Colonial Africa”, p.13.

³² Beatrice Liato, *Organised Labour and the State in Zambia*. PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 1989. p.69.

³³ Charles Perrings, “Consciousness, Conflict and Proletarianization: An Assessment of the 1935 Mine Workers Strike on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt” *Journal of Southern African Studies Volume 4 Number: 1*, (1977), p.43.

³⁴ Perrings, “Consciousness, Conflict and Proletarianization”, p.43.

³⁵ Cohen, “Hidden Forms of Consciousness amongst African Workers”, pp 14-15.

This revolt which resulted in the deaths of 400 Giriama was a consequence of the colonial government's attempt to force Giriama people to work on the European and Arab sisal, rice, cotton, and coconut plantations.³⁶

In addition to this, workers deliberately sabotaged production. This was a tool which they used to level down profits so as to reduce inequality. Workers would jinx machinery so as to lower production. This case of resistance by early workers was also exploited by porters in colonial Ghana who restricted the weight of luggage carried for wages to thirty pounds but would carry heavier luggage up to hundred pounds for themselves.³⁷

Theft was another strategy which was used by workers in response to the exploitation they faced at their places of work. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the volume of illegal gold trade increased as the wages of black miners fell and in Namibia and South Africa, workers were even subjected to daily screenings in order to reduce countless situations when diamonds were in strange places of the body or swallowed.³⁸

The creation of a work culture is the last hidden form of resistance that will be discussed. Cohen described it as an insulative force to mobilise the anger of workers. It encompassed the use of songs, dances, jokes and private linguistic codes. This was done for the purpose of mocking their bosses and expressing their grievances. The use of numerous names can also be considered a form of hidden resistance.³⁹ Cohen pointed out that some workers in a Namibian mine had up to five names including a European one used for the purpose of interaction with management. The purpose of having numerous names was to confuse the European employer. If trouble loomed, a

³⁶ Cohen, "Hidden Forms of Consciousness amongst African Workers", p.15.

³⁷ Liato, "Organised Labour and State", p.69.

³⁸ Cohen, "Hidden Forms and Political Protest in Colonial Africa", p.20.

³⁹ Cohen, "Hidden Forms and Political Protest in Colonial Africa", p.18.

name could disappear. Others maintained their indigenous names and if the white foreman found it difficult to pronounce that name, a worker could remain anonymous and immune from being singled out.

Although drinking of alcohol led to socialisation of workers, it was also part of the work culture created by Africans to protect themselves against exploitation. According to Patrick Harries, it was a relief from heavy bouts of labour.⁴⁰ Harries pointed out that the result of heavy drinking on weekends by miners led to high absentee rates on Mondays at Kimberly Diamond Mines.⁴¹ This Monday absenteeism was a clear resolve by workers to cling to their own work pattern.

Strikes on the continent were happening as early as the late nineteenth century.⁴² Richard Moorsom has highlighted a strike for higher wages among the Ovambos of Namibia in 1893. This was against the South West African Company. In addition to this, the strikes of 1935 and 1940 on the Zambian Copperbelt were also indicative of collective action by workers before the birth of trade unionism.⁴³ In the strikes of 1935, miners from Roan Antelope, Mufulira and Nkana protested against the increase of poll taxes by withholding their labour. The protests which ended up being violent at Roan Antelope led to the death of six men when police opened fire. The motive for the 1940 strike was different and it saw more deaths recorded. This followed the European strike. The European workers who were striking because they needed wage increments were given their demands. Africans at Nkana and Mufulira went out on strike demanding increased wages of between 2s. 6d and 5s.⁴⁴ At Mufulira, miners even chose a committee of seventeen to present

⁴⁰ Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, 1860-1910*. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), p.59.

⁴¹ Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity*, p.58.

⁴² Richard Moorsom, "Underdevelopment, Contract Labour and Worker Consciousness in Namibia." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 4, Number: 1 (1977), p.78.

⁴³ Henderson, "Wage Earners and Political Protest in Colonial Africa", p. 292.

⁴⁴ Elena. L. Berger. *The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.), p.55.

their grievances. This strike resulted in the killing of sixteen miners at Nkana. After the strike, the Forster's Commission recommended the improvement of wage rates for Africans.⁴⁵

Even though Africans were able to organise themselves collectively they still aspired to be part of trade unions just as their European counterparts. This only became a reality in most parts of Africa after the Second World War.⁴⁶

The growth of the trade union movement in Africa was plagued by difficulties as in Europe and America. Amongst the challenges which the early trade unions faced in Africa was the impermanence of the labour force.⁴⁷ Seasonal migration made it impossible for workers to belong to unions. For example, a survey on seasonal migration of African workers in Uganda revealed that 29% of workers came from neighbouring countries.⁴⁸

The biggest challenge came from the colonial authorities and employers who were working under the assumption that Africans were not ready for unions.⁴⁹ For instance in the case of Northern Rhodesia, Gore –Brown argued that Africans had not reached the stage where trade unions would be suitable for them. However, he was of the notion that Africans needed to still have some form of bargaining power. To give the African this power, colonial authorities instead promoted a

⁴⁵ Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the disturbances in the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia, (Forster Report) July 1940. (Lusaka, 1941), p.51.

⁴⁶ Henderson, "Wage Earners and Political Protest in Colonial Africa", p.292.

⁴⁷ Jean Meynaud and Anisse Salah Bey, *Trade Unionism in Africa: A Study of its Growth and Orientation* (London: Methuen and CO LTD, 1967), P.10.

⁴⁸ Meynaud and Bey, *Trade Unionism in Africa*, p.10.

⁴⁹ Henry S. Mebeelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism: The Origins, Growth and Struggles of the Zambian Labour Movement to 1964*(Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1986), p.162.

structure of labour relations based upon ethnic principles of tribal representation.⁵⁰ In Zambia, this system was adopted in the early 1930s.⁵¹ Later on, Boss boys and Works committees were set up.⁵² However, the negative attitude of British colonial authorities was challenged by the colonial department in London. In 1930, Lord Passfield who was the British Secretary of State for the Colonies urged colonial governments to take the needed steps to enact laws authorizing the organisation of trade unions.⁵³ Ananaba argued that this was not because the colonial government wanted to improve the conditions of service of colonial workers but they were inspired by a need to avoid a repeat of bitter conflicts of the West Indies that occurred in the late 1920s. The instruction to enact laws needed for the operation of unions was not followed to the letter by some colonial administrators and white settlers.⁵⁴ This was the case because some administrators believed that Africans could not establish their own trade unions because they did not have the knowledge to operate them.

In another effort to encourage trade unionism in colonial Africa, the British parliament passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940. This Act provided for economic aid to countries which had legislation protecting the rights of trade unions. As a result, trade union ordinances were passed in various countries after the Act came into operation. Amongst these countries were Kenya, Nigeria and Sierre Leone.⁵⁵ When trade unions were given legal status, labour officers

⁵⁰ Friday Mulenga, "Crisis and Successes of the Labour Movement in Zambia: A Historical Perspective" in Jack Zimba(ed) *The Labour Movement in Zambia* (Lusaka: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011), p.11.

⁵¹ Mulenga, "Crisis and Successes of the Labour Movement in Zambia," p.4.

⁵² Elena L. Berger, *Labour Race and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.89.

⁵³ Wogu Ananaba, *The Trade Union Movement in Africa*. London: Hurst and Company, 1979 p.1.

⁵⁴ Ananaba, *The Trade Union Movement in Africa*, p.1.

⁵⁵ Ananaba, *Trade Union Movement in Africa*, p.2.

were sent to Africa to help the African trade unionists develop them along the lines of the colonisers.⁵⁶

The unions in Africa also had a pattern of development just as it was in other parts of the world. In most cases, they were initially formed amongst people who did manual jobs such as miners, railway and dock workers before it developed among white collar workers such as teachers. For instance in the case of Southern Rhodesia, the African Railway Workers' Union functioned during much of the Post-war period.⁵⁷ In the case of Nigeria, the Railway Workers union is the oldest as it was set up before the end of World War 2 in 1939. By 1944, over eighty trade unions were in existence in Nigeria.⁵⁸ In Ghana, a Congress of Trade Unions was in existence in 1944. The early unions managed to organise themselves in protest against poor conditions of service. For instance in 1949, coal miners in Enugu state of Nigeria organised a strike which resulted in the killing of over twenty one workers by police and the imprisonment of some of them.⁵⁹

The formation of teachers' associations and unions on the continent has a long history. In the case of South Africa, they date back to the period before 1900.⁶⁰ These early associations and unions which were formed in the country were organised along racial lines. The Native Educational Association was the first black teachers' association. It was set up in 1879.⁶¹ It fought against discriminatory pay which African teachers were subjected to. It did not just concern itself with

⁵⁶ Berger, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule*, p.98.

⁵⁷ Elliot J. Berg and Jeffrey Butler, "Trade Unions" In James S. Coleman and Carl G. Roseberg. *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (California: University of California Press, 1970), p.371.

⁵⁸ Berg and Butler, "Trade Unions", p.371.

⁵⁹ Wogu Ananaba. *The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria*. (London: Hurst and Company, 1979), p.108.

⁶⁰ J. Heystek and M. Lethoko, "The Contribution of Teacher Unions in the Restoration of Teacher Professionalism and the Culture of Learning In *South African Journal of Education*, Volume 21 No: 4. (2001), p.223.

⁶¹ Heystek and Lethoko, "Teachers' Unions in Restoration", p.223.

salaries as it also focused on political and social issues of South African society such as pass laws. Attention was also given to the impact of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 on education.⁶²

Other associations formed in South Africa included the Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA) and the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA).⁶³ These associations demanded for good working conditions of teachers in the 1940s.⁶⁴ According to Jonathan Hyslop, TATA even organised a mass demonstration of teachers, parents and pupils in May 1944 so as to persuade the government to increase the wages of teachers. It is important to note that there was a split in both of these associations in the 1950s due to differences in ideologies.⁶⁵ Some members believed that teachers' concerns could not be separated from political liberation while others thought teachers did not need to involve themselves in politics.⁶⁶ To this effect, the Transvaal African Teachers' Union (TATU) was established as a break away from TATA in 1950 and the Cape African Teachers' Union (CATU) from CATA in 1953. These two unions together with other African teachers' unions in the country such as the Natal African Teachers' Union (NATU) formed one association in the 1960s known as African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA).⁶⁷ The first non-racial union to have been formed in South Africa was the South African Democratic Teachers' Union. This union was formed on 6th October 1990.⁶⁸ Other teachers' associations formed on the continent include the Gambia Teachers' Association which was set up in 1937, the

⁶² Heystek and Lethoko, "Teachers' Unions in Restoration", p.223.

⁶³ Jonathan Hyslop, "A Destruction Coming: Bantu Education as Response to Social Crisis" Seminar Paper Presented at the University of Witwatersrand, African Studies Institute. September 1989, pp7-8.

⁶⁴ Hyslop, "Bantu Education as Response to Social Crisis", p.7.

⁶⁵ Jonathan Hyslop, "Teachers and Trade Unions" *South African Labour Bulletin*, Volume 11, Number 6. 1986.p93.

⁶⁶ Hyslop "Bantu Education as Response to Social Crisis", 8.

⁶⁷ Vusumuzi Kumalo and Dineo Skosan, **A History of the South African Democratic Union** (Johannesburg: SADTU, 2014), p.20.

⁶⁸ Vusumuzi Kumalo and Dineo Skosan, **The South African Democratic Union**, p.10. See also M. Letseka, B. Bantwini and E. King McKenzie. "Public Union Sector Politics and the Crisis of Education in South Africa" In *Creative Education Volume 3, No: 7* (2012) p.197.

National Teachers' Association of Liberia established in 1938 and the Teachers' Association of Eritrea established in 1958.⁶⁹

In the case of Zambia, some of the earliest workers' associations and unions amongst Africans included the African Shop Assistants' Association which was formed in 1946 and the Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Union in 1949. They had membership of 1,300 and 19,000 respectively.⁷⁰ Other unions which existed at the time were the African Drivers' Trade Union with a membership of 1,700 and the African General Workers' Trade Union with a membership of approximately 2,000.⁷¹

In the case of Zambia, a teachers' association for Africans was born in 1953 after William Comrie a British Trade Union Labour Officer helped to establish African trade unionism in the late 1940s.⁷² Before discussing the development of the association in detail, it would be important to highlight the conditions of service for teachers because working conditions influence the establishment and demands of workers' associations.

The conditions of service for African teachers in Northern Rhodesia were poor. Mwanakatwe noted that prior to 1928, there were few properly qualified African teachers in Northern Rhodesia⁷³ and that their salaries were poor and conditions of service very unsatisfactory. The situation was not any better in the 1930s. Peter Snelson pointed out that in 1930, salaries ranged from 15/- a

⁶⁹ Aiden Mulkeen, *Teachers in Anglophone Africa: Issues in Teacher Supply Training and Management* (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2010), p.117.

⁷⁰ Mulenga, "Crises and Successes of the Labour Movement in Zambia", p. 3.

⁷¹ Mulenga, "Crises and Successes of the Labour Movement in Zambia", p.4.

⁷² NAZ ED1/6/1 Welcome Address to the Seventh Annual General Conference of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association NORATA. 4th June 1959 p.1.

⁷³ J. M. Mwanakatwe. *The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 12.

month to £2.10.0 a month.⁷⁴ The poor remuneration for teachers led some of them to resign. For instance in 1941 twelve teachers from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society resigned due to low salaries.⁷⁵ Teachers who worked for missions were more exposed to poor conditions when compared to their counterparts who served as African Civil Servants. For instance in 1942, a teacher who served for eleven years at a mission station earned about £2.15s in a month while another one who served as a civil servant earned about £5 per month.⁷⁶ Although teachers who served as civil servants earned more money than those in Mission Schools, their conditions of service were still poor.⁷⁷ Therefore, these working conditions necessitated the formation of NORATA.

Even though the association was set up in 1953, there were efforts by teachers from different parts of the territory to organise themselves into a body of teachers at a local level.⁷⁸ An example of a region whose teachers formed a provincial association and local branches is the Copperbelt region which was then known as Western Province. Their association was known as Western Province African Teachers' Association, (WPATA).⁷⁹ This was done in 1950 although the association did not yield much success.⁸⁰ This was the case because some branches were not strong. They were not strong because they did not succeed in bringing all the teachers from the regions together. The strongest branch was Ndola which was also described as being quite representative.⁸¹ Another one

⁷⁴ Peter Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*. (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1974), p.153.

⁷⁵ Northern Rhodesia Annual Report on African Education for the year 1941. p.2.

⁷⁶ Northern Rhodesia Annual Report on African Education for the year 1942. p.5.

⁷⁷ Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia*, p.153.

⁷⁸ Martin Kaunda, "The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia" In *Teach: A University of Zambia Educational Association Volume 1, No: 3* October (1970) p. 34.

⁷⁹ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Zambia National Union of Teachers: A Brief History as Requested by the ZCTU in 1973.p.1.

⁸⁰ Kaunda, "The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia," p.34.

⁸¹ NAZ ED1/6/1 Letter from Provincial Education Officer of Western Province to the Secretary of Teachers Association Dated 20th January 1953.

was the Southern Province African Teachers' Association, (SPATA). The associations advocated for good accommodation for teachers in the provinces.⁸²

African teachers who were involved in the provincial associations had a desire of forming a territorial association. This was necessitated by the first territorial conference of African teachers in 1951 which enabled teachers to share ideas about having one association for their profession.⁸³ However, the Director of African Education A.J. Cottrell advised them to develop strong local associations from which a territorial organisation was going to emerge. The African teachers agreed with this idea and appointed James. H. Mwela of Mapanza as Chairman of a steering committee.⁸⁴ Others were J.E Mtonga and John. M. Mwanakatwe.

The formation of a territorial Association for teachers was bound to happen with new developments in the Education system such as the formation of the Unified African Teaching Service, (U.A.T.S.) in 1953 to which all African teachers were supposed to belong whether they served as civil servants or mission teachers.⁸⁵ Therefore, the teachers who led provincial associations hoped it would bring about the same working conditions which would make it easier to demand for improvements. To this effect, a meeting which was held in the African War Memorial Hall near Kabwata in Lusaka saw the birth of NORATA on 22nd June 1953.⁸⁶ The first President of NORATA was John Mweemba, the Vice was John Mwanakatwe and Martin Kaunda was the General Secretary.⁸⁷ The leaders of the new association had the task of ensuring that there

⁸² NAZ ED1/6/1 Letter from Provincial Education Officer of Western Province to the Secretary of Teachers Association Dated 20th January 1953.

⁸³ Kaunda, "The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia", p.34.

⁸⁴ Kaunda, "The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia,"p.34.

⁸⁵ Kaunda, "The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia", p.35.

⁸⁶ Kaunda, "The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia", p.35.

⁸⁷ Ackson Kanduza, "Teachers' Strike, 1970: A Chapter in Zambia's Labour History" *Histoire Social Volume 14, Number 10*(1981), p490.

was cooperation among the teachers. Furthermore, they had to promote a high code of professionalism amongst the teachers. All these duties were summarized in the motto of the association which was, Service, Cooperation and Efficiency.⁸⁸

From its inception, NORATA had a number of challenges. Meebelo pointed out that throughout the colonial era, there was disunity in the organisation. It was difficult for NORATA to unite the better educated of its members who were the minority and the less educated teachers who were the majority.⁸⁹ The teachers who were considered to be better educated were those who completed their secondary education and had a degree or diploma. On the other hand, the less educated teachers did not complete their secondary education but just had a certificate which was acquired upon taking a teaching course for a minimum of two years. Furthermore, NORATA did not have the full confidence of all the teachers in Northern Rhodesia. Some contended that it had failed to improve the conditions of service for teachers. The salaries of African teachers were way below those of their European counterparts. They earned three-fifths of a European's salary.⁹⁰ The starting salaries of teachers in lower primary schools were even lower than those of illiterate miners.⁹¹ As if that was not enough, some teachers had to draw water from taps adjoining toilets. Even in cases where electricity lines passed over teachers' houses, they did not have lighting.⁹²

Even in the midst of all the challenges, NORATA made earnest attempts to fight racial discrimination in the teaching fraternity.⁹³ It openly criticised the government for being unaware

⁸⁸ NAZ ED1/6/1 Presidential Address During the Annual Conference of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Held on 18th- 19th June 1954.p.1.

⁸⁹ Meebelo, *Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.397.

⁹⁰ Ackson Kanduza, "Teachers' Strike, 1970: a Chapter in Zambia's Labour History" *Histoire Social Volume 14, Number 28*. (1981) p.490.

⁹¹ Meebelo, *Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.398.

⁹² Meebelo, *Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.399.

⁹³ Meebelo, *Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.402.

of the grievances of African teachers which were increasing. NORATA decided to change its mode of operation from being a professional teachers' body to a union. To this effect, it was decided on 30th December 1961 during its annual conference that NORATA seek trade union status.⁹⁴ In this regard, it changed its constitution and registered as a union under a new name the Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers (NORUT) in 1962.⁹⁵ The new name signified a move from being an organisation of teachers for one race to being multi-racial. Furthermore, the new constitution had a strike clause. NORUT became Zambia National Union of Teachers after October 1964. The blowing of the political wind of change on Zambia did not diminish the challenges of the union. In fact, they just evolved following the new political and economic atmospheres. The union continued to be affected by disunity up to 1991. It was against this background that this study was undertaken to find out exactly how the roles and challenges of ZNUT changed from the time it was established as NORATA in 1953 to 1991 when it ceased to be the only teachers' union in Zambia.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Despite the major role that teachers play in shaping the most important resource of Zambia which is "human resource", little has been written on their unions. Scholars such as Peter Snelson and John Mwanakatwe have discussed their roles and conditions but their consciousness as workers has somehow been neglected. This study therefore focuses on the teachers' union that began as the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association and then became Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers and finally the Zambia National Union of Teachers as a way of analysing the

⁹⁴Northern Rhodesia Department of Labour Monthly Report for December 1961. p. 3.

⁹⁵ NAZ ED1/6/22 Letter from NORATA to the Permanent Secretary of Education Dated 18th June 1962.

challenges the teachers faced and their responses to those challenges through their association and unions.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to reconstruct the history of teachers' unions in Zambia from 1953 when NORATA was established to the formation of NORUT and later ZNUT. ZNUT ceased to be the only mouthpiece for teachers in Zambia in 1991 which is the ending point of the study.

The specific objectives were to:

- 1) Examine the changing roles of the association and the unions.
- 2) Analyse the relationship that existed between the government, association and the unions.
- 3) Examine the challenges and ways of response during the period under review.

1.4 Rationale

The justification for doing this study is that it is a contribution to the history of worker consciousness in general and among teachers in particular by highlighting the activities of the NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT from 1953 to 1991.

1.5 Literature review

Zambian labour history has been discussed by various scholars who have highlighted the development of unions. Among them are Elena L. Berger,⁹⁶ Robert H. Bates,⁹⁷ David Mulford,⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Elena L. Berger, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1974.), p.93.

⁹⁷ Robert H. Bates, *Union, Parties and Political Development: A Study of Mine Workers in Zambia* (London: Yale University Press, 1971), p.18.

⁹⁸ David Mulford. *The Politics of Independence. 1957-1964*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.25.

Henry S. Meebelo⁹⁹ and Mathew Mwendapole.¹⁰⁰ They have pointed out that the late 1940s mark the birth of the trade union movement in the country.¹⁰¹

Although some scholars such as Mulford and Berger have not discussed the teachers' unions, their work is crucial to the study as it clearly points out the factors which motivated Africans to join the union movement in the colonial era. The conditions which prevailed in the colonial era inform the study as every African worker was exposed to them even though the degree of exposure might have varied. Friday Mulenga pointed out that Railway workers demanded for higher wages, better housing and sanitation and an end to industrial colour bar.¹⁰² Robin Fincham and Grace Zulu argued along the same lines when they stated that the labour movement in Zambia grew out of the workers' desire for autonomy at the place of work.¹⁰³

Elena Berger contributes to the discussion on development of trade unionism in Zambia by writing on some of its aspects. She pointed out that although Africans aspired to form their own unions, some of them feared the colonial power.¹⁰⁴ Berger highlighted that this was the case because Africans associated demands for improved conditions with shootings as was the case in 1935 and 1940. Berger argued that some Africans were unwilling to be part of a workers' movement because they feared that people of such a movement would also just share the fate of the miners who died in 1935 and 1940. She substantiated her argument by making reference to the record of

⁹⁹ Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, p.162.

¹⁰⁰ Mathew Mwendapole, *A History of the Trade Union Movement in Zambia up to 1968*. (Lusaka: Unza Institute of African Studies, Communication No 13, 1977.), p.49.

¹⁰¹ Mulenga, "Crisis and Success of the Labour Movement", p.4.

¹⁰² Friday Mulenga. *The Development of Worker Consciousness among African Railway Workers in Zambia 1953-1972*. M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1987. p.ii.

¹⁰³ Robin Fincham and Grace Zulu, "Labour and Participation in Zambia" in Ben Turok (ed) *Development in Zambia* (London: 1974), P.214.

¹⁰⁴ Berger, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule*, p.93.

hearings held by the Cost of Living Commission in 1947 where a witness testified that requests for better wages did not do any good for workers as government used guns against them.¹⁰⁵

Berger's work is relevant because it gives an insight into some factors which might have prevented some Africans to join NORATA and later NORUT in the colonial era. However, her argument is weak as it was the law that prevented African workers from forming trade unions until the passing of the 1940 Development Act.¹⁰⁶ The 1949 Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance in Northern Rhodesia made the existence of African trade unions legal.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, existing literature also highlights the general functions of trade unions. Bates stated that the primary function of trade unions was to articulate the demands of their members.¹⁰⁸ His argument is pertinent to the topic because it gives an insight on the general role which NORATA, NORUT and later ZNUT performed. It also provides the basis for the argument in the study that teachers' unions have general roles which change in nature over time.

Makhan Singh in his work on Kenyan Trade Unionism pointed out that African teachers fought against different payments on the basis of race.¹⁰⁹ He stated that African teachers were paid £250 per annum while Asian teachers were paid £408. Singh's work is important to this study as it sheds light on the nature of the challenges which African teachers faced in the colonial era.

In addition to this, existing literature points out the general challenges facing the labour movement. Paschal Mihyo and Freek Schiphorst stated that challenges facing trade unions were internal and external. According to the two scholars, internal challenges were caused by factors within the

¹⁰⁵ Berger, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule*, p.94.

¹⁰⁶ Ananaba, *The Trade Union*, p.2.

¹⁰⁷ Mbaalala Munungu, *Trade Union Development and the Law in Zambia*. M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia.

¹⁰⁸ Bates, *Unions, Parties and Political Development*, p.4.

¹⁰⁹ Makhan Singh, *1952-56 Crucial Years of Kenya Trade Unions* (Nairobi: Uzima Press Limited, 1980), p.278.

union while the external challenges were caused by outside influence such as government policies. They asserted that among the internal factors were insufficient attention to democratic structures within the trade unions, a close alignment with the political elite, financial bankruptcy and male dominance. The external factors included economic policies of government such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes.¹¹⁰ The work of the two scholars is relevant to the study because it presents an insight on the causes of internal and external challenges which NORATA, NORUT and later ZNUT faced.

Within the context of challenges, Henry S. Meebelo discussed some specific challenges which NORATA faced prior to independence. He pointed out that in the early 1960s, the association had financial problems. These problems stemmed from a reduction in paid up membership from some provinces such as the Copperbelt.¹¹¹ For instance membership on the Copperbelt reduced from 407 in 1960 to 44 in 1961 because most teachers thought the association was only fighting the cause of graduates.¹¹²

This was also the case in other parts of Africa. Roger Scott in his discussion on the development of Trade Unionism in Uganda supported the notion that financial problems led to the failure of colonial trade unions.¹¹³ He highlighted that African workers did not have the experience of contributing money to voluntary associations because they did not see the importance of that. To substantiate his argument, Rogers gave an example of the Ugandan African Teachers union which had over 11,000 members with less than 200 paid up members in 1958.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Paschal Mihyo and Freek Schiphorst, "A Context of Sharp Economic Decline." In Henk Thomas(ed) *Globalization and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*. (London: Zed Books, 1995), p.193.

¹¹¹ Mebeelo, *Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, 401.

¹¹² Mebeelo, *Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism*, 401.

¹¹³ Roger Scott, *The Development of Trade Unionism in Uganda* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1966), p.26.

¹¹⁴ Scotts, *Trade Unionism in Uganda*, p.23.

V. L. Allen contributed to this discourse on challenges facing African trade unions by stating that illiteracy, lack of organizational resources and the attempt to maintain traditional tribal methods worked against the growth of trade unionism in Africa.¹¹⁵ Allen argued that members of trade unions were just a small fraction of workers in colonial Africa. He pointed out that in 1958, out of a total of 2,404,000 wage and salary earners in British controlled Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, approximately 370,000 were members of trade unions.¹¹⁶ In the French controlled territories there were approximately 268,000 members of trade unions out of a total work force of 836,000.¹¹⁷

In his contribution to the discussion on the challenges of teachers' unions, Mwanakatwe argued that the status of teachers which was once enviable in the colonial period because it signified influence was low in the era of independence and ZNUT had a challenge of uplifting it once again.¹¹⁸ Mwanakatwe went further to argue that even in the midst of challenges, the union scored some successes such as the introduction of an annual allowance of K60 in 1966 for teachers in primary schools who taught two classes instead of one.¹¹⁹ The works of Meebelo, Mwanakatwe, Scott and Allen are significant to the study as they highlight the problems which teachers' unions faced. However, what the scholars provide does not reflect the shifts in roles and challenges as influenced by different political factors in the colonial and post-colonial eras.

Furthermore, literature has shown that problems in the leadership structure had a negative impact on the growth of African trade unions. Wogu Ananaba in his work, *The Trade Union Movement*

¹¹⁵ V. L. Allen, "The Study of African Trade Unionism." *Journal of Modern African Studies* Volume 7, Number 2(1969) p. 291.

¹¹⁶ Allen, "The Study of African Unionism", p.292.

¹¹⁷ Allen, "The Study of African Trade Unionism", p. 291.

¹¹⁸ Mwanakatwe, *Education in Zambia*, p.121.

¹¹⁹ Mwanakatwe, *Education in Zambia*, p.121.

in Nigeria pointed out that some leaders were dishonest and that they lacked union democracy in the conduct of affairs.¹²⁰ Mulford contributed to the discussion on leadership by pointing out that politics led to confusion in the leadership structure. He made reference to Lawrence Katilungu President of African Mine Workers Union (A.M.W.U) and African Trade Union Congress, (A.T.U.C) who dismissed a number of small unions from the congress after they challenged him for accepting a post on the Monckton Commission.¹²¹ William H. Friedland contributed to this discussion on leadership by highlighting that African trade unionists had difficulties in grasping voluntary associations because African traditions trained them to believe that membership is an ascribed characteristic.¹²² Basil Davidson takes a different stance in this discourse by arguing that Africans quickly grasped the idea of a trade union when it was introduced to them. Through his article “North of the Zambezi”, Davidson argued that leaders were able to take initiatives such as the purchasing of a vehicle so that movement could be made easier¹²³. He maintained that African trade unionists were even able to set up branches in remote areas by convincing people who did not even have the slightest idea of how unions functioned. He gave an example of how Lawrence Katilungu the leader of A.M.W.U. and other trade unionists quickly learned to organise trade unions just by observation of how Europeans organised theirs.¹²⁴ To support his stance that Africans understood trade unionism, he made reference to the 1949 Report of the Labour and Mines Department which stated that union officials of the A.M.W.U. showed high negotiating qualities and that they were responsible¹²⁵. Roy Welensky also acknowledged that Africans were

¹²⁰ Ananaba, *Trade Union Movement in Nigeria*, p.259.

¹²¹ Mulford, *The Politics of Independence*, p.72.

¹²² William H. Friedland, *The Development of Trade Unionism in Tanganyika* (New York: Hoover Institution Publications, 1969), p.142.

¹²³ NAZ MLSS1/26/59 Basil Davidson, “North of the Zambezi” in *The New Statesman and the Nation*. 29th September 1951.

¹²⁴ NAZ MLSS1/26/59 Davidson, “North of the Zambezi”

¹²⁵ NAZ MLSS1/26/59 Basil Davidson, “North of the Zambezi”

able to organise themselves into unions.¹²⁶ According to him, trade unions for Africans needed to be encouraged because it was easier to deal with labour which was organised.

The work of Friedland is relevant to the study as it brings to light some factors which might have negatively influenced the operation of NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT. Davidson's work is even more important as it nullifies the general assertion which was held in the colonial days that Africans were not ready for trade unionism. The article shows the creativity of the African trade unionist in the midst of challenges. It justifies the notion that leaders of NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT were creative in their quest to improve the working conditions of teachers. Welensky's work on the other hand shows the desire which some Europeans had of using African trade unions as a vehicle of dominance.

Existing literature has also pointed out the changing environment in which trade unions have thrived. Kevin Quinn¹²⁷, Patrick Ollawa¹²⁸ and A.S. Wamala¹²⁹ are some of the scholars who have underscored this aspect. Unions in Africa were affected by changing times because they did not operate in a vacuum. This is in connection to Allen's argument who stated that trade unions were products of the society in which they operated and could not have an existence which was separate from society.¹³⁰ Victor Feather has contributed to the discussion on trade unions and the environment they thrive in by arguing that trade unions would always exist regardless of the environment. Feather further pointed out that trade unions do not decide the circumstances in

¹²⁶ Roy Welensky, "African Trade Unions in Northern Rhodesia" *African Affairs*, 45, 18 (October 1946), pp185-191.

¹²⁷ Kevin Quinn, "Labour and Zambian Humanism" in Bastiaan De Gaay Fortman (ed) *After Mulungushi: The Economics of Zambian Humanism* (Lusaka: East African Publishing House, 1969), p.147.

¹²⁸ Patrick Ollawa, *Participatory Democracy in Zambia: The Political Economy of National Development* (London: Stockwell Ltd, 1979), p.159.

¹²⁹ A.S. Wamala, "The Role of Workers in the Struggle towards Multi-Party Democracy: Africa's Colonial and Post-Colonial Experience." *Eastern African Social Research Review Volume viii Number 1*. (1992), p.48.

¹³⁰ V. L. Allen, *Trade Union Leadership: Based on a Study of Arthur Deakin* (London: Longmans, 1957), p.14.

which they worked. He stated that they were affected by factors such as international political policies which they could not control.¹³¹ Therefore, it can safely be stated that such factors dictated the challenges which were faced by unions. The discussion of the scholars is important to the study because it justifies the idea that challenges of NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT were not static due to changing economic, political and social factors.

Furthermore, literature indicates that changes in the law play a pivotal role in the operation of unions. Darlington Banda made reference to the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance which was enacted in 1949 and was amended in 1964 and became law in 1965.¹³² The law of 1965 according to Fincham and Zulu provided the legal framework for the protection and regulation of trade unions.¹³³ In order to emphasize this point, Anirudha Gupta referred to the comments of the Labour Minister who at that time was Justin Chimba who stated that the Act was going to create stable industrial relations between employers and employees. An added advantage to that was that it was going to check trade unions from receiving financial and other forms of assistance from the outside. This was seen as an advantage because, it was perceived that if unions received assistance from the outside, there was a possibility that they could align themselves with people who might pose as a threat to national security.¹³⁴

Mbaalala Munungu has also contributed to the discourse on the changing labour laws of Zambia by pointing out that the 1971 Industrial Relations Act (IRA) stipulated that there needed to be one

¹³¹ Victor Feather, *The Essence of Trade Unionism: A Background Book* (London: The Bodley Head, 1963), p.35.

¹³² Darlington Banda, *The Trade Union Situation in Zambia: An Overview of Law, Practice and the Way Forward: A Monograph* (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1997), p.1.

¹³³ Robin Fincham and Grace Zulu, "Labour and Participation in Zambia," in Ben Turok (ed) *Development in Zambia*. (London: Zed Press, 1974.), p.216.

¹³⁴ Anirudha Gupta, "Trade Unionism and Politics on the Copperbelt" In William Tordof (ed) *Politics in Zambia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), p.298.

union in one industry.¹³⁵ Banda argued that the IRA of 1971 strengthened trade unions because the problem of multiple representation was avoided.¹³⁶ In addition to this Act, literature has also made reference to the Industrial Relations Act of 1990 which liberalized the labour movement. This legislative method was not only used in Zambia. Berg and Butler discussed the 1958 Industrial Relations Act of Ghana which assured government of control.¹³⁷ This Act provided for a centralized Trade Union Congress of Ghana which would control all the trade unions and in turn be controlled by government. As such, this Act relates to the 1971 Industrial Relations Act of Zambia because it sought to “control through new provisions the practice of trade unionism.”¹³⁸

The discussion on the changing laws by various scholars is pertinent to the study as it directly points to the fact that relations between the trade unions and the government also changed. Therefore, it proves that the relationship between ZNUT and the government was not static. Furthermore, it justifies the ending point of the research period as it clearly points out that splinter unions were only necessitated by the Industrial Relations Act of 1990.

Apart from highlighting the changing laws, existing literature indicates that there was an attempt by the new independent government to try and use other avenues to control the labour movement. Ollawa argued that the Zambian government after 1972 tried to control the labour movement by appointing trade unionists as Board of Directors of state owned enterprises.¹³⁹ Neo Simutanyi contributes to this discourse by stating that African Governments made efforts to integrate unions

¹³⁵ Mbaalala Munungu, *Trade Union Development and the Law in Zambia*. M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988. p.101.

¹³⁶ Banda, *The Trade Union Situation in Zambia*.p.5.

¹³⁷ Berg and Butler, “Trade Unionism and Politics”, p. 369.

¹³⁸ Munungu, *Trade Unionism Development*, p.96.

¹³⁹ Ollawa, *Participatory Democracy in Zambia*, p. 159.

in party structures so that they could function as transmission belts of government policies.¹⁴⁰ Bill Freund expressed the same idea when he stated that the Nkrumah government of Ghana attempted to take over the labour movement.¹⁴¹ Arnold M. Zack argued along the same line with the three scholars when he stated that there was a tendency by governments to nationalize trade unions.¹⁴² Zack argued that the unions were turned into an arm of government. Paschal Mihyo stated that leaders of trade unions were co-opted as party secretaries or members of boards of directors.¹⁴³ Fincham and Zulu contended that the positions were given to people who were labelled as rebels.¹⁴⁴ They argued that the holders of such positions became powerless as they could not criticize government in the same manner they did when they were in unions. This situation was not just peculiar to Zambia as Berg and Butler stated that it happened in West African countries such as Senegal. For instance Alioune Cisse a former union member of Confederation Generale du Travail was chosen as an ambassador to Guinea.¹⁴⁵ Berg and Butler even contended that African trade unions had no political role to play in independent Africa because of the environment of control they found themselves in. This argument by Berg and Butler is weak because African trade unions were not completely controlled as they were the ones which championed the cause of democracy by opposing the one-party state. Even W. H. Friedland argued against such a notion by stating that

¹⁴⁰ Neo Simutanyi, "Political Challenges Facing the Zambian Labour Movement ahead of the 2011 General Elections" in Jack Zimba (ed) *The Labour Movement in Zambia*. Lusaka: Friedrich –Ebert Stiftung. 2011. p.19.

¹⁴¹ Bill Freund, "Labour and Labour History in Africa: A Review of the Literature." *African Studies Review Volume 27 Number 2* (1984). p.18.

¹⁴² Arnold M. Zack, "The Trade Union Role in Education and Skill Development." *Inter African Labour Institute Bulletin Volume 11 Number 4* 1964, p.395.

¹⁴³ Paschal Mihyo, "Against overwhelming odds: The Zambian Trade Union Movement." In Henk Thomas (ed) *Globalization and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*. (London: Zed Books, 1995), p.204.

¹⁴⁴ Fincham and Zulu, "Labour and Participation", p.216.

¹⁴⁵ Berg and Butler, "Trade Unionism and Politics", p.367.

African unions were a force to be reckoned with because African governments had to “contend with large and sophisticated labour forces”¹⁴⁶

The discussion on government’s efforts to try and ensure that unions were not totally autonomous sheds some light on the political circumstances which surrounded ZNUT in the era of independence. Therefore, such information is significant to the study as it situates it in a political environment.

Another theme that literature brings out is the tension between the labour movements and the governments in the independence era. Arnold Zack argued that political leaders believed that unions were too obsessed with immediate gains.¹⁴⁷ The unions on the other hand accused governments of failing to improve the working conditions of their members which were poor. The suspicious relationship often led to acrimony which came in the form of illegal strikes. Mulenga’s work reinforces this argument as it points out that by July 1980, the country had seen over a hundred strikes over a period of sixteen months.¹⁴⁸ Mulenga also makes reference to the strikes by ZNUT in 1985 and 1990. Elsewhere on the African continent, Berg and Butler¹⁴⁹ and Freund¹⁵⁰ made reference to the Teachers Strike in Guinea and the General strike of Ghana both in 1961. Gatian Lungu contributes to this discourse by stating that the tense relations between the trade unions and the government also led to the arrest of trade unionists. To support his argument, he

¹⁴⁶ W. H. Friedland, “African Trade Unions Studies Analysis of Two Decades.” *Cahiers d’ Etudes Africaines Volume 14 Number: 55(1974) pp575-589.*

¹⁴⁷ Zack, “The Trade Union Role,” p.395.

¹⁴⁸ Friday E. Mulenga, “Politics of the Belly: The Workers, Wages, Policies and the Strike Regime in Zambia” In Yizenge Chondoka, Bizeck Jube Phiri and Chewo M.Chabatama (eds) *Zambia Forty Years after Independence 1964-2004. Proceedings of the January 24-25, 2005 Workshop Organised by the Department of History at the University of Zambia to Commemorate Zambia’s Forty Years of Independence and the 40th Anniversary of the University of Zambia.* (Lusaka: Unza Press, 2007),p.72.

¹⁴⁹ Berg and Butler, “Trade Unions”, p.369.

¹⁵⁰ Freud, “A Review of the Literature”, p.18.

discussed the arrest of Frederick Chiluba the Chairperson of Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and other leaders in 1980.¹⁵¹ Mwanakatwe contributes to this discussion by stating that the detention of some unionists strengthened the trade union movement instead of weakening them.¹⁵² The brief discussion on strike action is relevant to the study as it indicates the nature of relations between ZNUT and the government. It demonstrates that relations between ZNUT and the government tended to be hostile at times. Mwanakatwe's argument is relevant to the study as it supports the idea that ZNUT remained autonomous even in the midst of pressure from the government.

Lastly, existing literature also highlights how trade unions respond to the various challenges they face. Aiden Mulkeen underscores this theme by stating that some teachers' unions on the African continent sought the help of their Governments by making subscription compulsory.¹⁵³ This of course was resorted to in order to shield themselves from financial challenges. The teachers' unions of Eritrea and Liberia were the examples which Mulkeen gave. He further contended that most of the unions in Africa affiliated to international unions which gave them financial assistance.¹⁵⁴ Mulkeen's work is relevant to the study as it directly supports the idea that NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT responded to their various challenges.

1.6 Research methodology

The study utilised the qualitative methodological approach. The researcher consulted different centres of information. Phase one of the research was done from the University of Zambia Main Library. Here, the researcher made use of primary sources such as the Monthly and Annual Labour

¹⁵¹ Gatian Lungu, "The Church, Labour and the Press in Zambia: The Role of Critical Observers in a One-Party State." *African Affairs: The Journal of Royal African Society* Volume 85, Number 340. (1986) p. 405.

¹⁵² John M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era* (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1994), p.189.

¹⁵³ Mulkeen, *Teachers in Anglophone Africa*, p.116.

¹⁵⁴ Mulkeen, *Teachers in Anglophone Africa*, p. 116.

reports, Ministry of Education Annual reports, and structure of trade unions report by Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) which was published in 1972. The Labour reports recorded the activities and the problems which different unions faced including ZNUT. The ZCTU structure report was helpful to the study as it indicated the membership of various unions and the money they remitted as subscription. This helped the researcher in making conclusions which relate to the strength and weakness of the union. From the Ministry of Education Annual Reports, the researcher was able to find information regarding the status of the relationship which the Ministry of Education had with the union in a particular year. Other sources which are primary in nature included newspapers, Press releases, Government Gazettes, and parliamentary debates. The Debates from parliament provided additional information on certain issues such as teachers' strikes and their conditions of service. Secondary sources included journal articles, books and dissertations.

The second phase of the study was done from the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ). Some of the sources the researcher consulted included Reports from the Registrar of Trade Unions, ZNUT Annual Reports, and letters from union leaders to the Ministry of Education, newspaper articles and Press releases. The union leaders' reports are crucial to the study as they point out some of the grievances of African teachers in the federal era.

Lastly, the researcher consulted ZNUT offices in Lusaka and Ndola with the intention of consulting more yearly reports, minutes of meetings, treasurer's reports and interviews. The visits did not yield much as most of the documents were missing. The researcher only managed to have access to the constitutions. This of course does not mean that the above documents were not consulted. NAZ provided the minutes, treasurer's reports and Annual Reports. The ZNUT offices were mainly useful in the area of interviews as some officials who served the union in 1991 were

interviewed. Furthermore, the union officials provided the contact details of former officials who were interviewed by the Researcher. Notable among the interviewees was Mr. Edwin Bwalya who joined the union in 1979 and served as a member of the three man committee, Munali Branch Chairperson, and rose through the ranks until he finally retired in 2013 as Director Human Resource. Another person was Mr. Jose Phiri Director Public Relations and International Affairs of ZNUT. Mrs. Margaret Harawa provided the information regarding women's affairs as she served in the Women's Advisory Committee in the 1980s. The information gained from the informants enriched the research. This is because they gave more details than what was contained in the written documents as they experienced certain situations themselves.

This was followed by an analysis of the data. The researcher weighed the authenticity of information. Even though magazine and newspaper articles were important to the research, what they indicated was not taken at face value. Where possible, other sources such as reports were used to ensure corroboration. Even the reports from the union and Ministry of Education were looked at with a critical eye because union officials and education officers tended to serve their own interests in the way they interpreted events.

1.7 Organisation of the study

The study is made up of five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction and historical background. Chapter Two examines the changing roles of the association and the unions. Chapter Three is an analysis of the relationship that existed between the association, unions and the Government. Chapter Four examines the challenges and various ways the association and unions responded to them. Chapter Five is the conclusion.

1.8 Conclusion

This Chapter highlighted the historical background as a way of situating the study within the world, continental and local contexts of trade unionism. The chapter further highlighted the statement of the problem which indicates the gap in research. Furthermore, the objectives of the study which include examining the changing roles of the association and the unions, analysing the relationship that existed between the association, union and the government and examining the association's and unions' challenges and ways of response were highlighted so as to give the study a clear focus. The justification for the study was also highlighted. A review of literature was done to prove that there was indeed a gap in research. The chapter also discussed the Research Methodology which showed the various sources consulted. Lastly, the organisation of the study was highlighted.

CHAPTER TWO

ROLES OF THE ASSOCIATION AND TEACHERS' UNIONS, 1953-1991

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine the roles of NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT in the light of different political, economic and social atmospheres of the Federal period, the First Republic, Second Republic and the beginning of the Third Republic. The main contention is that the general roles of a teachers' union which include advocating for good working conditions and influencing educational policy change in nature due to the different political, economic and social environments prevailing at a given time in history. This is because teachers' organisations adopt different strategies depending on their political economic and social environments to perform a general role. The same strategies then alter the nature of a general role. To prove that each role assumes a different nature in each historical age, the chapter will highlight the different points of emphasis of each role.

2.2 The Roles of the Association and the Unions

2.2.1 Advocating for good working conditions

African teachers in the federal period were subjected to poor working conditions which included low salaries, lack of allowances, indecent accommodation, lack of promotion opportunities, and demotivation.¹ These conditions did not improve after independence due to several factors such as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1980s which involved the cutting of public costs

¹ NAZ ED1/6/13 Summary of Discussions between the Director of African Education and Representatives of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association's Central Executive Committee, 26th November, 1955.p.1.

by government. This made it quite difficult for it to give high salary increments to its workers including teachers.²

During the federal period, African teachers earned lower salaries than European teachers even when they had the same qualifications. Proof of this comes from a newspaper of 1964 which indicates that a T2 African teacher (teachers who had taken a three year course post form II) had a monthly salary of £49 while a European with the same qualification had a salary of £ 64.³ The situation was worse for teachers who had not done a teaching course as they were paid less than learner clerks in 1956.⁴ They earned a monthly salary of £11. 7s 6d while clerks received £16 2s 6d. African graduates earned an annual salary of £500-£965 while their European counterparts earned £905-£1,850.⁵ This difference in emoluments was necessitated by the fact that more money was spent on the education of Europeans than that of Africans. During this era, African education was left under the control of the territorial government while the education of Europeans was the responsibility of the federal government.⁶

Although more money was spent on the education of Europeans, there were some developments in this era such as the expansion of secondary education. This followed the Northern Rhodesia Ten Year Development Plan which was adopted in 1947.⁷ Under the plan, the education sector was to be expanded. It should be noted that great expansion took place after 1956 as more secondary and

² Economist and Intelligence Unit, Zambia Country Profile: Annual Survey of Political and Economic Background.1991-1992.p.4.

³ NAZ, ED 1/6/24, "NORUT Warns Politicians Press Release." 17th April 1964, p.1.

⁴ NAZ, ED/1/6/13, Letter Written to the Director of African Education by General Secretary of NORATA Mr. M. M. Kaunda on 22nd November 1956.

⁵ NAZ, ED1/6/2 Minutes of the Fourth Annual General Conference of the Northern Rhodesia Teachers' Association Held at the Kitwe Training College on 9th and 10th July, 1956.p.19.

⁶ M.J Kelly, *Origins and Development of Education in Zambia from Pre-Colonial Times to 1996* (Lusaka: Image Publishers, 1999), p.75.

⁷ M.J. Kelly, *Origins and Development of Education in Zambia from Pre-Colonial Times to 1996* (Lusaka: Image Publishers, 1999), p.78.

trade schools were built. Although there was this expansion, the African learners were still disadvantaged because they had no hope of having the same employment opportunities which their European counter parts had due to racial segregation.

Another development was the establishment of the Unified African Teaching Service in July 1953.⁸ This service was created so as to end variations in the working conditions of African teachers in Northern Rhodesia. It is important to point out that teachers were employed by various agencies which included the government, mission stations and native authorities.⁹ The teachers who worked for the government had better conditions than those who worked for mission stations and native authorities. The poor working conditions led to dissatisfaction among the teachers who were employed by mission stations and native authorities. This dissatisfaction by these teachers led to inefficient service.¹⁰ Therefore, it can be argued that the Education authorities hoped that a teaching service for African teachers would bring good service delivery.

The service had in place a promotion mechanism which according to the Education authorities was effective. The regulation regarding promotions dictated that the Manager of Schools recommended teachers for promotions and eventually the Director of Native Education made the final decision.¹¹ It is important to indicate that not all African teachers were part of this service as there were some teachers who served under mission stations and native authorities in the late 1950s. It must be mentioned that some teachers were never even part of the non-racial Northern Rhodesia Teaching Service established in 1962.¹² The efforts to make the teaching service effective did not work.

⁸ The Unified African Teaching Regulations (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1953), p.2.

⁹ GOV.ZAM.02 1953/10 Department of African Education: Notes on the New System of Educational Administration. The African Education and The African Education Regulations, 1953.p.1.

¹⁰ GOV.ZAM.02.1953/10 African Education Regulations, p. 1.

¹¹ The Unified Teaching Regulations of 1953, p.6.

¹² See Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1964.p. 23.

African teachers were still disadvantaged compared to their European counterparts pertaining to working conditions and the African learner still had no prospect of a better economic future.

Such a status quo in the federal era did not sit well with NORATA and later NORUT. The teachers' association therefore focused on improving the working conditions of African teachers as spelt out in its constitution.¹³ During annual conferences, NORATA spoke against the low salaries which African teachers earned. The officials pointed out that the salaries were below the poverty line. They spoke for both graduate and non-graduate teachers. For instance, during his welcome address to the extra ordinary conference in 1961, the President of NORATA Martin Kaunda pointed out that the salaries which T3 and T4 teachers earned were not equivalent to the hard work they performed in primary schools. Teachers who were categorized as T3 and T4 were those who had taken a teaching course post Standard Six.¹⁴ The only difference was that a T3 teacher had more teaching experience. "The salaries given to these teachers were a mere pittance"¹⁵ Furthermore, it was argued that the highest salary scale needed not to be a preserve for African graduate teachers only.¹⁶

Although Kaunda spoke against the salary of T3 and T4 teachers in 1961, NORATA had scored a minor success in this area as the Department of African Education considered the association's suggestion of paying untrained teachers a salary of £16.2s 6d.¹⁷ Regarding the graduates, they received equal pay with their European counterparts in 1960.

¹³ NAZ ED1/6/8 Report of Subcommittee on Teachers' Association, 1953, p.1.

¹⁴ Government of Northern Rhodesia, Annual Report on African Education for the year 1958. p.14.

¹⁵ NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda's Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.4.

¹⁶ Central African Post Reporter, "Kitwe Teachers Strike", *Central African Post*. March 2-4, 1963. p. 1.

¹⁷ NAZ, ED1/6/13 Minutes of Meeting Held at African Education Headquarters on 16th December, 1956. p.2.

Furthermore, NORATA appealed to the Ministry of African Education to improve the poor accommodation teachers were subjected to. A report by United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) highlighted that the housing which was available for teachers in Northern Rhodesia did not give them status or chance for study.¹⁸ The structures which functioned as homes were in pathetic conditions without indoor sanitation. The union therefore appealed to the Ministry of African Education to improve the condition of such houses especially in the rural areas and mission stations.¹⁹ NORATA further contended that it was not fair for the Ministry of African Education to deduct 12.5% of the salary from all teachers who occupied institutional houses because some of them were of very poor standard.²⁰

Another problem which the association grappled with in the role of improving the conditions of teachers was the promotion machinery which mostly considered Europeans for promotions. NORATA contended that it was not right for the authorities to argue that there were certain qualities which were needed apart from paper qualifications every time Africans pressed for promotions.²¹ The authorities asserted that a person who needed to be promoted needed to display virtues of integrity, character and ability. Although there was an achievement in the area of promotions in 1956 when John Mwanakatwe became the first African Head Teacher of a Secondary School, which was Munali, the majority of them were not in positions of responsibility. In Northern Province, NORATA complained that no serious attempts were made to promote

¹⁸ United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Education in Northern Rhodesia: A Report and Recommendations prepared by UNESCO Planning Mission. 28th September -2nd December, 1963.p.61.

¹⁹NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda's Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.7.

²⁰ NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda's Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.7.

²¹ NAZ, ED 1/6/1. Mr. J. B. Mweemba's Welcome Address to the Seventh Annual General Conference of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association, June 4th 1959. p.3.

teachers to positions of great responsibility in 1959.²² It argued that Northern Province was the worst hit by the scourge of lack of promotion and that something needed to be done about it as teachers were leaving the province for other provinces. NORATA further argued that teachers who served as senior teachers were frustrated because they were never promoted.²³ The officials pointed out that senior teachers were overcrowded in the same schools. It was argued that they needed to be scattered by making them First Assistants and Head Teachers in different schools.

The last complaint against the system of promotion was that it was biased. According to Martin Kaunda, promotions were dependent on how well a particular teacher interacted with the School Manager.²⁴ The argument advanced by Kaunda was a concrete one because School Managers were the ones who recommended teachers for promotion. NORATA maintained that such a system would result in the creation of a group of “informers and subservient teachers who will stoop to anything so as to please the manager.”²⁵ It was because of these demerits of the promotion machinery that the association appealed to the ministry to formulate another system which would make use of hard work in the discharging of one’s duty as a yardstick.²⁶ This call for change in the promotion machinery in 1961 yielded some positive fruits just before independence when the Ministry of Education decided to advertise and invite applications for positions of Head Teachers.²⁷

²² NAZ, ED 1/6/13 Letter from Northern Rhodesia Northern Province Branch to Provincial Education Officer for Northern Province Dated 17th May 1959.

²³ NAZ, ED 1/6/13 Letter from Northern Rhodesia Northern Province Branch to Provincial Education Officer for Northern Province Dated 17th May 1959.

²⁴ NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda’s Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.4.

²⁵ NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda’s Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.4.

²⁶ NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda’s Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.4.

²⁷ Ministry of Education Circular No 19 of 1964, Revision of Salaries, Allowances and Conditions of Service for the Northern Rhodesia Teaching Service.p.1.

In their appeal that the promotion system needed to be reformed, the officials of NORUT suggested a number of things to the Ministry. They pointed out that a separate inspectorate which was going to deal with issues of promotions needed to be established.²⁸ This inspectorate was to visit schools monthly and write reports on the progress of teachers. In that way, promotion would be on merit. In addition to this, NORATA and NORUT during the federal period also protested against victimization and termly transfers of teachers.

The birth of Zambia as an independent nation in October 1964 brought changes in the nature of this role. A person's colour did not bar anyone from earning what he or she was supposed to or hold a certain position as long as he or she was qualified. However, expatriate teachers were retained under a different pay roll.²⁹ These were mostly Secondary School teachers of foreign origin who worked in Zambia on contract terms. Their conditions of service were better than the ordinary Zambian teachers so as to entice them to stay as the country was not rich in human resource in the early years of its independence.

It can be deduced therefore that although the union pressed for higher salaries, allowances, good accommodation and promotions, the points of contention were different. The teachers' union which became ZNUT after October 1964 fought for salary increments for the purpose of uplifting the status of a teacher which was not good due to the fact that there were so many untrained teachers to cover the manpower shortage in the independence era.³⁰ Furthermore, the wage ceilings of the 1980s deemed the task necessary. Therefore, the role that the union played in increasing the salaries for the purpose mentioned will be examined in detail.

²⁸NAZ ED1/6/22 Minutes of the NORUT Executive Council Meeting Held on 28th December, 1962 in Lusaka. p.4.

²⁹ GOV ZAM 02/1968/6 Teaching and Living in Zambia. Lusaka: Government Printers. p.22.

³⁰ Ministry of Education, Report on First National Education Conference Held at Evelyn Hone College of Further Education, Lusaka. 30th September-2nd October 1969. p.59.

With independence came an increase in the number of schools which meant that more teachers were needed. Although the number of teachers who taught in these schools could not match the void that existed, the teaching population had increased compared to the federal days when there were less than 10,000 teachers. According to a government publication of 1966, there were 12,000 teachers.³¹ The figure was increasing at the rate of 1,500 per year and left the salaries depressed. Therefore, the union fought for the increase in salaries. To this effect, salary increases varying from 33.3% at the lower levels to 5% at the higher levels were awarded to *Zambian* teachers from January 1967.³² Government implemented the wage increment after the recommendations of the Whelan Salaries Commission in 1966.³³ Furthermore, the union campaigned for better salaries for Deputy Heads of primary schools in 1973.³⁴

Pertaining to allowances, the union continued to pressure government. This pressure grew more especially in the Second Republic due to economic problems such as the oil spike, the recession in the copper prices in 1974 and the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s³⁵ which made government reduce its expenditure. This brought to light the aspect of wage ceilings which is discussed at length in the next chapter.

Furthermore, the union asked for allowances regarding the extra responsibilities teachers carried out in their line of duty such as teaching two classes for primary school teachers instead of one

³¹ Zambia Educational Policy, Legislation and Administration. 1966. p. 11.

³² Zambia Ministry of Education, Report on Educational Developments in 1966-1967. p.14.

³³ Republic of Zambia, Report on the Grading Structure and Salaries Commission (Whelan Report) Digest of Government's Attitude to the Report. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966.

³⁴ NAZ, EDU 2/14/9 Resolutions Passed at a Two Day Seminar Held at the Curriculum Development Centre, Lusaka, 4th -5th April,1973. p.1.

³⁵ Zambia Country Profile: Annual Survey of Political and Economic Background 1991-1992. The Economist Intelligence.p.37.

(Double Class or Double Session). The union managed to secure the double class allowances for its teachers.³⁶

In addition to this, the union decided to focus on an issue which did not receive appropriate attention from the Northern Rhodesia government. The issue had to do with the conditions of service for married and unmarried female teachers. Marriage of a female teacher who wanted to follow her husband in his town of residence had a probability of leading to early retirement just like other problems such as ill health. This was probable because these teachers were not given ample time to find a vacancy in the towns they opted to live and they had to be retired if they failed to find one. Another disadvantage which married women faced was denial of housing allowance.³⁷ As if that was not enough, such women who were expecting were not eligible for paid maternity leave.³⁸ Regarding the unmarried female teachers, they needed to resign when they fell pregnant and reapply for the job once the baby was weaned.³⁹ Such a procedure only applied to women serving as teachers. This penalty was enforced because a teacher was by nature a role model and pregnancy out of wedlock did not reflect that role.⁴⁰

In its initial fight against this penalty, the union resolved that married women needed to use their accumulated days for maternity leave.⁴¹ Later on, the union made outright demands for maternity leave. In 1972, the union called upon the government to stop forcing unmarried pregnant teachers

³⁶ Government of the Republic of Zambia Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1966. p.19.

³⁷ Ministry of Education, Zambia Educational Policy Legislation and Administration 1966/1967.p.12.

³⁸ Ministry of Education, Education in Transit Report of the Administrative Working Party Appointed to Examine Certain Aspects of the Teaching Service in 1968. p.24.

³⁹ Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Salary Structures and Conditions of Service of the Zambia Public and Teaching Services, The Zambia Police Force and Prisons Service, the Defence Forces and the Staff of Local Authorities Including Casual and Daily –Paid Employees and of Personnel Employed by Statutory Boards and Corporations and by Companies. Volume One, 1975. (Chairperson, John Mwanakatwe.) p.65

⁴⁰ Report of the Mwanakatwe Commission, p.65.

⁴¹ NAZ, EDU 2/14/9 Resolutions Passed at a Two Day Seminar Held at the Curriculum Development Centre, Lusaka, 4th -5th April,1973. p.1.

to resign.⁴² It took the government four years to listen to the appeals of the union. In September 1976, the Government made a ruling that teachers who became pregnant out of wedlock did not need to resign.⁴³ All women regardless of marital status were given maternity leave. With regard to early retirement of married women which was necessitated by a woman's decision to leave the district where she was first posted to join her husband in another district, the Whelan Report concurred with the union that it was not necessary.⁴⁴ The women did not need to leave the service. Instead, they needed to be given enough time to find a vacancy. The issue of housing allowances for married female teachers was not solved within the period of review as it dragged on until 1991.⁴⁵

The increase of teachers in the era of independence made the problem of poor accommodation complex especially on the Copperbelt. According to Mwanakatwe, four or five single teachers shared a house in 1964 in the province.⁴⁶ Another area where there was such a crisis was Eastern province. In extreme cases, female teachers ended up living with married male Head teachers.⁴⁷ An area which was mentioned in the Provincial Report of 1971 pertaining to such a situation was Chinzule School in Katete although the report did not give statistical information.⁴⁸ Within the same province it was common for teachers to be accommodated in the villages far away from the

⁴² NAZ ED 2/14/4 Excerpt from *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12th October, 1972.

⁴³ Rosemary Kasamba, "Pregnant Employees won't be Sacked" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 1st September, 1976. p. 1.

⁴⁴ F.J. Whelan, Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Grading Structure of Civil Service. The Salary Scales of the Civil Service, the Teaching Service, The Zambia Police and Prisons Service, The Salary Scales and Wages of Non-Civil Service (Industrial) Employees of the Government and Pay Scales and Conditions of Service of the Zambia Defence Forces. 1965. p.15.

⁴⁵ NAZ, CO.2/25/2.Meeting between the ZNUT and the Permanent Secretary in the Permanent Secretary's Office. 12th June 1991. p.6.

⁴⁶ GOV ZAM (02) Speech Delivered at the Opening of the Third Annual Territorial Conference of the National Union of Teachers By Mr. W. Nkanza, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education on behalf of the Minister Honourable John Mwanakatwe.10th January, 1966. p.12.

⁴⁷NAZ EP4/12/15 Zambia National Union of Teachers Provincial Report for Eastern Province. April 1971. p.2.

⁴⁸ NAZ EP4/12/15 Zambia National Union of Teachers Provincial Report for Eastern Province. April 1971. p.2.

school compounds. This was the scenario at Bilabila School and Mpyana Kunda in Chama District.⁴⁹

In some cases, even buildings which served as dormitories served as dwelling places for teachers. This was the case at Kabulonga Boys Secondary School in Lusaka in the 1970s and 1980s.⁵⁰ Over twenty teachers were accommodated in four buildings which had been dormitories and did not have kitchens. Other teachers were accommodated in hotels.⁵¹ These teachers risked eviction because the ministry did not pay the hotel owners on time.

The situation regarding accommodation was so dire that there was even a Presidential directive to house teachers.⁵² By 1988, approximately 7000 teachers had no houses and the situation was expected to get worse as more teachers were graduating from colleges and the University of Zambia.⁵³ To make matters worse, teachers could not even meet the conditions of a loan scheme which was offered to Government by the Zambia National Building Society.⁵⁴

In order to ensure that its members were decently accommodated, the ZNUT demanded for an increase in the amount given as housing allowance. It demanded that housing allowance which was at K180 in 1987 needed to be increased to K200 due to the increase in the cost of living.⁵⁵ Its contention was that since government had failed to provide accommodation then more money needed to be given to the teachers so that they could find their own houses and pay rent. This was an indication that the union had moved away from the mundane task of appealing to government

⁴⁹NAZ EP4/12/15 Zambia National Union of Teachers Provincial Report for Eastern Province. April 1971. p.2.

⁵⁰ John Phiri, "The Ghetto Teachers" *Sunday Times*. 27th March, 1988. p.1.

⁵¹ Mail Reporter, "Teachers Demand 35% Increments," *Zambia Daily Mail*. p. 3.

⁵² NAZ, ME/53/11/17 Housing Committee Sub –Committee Report, 1979/1980.p. 13.

⁵³ Mail Reporter, "No Teachers Without Accommodation." *Zambia Daily Mail*. 28th May, 1987. p.5.

⁵⁴ Times Reporter, "ZNUT tables Option", p.7.

⁵⁵Times Reporter, "ZNUT tables Option",p.7

to build more houses as the only solution to the mammoth problem. The ZNUT became more creative in its appeals for solutions for overcoming the challenge of accommodation.

The ZNUT also argued that if Government did not have money for building houses it needed to get help from business entities such as mining companies.⁵⁶ An example was given of Nchanga Mine where in 1983 more than fifty houses were vacant yet teachers were living in Shanty Compounds educating the children of these miners. The union further argued that the government did not need to send teachers to schools which lacked accommodation.⁵⁷ The ministry of Education concurred with this suggestion in the words of its Minister Basil Kabwe who stated that it was unfair for parent teacher associations, (PTAs) to make requests for teachers when the schools lacked accommodation.⁵⁸

The task of appealing to the Ministry of Education to promote teachers also went through changes in the post -colonial period because of the different challenges which confronted a teacher. Racism was no longer the challenge in this field. Among the new challenges were tribalism, regionalism⁵⁹ and seniority.⁶⁰ This tended to discourage young men and women who were hardworking and wanted to make teaching their life long profession. In relation to this, there was also an increase in the number of cases regarding acting in positions of authority without being confirmed. There were cases of this nature in Pemba in 1969 where people had acted as Head Teachers from 1964.⁶¹ The union made the government aware of the worst cases which existed. For instance they pointed out

⁵⁶ Times Reporter, "Teachers Dig in Over Housing" *Times of Zambia*. 18th January, 1984. p.5.

⁵⁷ Times Reporter, "K1 Million Peanuts says ZNUT" *Times of Zambia*. 7th May, 1983. p.5.

⁵⁸ Times Reporter, "K1 Million Peanuts says ZNUT", *Times of Zambia* p.5.

⁵⁹ NAZ, CO. 2/25/2 Minutes of the Meeting between the ZNUT and the Permanent Secretary in the Permanent Secretary Office. 12th June 1991. P.3.

⁶⁰ A. M. Lindunda, "Why join or Leave Teaching?" *The Education Front. Volume 1, Number: 1*. 1976. p. 22.

⁶¹ Times Reporter, Teachers Ready to Quit Over Report Delays. *Times of Zambia*. 27/11/69. p.1.

to the Permanent Secretary that there was a case of one teacher who served at the same school in the same capacity without being transferred or promoted for seventeen years.⁶²

In addition to this, the ZNUT was concerned about retirees who formerly served as teachers. It argued that retired teachers were left completely destitute because they were not given their benefits on time.⁶³ Therefore, it appealed to the government to ensure that such teachers received their terminal benefits on time. It further suggested that a committee to review cases of retired teachers needed to be established. In addition to this, it requested government to provide transport to the retirees who remained in the same stations and risked spending all their benefits before they could reach their villages.⁶⁴

Furthermore, the union wanted teachers to fare well in comparison with other workers in society. The union contended that there were instances of a whole town just having only two teachers with motor vehicles or none at all.⁶⁵ This was because their salaries were low compared to other professionals. According to Albert Chibale, Acting General Secretary in 1983, most teachers lived in poverty.⁶⁶

The union had managed to gain some form of confidence from teachers because of the role it played in demanding for higher salaries, better accommodation and promotions. To this effect, cases of unfair dismissals were referred to it. The union was able to save sixteen teachers from instant dismissals from 1969-1970.⁶⁷ By 1972, the union had dealt with 700 complaints involving

⁶²NAZ, CO. 7/2/15 Minutes of the Meeting between the ZNUT and the Permanent Secretary in the Permanent Secretary Office. 12th June 1991. p.3.

⁶³ Mail Reporter, "No teachers", p. 5.

⁶⁴ Mail Reporter, "No teachers", p. 5.

⁶⁵ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT to Press for Salary Increases." *Zambia Daily Mail*. 11th May 1983. p.5.

⁶⁶ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT to Press for Salary Increases." *Zambia Daily Mail*. 11th May 1983. p.5.

⁶⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/9. Times Reporter, "We've Saved Teachers from Instant Dismissal. Says Union." *Times of Zambia*. 15th June, 1971. p. 1.

over 500 teachers.⁶⁸ Of all these grievances, 550 were settled amicably, 50 were found to be false because the claims of teachers were not true. The other 100 were in the process of being worked on. Most of these cases hinged on dismissals and transfers which some teachers termed unfair. Another set of cases the union dealt with pertained to suspensions. The union spoke against the suspension cases in 1977 which were pending from 1975 in Kalabo District.⁶⁹

Furthermore, the union was concerned with giving teaching a good image in society. It condemned statements uttered by some government officials because they lacked substantial proof. For instance it spoke against the words of Livingstone District Education Officer in 1988 who said Grade Seven pupils performed poorly in 1988 because teachers attended to their pupils without lesson plans.⁷⁰ It argued that such a statement was damaging to the teaching profession.

It was also concerned about the high number of resignations of teachers from the service. Its argument was that the resignations of teachers affected the rate of Zambianisation in secondary schools. Zambianisation had to do with increasing the number of skilled Zambian workers in different industries which were dominated by expatriates. This rate of Zambianisation stood at 16.4% in Zambian Secondary Schools in 1972⁷¹ as indicated by the table below. This simply meant that of 2,679 secondary school teachers in the country, only 440 were Zambians.⁷²

⁶⁸ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union Teachers Union of Teachers Annual Report for 1972. p.2.

⁶⁹ NAZ ME7/2/2 Speech Delivered by the General Secretary Shiyenge Kapini in Kalabo on 3rd JULY, 1977. p.3.

⁷⁰ Times Reporter, ZNUT Refutes Charges. *Times of Zambia*. 19th January, 1988. p. 5.

⁷¹ Republic of Zambia, Third National Development Plan 1979-1983.p.339.

⁷² Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education Statistical Profile of Zambianisation. December, 1976. P.23.

Table 1: The rate of Zambianisation in secondary schools in the early 1970s

DEGREE HOLDERS.				DIPLOMA AND CERTIFICATE HOLDERS.			TOTALS			
Year	Zambian	Non- Zambians	Total	Zambian	Non- Zambian	Total	Zambia	Non- Zambians	All teachers	% of Rate
1970	48	1,313	1,361	244	722	966	292	2,035	2,327	12.5
1971	50	1,518	1,568	287	677	964	337	2,195	2,532	13.3
1972	86	1,535	1,621	354	704	1058	440	2,239	2,679	16.4
1973	78	1,619	1,697	438	647	1085	516	2,266	2,782	18.5
1974	126	1,596	1,722	587	623	1210	713	2,219	2,932	24.3
1975	148	1,606	1,754	818	529	1,347	966	2,135	3,101	31.2

Source: Ministry of Education Statistical Profile of Zambianisation. p.23.

2.2.2 Influence on Educational Policy.

From the 1950s, the ZNUT which started as NORATA had expressed the desire to influence the formulation of policy in the country. In 1955, NORATA was acknowledged by the Native Education Authorities by allowing its President John Mweemba to be a member of the Advisory Board.⁷³ This opportunity to sit on the board made African teachers aware of what the colonial education authorities were planning. For instance in 1957, Mweemba was told by the NORATA

⁷³ GOV ZAM. E4. Minutes of the Sixteenth Meeting of the African Education Advisory Board Held in the Wesley Hall, Lusaka 11th -19th October, 1955. p. 5.

central executive not to agree to the suggestion that the use of vernacular had to be discontinued in upper primary.⁷⁴ It was argued that pupils learned English Grammar in their mother tongue through comparison. It was further asserted that children were not going to be fluent in their languages and would therefore lose their identity. The association even fought for the introduction of Lozi and Tonga as examinable subjects at Junior Secondary level in 1957.⁷⁵

Apart from ensuring that local languages had an important position in the education system, the association also campaigned for change in the entry age of Sub – Standard A pupils.⁷⁶ It pointed out that children needed to start Sub A at the age of six instead of eight. NORATA contended that the reason for indiscipline in boys’ schools was a result of having men and not boys in secondary schools. The association insisted on this stance although the Education Department could not implement it as it argued that such a move would be unfair as there were already children above the age of eight who needed to be given priority in the enrollments.⁷⁷ The NORATA also demanded for the introduction of handwriting in Sub-A.⁷⁸ NORATA further advocated for the introduction of art as a compulsory subject in all schools and music for students in teacher training colleges.⁷⁹ The association scored successes in this area as Tonga and Lozi became examinable subjects at form two level in 1957.⁸⁰ Furthermore, music was introduced as a subject at the two

⁷⁴ NAZ ED 1/6/13 Minutes of the Executive Meeting Held at Kabwata Local Education Authority School. 6TH April 1957.p.2.

⁷⁵ Kaunda, “The History and Development of an African Association.”, p.40 Also NORATA Annual Report for 1957-1958.

⁷⁶ NAZ ED1/6/13 Northern Rhodesia Teachers’ Association Conference Held in the African Memorial Hall on 8th June 1957. p. 2.

⁷⁷ NAZ ED1/6/13 Northern Rhodesia Teachers’ Association Conference Held in the African Memorial Hall on 8th June 1957. p. 2.

⁷⁸ NAZ ED1/6/1 Notice of A Meeting of the Second Annual Territorial Conference to be Held in the EX- Askari Memorial Hall , Burma Road , Opposite Kabwata Compound Lusaka, 18th June 1954. p. 2.

⁷⁹NAZ, ED 1/6/1 Minutes of NORATA Meeting June 1954 p. 1.

⁸⁰ Kaunda, “The History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia”, p.41.

teachers' training colleges which were in the territory namely Chalimbana Teacher Training College in Lusaka and Local Education Authority at Kitwe.⁸¹

As a result of its vocal role in the area of policy formulation, the African Department of Education consulted NORATA and later NORUT on a variety of issues relating to education. For instance in 1957, the executive committee of NORATA was consulted before the Department could bring in foreign teachers from the Union of South Africa due to the shortage of teachers in the territory.⁸²

As with advocating for good working conditions, this role also went through changes because of the different political, economic and social environment of the era of independence. Independence brought with it the need to expand the education system so that every child could have a chance to be educated. There was also the aspect of revolutionizing the system from being very academic to being practical.

The desire by government to expand the education system facilitated the growth of so many ideas such as double sessions for pupils in secondary schools which meant that pupils of the same grade could attend classes at different times during the day for the same number of hours instead of having one session for many hours. The ZNUT opposed this suggestion, on the ground that children would not have enough learning time⁸³. The union also set up subject committees to improve the quality of education in the country because the growth of the education system did not just entail increase in the number of schools.⁸⁴ Subject committees were formed to improve the efficiency of teachers in various academic subjects. Each subject had a committee at the

⁸¹ African Education Triennial Survey, 1955-1957.p.25.

⁸² NAZ ED1/6/1 Presidential Address during the Northern Rhodesia Teachers' Association Conference Held in the African War Memorial Hall. 8TH June 1957. p. 3.

⁸³ GOV ZAM (02) 1977. Ministry of Education, Education for Development Evaluation Seminar: Summary of Contributions to the National Debate on Educational Reform Volume 2 January 1977.

⁸⁴ Ministry of Education, Ministry of Education Annual Report. 1966. p. 22.

district, provincial and national level. Teachers learned how best to teach various topics in different subjects.

The desire to change the education system was not unique to the Zambian situation. The newly independent African countries wanted to achieve economic sufficiency and this called for alterations in school curriculum and out of school training.⁸⁵ This prompted the Educational Reforms of the 1970s. The ZNUT joined the discourse of a revolution in 1975.⁸⁶ The union argued that the education system which was offered in Zambia emphasized the white collar job mentality as school graduates did not value manual labour. Therefore, when the debate on education reforms gained momentum in 1977, the union fully participated and encouraged teachers to make submissions⁸⁷. The union pointed out during a seminar discussing the Educational Reforms that there was need to have teachers who were trained in production Management if production units were going to be a success.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the union in its discussion on the reforms stated that the skills gained by Zambia National Service (ZNS) graduates needed recognition and certification so as to ensure standardized qualifications in vocational training institutes with those of ZNS.⁸⁹ In addition to this, the union suggested that Heads of Centres for Continuing Education needed to ensure that they worked with the local leaders such as ward councilors.⁹⁰ The union stated that the partnership was important as leaders were the ones who knew the needs of society and such needs

⁸⁵ M.J Kelly. *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia from Pre-Colonial Times to 1996*. (Lusaka: Image Publishers Limited, 1999), p.145.

⁸⁶ NAZ EDU 2/14/18 Report of the Acting General Secretary, Mr. Shiyenge Kapini to the 8th Annual Convention of Delegates Held at Mulungushi President's Citizenship College in Kabwe. 4th to 5th January 1975. p. 9.

⁸⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Speech Delivered by the General Secretary of Zambia National Union of Teachers Union During a General Meeting Held on 3rd April 1976. p.2.

⁸⁸ Ministry of Education, Education for Development Evaluation Seminar: Summary of Contributions to the National Debate on Educational Reform Volume 2.1977. p.1.

⁸⁹GOV ZAM (02) 1977. Ministry of Education, Education for Development Evaluation Seminar: Summary of Contributions to the National Debate on Educational Reforms. Volume I. 1977. p. 14.

⁹⁰ GOV ZAM (02) Education for Development, 1977. p. 14.

in turn helped the Heads to determine the type of education which was suitable for a given community.⁹¹The teachers' union also spoke out during the implementation of the reforms.⁹² In 1983 for instance, the union urged the government to be the main financier of the reforms instead of depending entirely on self-help schemes which were provided by parents.⁹³

Furthermore, ZNUT was vocal regarding the free education policy which the Zambian government instituted in order to encourage Zambians to have access to education. It asserted in 1985 that free education was not a reality as parents bought books, uniforms and paid various amounts for school projects.⁹⁴ In relation to this, the union also spoke against some schools imposing levies which were not even permitted by their local PTAs. This was the case in Mufulira on the Copperbelt in 1988 where some teachers were collecting money and various materials for school projects.⁹⁵

The union also spoke out regarding enrollment of primary pupils just as it did in the federal days. However, the point of contention in the era of independence and most precisely the Second and Third Republics was different as it focused on ensuring that fairness was employed by Head teachers in the selection of Grade one pupils.⁹⁶ This plea was made in the light of limited primary school places especially in the urban areas. The union appealed to the Head teachers to make use of the six-man selection committees formed in 1984 which had a purpose of selecting grade one pupils.⁹⁷

The union also expressed its opinion on other issues such as plans to phase out urban Boarding Secondary Schools, the work of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC), the idea of bonding

⁹¹ GOV ZAM (02) Education for Development, 1977. p. 14.

⁹² Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1983. p. 5.

⁹³ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1983.

⁹⁴ Times Reporter, "Teachers need Attention" *Times of Zambia*. 1st March, 1985. p.5.

⁹⁵ Times Reporter, "Schools Blasted for Endless Levy Demands." *Times of Zambia*. 23rd September, 1988. p. 5.

⁹⁶ Times Reporter, "ZNUT finds cure for exam leakages" *Times of Zambia*. 21 September, 1985 p.5.

⁹⁷Times Reporter, "ZNUT finds cure for exam leakages. p.5.

student teachers and ill in the education system. Regarding the issue of Boarding schools, government in 1984 and 1985 indicated that it wanted to phase out urban boarding schools because of the difficulties that had to do with feeding.⁹⁸ The union argued against this position by stating that children concentrated more if they were in boarding schools. It is important to note that the government still implemented this objective as a number of urban boarding schools were turned into day schools.

Pertaining to the CDC, the union pointed out that there was need for thorough corrections before books could be put on the market.⁹⁹ It substantiated its argument by pointing out that such a measure would avoid wastage of funds. It also argued that the works of the CDC needed to be extended to all the provinces to ensure efficiency. The union also suggested that permanent staff needed to be employed at CDC and that national tours needed to be conducted by the CDC officers to ensure that schools were abreast with changes in the curriculum.¹⁰⁰

Regarding the bonding of student teachers, the union argued against it in 1976¹⁰¹stating that bonding would create a crop of frustrated and demoralized teachers.¹⁰² Shiyenge Kapini, General Secretary further asserted that teaching called for people who were committed and dedicated and not those who were kept in the service because of a bonding agreement.¹⁰³

The union also had a say regarding ill in the education sector. It spoke against the method of examining grade seven pupils and examination leakages. In 1970 for instance, the union contended

⁹⁸ Mail Reporter, "Teachers Press for Salary Increments" p.5. See Also Republic of Zambia Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the First Session (Resumed) of the Fifth National Assembly 24th January-23rd March, 1984. p.2752.

⁹⁹ NAZ, EDU2/14/9 A Meeting to Consider Resolutions Passes at a Seminar Organised by the Zambia National Union of Teachers Held in the Under Secretary's Office at 14:30 Hours. 2nd June 1973.p.1.

¹⁰⁰ NAZ EDU 2/14/9 A Meeting to Consider Resolutions.p.1.

¹⁰¹ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT Rejects Bonding of Students" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 1st September, 1976. p.5.

¹⁰² Mail Reporter, "ZNUT Rejects". p. 5.

¹⁰³ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT Rejects Bonding of Students" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 1st September, 1976. p.5.

that subjects such as Special Paper Two needed not to be examinable as they were not part of the taught content.¹⁰⁴ The union pointed out that the subject was biased towards urban children as most of the rural children had not even seen the articles or items which were in the examination papers before. The union further argued that it was pointless to build more primary schools when only 14,000 out of 50,000 children could be selected at grade eight level.¹⁰⁵ This argument is not valid because the population kept on growing after independence so government still needed to build more primary schools.

Regarding examination malpractices, the union advanced solutions to the Ministry of Education in 1985.¹⁰⁶ It suggested that the government needed to impose stiffer punishment on the offenders. Moreover, all examination materials did not need to be carried in open vehicles. In short, the government was asked to ensure that an efficient transport system was in place. It was suggested that if government did not have vehicles, parastatals could be approached as was the case during elections.¹⁰⁷ The union also made a commitment that it was not going to protect teachers who indulged in the act of examination malpractice.¹⁰⁸ The role of influencing educational policy also went through some transitions. The ZNUT performed a far greater significant role after independence than NORATA and NORUT did in the federal period.

2.2.3 Educating Teachers on their Roles

From its inception in the federal period, NORATA encouraged teachers to be good role models to the children they taught and the society as a whole. The union condemned negative habits such as

¹⁰⁴ Mail Reporter, "School Selection System Useless" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 22nd January, 1970. p.3.

¹⁰⁵ Mail Reporter, "School Selection", p.3.

¹⁰⁶ Times Reporter, "ZNUT finds Cure for Exam Leaks." *Times of Zambia*. 21st September 1985. P. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Times Reporter, "ZNUT finds Cure for Exam Leakages", p.5.

¹⁰⁸ Times Reporter, "ZNUT finds Cure for Exam Leakages", p.5.

drunkenness. In 1956 for instance, the NORATA President pointed out that it was against reckless drinking by some teachers who were even teaching in a drunken state.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, teachers were told by the NORATA President that their responsibility was to impart knowledge to their learners. They were supposed to have all the teaching instruments such as lesson plans in place whenever they went to teach.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, NORATA stated that the roles of teachers also involved extra curricula activities such as sports because teaching was not just confined to classroom activities.¹¹¹

After independence, the union continued to reinforce its stance on the need for teachers to be positive role models by condemning acts such as absenteeism¹¹² and the issue of male teachers impregnating school girls.¹¹³ Just as the other roles had changed after the attainment of independence, this role of educating teachers on their duties changed to a certain extent because of developments such as the introduction of humanism as the national philosophy. Some of the principles which it emphasized were, centrality of man, cooperation, anti-exploitation of one man by another and self-reliance.¹¹⁴ The philosophy condemned the evils of capitalism, neo-colonialism, hunger, ignorance, disease and crime.¹¹⁵ Under the philosophy, educating a child needed to be more than just knowing facts. Education needed to encourage discipline, courage and judgement.¹¹⁶ President Kaunda believed that education gave a person the courage to get rid of

¹⁰⁹ NAZ, ED1/6/1 Minutes of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Fourth Annual General Conference Held at Kitwe Training College. 9th-10th July, 1956. p. 19.

¹¹⁰ NAZ ED1/6/22 B. L. Sinyangwe, "Eastern Province Teachers' Organisation in Transit" Newsletter. January 1962. p. 2.

¹¹¹ NAZ, ED1/6/24 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association News Letter. First Issue. October 1961. p. 2.

¹¹² Times Reporter, "ZNU teachers." *Sunday Times*. 31st May, 1987. p. 7.

¹¹³ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Minutes of a Meeting Held at Chiparamba Primary School in Chipata. 14th October, 1972. p.2.

¹¹⁴ Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation by his Excellency Dr. K.D. Kaunda President of the Republic of Zambia. 1968 p.5 and also Speech by His Excellency the President Dr. K.D. Kaunda on the Occasion of the Opening of the Labour Management Seminar. 9th November, 1972. p.1.

¹¹⁵ Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation. Part II. 1974 p.5.

¹¹⁶ David Kenneth Kaunda, 10 Thoughts on Humanism. (Lusaka, 1968), p.3.

fears and superstitions of ignorance and judgement showed the difference between good and bad.¹¹⁷ To this effect, the teachers' union had the task of ensuring that teachers were well informed on the subject and capable of expanding the philosophy by incorporating its main principles in the teaching process.¹¹⁸

The philosophy of Humanism enhanced the wellbeing of teachers because it gave them the courage to condemn acts by certain Ministry of Education officials which they called un-humanistic.¹¹⁹ The teachers through their union pointed out that Ministry officials who were fond of shouting at teachers needed to refrain from the habit. According to the union, that habit belittled a teacher. It should also be noted that it was on the ground of Humanism that ZNUT made demands regarding the equality of men and women in the teaching service. The union's argument was that "only under humanism can female teachers obtain all legal rights."¹²⁰

The union not only educated teachers on the roles they needed to play as officers in the Civil Service. It also educated them on their roles as members of a trade union. Workers' education became an indispensable resource after independence because of the changes dictated by government in trade unionism and the economic hardships. According to the government, trade unionism needed to change. It was believed that the trade union movement upon entering independence was not suited to the needs of the country.¹²¹ It was consumptionist and not

¹¹⁷ 10 Thoughts on Humanism by Kenneth Kaunda, p.3.

¹¹⁸ Press Release, Ministry of Education Calls for Happy and Harmonious Relationship Between Ministry and Teaching Profession. 16th December, 1967. p. 1.

¹¹⁹ NAZ EDU2/14/18 LOC 9399 Zambia National Union of Teachers Speech of the General Secretary of the ZNUT, Mr. Shiyenge Kapini at the General Meeting of the ZNUT at the Kamwala Secondary School – Lusaka- 6th March,1976. p.4.

¹²⁰NAZ EDU2/14/18 LOC 9399 Zambia National Union of Teachers Speech of the General Secretary of the ZNUT, Mr. Shiyenge Kapini at the General Meeting of the ZNUT at the Kamwala Secondary School – Lusaka- 6th March,1976. p.4.

¹²¹ Press Release Number 1825 President on Role of Trade Unions ,29th November, 1965 pp6-7, Also Parliamentary Debate of the Second Session (Resumed) of the First National Assembly ,13th July-22nd September, 1965, Vol iv.p.292.

productionist. This means that it encouraged workers to only make demands instead of being productive.

The unions were expected to tell their members not to be too demanding.¹²² They needed to communicate the economic hardships faced by the country so that their members could know why certain demands could not be met. In the early years of Zambia's independence, government charged the unions with the task of informing their members that all their demands could not be met because the country was still young and developing. This was underscored by Labour Minister Munukayumbwa Sipalo in a Press Release of 3rd October 1966.¹²³ This release is a direct contradiction of the state of economic affairs in the early years of independence. It is a contradiction in the sense that workers received salary increments¹²⁴ until 1969 when the Turner Report recommended that wage increments had to be controlled because they contributed to high inflation rates.¹²⁵ Although the Press Release is a contradiction to the state of economic affairs, the fact still remains that the union was charged with the duty of avoiding excessive demands. Another incident worth highlighting was when ZNUT told its members that the value of the Kwacha had been reduced by 20% as a result of economic measures taken by government in 1983.¹²⁶ This was done to ensure that teachers understood the difficult economic situation that was in the future so that they could not make unnecessary demands for salary increments.

The final point that will be discussed in relation to the role of educating teachers on their roles has to do with encouraging teachers to be resourceful.¹²⁷ Teachers were expected to be resourceful in

¹²² Mail Reporter, "State to Cut Spending. *Daily Mail*. 1st October, 1985. p. 1.

¹²³ Press Release, Mr. Sipalo Addresses Trade Union Leaders. 3rd October, 1966. p.1.

¹²⁴ Republic of Zambia, Development Division Office of the Vice President, *Zambian Man Power*, 1969. P.15-16.

¹²⁵ International Labour Office, United Nations Development Programme Technical Assistance Sector. Report to the Government of Zambia on Wages and Prices in Zambia: Policy and Machinery. (Geneva: ILO, 1969), p.12.

¹²⁶ Mail Reporter, "Don't Quarrel Teachers Advised" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 5th February, 1983. p. 3.

¹²⁷ Times Reporter, "Unite, Urges ZNUT Chief", *Times of Zambia*. 20th October, 1986. p.7.

the light of hard economic times. They were encouraged to use initiative wherever they could instead of depending on government for everything. Thus, teachers grouped themselves and came up with a self-help scheme known as Self-Help Action Plan for Education (SHAPE) in 1985. The Programme was aimed at “stimulating the self-development and self –renewal of the teacher.”¹²⁸ The success of SHAPE was that teachers were able to teach even when they were not provided with the teaching implements by their schools as they improvised by using their own resources. The success of this programme went even beyond 1991.

2.2.4 Uplifting the status of a learner

The pupil has always been the concern of ZNUT from its nascent years when it was known as NORATA and NORUT. This was demonstrated in the late 1950s when it launched a bursary scheme for African pupils who were capable of reaching greater heights academically but could not because of shortage of financial resources.¹²⁹ The Programme was targeted at Africans who passed Standard Six or any higher standard to carry out courses of study either in Africa or abroad. The first people who were asked to support the project were African teachers who were requested to contribute 5s.¹³⁰ The public was also asked to donate generously. To raise the money, the teachers’ association intended to stage concerts. In relation to this, NORATA were co-sponsors of the Louis Armstrong jazz concert in 1961. Through the concert, NORATA raised £700 which was used for the sponsorship of three students.¹³¹

¹²⁸ M. J Kelly, “Education Policies and the Changing Economic Environment: The Case of Zambia 1965-1989.” In *African Social Research*. Number 37 Volume: 38. 1997. p. 116.

¹²⁹ NAZ ED1/6/13 Minutes of Central Executive Meeting Held at Chilenje Suburbs School. 8th March, 1958. p. 1.

¹³⁰ NAZ ED1/6/13 Minutes of Central Executive Meeting Held at Chilenje Suburbs School. 8th March, 1958. p. 1.

¹³¹ NAZ ED 1/6/24 M. M. Kaunda’s Address of Welcome to the Northern Rhodesia African Teacher Association.p.9. Extra Ordinary Conference Held in the Weddington Community Centre, 30th December 1961. p.9.

The role of uplifting the status of a learner underwent some modifications after independence especially during the Second Republic. The ZNUT assumed new roles such as speaking out regarding the bursaries which were given to students at the University of Zambia which was not there prior to independence. In 1983, the union expressed disappointment at the way the bursaries committee was awarding bursaries.¹³² It stated that the students who were in need of it were left out. The ZNUT further suggested that it needed to be represented on the panel for the sake of fairness.¹³³ Uplifting the status of the learners also took the form of caring about their learning environment. ZNUT appealed to rural and urban councils to close down dirty schools.¹³⁴ The union even supported the stance by the Lusaka City Council of closing some schools in the district. The union even criticized the Minister of State, Allan Chilimboyi who stated that the closure of schools was illegal.¹³⁵

2.2.5 Speaking out on Societal Issues

The teachers' organisation has always voiced out its opinion on societal issues. The reason for this is that societal issues have a great impact on education and teachers are part and parcel of society. In the colonial period, NORATA contended that the reason for the indiscipline in schools was not hinged on political agents but on the pupils' interaction with the wider society.¹³⁶ It pointed out that the pupils had a negative attitude towards the first African Minister of Education Gabriel Musumbulwa because society was against his party the United Federal Party, (U.F.P) and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It was further pointed out that the press was even a greater

¹³² Mail Reporter, "ZNUT to Press for Salary Increments" *Zambia Daily Mail*. p. 5.

¹³³ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT to Press for Salary Increments." *Zambia Daily Mail*. p. 5.

¹³⁴ Mail Reporter, "Filthy Schools Must Close." *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16th March 1983. p. 1.

¹³⁵ Mail Reporter, "Filthy Schools Must Close." *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16th March 1983. p. 1.

¹³⁶ ED1/6/22. Memorandum Submitted by the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association (Central Executive) to the Harragin Commission on Recent Cases of Indiscipline in African Secondary and Trades Schools in the Territory. 1960 p. 1.

catalyst to the indiscipline in Secondary schools. According to NORATA, some newspapers preached that rebelling against any system which was under the federal government was justified because it meant that one was protesting against the federation. Even when the issue of indiscipline was a common feature in schools in 1963, NORUT maintained that it was a sociological problem and expelling pupils was not the solution.¹³⁷

This role of speaking out regarding societal issues also went through some changes in the period after independence. The union condemned issues such as early pregnancy among school girls. There were also new issues such as HIV/AIDS and political pluralism in 1991. Regarding the issue of early pregnancy, the union was even congratulated by the Ministry of Education for renouncing the problem in 1967.¹³⁸ The union pointed out in 1971 that the solution to the problem did not lie in blaming any group of people. The ZNUT argued that it was not right to blame teachers or parents for the problem.¹³⁹ The solution was cooperation among all the people who took care of young people. All of them needed to openly condemn the act.

In addition to this, the union spoke out on the poor economic situation of the 1980s not only in relation to collective bargaining but on its consequences on society as a whole. The poor state of the economy was caused by Structural Adjustment Programmes, (SAPs) which the government undertook as a condition for receiving financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The condition from the IMF was that government needed to reduce its spending. Therefore, subsidies had been cut, capital projects delayed and wages were not supposed to exceed a certain

¹³⁷ Central African Post Reporter, "Northern Rhodesia Teachers Complain" *Central African Post*. 15th February, 1961. p. 1.

¹³⁸ Press Release, Ministry of Education Calls for Happy and Harmonious Relationship Between Ministry and Teaching Profession. 16th December, 1967.p.3.

¹³⁹ NAZ EP4/12/15 Address by the ZNUT President Newstead Zimba at the ZNUT 6th Annual Conference of Delegates Held in Livingstone. 6th-7th January, 1971. p.10.

limit (wage ceiling)¹⁴⁰ which has been discussed in chapter three. The country was in great financial problems in the 1980s following the oil spike and the reduction in copper prices in the 1970s.¹⁴¹ It was burdened by debt and had limited resources. The poor economic situation did not change even when the government abandoned the SAPs and came up with its own initiative in 1987 known as New Economic Recovery programme (NERP).¹⁴² The ZNUT spoke out against the decontrol of prices by government in the early 1980s. ZNUT and other unions contended that such an act had the probability of lowering the wages hence weakening the purchasing power of people.¹⁴³ The union through its General Secretary Jackson Chibale even condemned government's failure of considering advice from local economists.¹⁴⁴

The union also supported the stance of the government in its condemnation of racist regimes in other African countries. In 1973, the union through its letter to the Chairman of the World Confederation Organisation of Teaching Professionals (WCOTP) appealed to "Europe to use its resources to build and not destroy."¹⁴⁵ It urged teachers not to divorce themselves from speaking against unequal treatment of people based on race. It pointed out that the pupils taught by teachers were looking to them to do something about the horrible situations which existed in such countries. The union mostly spoke against the regimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe.¹⁴⁶ The union also supported the government's stance of anti- tribalism, sectionalism, provincialism and corruption.

¹⁴⁰ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Reviews of Zambia No 3. 198. p.6.

¹⁴¹ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Zambia Country Profile: Annual Survey of Political and Economic Background, 1991-1992.p.4.

¹⁴² The Economist Intelligence Unit, Zambia Country Profile: Annual Survey of Political and Economic Background, 1991-1992.p 5.

¹⁴³ Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Annual Labour Report for 1983. p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ Times Reporter, "Listen to us, ZCTU" *Times of Zambia*, 20th February, 1987.p.7.

¹⁴⁵ ZCTU, "To Gain Respect and Trust, Live by Principles of Civilized and Constitutional Law- ZNUT tells Europe" *Workers Voice. Volume 1, Number 15.* 1973. p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Zambia National Union Teachers Resolutions of 4th-5th March, 1974. p. 1.

Later in the Second Republic, the union found itself performing a task of speaking on the dangers of HIV/AIDS in 1988.¹⁴⁷ It acknowledged that the disease was a threat to society. To this effect, it started talks on mounting an education campaign for its members who were thought to be a key component in the dissemination of information on the disease which was new. It further expressed desire to be represented on the AIDS surveillance committee in Zambia. Through its interaction with world organisations such as the International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions (IFFTU), ZNUT was made aware of what exactly it needed to do in order to avert the disaster.¹⁴⁸ The union spoke against negative sexual attitudes among young people.

The other development on the political scene such as the reintroduction of Multi-Partism gave the union something new to talk about. In June 1991, the union pointed out that political pluralism had come to stay in Zambia and that every Zambian citizen had the right to belong to any political party of their own ideological preferences.¹⁴⁹ The nature of this role changed because each period presented a different set of circumstances under which it operated and required a unique way of responding to them.

2.2.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the general roles of the, NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT from 1953-1991 and established that they changed in nature due to the different political, economic and social factors unique to the federal period and independence eras. It did this by pointing out that the area of emphasis of the roles were not static as they were influenced by different factors. It was discovered that in the role of advocating for improvement in conditions of service, NORATA

¹⁴⁷ Times Reporter, "Teachers to Start Anti-Aids Teach –ins" *Times of Zambia*. 19th December, 1988. p. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Times Reporter, "Teachers to start anti-AIDS teach –ins" *Times of Zambia*. Times of Zambia. 19th December, 1988.p 1.

¹⁴⁹ NAZ CO.7/2/15 Meeting between the ZNUT and the Permanent Secretary in the Permanent Secretary's Office. 1991. p. 10.

concentrated on ensuring that the discriminatory pay imposed on African teachers by Europeans was abolished in the federal period. Emphasis changed in the First and Second Republics because the issue of discriminatory pay was non-existent. Therefore, the union took on other issues such as paid maternity leave for female teachers. With regard to influencing educational policy, the union took on a far greater role in the era of independence as it was seen to be a partner in education by the new government.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT, TEACHER ASSOCIATION AND UNIONS, 1953-1991

3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the relationship that existed between the teachers' association, the unions and government from 1953 to 1991. The contentions are that the relationship that existed between the teachers' unions and the government can only be understood from the wider context of relations between the state and the trade union movement. This is because all trade unions were subjected to the law that regulated relations. To substantiate this argument, the chapter will make reference to the various laws in each historical era such as the 1949 Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, The Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance of 1965 and the Industrial Relations Acts of 1971 and 1990. The chapter further argues that relations were complex as they were characterized by peace and conflicts. The result of conflicts were strikes. K.C. Knowles defines a strike as collective stoppages of work undertaken in order to bring pressure on those who depend on the sale or use of the products of that work.¹ A strike, according to the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 (IRA), is the cessation of work by a body of persons employed in an undertaking acting in combination, or a concerted refusal or a refusal under a common understanding of any number of persons who are so employed to continue work.² A strike in this work will have the meaning of the second definition. This is because the second definition states the meaning of the term strike according to the Zambian law. Strikes from different eras will be examined in helping us assess the relationship between the government, the teachers' association and unions.

¹ K.G.J.C. Knowles, *Strikes: A Study in Industrial Conflict With Special Reference to British Experience Between 1911 and 1947*. (London: Alden Press, 1952), p.1.

² Republic of Zambia Gazette Supplement Acts of 1971 The Industrial Relations Act 1971, No 36, 1971. Part I Section 3, p.650.

3.2 Relations between the Government, NORATA and NORUT in the Federal Period (1953-1963)

The federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had certain results in the three territories. In Northern Rhodesia, “nationalist sentiments became more vibrant.”³ Federation was seen as a common enemy by Africans in Northern Rhodesia because they believed its tenet of partnership favoured the Europeans instead of Africans.⁴ Therefore, political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC) spoke against it. The party even asked the African trade unions such as the African Mine Workers’ Union (AMWU) to go on strike on the first and the second day of April in 1953 as a way of protest against the federation⁵. This form of protest was not successful because the leader of AMWU, Lawrence Katilungu refused to call out African workers in support of the strike.⁶ This was because he believed that trade unionists did not need to involve themselves in politics. Although Katilungu took such a stance, he was also against the federation.⁷ It should be noted that even though some leaders of unions and professional associations did not want to publically condemn the federation, the politics of this era strongly affected the relationship which they had with the federal government. This was the case because the ordinary members of the unions and associations spoke against the federation and in turn the leaders were held accountable and labelled as political mongers. Furthermore, civil servants were not allowed to “expound their

³ Brendan Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia* (Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 2004), p.18.

⁴ International Development Research Centre, Country Profile, Zambia, IDRC Library, IDRC doc 33. 1973, p.2.

⁵ Northern Rhodesia Department of Labour and Mines Report for April 1953, p.3.

⁶ Labour and Mines Report for April 1953, p.3.

⁷ David Mulford, *The Politics of Independence 1957-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.26.

own political views.”⁸ Teachers were warned by the native education authorities that they would be deemed guilty of misconduct if they spoke against the government.⁹

With the expansion of secondary education in this era, there were more pupils in secondary schools. According to Carmody, these pupils allied themselves with the nationalists who were fighting for independence. Therefore, there were disturbances in learning institutions between 1959¹⁰ and 1963.¹¹ This era was characterised by the “prospect of self –rule and better opportunities for Africans.”¹² This prospect influenced the attitude of African trade unionists when they went for negotiations with European employers. It should be noted that although the African trade unions had their own attitudes and expectations, they were kept in check by the law.

Relations between the trade union movement and government in this era were regulated by the 1949 Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance which was amended in 1956.¹³ The 1949 Ordinance did not make it mandatory for a trade union to register with the Registrar of Trade Unions. This in essence meant that there were registered and unregistered unions. Such a status quo had advantages and disadvantages. One major advantage was that the growth of the trade union movement could not be controlled by the government. Furthermore, trade unions which were unregistered were also free in their operations as they were not obligated to follow the stipulations of the Registrar of Trade Unions. Another advantage was that a trade union which was

⁸ NAZ ED1/6/23 Newspaper Extract “Curb on Political Preaching in African Schools.” 10th July 1957 See also Gov Circular Number A.9.30th October 1963.

⁹ NAZ ED1/6/23. Extract from Press Release by the Director of Information for the Week Ending 23rd June 1954 “African Teachers Politicians Run Risk of Dismissal” See also Newspaper Extract “Political Preaching in African Schools.” 10th July 1957. Colonial Secretary Lenox Boyd warned African teachers in 1957.

¹⁰ NAZ ED1/6/22 Memorandum Submitted by the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers’ Association (Central Executive) to the Harragin Commission on recent cases of indiscipline in Secondary and Trades Schools. 1960

¹¹ Carmody, *Education in Zambia*, p.19.

¹² Carmody, *Education in Zambia*, p.19.

¹³ Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette, Vol XLVIII, General Notice NO 14 of 1957. 2nd January, 1957, p.6.

not registered could not be sued because it was not an “independent legal entity.”¹⁴The disadvantages were that unregistered trade unions could not also sue and it was difficult for them to enter into contracts which were legally binding.¹⁵

The amended ordinance of 1956 was, however, different requiring all trade unions to register.¹⁶ All branches of a particular union needed to be registered independently. The Act stipulated that union officials who did not register their unions would be imprisoned for a maximum of seven years or fined £500.¹⁷ Ordinary members of unregistered unions were to pay a fine of £250 or face imprisonment for three years. Furthermore, this law required all trade unions to submit a general statement of their finances every year.¹⁸ The unions needed to also submit any alterations to their rules. In addition to this, the rules of the trade unions needed to provide for the “holding of a secret ballot requiring assent of a two-thirds majority of those voting before a strike was called.”¹⁹ Therefore, it is safe to state that the activities of the unions were controlled by the government. Mbaalala Munungu argues that compulsory registration of trade unions meant that the Registrar of Trade Unions was able to control the growth of trade unionism.

Even with government’s firm stance on registration, some organisations which functioned as trade unions did not manage to register with the Registrar of Trade Unions who had the task of registering them. For instance in 1958, about 250 applications were received out of an expected

¹⁴ Mbaalala B. Munungu Trade Union Development and the Law in Zambia. M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988.p.8.

¹⁵ Munungu, Trade Union Development, p.8.

¹⁶ Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette, 2nd January, 1957. Volume XLVII No: 1 General Notice No14. p.6.

¹⁷ NAZ MLSS1/26/154 Statement from Registrar of Trade Unions Dated 4/2/1958.

¹⁸ Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette, No: 2056, 16th January 1959. Volume XLIX No: 4 General Notice 104. p.42.

¹⁹ Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette, No, 44 Volume XLVIII, September 1958. General Notice No 1863. p.557.

3,000.²⁰ Some workers associations did not register as trade unions hence they were just considered as associations.

The NORATA was one such organisation. However, from its inception, it had the blessing of government and got off on the right foot with it.²¹ The negotiations between it and the government were based on a gentleman's agreement. This simply meant that they were not legally binding. Although this was the case, relations were not always cordial. Firstly, government tried to dissuade the members of NORATA from registering as a trade union as early as 1954.²² The Director of African Education A.J. Cottrell stated that it was not right for professional men and women to form trade unions. This negative stance was maintained by government even in early 1962. The Acting Permanent Secretary Mr. W.A.R.Gorman even stated that the formation of a union was not going to bring any additional achievements.²³ In addition to this, the association was accused of not rendering a good service to its members and society.²⁴ The officials from NORATA were told that they only concentrated on their own salaries and personal advancement instead of improving the standards of education in the territory. Even with great opposition from the government, NORUT came into existence and this marked the beginning of new relations which saw the need to define a new negotiating machinery.²⁵

Members of NORATA felt that discussions in the offices of Education Officers were not sufficient enough to bring about the changes which teachers hoped to see in their conditions of service. This

²⁰NAZ MLSS1/26/154 Statement from Registrar of Trade Unions Dated 4th February, 1958.

²¹ NAZ ED1/6/1 Letter from Director of African Education dated 18th July, 1951.

²² NAZ ED1/6/1 Extract from CAP Reporter, "Teachers Advised: No Trade Union" *Central African Post*. 18th June 1954.p.3. Also Address to NORATA by the Director of African Education in the African War Memorial Hall in Lusaka on 18th June 1954. p.2.

²³ NAZED1/6/22 Extract from "African Teachers Accuse N.R. Ministry." *Northern News*. 1st January, 1962.p.2.

²⁴ NAZ ED 1/6/13 Letter from P.E.O of Northern Province to Mr. A.J. Chipili a NORATA official dated 27th May 1957.

²⁵ NAZ ED1/6/22 Letter from NORUT President M. Kaunda to Permanent Secretary, dated 20th March, 1962.

resolve to fight for better conditions of service changed the relationship between the union and the government. The teachers became more militant in the way they demanded for improved conditions by threatening strike action. Such threats were not idle as they led to the strikes of 1963 on the Copperbelt.²⁶

3.2.1 The 1963 Copperbelt Strike

The teachers' strike of 1963 was caused by different factors which differed from one town to another. In the case of Mufulira, teachers stopped working alleging that they were not safe from political intimidation.²⁷ About two hundred primary school teachers went on strike in August following an incident at Mufulira Central School where a group of people attacked the school and teachers' houses.²⁸ According to the teachers, this attack was political intimidation because the group which attacked them were members of the African National Congress (ANC) who were trying to force them to join the party because they were under Harry Mwanga Nkumbula who was the leader of the party.²⁹ The teachers vowed not to return for work unless the Ministry of Education provided electricity and telephones at all schools in the district for security purposes. These wishes which the teachers made were never fulfilled by government.³⁰ The reason for government's failure to fulfill such wishes will be highlighted later in the chapter when discussing the reactions to the strike.

²⁶ Northern Rhodesia Ministry of African Education Triennial Survey, 1961-1963.p.29.

²⁷ Northern Rhodesia Ministry of African Education Triennial Survey, 1961-1963.p.29.

²⁸ NAZ ED1/6/22 Extract from the "200 Teachers Strike at Mufulira" *Northern News* 8th August, 1963.p.1.

²⁹ NAZ ED16/22 Extract from the "Nkumbula must quit." *Northern News* 12th August, 1963. p.1. See Also "No Politics in Teaching", *Northern News* 16th August, 1963.

³⁰ Northern Rhodesia Hansard No 108, 1963, p. 1462.

For Ndola teachers, the bone of contention was the African Manager of Schools Leo .K. Chipowe who was accused of maladministration and delays in receiving monthly wages.³¹ The local branch of NORUT argued that the Manager of Schools employed retrogressive methods in the teaching profession such as strict control of stationery.³² As a result of their discontent, the strike commenced on 1st August as 175 teachers from fourteen schools decided to stay away from work. The teachers even refused to receive their pay packets from the Manager because they believed they had already parted ways with him.³³ The local branch of the union went further to demand for the removal or transfer of the Manager.³⁴ This demand of removing or transferring the Manager was not implemented.³⁵ The strike attracted about 270 teachers on its third day.

In other towns such as Chingola and Bancroft (now Chililabombwe) the strikes were motivated by poor housing and poor infrastructure in schools. Teachers from districts such as Kalulushi, Kitwe and Luanshya went on strike in mid-August just to sympathise with those who were striking.³⁶ Over five hundred teachers went on strike. The Kalulushi-Kitwe region had about 140 teachers who went on strike and over 400 teachers in Chililabombwe, Chingola and Luanshya districts.

Even though these strikes did not have the approval of the Central Executive, the NORUT was still held accountable for them because of the involvement of the Provincial Executive.³⁷ Government therefore responded to the strike by accusing top NORUT leaders of being ignorant of the happenings in the union. Furthermore, it pointed out that some office bearers in the union

³¹ NAZ ED1/6/22 Extract from *Northern News*. "Pay Refused by Teachers" dated 1/8/1963. Also Northern Rhodesia Hansard, No 108, 1963.p.1462.

³² NAZ ED1/6/23 Extract from *Northern News* "Chifubu Teachers Stage a Strike" 31/7/63.p.7.

³³ NAZED1/6/23 Extract from *Northern News*. "Pay Refused by Teachers" 1/8/63.p.2.

³⁴ Northern Rhodesia Hansard, No 108, 1963, p. 1462.

³⁵ Northern Rhodesia Hansard No 108, 1963.p.1462.

³⁶ NAZ ED1/6/23 Extract from *Northern News*. "Teachers' Strike Grows" 16/8/1963.p.1

³⁷ Ministry of African Education Triennial Report 1961-1963.p. 30.

simply did not have basic knowledge of trade unionism.³⁸ Worse still, they did not properly understand the provisions of their own constitution.

The government maintained that the strikes were not constitutional. According to Nkumbula the Minister of African Education, the strikes were illegal because a number of regulations were flouted.³⁹ The Minister pointed out that teachers who went on strike had broken the regulations of the Northern Rhodesia Teaching Service and the Civil Service which stated that a teacher was not allowed to stay away from work without permission. Another factor which made the strike unconstitutional was lack of adherence to the terms of the union's constitution. The argument by the Minister that NORUT did not follow its constitutional provisions was justified. Teachers needed the approval of the Executive before any strike action could commence and they also needed to have a two-thirds majority of members voting for the motion of the strike as laid down in the union constitution.⁴⁰

In addition to this, government argued that some of the demands which the teachers were making were simply impossible. In relation to the Mufulira case, it pointed out that ensuring that all forms of political intimidation stopped and that all schools were properly secured was not one hundred percent attainable.⁴¹ Regarding the transfer of the unwanted Manager of schools in Ndola, government pointed out that employment agencies could not submit to such threats.⁴²

Apart from being told that their strikes were unconstitutional, teachers were told that they were just being political. This stance was even supported by some members of the community who

³⁸ Ministry of African Education Triennial Report 1961-1963.p.30.

³⁹ Northern Rhodesia Hansard No108, p. 1460.

⁴⁰ Northern Rhodesia Teachers' Union Constitution for 1962 p. 27.

⁴¹ Northern Rhodesia Hansard No 108, 1963, p. 1462.

⁴² Northern Rhodesia Hansard No 108, 1963, p. 1462.

stated in newspapers that the strikes were aimed at the Minister of African Education who was the leader of the African National Congress (ANC). Members of the community pointed out that the teachers who went on strike were supporters of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and that they were being irresponsible.⁴³

The government also reacted to these strikes by promising to take punitive action against the teachers. It maintained that there was no reason which could justify the strike hence every person who was found flouting regulations needed to be punished.⁴⁴ To this effect, 200 teachers in Mufulira were charged for being absent from work without permission, failure to perform duties, participating in an unconstitutional strike and bringing the service into disrepute.⁴⁵

The NORUT together with the Northern Rhodesia United Trade Unions Congress (UTUC), which was at this time led by men who were members of UNIP such as Wilson Chakulya responded to the above counts of offences by calling for the resignation of the Minister of African Education, Nkumbula.⁴⁶ The unionists argued that the teachers in Mufulira were beaten up by members of the Minister's party, the ANC. They further accused the Minister of being incompetent.⁴⁷ It is important to observe that the accusations which were levelled against Nkumbula by Chakulya had some political undertones. Chakulya's accusations were not only directed at Nkumbula as a Minister of African Education but also as a leader of the ANC which was also in the race for political dominance before 1964. He may have been influenced more by political considerations rather than purely by trade unionism.

⁴³ Staff Reporter, "Strike aimed at Minister", Northern News, 14th August, 1963.p.1.

⁴⁴ Northern Rhodesia, Hansard No 108, 1963.p.1460.

⁴⁵ Mail Reporter, "Teachers to Face Charges" *Central African Mail*. 10th -12th August, 1963.p. 1.

⁴⁶ Mail Reporter, "UTUC men back teachers" *Central African Mail*. 17th August, 1963. p.6.

⁴⁷ Mail Reporter, "UTUC men back teachers" *Central African Mail*. 17th August, 1963. p.6.

To end this issue of counter accusations, government acknowledged that dialogue was the only way. In his address to Parliament, the Minister of African Education stated that the Ministry could not easily replace over 1,150 teachers who were on strike.⁴⁸ He further pointed out that even if government was to look to other nations, this was not just possible. Therefore on 18th August, a meeting held in Lusaka with the Permanent Secretary of Labour and Mines, Roy Philpott as Chairman, representatives of NORUT, Education Authority of Western Province (now Copperbelt Province) and officials from the Ministry of Education, resolved to end the strike.⁴⁹ It was agreed at the meeting that all charges made against teachers as a result of stoppage of work would be withdrawn and that teachers would return to work the following day.⁵⁰

The discussion of the strike indicates the hostile relations between the union and the government in the federal period. There was no side which was so powerful as to manipulate the other totally. The union made demands but the government was completely honest that it could not honour some of them. The government realised that fresh negotiations was the way forward because firing the teachers and then replacing them over a short period was not possible.

3.2.2 The Aftermath of the 1963 Strikes

Following the strikes of 1963, government and the teachers' union wanted to start off on a clean slate. To that effect, an agreement was made in 1964 between the two parties. Furthermore, a report

⁴⁸ Northern Rhodesia, Hansard No108, 1963. P.1462. See Also Ministry of Labour and Mines Annual Report for 1963. p.77.

⁴⁹ NAZ ED1/6/23 Extract from "Teachers Back to School", *Northern News*, 19th August, 1963.p.1.

⁵⁰ NAZ ED1/6/23 Extract from "Teachers Back to School", *Northern News*, 19th August, 1963.p.1.

known as the Hadow Report was published in 1964 which recommended improvements in the working conditions for teachers.⁵¹

The 1964 Agreement stipulated that any teacher or group of teachers who wished to raise an issue needed to approach the Manager of Schools first.⁵² The agreement further stated that if no settlement was reached, the teachers concerned or their representatives were permitted to have an interview with their Provincial Education Officer. If the issue was still unresolved, it needed to be taken to the General Secretary of the union. If it so happened that the issue was still unresolved, it was to be referred to the negotiating committee. A dispute would only be declared if the negotiating committee failed to resolve it.⁵³ This was done in the hope of curtailing illegal stoppages of work. Furthermore, government agreed to implement the check-off system in the same year 1964.⁵⁴ This system involves an employer who by agreement deducts the amount of subscription prescribed by the constitution of the trade union from the wages of employees who are members of such a union.⁵⁵

The Hadow Report, on the other hand recommended that the rise in the cost of living needed to be considered when increasing salaries for civil servants.⁵⁶ It further advised government to increase salaries directly or by way of allowances to a level which allowed employees to pay rent

⁵¹ Northern Rhodesia Commission Appointed to Review the Salaries and Conditions of Service of the Northern Rhodesia Public and Teaching Service of the Northern Rhodesia Public Service.(Inclusive of the Army and Air Force) Report Part 1. (Hadow Report) 25th March, 1964. p.22.

⁵² NAZ ED1/6/23 Agreement between Ministry of African Education and the Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers on 16th March 1964.p. 3.

⁵³NAZ ED1/6/22 Agreement between Ministry of African Education and the Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers. 1964. p. 3.

⁵⁴NAZ ED1/6/23 Agreement between Ministry of African Education and the Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers. 1964. p. 9.

⁵⁵ The Industrial Relations Act of 1971, Part II, Section 19. p.660.

⁵⁶ Northern Rhodesia Commission Appointed to Review the Salaries and Conditions of Service of the Northern Rhodesia Public and Teaching Service of the Northern Rhodesia Public Service.(Inclusive of the Army and Air Force) Report Part 1. 25th March, 1964. p.22.

in the open market. In short, the Report recommended housing allowances for all civil servants. It further recommended that maternity leave of three months on half salary needed to be given to female teachers. The Report also recommended that special allowances needed to be given to teachers who handled children with special needs, Heads of Subject Departments in Secondary Schools and Vice Principals of all Colleges of Education.⁵⁷

Therefore, it can be argued that the Agreement and the recommendations of the Hadow Report may have reduced the confusion between the NORUT and government temporarily. The union now had a negotiation machinery which could be used to have their demands fulfilled through the Agreement and the prospect of increased salaries, better houses and special allowances was supported by the Report.

However, suspicion and tension were not completely done away with as government did not immediately implement the recommendations of the Hadow Report after its publication in March 1964. The NORUT started doubting government's promises and threatened to strike. In April 1964, the union pointed out that strike action was going to be taken if "satisfaction was not obtained."⁵⁸ The union further stated that it was a registered Trade Union and it enjoyed the right to strike if negotiations failed.⁵⁹ It further argued that it could go on strike under any government be it white or black. Even though the impending strike was called off following talks with the Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda, the union maintained that it was not made up of cowards. The reason it called off the strike was out of respect for the Prime Minister.⁶⁰

⁵⁷Hadow Report of 1964, p.58.

⁵⁸ NAZ ED1/6/24 Extract from Northern News. 16th April 1964.p.1. See also Letter from Provincial Education Office in Ndola to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education, dated 7th April, 1964.

⁵⁹ NAZED1/6/24 Press Release "NORUT Warns Politicians" 17th April 1964.p.1.

⁶⁰ NAZED1/6/24 Press Release "NORUT Warns Politicians" 17th April 1964.p.1.

Teachers went on to assume that the recommendations of the Hadow Report were not going to be implemented as the Prime Minister and his Ministers were not going to be available in May due to the independence talks in London. Pertaining to the same issue of the Hadow Report, the union also stated that there were rumours that Government was deliberately “shelving salaries as recommended in the Report till after independence.”⁶¹ The union alleged that the government had taken such a stance so as to imprison without trial anyone who said anything that was anti-government. Even though the unionists stated that they did not believe such rumours, they provoked the government by asking it to give them an assurance on such rumours because there was no smoke without fire.⁶²

The government’s response to the union’s threats was negative in that it resorted to name calling and accusations in the press and this further heightened the tension. The Minister of Health, Arthur Wina denounced the union in April 1964 as “a nuisance and a noisy lot, like old women” when they threatened strike action.⁶³ He further stated that NORUT was a union in which every member was a General Secretary and could issue statements to the Press.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the union was told that it made irresponsible statements regarding the Hadow Report. The Minister of Education, Mwanakatwe accused the union leadership of making unjustified utterances and asked for the immediate withdrawal of such statements.⁶⁵

⁶¹ NAZ ED MLSS1/17/83 Extract from “Minister Clashes with Teachers’ Union” *Northern News* 6th September, 1964.p.1.

⁶²NAZ ED MLSS1/17/83 Extract from “Minister Clashes with Teachers’ Union” *Northern News* 6th September, 1964.p.1.

⁶³ NAZ ED 1/6/24 Extract from “Teachers’ Union denounced as Old Women.” *Northern News* Dated 19th April, 1964.p.1.

⁶⁴ NAZ ED 1/6/24 Extract from “Teachers’ Union denounced as Old Women.” *Northern News* Dated 19th April, 1964.p.1.

⁶⁵NAZ ED MLSS1/17/83 Extract from “Minister Clashes with Teachers’ Union” *Northern News* 6th September, 1964.p.1.

The relationship between the union and the government continued to be hostile as suspicion and tension were always a part of their relations in the days running up to self-rule. Therefore, one can safely argue that although there was no strike by teachers in 1964, there were industrial disputes because the recommendations of the Hadow report were not implemented. The attainment of independence stirred even more demands as the labour movement hoped to benefit from self-rule. Although there were two disputes in the teaching fraternity in 1964⁶⁶, there were no loss of working days as opposed to 1963 when 3,840 Man days were lost in the Education Service.⁶⁷ This simply means that there were no strikes by teachers because a strike entails loss of man days

3.3 Relations between the Teachers' Union and the Government after Independence

3.3.1 The First Republic (October 1964- December 1972)

The dawning of independence came with new labour laws which meant that there were changes in the way unions needed to conduct themselves. Among them were the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Ordinance of 1965 and the Industrial Relations Act of 1971. The law of 1965 had a number of stipulations such as the need for employee trade unions to have a minimum membership of one hundred, establishment of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and prohibition of international financial assistance without the approval of the Labour Minister.⁶⁸ Moreover, only someone who had served in a particular industry for at least three years could be part of a union set up by such workers. In addition to this, people who were convicted of a crime could not serve

⁶⁶ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1964.p.68.

⁶⁷ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1963.p.77.

⁶⁸ The Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Amendment Act, 1965.Part I Section 21 A. p.45.

as leaders. The Act further stipulated that there was need to have the approval of the ZCTU before any strike could be declared.⁶⁹

Through this law, government hoped that the formation of splinter unions could be stopped.⁷⁰ It was not easy for people to form unions because of the one hundred membership threshold. It should also be noted that the Act was seen by government as something that would improve the quality of trade unions by limiting leadership in the unions to those who were seen to be responsible.

Government through its Labour Minister Justin Chimba contended in 1964 that it did not intend to weaken the labour movement as the movement was free to remain independent so that it could negotiate fair and reasonable wages.⁷¹ Members of the opposition parties ANC and UFP argued that government was weakening and disorganising the labour movement by restricting an industry to only one union.⁷² In addition to this, it was argued that the policy of one union in one industry was just the same as forcing workers to belong to a certain union because they were not given a chance to choose a union. The Members of the opposition parties were also against the stipulation that unions needed the Labour Minister's approval to receive financial assistance from international organisations. According to them, such a stipulation meant that the labour movement was not free.⁷³

To prove that it was not the enemy of the labour movement, the government took certain actions and made a number of pronouncements. In 1966, it gave £971.3.7 as first instalment of a loan of

⁶⁹ The Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Amendment Act, 1965. Part I Section 9A. p.35.

⁷⁰ Staff Reporter, "New Legislation helpful," *Northern News*. 31st August, 1964.p.7.

⁷¹ NAZ ED1/6/24 Extract from *Northern News* 17th December, 1964.p.1.

⁷² Debates of the Second Session (Resumed) of the first National Assembly, 13th July- 22nd September 1965. Vol IV.p.780.

⁷³ Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the First National Assembly, 14th December-18th December,1964.p.91.

£5,000 to ZCTU.⁷⁴ This was of course meant to strengthen the financial base of the union because it had suffered major financial losses as UTUC during the last part of the colonial era when there were divisions within it. Government continued to declare that the need for a healthy labour movement was good for state affairs. It pointed out that conflicts between the trade union movement and governments which had engrossed many African states and led to the destruction of the labour movement needed to be avoided in Zambia⁷⁵.

Another act performed by the government to prove that it was an ally of the labour movement and not its enemy related to the training of trade unionists. To this effect, it talked of establishing a training centre at Mulungushi near Kabwe in 1965.⁷⁶ The main objective of the college was the education of trade unionists on principles of good trade unionism. Government hoped that such people would play “a proper and positive role in a dynamic society which was affected by constant economic and social changes.”⁷⁷ In relation to trade unionism literacy, even officers in government such as Ministers were given some form of training. For instance in 1968, the Labour Minister Lewis Changufu and Minister of Cooperatives, Youth and Social Development H.D. Banda went to the Scandinavian countries to study the operations of trade unions.⁷⁸

Furthermore, the government made its expectations well known to the labour movement in this period. Government made it clear that the economic interests of all Zambians needed to take precedence instead of just the concerns of certain sects such as trade unions.⁷⁹ This was an

⁷⁴ NAZ MLSS1/26/258 Letter from the Ministry of Labour Permanent Secretary to the General Secretary ZCTU dated 31st March, 1966. See Also ZCTU Structure of Trade Unions Report in Zambia, 1972.p.23.

⁷⁵ GOV ZAM I.3. Pg 2(05) Press Release, Number: 807/66 “K.K. Calls for Responsibility” 6th May, 1966 .p.1.

⁷⁶ Press Release No 1825, “President on Trade Unions.” 19th November, 1965.p.12.

⁷⁷ GOV ZAM. I. 3. “Educate Grassroots Leadership to Avoid chaos. Mr. Changufu.” Press Release. Number: 1809/68. 11th October, 1968.p. 2.

⁷⁸ GOV ZAM I.3. “Ministers to Study Operation of Trade Unions” Press Release Number: 1630/68 12th September, 1968.p. 1.

⁷⁹ Press Release, 29th November, 1965.p.4.

indication that government's developmental programmes as laid down in the First National Development Plan were not going to be disturbed by the activities of the trade unions. The trade union movement was urged to move away from a consumptionist mentality to a productionist one.⁸⁰ Workers were supposed to avoid exhibiting tendencies of laziness, lethargy and absenteeism. They were supposed to be productive and offer sacrificial service to the nation. Therefore, government had a zero tolerance for strikes.⁸¹ Strikes were seen as unproductive as they led to loss of working hours.

The assistance which government rendered to the trade unions and the spelling out of its expectations led to some form of peace in the relationship which the labour movement had with the government. However, it was not permanent due to different expectations that labour had.⁸² Workers were expecting higher salaries while government wanted to ensure uniform development and keep the inflation rates in check because increase in salaries lead to high rates of inflation. These differences between the two groups led to 1,424 strikes involving over 400,000 workers in this era.⁸³

It was within such an atmosphere that the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) operated. The union was acknowledged by the Ministry of Education as the only body representing teachers in the country.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the Ministry agreed to second a teacher to serve as full-time General Secretary. In addition to this, the union was told to be free to participate in curriculum development

⁸⁰ GOV ZAM I. 3. Pq2 (05) Press Release Number: 1381/67 "The Period 1965-6, Zambia's Dark Years" 15th July, 1967. p.5.

⁸¹ GOV ZAM I.3. Pq2 (05) Press Release. Number: 1773/66 "Mr. Sipalo Addresses Trade Union Leaders." 3rd October, 1966.p.2. See Also Press Release Number: 1417/66 3rd August, 1966.p.1.

⁸² NAZ MLSS1/26/279 Trade Union Labour Conference held on 29th July, 1967. p.1.

⁸³ Lise Rakner, *Trade Unions in Process of Democratization: A Study of Party Labour Relations in Zambia* (Bergen: CHR Michelsen Institute, 1992), p.76.

⁸⁴ Republic of Zambia Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1964. (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1964), p.25.

because they were part of the Education system.⁸⁵ Another factor which can be mentioned to indicate that the relations were cordial during the early years of independence was the provision for union representatives to sit on each local and regional council of Education in 1966.⁸⁶ These good relations were disturbed in 1968 when teachers mostly on the Copperbelt decided to strike following the charging of rental arrears.⁸⁷

3.3.2 The 1968 Strikes

The ineffective way of handling an issue which was reported by teachers on the Copperbelt regarding rental arrears in 1968 soured relations between ZNUT and the Ministry of Education. Rent deductions which were made from teachers' salaries were backdated to 1966 and the Provincial Education Office was slow to reverse such an anomaly.⁸⁸ The union argued that the teachers were not at fault because when they moved in the mine houses in 1966 they were told that rent was K2 and two years later, they were informed that they needed to pay K9 initially.⁸⁹ The teachers maintained that they were prepared to pay K9 but it was injudicious for them to cover the arrears because they were ill-informed. To this effect, teachers decided to go on strike on Sunday 4th May in the towns of Luanshya and Kitwe. By 5th June, the strike involved about 39% of the 2,716 teachers in the province.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ GOV ZAM. I.3.Pq2. Press Release Opening Address of the Minister of Education Hon W.P. Nyirenda M.P at the National Union of Teachers Committee for Science, Mathematics and Social Studies held at Lusaka. 19th -20th 1969.p.1.

⁸⁶ Republic of Zambia Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1966. (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1966), p. 22.

⁸⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Address by the ZNUT President, Newstead Zimba at the ZNUT, 6th Annual Conference of Delegates Held in Livingstone on 6th -7th January, 1971.p.1.

⁸⁸ Godwin Mwangilwa, "Teachers talk of Provocation bid" *Times of Zambia*, 6th May, 1968.p.1.

⁸⁹ Mwangilwa, *Times of Zambia*, 6th May, 1968, p.1.

⁹⁰ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1968.p.14, 40-41.

Government just as in the federal days stated that the strike was unconstitutional because there was complete defiance of the agreed negotiating procedure.⁹¹ Some local branches of the union were even accused of political maneuvering. The final blow which government gave the union was the abrogation of the March 1964 agreement.⁹² The cancellation of the memorandum of understanding meant that the Check-Off system was stopped. This negatively affected the financial strength of the union.⁹³ The abrogation also meant that it was impossible for any further negotiations to take place.

Fortunately for the union, the Ministry of Education agreed to have a fresh agreement in 1969 with similar terms to those of 1964. A commission of inquiry headed by Professor Cyril. A. Rogers was appointed to examine certain aspects of the teaching service and recommended that proper houses with enough rooms and flushable toilets needed to be provided for all teachers with large families in both urban and rural areas⁹⁴. In addition to this, the commission found the system of deducting 12.5% from a teacher's salary as rent for occupying an institutional house to be unfair because there were those who occupied houses which did not merit such a charge. Therefore, it recommended that teachers who occupied Pole and Dagga houses needed to be reimbursed for the whole time they were being charged. Furthermore, it was recommended that paid maternity leave of three months needed to be granted to married teachers and that Head Teachers who had served for more than a full year in an acting capacity should be confirmed.⁹⁵ The Report further

⁹¹ Times Reporter, "New Walk Out by Copperbelt Teachers" *Times of Zambia*.5th June, 1968.p. 1.

⁹² Government of the Republic of Zambia Department of Labour Monthly Report for November 1968. p. 2.

⁹³ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers: A Brief History of ZNUT as Requested by the Z.C.T.U.

⁹⁴ C.A. Rogers, The Ministry of Education of the Government of Zambia and the Zambia National Union of Teachers Agreement Relating to Complaints by and Conditions of Service of Teachers (Lusaka: Government Printers,1969), p.iii.p.20.

⁹⁵ Rogers Report, p. 18, p.21.

recommended that allowances payable to Senior Teachers in primary schools needed to be increased from between K36-K84 a year to K96.⁹⁶

Regarding the status of the profession, the commission recommended that it needed to be improved. It expressed concern that the structure designated teaching as a profession only when a person served in Division one and not in other divisions. Government was advised that such a position was not healthy for the teaching profession. To ensure that teachers remained motivated, the commission recommended that more opportunities for promotion needed to be created.⁹⁷ The fresh agreement and the Rogers Report calmed the volatile relations between ZNUT and government for a short while just as with the Agreement of 1964 and the Hadow Report. Trouble loomed the following year as government delayed to implement the recommendations of the Rogers Report.⁹⁸

3.3.3 The 1970 Teachers' Strike

Unlike the strike of 1968, this one was nationwide. This was because the majority of teachers hoped that the Rogers Report would bring changes in the conditions of service and when this was not honoured, teachers supported each other in the strike action. Another reason which can be cited as a contributing factor towards the strike is the ineffective communication between the national executive of ZNUT and the branches.⁹⁹ The union failed to demystify the notion held by some teachers that the Rogers' Report recommended salary increases and that some sinister motives were behind the reluctance of the Ministry of Education to implement it.

⁹⁶ Rogers Report, p.18.

⁹⁷ Rogers Report, p.13.

⁹⁸ Zambia Board of Inquiry Appointed to look into the Causes and Circumstances Leading to the Existence between the Zambia National Union of Teachers and the Ministry of Education Report. 1970. p.4.

⁹⁹ Zambia Board of Inquiry Appointed to look into the Causes and Circumstances Leading to the Existence between the Zambia National Union of Teachers and the Ministry of Education Report. 1970. p.8.

The period prior to the strikes was characterized by threats from teachers and the union.¹⁰⁰ Government was threatened by being told that it needed to brace itself for mass resignations of teachers if the recommendations of the Report were not implemented.¹⁰¹ Government responded to the threats by calling for teachers to be patient. It pointed out that drafting of laws and enacting them was a long process. “Government cannot say let there be a teaching service commission, and then one suddenly drafts and enacts itself.”¹⁰² Government further highlighted that there were other matters which were of great importance which the union could concentrate on apart from the Rogers Report. The unionists were told that if they had failed to handle the work load which was demanded of them then they needed to step aside for other capable leaders.¹⁰³

In order to calm the tumultuous atmosphere, government and the union held at least six consultative meetings between January and May 1970 to discuss the progress of the implementation of the Report.¹⁰⁴ The process did not yield any positive result or progress. On 29th May, a circular stating that government was going to defer building houses and leave benefits among other things¹⁰⁵ provoked an unofficial strike by some teachers in Luapula Province three days later.¹⁰⁶ Attempts by the Central Committee of the union to stop it did not work. The strikes then spread to the Northern Province. By 8th June, Lusaka and Southern Provinces had joined the strike with about 806 teachers involved. Teachers from other regions joined the strike action to

¹⁰⁰ Times Reporter, “Teachers’ Ultimatum” *Times of Zambia*, 28th May, 1970, p.1.

¹⁰¹ Times Reporter, “Teachers Ready to Quit over Report Delay” *Times of Zambia* 27th November, 1969, p.1. See Also NAZ EDU2/14/5 Extract from *Times of Zambia*, 11th November, 1969, Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1970, p.11.

¹⁰² Ministry of Labour, Annual Labour Report 1970, p.11.

¹⁰³ Times Reporter, “Teachers Ready to Quit over Report Delay” *Times of Zambia* 27th November, 1969, p.1.

¹⁰⁴ Kanduzi, “Teachers’ Strike, 1970”, p.499.

¹⁰⁵ Zambia Board of Inquiry, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ Zambia Board of Inquiry, p.4.

show sympathy.¹⁰⁷ A total of about 6,241 teachers in the country were on strike.¹⁰⁸ This was out of a total of 13,826 teachers in the country.¹⁰⁹ This strike affected all the nine Provinces of Zambia with the Copperbelt having the highest number of teachers on strike and Eastern the least number of teachers involved.¹¹⁰ Out of a total number of 3,940 teachers on the Copperbelt, 1,960 went on strike.¹¹¹ This represented 49.7% of teachers in the province. In the eastern province, only 210 out of 1,873 teachers were on strike.¹¹²

Even though the situation was quite desperate, the Ministry hoped that it could still be rectified. To that effect, it urged union leaders to condemn the strike publicly.¹¹³ When the unionists failed to do this, the Ministry cancelled its memorandum of understanding with ZNUT on 11th June 1970.¹¹⁴ The cancellation of the 1969 Agreement entailed that the monthly deductions of 50 Ngwee which were carried out on behalf of the union were stopped. Furthermore, it demanded the withdrawal of the three teachers seconded to the union as General Secretary, Vice General Secretary and Treasurer. The three were Muletambo Mubita, General Secretary, Shiyenge Kapini Vice General Secretary and Langford Musonda the Treasurer. The three teachers were to return to their teaching posts. In addition to this, members of the union who sat on statutory boards and

¹⁰⁷ NAZ EP4/12/15 Tour of the Chief Education Officer- Eastern Region to get Views from Teachers Regarding Teachers' Strike in June 1970. p.1.

¹⁰⁸ NAZ ED U2/14/5 LOC 9394 Ministry of Education Circular on the Strike dated 29th July 1970.

¹⁰⁹ International Development Research Centre, Country Profile Zambia. IDRC Library, IDRC-doc 033. Ottawa, 1973 p.9.

¹¹⁰ NAZ EDU 2/14/5 LOC 9394 Ministry of Education Circular on the Strike dated 29th July 1970.

¹¹¹ NAZ EDU2/14/5 LOC 9394 Circular on the Strike of 1970.

¹¹² NAZ EDU2/14/5 LOC 9394 Circular on the Strike 1970.

¹¹³ Zambia Board of Inquiry, p.4.

¹¹⁴ NAZ MLSS1/26/299 Letter from Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education Mr. D. Bowa. Dated 11th June 1970. Also Zambia Board of Inquiry. p. 4. Also NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter to Data Processing Manager Ministry of Development and Finance from M. Jones Acting Senior Accountant for Permanent Secretary Dated 11th June 1970.

other consultative bodies set up by the Ministry were to lose their seats by virtue of being connected to ZNUT.¹¹⁵

Although relations between the two parties were tense, they sought peaceful means of resolving this conflict on 14th June. It was decided that the strike needed to be called off within a week and it was agreed that the seconded teachers did not need to be re- assigned to their teaching posts. As a result of that agreement, the strike was called off on 22nd June 1970. The Ministry on the other hand did not keep its end of the deal as the three teachers were dismissed from the Teaching Service.¹¹⁶ The Teachers' Union responded to the dismissal of the teachers by declaring a dispute with the Ministry of Education on 13th July 1970. It requested the Ministry of Labour to appoint a conciliator to settle the dispute.¹¹⁷

Government responded to the action of the union by promising punitive action. The climax of government's firm stance against the union was the arrest of four leaders namely Newstead Zimba, the President, Muletambo Mubita, the General Secretary, Shiyenge Kapini, the Vice Secretary General and Langford Musonda, the Treasurer.¹¹⁸ The restriction of the four was ordered by the Republican President Kenneth Kaunda who stated that the leaders used the union to further the interests of organisations whose objectives were contrary to the ideals of the nation. President Kaunda said, "They have misused the responsibilities entrusted to them by their fellow teachers and have sought to turn the national union of teachers into an instrument for fulfilling the interests of organisations whose objectives are subversive."¹¹⁹ Furthermore, it was decided that teachers

¹¹⁵ Mail Reporter, "Education Ministry takes a Firm Line: Union Sacked" *Zambia Mail*. 12th June, 1970.p. 1.

¹¹⁶Zambia Board of Inquiry. p.1.

¹¹⁷ NAZ MLSSS/102/18/13 Letter from ZNUT to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Labour Dated 13th July, 1970.

¹¹⁸ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT Chiefs Restricted." *Zambia Mail*. 31st July, 1970. p.1.

¹¹⁹ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Mail*, 31st July, 1970. p.1.

were not supposed to be paid for the period they were on strike.¹²⁰The reaction from the Head of State calmed the situation. A care taker executive was appointed to oversee the running of union activities during the time that the four leaders were imprisoned from July 1970 to January 1971.¹²¹ Once released from prison, the four leaders were reinstated as union officials¹²² and a commission of inquiry led by Hosea J. Soko was set up to investigate the causes of the strike.¹²³

The commission of inquiry observed that section 14 of the 1969 Memorandum of Understanding which gave the Ministry the right to terminate the agreement gave it unfair advantage over the union and hindered any good will for which the agreement was intended. The Commission further recommended that teachers who served in the union executive needed to resign from the teaching service and be reinstated once their tenure of office was over because a trade unionist serving as a teacher tended to have divided loyalties between the union and the service.¹²⁴

The fact that a care taker central executive was in place and a commission of inquiry had recommended a number of things did not mean that relations between the Ministry of Education and the union were cordial. There was no agreement between the two parties which regulated their relationship. The union still found it difficult to collect its dues in January 1971. Therefore, it made an application to the Ministry of Labour for a Compulsory Check-Off Order in terms of the provisions of the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance.¹²⁵ This action by the union was what inspired the need for a new agreement. The Ministry of Labour through its Permanent

¹²⁰ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Mail*, 31st July, 1970. p.1.

¹²¹ Times Reporter, "Government Releases Four ZNUT Officials" *Times of Zambia*. 27th January, 1971. p.1. See also Annual Labour Report 1971.p.10.

¹²² Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1971, p.10.

¹²³Zambia Board of Inquiry. p.1.

¹²⁴Zambia Board of Inquiry. p.9.

¹²⁵ NAZ MLSS/102/18/13 Letter from Permanent Secretary, Labour and Social Services, Mr. J.B. Nyirongo to Mr. V.M. Lavu Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education. Dated 4th January 1971.

Secretary advised the Ministry of Education to take the “initiative to re-open negotiations with a view of entering into a new recognition agreement so as to enable the union collect dues from its members through deductions at the source.”¹²⁶ A new agreement was therefore entered into between the Ministry of Education and ZNUT in February, 1971. The Ministry maintained its stance of acknowledging ZNUT as the only teachers’ union. In addition to this, it was agreed that general conditions of employment which affected all teachers needed to be forwarded in writing by the Executive council of ZNUT to the Ministry.¹²⁷ The Ministry needed to respond to the queries of the union within thirty days.

The response of the government to strikes in the First Republic had underlying political factors. The political atmosphere of opposition from ANC and Nalumino Mundia’s United Party formed in 1968 made government suspicious of strikes. The suspicion escalated in the years 1969-1970 when Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe resigned as Vice President of the nation and UNIP.¹²⁸ Some government officials believed that teachers who were supporting the strike especially those on the Copperbelt were Kapwepwe’s supporters since he had a huge following in that province.¹²⁹

3.4 The Relationship between ZNUT and the Government in the Second Republic 1972-1991

The change from being a Multi-Party State to a One Party State in December 1972 did not in any way stop the strikes which were thought to have been caused by leaders of other political parties. There were about 68 strikes in 1973 by workers in the country.¹³⁰ The number of strikes

¹²⁶NAZ MLSS/102/18/13 Letter from Permanent Secretary, Labour and Social Services, Mr. J.B. Nyirongo to Mr. V.M. Lavu Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education. Dated 4th January 1971.

¹²⁷ Ministry of Education of the Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Zambia National Union of Teachers Agreement on 12th February, 1971. p.1.

¹²⁸ Kanduza, “ZNUT Strike.”, p.504.

¹²⁹ Kanduza, “ZNUT Strike.”, p.504.

¹³⁰ Ministry of Labour and Mines Annual Report for 1973. p.58.

proliferated to 121 in 1980¹³¹ and about 103 in 1990 with a loss of over two million working days.¹³²

Despite the high number of strikes, there was still an expression of goodwill from the labour movement towards the government. For instance in 1976, the ZCTU donated K300 to the President's Citizenship College in Kabwe to help in the training of trade unionists.¹³³ The ZCTU maintained that trade unionists needed to speak honestly in favour of the many good things government had done and point out any mistakes without hesitating.¹³⁴

The government's failure to meet the labour movement's demands strained relations between the two. It could not meet demands of salary increments. Therefore, the argument advanced by ZCTU Chairman Frederick Chiluba that relations between the labour movement and government was strenuous due to limited resources¹³⁵ was justified. The strenuous relations were caused by government imposing wage ceilings, decontrol of prices and devaluation of the Kwacha. A wage ceiling is a "state enforced limit on how much income an individual can earn."¹³⁶ In 1983, the ZCTU spoke out against government economic policy as being a catalyst to poverty as it left workers totally unprotected since their salaries could not rise beyond a certain bench mark. The ZCTU was totally against government's intention of imposing a five percent wage ceiling.¹³⁷ The ZNUT just like ZCTU spoke out against the wage ceiling of 5%. The union contended that teachers

¹³¹ Ministry of Labour and Mines Annual Report for 1980.p.37.

¹³² Rakner, Trade Unions in Process of Democratisation.p.76.
Ministry of Labour and Mines Annual Report for 1981.p.44.

¹³³ Mail Reporter, "ZCTU donates K300 TO Citizenship College." *Zambia Daily Mail*. 8th September, 1976.p. 7.

¹³⁴ ZCTU, "Chiluba Speaks." *Workers' Voice*, Vol 2 No 5. January, 1979. p.3.

¹³⁵ Times Reporter, "Chiluba Warns of bad Times Ahead" *Times of Zambia*. 24th August, 1985.p.5.

¹³⁶ [https:// definitions. Uslegal.com](https://definitions.uslegal.com/Wage-Ceiling-Law-and-Legal-Definition/) Wage Ceiling Law and Legal Definition, accessed on 17th November, 2018.

¹³⁷ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Zambia Number 3 1983.p.6. See Also ZANA. "5% Wage Ceiling Denied" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 4th February, 1983. p.5.

were not going to accept wage increment of less than 35%. The union maintained that although there was a recession, it did not subscribe to the theory that the government had no money.¹³⁸

In addition to this, the union also took the government to task over non-payment of teachers who invigilated examinations at grade nine¹³⁹ and twelve levels¹⁴⁰ in 1982 and 1984 respectively. The union's Provincial Secretary for Southern Province, Hambweka Muzenge, pointed out that it was unacceptable for government to have paid only a handful of teachers. The Ministry of Education was accused of practicing exploitation of man by man which government preached against. ZNUT contended that the Ministry itself would supervise the examinations if the teachers were unpaid.¹⁴¹

Another threat which the Teachers' Union made relates to Production Units. Production units were established in 1975 after a Presidential announcement.¹⁴² According to this policy, every educational institution needed to produce needed foodstuffs and goods so that they could eventually contribute to the nation's productivity. Therefore, schools were encouraged to grow vegetables, maize, cassava and keep animals. The teachers threatened to abandon the Programme unless they were paid allowances of K240 a year.¹⁴³ Boycotting production units meant that productivity in the schools would be low. The ZNUT which managed to convince the teachers not to carry out the threat still contended that teachers needed to be paid adequately in order to ensure that production units flourished.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ Mail Reporter "Teachers Demand 35% Increments" *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14th March 1983. p.3.

¹³⁹ Mail Reporter, "Un Paid Teachers Plan Boycott" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 14th July, 1983. p.1.

¹⁴⁰ Republic of Zambia, No 74, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the 4th Session of the 5th National Assembly, 16th January-2nd April 1987. p.2849.

¹⁴¹ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14th July, 1983. p. 1.

¹⁴² NAZ EDU2/4/11 Ministry of Education Circular No 7.of 1975, p.2.

¹⁴³ Times Reporter, "Teachers threaten to leave Lima." *Times of Zambia*. 9th December, 1983.p.5.

¹⁴⁴ Times Reporter, "Teachers threaten to leave Lima." *Times of Zambia*. 9th December, 1983.p.5.

The union was also critical of the appointment of commissions of inquiries. It pointed out that such commissions were just a waste of time because government was already aware of the plight of teachers. The union contended that government was just buying time for itself through the appointment of different commissions.¹⁴⁵ The significance of this criticism in this discussion indicates that the union became impatient with government's promises through its various commissions of inquiries which it did not fulfill. This further strained relations because it became difficult for ZNUT to trust government.¹⁴⁶

This impatience was also felt by ordinary members of the union and this culminated into a temporary work stoppage by Primary and Secondary School Teachers on the Copperbelt in 1984.¹⁴⁷ Although the union condemned the strike and urged teachers to return to the classrooms, it blamed the government for the strike. The union argued that the Ministry of Education ignored "communication from the union that it should give teachers the wage increase."¹⁴⁸ The wage ceiling of 35% which the teachers preferred was not given. Instead, government had resolved to offer a 10% wage ceiling before the October elections of 1983.¹⁴⁹

The delay in meeting the demands of ZNUT and other unions during the hard economic times of the 1980s led to even more work stoppages. Strikes occurred in 1985 as government continued to delay the payment of allowances for teachers and other government workers.¹⁵⁰ Government reacted to the strike of 1985 by accusing the labour movement of destroying industrial relations in

¹⁴⁵ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT Calls for Fair Play" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 28th November 1983.p. 3. See Also Record of Meeting between a Government Management Team and Representatives of ZNUT, 4th October, 1990 p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Mail Reporter, " ZNUT Calls for Fair Play" *Zambia Daily Mail*, p.3 See Also Record of Meeting between a Government Management Team and Representatives of ZNUT, 4th October, 1990 p. 6.

¹⁴⁷ Times Reporter, "Go to Work Urges ZNUT." *Times of Zambia*. 13th October, 1984.p.1.

¹⁴⁸ Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*. 13th October, 1984. p.1.

¹⁴⁹ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review Number One. 1984. p.8.

¹⁵⁰ Republic of Zambia, Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Fifth National Assembly, 11th January-29th March 1985.p.2664.

the nation. The leaders of the four public unions namely ZNUT, Zambia United Local Authorities Workers Union (ZULAWU), Civil Servants Union of Zambia, (CSUZ) and the National Union of Public Service Workers, (NUPSW) were asked by the Labour Minister to explain whether they were behind the strikes.¹⁵¹ In response to this, the union leaders accused the Ministry of Labour of taking the role of an employer instead of helping them to resolve conflicts with employers.¹⁵²

In addition to this, government introduced Statutory Instrument Number Six in 1985.¹⁵³ This instrument was effected to ban strikes in certain sectors which were described as essential such as transport, food, fuel, mining, health sanitation, water distribution and teaching. Unions were penalised for the strikes which their members took. Any essential worker who went on strike risked being incarcerated in prison. Moreover, unions forfeited the automatic deduction of union subscriptions by the employer. Teachers being among workers who struck, ZNUT got the same penalty. Just as was the case in other strikes, government decided to be benevolent by agreeing to start on a new slate with the unions. In August 1986, the instrument which was also highly condemned by parliamentarians was waived.¹⁵⁴ Such action from government did not stop ZNUT and other unions from expressing the demands of their members as there were still a number of unfulfilled promises.

Due to an increasing number of unfulfilled promises, strikes were eminent and 1987 was such a year. The strike of this year was caused by inadequate salary increment for teachers.¹⁵⁵ Teachers

¹⁵¹ Mail Reporter, "Pay Rise Deal Clinched." *Zambia Daily Mail*. January, 1985.p.1.

¹⁵² Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, January, 1985, p.5.

¹⁵³ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Statutory Instrument No 6 of 1985: The Trade Unions (Deductions of Subscriptions Regulations 1985. See Also The Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Zambia. Number 2. 1985 p.4.and Times Reporter, "Unions Stabbed in Back" *Times of Zambia*.7th March, 1986. p.1.

¹⁵⁴ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Report: Analysis of Economic and Political Trends Every Quarter. Number 4 p.7. See Also Gillian Mukula, "Erring Unions Saved" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 27th August, 1986. p.1.

¹⁵⁵ Mail Reporter, "2,000 teachers down chinks." *Zambia Daily Mail*. 3rd March, 1987.p.3. See Also Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Report Number 2 1987. p.5.

in Chipata district went on strike in late February and they were joined by other teachers from Kitwe district who had the same grievance. About 2,000 teachers in Kitwe joined this strike. Teachers in Chipata and Kitwe had not been given annual salary increments for over four years. They were also unhappy about the 50% pay rise which was awarded to public service workers in which the maximum amount to be paid out to teachers was K35. The teachers in Chipata and Kitwe were later joined by teachers in Mufulira.¹⁵⁶

Initial response from the government was an appeal for patience. The Ministry of Education pointed out that salary increments had already been given to teachers in Northern, North-Western and Luapula Provinces and it was just a matter of time before they could be effected in other Provinces. The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education Miles Banda asked ZNUT to bear with the Ministry while work on the salary increments continued.¹⁵⁷ Such an assurance from the Ministry made ZNUT appeal to teachers to return to work.

This peaceful way of resolving this conflict led to the end of the strike in April of that year. However, it did not stop government from making pronouncements which were against the union. Government announced that it was again going to use the tool of stopping the check-off system for trade unions whose members went on strike.¹⁵⁸ In addition to this, strikes were banned. As if that was not enough, workers who went on strike were labelled local rebels who were being used by the South-African backed National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola, (UNITA).¹⁵⁹ Government contended that innocent civil servants such as teachers, doctors and nurses were simply used by agitators to bring confusion in the country. The fact that government viewed some

¹⁵⁶ Mail Reporter, "2,000 teachers down chalks", *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3rd March, 1987.p.3.

¹⁵⁷ Mail Reporter, "2,000 teachers down chalks", *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3rd March, 1987.p.3

¹⁵⁸ Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), Zambia Country Report Number 3 1987. p.6.

¹⁵⁹ EIU, Zambia Country Report Number 3 1987.p.6.

trade unionists as political dissidents even led to their arrest in the 1980s. The trade union movement through ZCTU responded by stating that the government should just tackle the problems instead of using scapegoats.¹⁶⁰ The idea that strike action was motivated by political factors has also been disputed by Mulenga who argued that the only politics which influenced labour relations were politics of the belly. He pointed out that workers opted to go on strikes as a result of poor economic conditions.¹⁶¹

The threats from government and counter reactions from the union did not in any way foster peaceful industrial relations in the country. More strikes by teachers occurred in the years 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991. In all of these strikes, the bone of contention was improvement in conditions of service. During the strike of 1988 for instance, teachers resorted to strike action because they believed that preferential treatment was given to medical personnel who were given allowances in the year that they did not get.¹⁶² In 1989, the union accused the government of delaying to respond to the needs of teachers. This element of delay also caused the strikes of 1990 and 1991. Government responded to the majority of these strikes by being firm¹⁶³ while teachers on the other hand were adamant about getting their demands. In 1988, government responded by deciding to take legal action against teachers who were striking. On the Copperbelt where learning was affected for two months, dockets were even opened by police for teachers who went on strike.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ EIU, Zambia Country Report Number 3 1987.p.6.

¹⁶¹ Friday E. Mulenga, "Politics of the Belly: The Workers, Wages, Policies and the Strike Regime in Zambia" in Yizenge Chondoka, Bizeck Jube Phiri and Chewa Chabatama (eds) *Zambia Forty Years after Independence 1964-2004. Proceedings of the January 24-25, 2005 Workshop Organised by the Department of History at the University of Zambia*. (Lusaka: Unza Press, 2007), p.72.

¹⁶² NAZ CO2/25/2 Record of Meeting Held on 8th June, 1988 at Cabinet Office on the Teachers' Strike and Kitwe Central Hospital Junior Doctors Walk Out" p. 3.

¹⁶³ Mail Reporter, "Public Workers to get Salary Review" *Zambia Daily Mail*. 10th June, 1988.p.1. Also Times Reporter, "Teachers get Last Chance" *Times of Zambia*.21st June 1990. p.9.

¹⁶⁴ Times Reporter, "Analyse Teachers' Plight" *Times of Zambia* 14th April, 1988.p.7. See also NAZ CO2/252 LOC 9629 Record of Meeting Held on 8th June, 1988 AT Cabinet Office on the Teachers' Strike and Kitwe Central Hospital Junior Doctors.p.4.

In addition to this, ZNUT was accused of condemning the 1988 strike openly and supporting it in different fora.¹⁶⁵ To this effect, it was decided that teachers were going to lose their pay. The relations between the Teachers' Union and government were further strained by teachers in Kitwe who stated that they were not intimidated by government. They stated that, "The best the authorities can do is enlarge the prisons because they will have to take us together with children and wives"¹⁶⁶ Though relations were already complex, it was agreed during a meeting held at Cabinet Office on 8th June that the Ministry of General Education and Culture needed to summon the union and open dialogue. The fact that this resolution was made did not make relations between ZNUT and government good. The teachers went ahead to threaten government that they were not going to participate in the elections of that year.¹⁶⁷

In 1989, the Ministry of Education did not even give ZNUT a chance to hold talks with it during the course of the strike. The Ministry maintained that the industrial atmosphere was not conducive for any discussions.¹⁶⁸ Even when ZNUT had not given the approval for strike action in 1989 and 1990, it was still blamed. The Ministry of Education through its Permanent Secretary, Josephat Mlewa accused ZNUT of causing the strike because it had not told its members what it was negotiating for and the procedures involved.¹⁶⁹ In 1991, the government decided to dialogue with the union¹⁷⁰ following a bout of boycotts in May in towns such as Mufulira.¹⁷¹ The Ministry pointed out that it was always ready to hold consultative meetings with the union because its aim

¹⁶⁵ Times Reporter, "Analyse Teachers' Plight First." *Times of Zambia*. 14th April, 1988.p.7.

¹⁶⁶ Times Reporter, "We'll Fight on- Teachers" *Times of Zambia*. 27th April, 1988.p.1.

¹⁶⁷ Letter Written to President Kenneth Kaunda, dated 17th September 1988.

¹⁶⁸ Times Reporter, "Teachers Face Action." *Times of Zambia* 8th February, 1989. p.1.

¹⁶⁹ Times Reporter, "Teachers Get Last Chance" *Times of Zambia*. 21st June, 1990.p.9.

¹⁷⁰ NAZ.CO.2/25/2 Meeting between the ZNUT and the Permanent Secretary in the Permanent Secretary's Office on 12th June, 1991.p.1.

¹⁷¹ NAZ.CO.2/25/2 Letter from the Ministry of General Education, Youth and Sport Acting Permanent Secretary Mr. D. M. Kashweka to Cabinet Office. 22nd May 1991.

was to serve teachers. In return, the union pledged to work with the Ministry of Education. The union also expressed its dislike for negative utterances which were made by some government officials referring to teachers as “drunkards, charcoal burners, *Salaula* sellers, P.T.A. /School and Fund thieves.”¹⁷²

The union and the government had patched up their relations in 1991 following years of tension and strife just before the coming into office of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) in October. The year 1991 also marked the re-birth of multiple trade unions in one industry due to the Industrial Relations Act of 1990 which supported this.¹⁷³

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined relations between the Teachers’ Unions and government from 1953 to 1991 and argued that the relationship which they had could only be properly understood from the wider context of relations between the government and the trade union movement. The analysis reveals that the unkind treatment of NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT by government at times was not a unique situation. Other trade unions were also subjected to accusations by government when they failed to adhere to the law. Workers in general were accused of being allies with people who were called enemies of Zambia. Furthermore, NORATA, NORUT and ZNUT did not conduct their activities independent of other unions. Their cooperation with UTUC and later ZCTU in condemning some of the government’s policies is indicative of this fact. Lastly, the chapter proves that relations were complex as they tended to be cordial at times and hostile at other times. This means that they were never static.

¹⁷² NAZ.CO.2/25/2 Meeting between the ZNUT and the Permanent Secretary in the Permanent Secretary’s Office on 12th June, 1991.p.9.

¹⁷³ The Industrial Relations Act, 1990. No36, Part II Section 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHALLENGES AND WAYS OF RESPONSE, 1953-1991.

4.1 Introduction

The main challenges of the association and the unions included apathy, financial bankruptcy and disunity. To avert these challenges, the association and the unions responded in different ways. This chapter examines the nature of each of these challenges in different eras of Zambia's political history. In examining the ways of response, the chapter will highlight how the association and the unions reacted to each challenge faced both in the federal and independence eras. The chapter will also show how successful or unsuccessful the ways of response were. The main contention in this chapter is that the challenges and ways of response changed due to different factors obtaining in different eras. To discuss all this, the chapter is divided into two main parts. The first one deals with the challenges and the second discusses the ways of response.

4.2 Challenges of the Association and the Unions

4.2.1 Apathy

NORATA did not have an easy task of convincing all the teachers to be part of its membership from the time it was established. The leaders could not persuade all the teachers in the territory to believe that an association was necessary for them.¹ It was because of this that membership of the union did not grow very much. The union had initially started off with 700 members in 1953² and by 1960, less than 1 500 out of 6000 African teachers were members of NORATA.³

¹ Staff Reporter, "Rebels in Reply to Eagles Story" *African Eagle*, 11th October, 1960. p.10.

² Kaunda, "History and Development of an Association of Teachers in Zambia", in *Teach University of Zambia Educational Association Publication Volume 1 Number: 3*.1970 p. 36.

³ NAZ ED1/6/22 Meeting between NORATA and Mr. G. W. Jones Organising Secretary of Alabama Teachers' Association. 25th January, 1961. p. 1.

There were certain areas which turned out to be problematic such as Northern Province. NORATA officials pointed out in 1956 that teachers in the province refused to belong to the association because they were civil servants who belonged to the Northern Rhodesia African Civil Servants Association, (NORASA).⁴ Most teachers stated that they could not belong to NORATA when they were members of NORASA.⁵ Regarding the same province, there was also an aspect of ignorance on the existence of an association in places such as Abercorn (now Mbala).⁶ Apart from not having the desire to belong to two associations, others simply claimed that being members of NORATA just reduced their chances of being promoted as they were going to be perceived as rebels by their School Managers.⁷ There were also other issues which kept teachers from joining such as missionary influence⁸ and inadequate branches in some regions.⁹ Missionaries on the other hand kept and censored the correspondence of the association because they did not want their teachers to join for the fear that they would become disobedient. Furthermore, certain sects of the fraternity such as Head teachers and women were not members of NORATA and later NORUT. The Head Teachers did not join because their working conditions were relatively better than ordinary teachers while most female teachers believed trade unionism was for men.¹⁰ It was due to such problems that NORUT remained a relatively small union compared to other unions. Unions such

⁴ NAZ ED 1/6/13 Minutes of the Executive Committee Held at Kabwata Local Education Authority School. 1st September, 1956. p. 2.

⁵ NAZ ED1/6/22 Letter from NORATA Kasama Branch to the Provincial Education Officer Dated 9th February 1961. p. 1.

⁶NAZ ED 1/6/13 Minutes of the Executive Committee Held at Kabwata Local Education Authority School. 1st September, 1956. p.2.

⁷NAZ ED 1/6/13 Minutes of the Executive Committee Held at Kabwata Local Education Authority School. 1st September, 1956. p.2.

⁸ NAZ ED1/6/1 Minutes of the Second Territorial Conference of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association. 18th -19th June, 1954. p.4.

⁹ NAZ ED 1/6/1 Address to the NORATA by the Director of African Education in the African War Memorial Hall, Lusaka. 18th June 1954. p. 1.

¹⁰NAZ ED 1/6/13 Minutes of the Executive Committee Held at Kabwata Local Education Authority School. 1st September, 1956. p.2.

as the Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers' Union which had over 4,000 members in 1962 and 1963 while NORATA had about 1,310 in 1962 and 3814 in 1963.¹¹

Along the same line of apathy, most teachers did not like to hold positions of influence in NORATA because they feared being labelled as rebels by their Head Teachers.¹² This denied the teachers' association of capable people who were going to make a difference in the running of its affairs. The problem was even worse among women who were under-represented.

Apathy in the federal days made it difficult for the association to develop a proper negotiating machinery with the Ministry of African Education which refused to take any formal action regarding negotiations until NORATA and later NORUT provided a properly representative membership. After independence, the issue of apathy was not as pronounced as it was during the federal period. Membership of the union was slowly increasing. The union was also helped by the Acts of Law such as the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 which called for one union in one industry.¹³ The dawning of independence had seen the proliferation of branches. The number of branches had increased from 78 in 1963 to 168 in 1964. By the end of 1967, membership had risen to 5,287.¹⁴ Membership continued to rise even more in the 1970s and 1980s.

The issue which ZNUT had to grapple regarding apathy had to do with convincing expatriate teachers to join. According to a report of 1964, by the Ministry of Education, the union did not attract teachers of all races because of the fact that they had their own associations prior to independence which they were reluctant to disband.¹⁵ These associations included the Northern

¹¹ Report of the Registrar for 1963.

¹² NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia Teachers Association Annual Report for 1960. p. 5.

¹³ The Industrial Relations Act of 1971 Part II Section 7, p.654.

¹⁴ NAZ, MLSS1/26/279 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions Publication. 1968. p. 5.

¹⁵ Ministry of Education, Ministry of Education Annual Labour Report. 1964. p. 25.

Rhodesia Teachers' Association for Europeans and the Northern Rhodesia Indian School Association for Asians.

The issue of poor participation of women in union activities continued in this era. The passive role of women in trade unionism was a general problem in Zambia.¹⁶ However, there was a glimmer of hope for women in ZNUT when Christine Malita Mulundika took an important position in the union. Mrs. Mulundika acted as General Secretary of the union in 1970 after the strike which saw the detention of four of its leaders.¹⁷ She only served in this position for eight months and she was made the national financial secretary or treasurer until 1974. Even her position as treasurer was a monumental achievement for the cause of women because she became the first woman to ever serve in that capacity. In the 1980s, many women came to serve in the union's structure. For instance Angela Chapewa who served as Chairperson for Chililabombwe and Roxy Phiri as first National Chairperson for the Women's Advisory Committee. The number of women in the union leadership structure could not still match that of men because of negative attitudes such as lack of support from some male members which discouraged women. Furthermore, there was a misconception among some men that women could not be as articulate as men.¹⁸

4.2.2 Financial Bankruptcy

Problems that hinge on finances are a great threat to the survival of any union. In the case of NORATA they were caused by apathy because it mostly depended on member subscriptions.¹⁹ In addition to this, the issue of effecting a stop order system for all teachers could not work because salaries were paid by different agencies and the Director of African Education stated that he could

¹⁶ Mail Reporter, "Women Urged to Join Unions" *Daily Mail*. 18th May 1984. p. 5.

¹⁷ Nevy Nkole, "Be honest with your Husbands" *Daily Mail*. 21st October 1976. p. 8.

¹⁸ Interview with Margaret Harawa Former ZNUT Deputy Financial Secretary, Lusaka, 29th January, 2017.

¹⁹ NAZ ED NAZ ED1/6/22 Meeting between NORATA and Mr. G. W. Jones, p. 2.

not direct them to effect such a move.²⁰ With few paid up members, the association could not have adequate money in its coffers. A letter written to the Assistant Director of African Education in 1954 is indicative of the financial crisis of NORATA as it shows that financial assistance was needed to make the association independent in its early years.²¹

Furthermore, there was also a problem of some branches not remitting the required amount of money to the Central executive of the union.²² Certain branches cooperated and were major contributors to the income base. Southern Province had such branches. For example in 1961, the province contributed half of the net income which was £151.7s.2d.²³ This was also the case in 1964 when the province was the largest contributor. It contributed £440.8 which was about 33% of NORUT's income which was about £1349.1. The Central Province made the least contribution with only 1.3% of the total income. These facts are illustrated by table two below. This lack of financial cooperation from some provinces in the territory made it difficult for the association to conduct its activities. For instance, in 1960, the President of the association Jacob Mweemba stated that two members of the association would have missed an international conference had it not been for the help of the British South African Company.²⁴ The financial crisis of the association also played a negative role regarding the aim of having a full time secretary general like other unions on the African continent such as the Nigerian Union of Teachers.²⁵

²⁰ NAZ ED1/6/13 Minutes of the Meeting Held at African Education Headquarters on 16th December, 1956. p. 1.

²¹ NAZ ED1/6/1 Letter from Treasurer of NORATA Mr. M. M. Sakubita to the Assistant Director of African Education Dated 17th January 1954.

²² NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association Financial Report for the Year 1st May 1958-30th April 1959. p.2.

²³ NAZ ED1/6/22 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Financial Report for the Year 1st May 1960 -30th April 1961. p.1.

²⁴ NAZ ED1/6/1 Excerpt from the African Eagle. 21st June, 1960.

²⁵ NAZ ED1/6/22 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association Annual Report for 1960. p. 4.

Table 2: Subscriptions from eight provinces from 15th January -30th August 1964

PROVINCE	SUBSCRIPTION	PAID UP MEMBERS
SOUTHERN	£440.8.0	734
NORTH-WESTERN	£257.2.0	429
NORTHERN	£181.16.0.	302
EASTERN	£173.8.0	289
LUAPULA	173.16.0	123
BAROTSE	£105.18.0.	176
WESTERN(Now Copperbelt)	£100.13.0.	168
CENTRAL	£17.8.0	29

Source: NORUT Income and Expenditure Report for the year 1964.

Furthermore, non-payment of subscription fees made the teachers' body miss its financial targets for its various union activities such as organising workshops for worker education. For instance in 1955, the association failed to meet its £600 target.²⁶ It only managed to raise £167 which was a great failure. John Mwanakatwe expressed disappointment at the poor financial condition and argued that some activities needed to be cancelled if the union did not have enough money to avoid budget deficits.²⁷ An example that can be cited regarding budget deficits pertains to what happened in 1957. The Treasurer reported that £146.0.4d was collected and the expenses amounted to £253. 8s.0d.²⁸ Even when the association became NORUT, the financial situation did not greatly improve. In 1962 for instance, the Treasurer reported that the amount for the income and expenditure was the same. This amount was £708.8.6.²⁹

There were also other factors which contributed to the poor financial situation of the union. There was no serious auditing of accounts in the early years. At times people who left their positions did not even hand over the books. For instance, in 1959, the Central Province books were not handed

²⁶ NAZ ED1/6/1 Minutes of the Third Conference of NORATA. 8th-10th June 1955. p. 2.

²⁷ NAZ ED1/6/13 Minutes of the Executive Meeting Held at Kabwata LEA School. 2nd February, 1957. p. 2.

²⁸ NAZ ED1/6/13 Minutes of the Central Executive Committee Held at Chilenje Suburbs School. 8th March 1958. p. 2.

²⁹ NAZ ED1/6/22 Minutes of the NORUT Executive Committee Meeting Held in Lusaka. 28th December, 1962.p.2.

over when the Treasurer of that region resigned.³⁰ In relation to this, most provinces in the territory were not sending in their books for auditing. For instance in 1960, only two provinces handed in their books.³¹ Another factor that exacerbated this challenge was lack of reliable statistical data.³² There was no clear record regarding those who had paid in some years. Furthermore, some branches did not send registers of members to the Headquarters. Therefore, it was very difficult to determine financial situation.³³

There were also cases of carelessness in giving loans. The 1964 publication by an auditor known as J.M. Cohler pointed out some flaws in the way funds were handled.³⁴ According to the report, loans which were granted to officials were never recovered. In addition to this, the auditor stated that the financial books were not just in good shape. He stated that vouchers in a very large number of cases did not match the expenditure entered in the cash book.³⁵ The cash book was described as “useless” and had to be nearly completely re-written and modified.³⁶ The problem of incoherent records was general amongst trade unions. It was for this reason that most of them even failed to submit returns to the Registrar of trade unions on time. For instance by August 1964, NORUT had not yet submitted the returns for the year ended December 1963 which were due before 1st June of that year. Other unions included the Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers’ Trade Union, Northern Rhodesia Localised Civil Servants Association and Northern Rhodesia African Printing Workers Trade Union.³⁷ It can be argued that this situation of unions failing to submit financial returns was propagated by the fact that they did not have trained accounts clerks and accountants

³⁰ NAZ ED1/6/1 Minutes of the 7th Annual General Conference of NORATA held in Lusaka on 4th-6th June 1959.p.19.

³¹ NAZ ED1/6/22 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association Annual Report for 1960. p. 4.

³² NAZ ED1/6/22 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association Annual Report for 1960. p. 4.

³³ NAZ ED1/6/22 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association Annual Report for 1960. p. 4.

³⁴ NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.A.C.C.A. p. 2.

³⁵NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.A.C.C.A. p.2.

³⁶NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.A.C.C.A. p.1.

³⁷ Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette for 1964. General Notice No: 1884. p. 598.

to handle their books of finances. When Chakulya became Labour Minister in 1971, he tried to correct this.

The challenge of insufficient funds persisted in the independence era with a different complexion. Government had agreed to allow stop orders in early 1964³⁸ and teachers were not supposed to belong to any union other than ZNUT which changed its name from NORUT after October of that year.³⁹ Furthermore, the Secretary was now a paid official of the union.⁴⁰ Therefore, it can be inferred that things looked brighter for the union in this regard. However, such positive developments of the era did not make the problems disappear. There were more cases of embezzlement⁴¹ and the abrogation of the agreements by government.⁴²

Pertaining to embezzlements, cases of withholding money which came from foreign organisations meant for the growth of the union were pin pointed by Cohler's report. It stated that in 1964 an official from the union had deposited £169.15s.0d in his personal account out of £189.15s.0d received from the World Confederation of Teaching Professionals (W.C.O.T.P.)⁴³ There were also cases of financial losses due to forgery by some officers.⁴⁴

Moreover, there was the issue of overspending on travelling allowances. The auditor pointed out that the union needed to exercise caution in its spending because it was in desperate financial straits. In addition to this, there were cases of misappropriation of finances. For instance in

³⁸ NAZ ED1/6/23 Agreement between Ministry of Education and the Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers.16th March 1964.p1.

³⁹ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education Annual Report,1964.p.25

⁴⁰ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1964.p.25.

⁴¹ NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.C.C.A. 1964.p.5.

⁴² Department of Labour Monthly Report for November, 1968.p.2 See Also Annual Labour Report for 1970, p.11. NAZ EDU2/14/18 Letter to Permanent Secretary Mr. Johnson, Data Processing Manager, Ministry of Development and Finance from Mr. Jones Acting Senior Accountant for Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education. 11th June, 1970.

⁴³ NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.A.C.C.A.1964. p. 2.

⁴⁴ NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.C.C.A. 1964.p.5.

December 1964, an amount of £12.11s.10d which was sent by Western Province as an appeal for the donations for the University of Zambia was used to pay for union activities.⁴⁵ The union did not manage to purge itself of the embezzler's label as it persisted even in the 1980s. In 1984, teachers from Lusaka Province accused the Central Executive of embezzling funds and dishonesty.⁴⁶

The financial problems of the union led to other consequences such as eviction. For instance in 1965, the union was evicted from its offices along Cairo Road after it fell behind in rent arrears for three months.⁴⁷ Such a situation was not unique to ZNUT. Other unions such as the Zambia United Local Authorities Workers Union, (ZULAWU), National Union of Public Service Workers (NUPSW) and the Guards Union of Zambia (GUZ) faced the same fate in 1988.⁴⁸ The poor state of the economy in the late 1970s and the 1980s also made it difficult for the union to have Workers' Education seminars regularly.⁴⁹ The financial situation was so poor that other regions could not even organise the 31st anniversary celebrations of the union. This was the case for the Kitwe branch which was given K10 to organise the event.⁵⁰ The abrogation of agreements by government exacerbated the poor financial situation of the union as it was difficult to collect subscriptions.

4.2.3 Disunity and Lack of Coordination

The attainment of complete unity in any workers' organisation is difficult because of divergent views and working conditions.⁵¹ The ZNUT faced the challenge from the colonial days as NORATA up to the time it ceased to be the only mouthpiece for teachers in 1991 as secondary

⁴⁵ NAZ MLSS1/26/171 Special Confidential Report by J.M. Cohler and F.A.C.C.A 1964. p.7.

⁴⁶ Times Reporter, "ZNUT Lusaka Executive Axed from Office" *Times of Zambia*. 6th April, 1984 p. 1.

⁴⁷ NAZ MLSS1/26/168 Letter from Trade Union Officer L. C. Powell to President of ZNUT. 27th March 1965.

⁴⁸ Times Reporter, "Unions Left Out in Cold" *Times of Zambia*. 1st February, 1988. p. 7.

⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. Edwin Bwalya, Former ZNUT Provincial Secretary for Lusaka, Lusaka, 20th January 2017.

⁵⁰ Times Reporter, "Teachers Toast", *Times of Zambia*. Sunday Times of Zambia. 23rd September, 1984. p. 7.

⁵¹ Dafe Ootobo, *Trade Union Movement in Nigeria: Today and Tomorrow* (Lagos: Kolagbodi Foundation, 1995), p.61.

school teachers left and called themselves the Professional Union of Zambia PTUZ⁵² and later they formed Secondary School Teachers' Union SESTUZ after 1991.⁵³ The nature and the causes of disunity varied depending on the period in Zambia's history.

Teachers in the Federal era were highly heterogeneous. This was because there were some who served as civil servants while others were employed by the Unified African Teaching Service which was established in 1953 while others were employed by mission stations. Each group had different conditions applicable to it.⁵⁴ Teachers who served as civil servants had more privileges such as adequate baggage allowance when proceeding on first appointment.

The aspect of different academic qualifications also contributed to the heterogeneity of the profession. Even salaries were based on academic qualifications. For instance T.4 and T.3 teachers (teachers who had taken a teaching course Post Standard Six) were among the least qualified with low salaries. The African degree and diploma holders were in a different salary scale. With such differences in the teaching fraternity, it was difficult for the teachers' association to harmonise the needs of teachers as one group. Some sections of the profession felt left out. The workers who complained were teachers who had teaching certificates.⁵⁵ They asserted that this was the case because most of the degree holders served in the executive. Even the Secretary of African Education W.C. Little accused the association of being partial in the fight for improving teachers' conditions in 1960. He asserted that it was awkward for NORATA to be so concerned about a

⁵² Times Reporter, "Teachers' Union Split" *Times of Zambia*, 14th March, 1991.p 3, See Also Aiden Mulkeen, *Teachers in Anglophone Africa: Issues in Teacher Supply Training and Management* (Washington D.C: World Bank,2010),p.117. See Also Zambia National Union of Teachers Country Report for 2007.p.5.

⁵³ Aiden Mulkeen, *Teachers in Anglophone Africa: Issues in Teacher Supply Training and Management*. (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2010), p.117.

⁵⁴ NAZ ED1/6/13 Letter Written to the General Secretary of NORATA from Director of African Education Office dated 13th March, 1957.

⁵⁵ Staff Reporter, "NORATA WAORKS Interests of Graduates Only." *The African Eagle*. 30th May 1961. p. 1.

minority group of just 29 individuals instead of 5,500 people whose conditions were comparatively poor.⁵⁶

The discontent among these teachers fuelled talks of forming a different teachers' union. In 1960, teachers on the Copperbelt contended that NORATA was not doing anything to improve their conditions as they were living below the bread line. They further called for the resignation of their Provincial executive.⁵⁷ This disunity was also seen during the transition from NORATA to NORUT. There was a section of the association that wanted the strike clause and the closed shop system included in the constitution while others such as Martin Kaunda, (NORATA's President), did not see any point in doing that.⁵⁸ It was as a result of the difference in opinion that Kaunda announced that he would resign if his stance was not taken even though he did not.⁵⁹ Even when the association had become a union in 1962, other members were still not happy with its work. To this effect, teachers of the Kitwe and Kalulushi areas on the Copperbelt threatened to withdraw from the union because unionists were taking long to convince government that new salary scales were needed. This situation of disunity continued in the era of independence. This age saw leadership quarrels in the union.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the disunity of this era was characterised by most secondary school teachers feeling alienated and stating that ZNUT was a union for primary school teachers because it focused on improving the working conditions of the latter.⁶¹

⁵⁶ NAZ ED1/6/1 Speech Delivered by Secretary for African Education Mr. W. C. Little at the Eighth Annual General Conference of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association. 4TH June, 1960. p. 1.

⁵⁷ NAZ ED1/6/22 Extract from Mail Reporter, "Rebel Teachers", *African Mail*. 13th September, 1960, p.1.

⁵⁸ Staff Reporter, "Kaunda Resigns." *The African Eagle*. 6th June, 1961. p. 5.

⁵⁹ Staff Reporter, "Kaunda Resigns." *The African Eagle*. 6th June, 1961. p. 5. See Also NAZ ED1/6/22 Letter from Permanent Secretary dated 12th December 1962.

⁶⁰ Government of the Republic of Zambia Department of Labour Report for the Month of December, 1972. p.3.

⁶¹ Mail Reporter, "Splinter Group Canvasses Support." *Zambia Daily Mail*. 3rd February, 1983. p.3.

In relation to leadership quarrels, some union leaders were sacked from ZNUT for what was termed as anti-union activities. For instance in 1972, President of the union Newstead Zimba sacked Copperbelt Provincial Secretary N. Kalungu and his Vice Saviour Kasonde on the grounds of bringing disunity in the union.⁶² The differences between the two unionists and their President was a topic for the press which highlighted several accusations they levelled against each other.⁶³ Kalungu and Kasonde stated that Mubita, Zimba, Kapini and Musonda had been bribed by government after their release from prison and that was why they were always speaking in its favour. They further argued that Zimba and his entire executive needed to be fired because they were misusing union funds. According to Kalungu and Kasonde, members of the central executive spent money on paying themselves allowances.⁶⁴ They maintained that the reason they were fired was because they spoke against such acts. Although the truth of the accusations highlighted above cannot be ascertained, their inclusion in this discussion is relevant as they provide an insight pertaining to quarrels in the union.

The tension in the union escalated way into the Second Republic. A fracas in the union which started in January 1975 and lasted for seventeen months was only sorted out by the sacking of the National Chairman Stephen Bwalya and his Vice Jack Phiri.⁶⁵ Shiyenge Kapini who was General Secretary pointed out that the two were bringing discord in the union as they took decisions without informing the executive. For instance, it was reported in 1976 that the two made tours without

⁶² NAZ EDU2/4 Letter from Newstead Zimba to S. Kasonde the Vice Provincial Secretary Copperbelt, 4th December, 1972.

⁶³ Times Reporter, "ZNUT cash scandal alleged." *Times of Zambia*. 8th December, 1972. p. 7.

⁶⁴ NAZ EDU2/14/4 Extract of the Speech Made by Mr. Saviour Kasonde of Kasumpe School in Chingola, the Vice Provincial Secretary Copperbelt Region on 22nd October, 1972 at Ipusikilo School, Mufulira.p.1.

⁶⁵ Mail Reporter, "ZNUT Boots Out Two Top Men" *Daily Mail*. 1st June, 1976. p. 1.

informing anyone.⁶⁶ Kapini argued that the two even suspended some union leaders without informing the central executive of ZNUT. According to Kapini, Bwalya suspended Branch officials from Mbala without any reasonable grounds.⁶⁷ Kapini further accused the two of embezzling funds as the cars which they had could not be bought from the salary of part-time union officials.⁶⁸

Regarding the dissatisfaction of the secondary teachers who were diploma holders, the debate gained momentum in the 1980s. Secondary school teachers who felt ZNUT was not presenting their grievances to the government decided to apply for the registration of the Secondary School Teachers' Association of Zambia SESTAZ, on 8th February 1983.⁶⁹ The association was going to function as a professional organisation under ZNUT because the 1971 IRA stipulated that each industry needed to have one union. Even though it was a professional association, it criticized ZNUT for its alleged negligence of the plight of secondary school teachers. SESTAZ contended that conditions of primary school teachers were better than those which existed for their counterparts in secondary schools.⁷⁰ Its members pointed out that while Primary school teachers got double session allowances for teaching two classes, teachers in boarding secondary schools did not get boarding allowances. The argument advanced by the secondary school teachers is justified because only teachers who served as Boarding Masters were receiving an allowance as indicated by the 1988 Revision of Salaries and Conditions of Service.⁷¹ The other teachers who

⁶⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Zambia National Union of Teachers , A Report on the Leadership Wrangle in the ZNUT to the Meeting of the Executive Council at the Natural Resources Development College (NRDC) Lusaka. 29th May, 1976. p. 1.

⁶⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Zambia National Union of Teachers Report on the Leadership Wrangles.p.2.

⁶⁸ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Zambia National Union of Teachers, Report on the Leadership Wrangles,p.1

⁶⁹ Mail Reporter, "New Union Seeks Approval" *Zambia Daily Mail*, 27th July, 1983. p. 5.

⁷⁰ Interview with Jose Phiri, ZNUT Director Public Relations and International Affairs 24th May, 2016.

⁷¹ NAZ CO2/25/2 Revision of Salaries/Wages and Conditions of Service. Circular No 13.14 of 1988.p.30 See Also NAZ EDU2/14/18 Letter from Permanent Secretary of Education to District Education Officers, 8th December, 1971.

worked in boarding schools with tasks such as night duties did not get any allowance. They further argued that primary schools had more positions than secondary schools and therefore there were fewer chances of promotions in secondary schools. The argument raised by the secondary school teachers pertaining to primary schools having more positions was not true. The primary schools had the positions of Senior Teacher, Deputy Head Teacher and Head Teacher, while the secondary schools had positions of Head of Department, Deputy Head Teacher and Head Teacher. This means that the number of positions were the same in primary and secondary schools.

Furthermore, SESTAZ stated that it wanted nothing to do with ZNUT and asked government to stop deducting K1 which went to ZNUT as subscription.⁷² The association through its Chairman Hero Chimwano indicated that it was going to meet the Minister of Labour to express its members' grievances in 1989.⁷³

As a result of the activities of SESTAZ, ZNUT was unable to control secondary school teachers. They took actions without permission from the union. For instance, in 1989, there were several boycotts of senior classes by diploma holders because they were grouped together with certificate holders in the same salary scale.⁷⁴ The teachers refused to listen to the pleas of the union and contended that ZNUT needed to be the one that had to teach senior classes because it did not fight against diploma holders being put in salary scale 18. They maintained that through such inaction, ZNUT was stating that they were equal to certificate holders. The association was not kept quiet by the K780 annual allowances which was to be given to the secondary school teachers who were diploma holders and taught senior classes.⁷⁵ It pointed out that such an offer was only going to be

⁷² Times Reporter, "ZNUT Split can't be allowed" *Times of Zambia*, 19th September, 1983.p.7.s

⁷³ Mail Reporter, "Diploma holders disown ZNUT." *Zambia Daily Mail*, 27th February, 1989.p.3.

⁷⁴ Times Reporter, "Teachers Told: End boycott" *Times of Zambia*, 27th January 1989. p. 1. See also NAZ CO2/25/2 Revision of Salaries/Wages and Conditions of Service. Circular No 13.14 of 1988.p. 30.

⁷⁵ NAZ CO.2/25/2 Letter from Isoka Branch Dated 11th May, 1989.

accepted if teachers were upgraded to salary scale 14 (A salary scale which they had before and came below that of degree holders). Even after they were upgraded, SESTAZ refused to accept the new salary scales. It contended in 1991 that the new scales only benefited administrators instead of the teaching staff.⁷⁶

The association continued to express the grievances of its members and it was not surprising when it declared itself a union in March 1991,⁷⁷ a move which was necessitated by the Industrial Relations Act of 1990. Teachers from secondary schools, colleges and higher institutions of learning were called on to join. A new union which was going to be formed was to be known as the Professional Teachers Union of Zambia PTUZ⁷⁸ which became known as Secondary School Teachers' Union SESTUZ after 1991.

Disunity in the union did not just lead to the fracture of the union. It had other consequences such as lack of coordination. The 1960 NORATA Report underscored this aspect by stating that there was no cooperation among all the members.⁷⁹ It was further pointed out that members of the association did not speak with one voice as a result it lacked a coordinated plan of activities. Furthermore, certain unionists did not follow protocol when reporting grievances. Some of them just directly dealt with managers of schools in the federal days instead of reporting such cases to the provincial office.⁸⁰ This system of incoherence continued in the era of independence as the branches increased. Furthermore, the knowledge gap that existed between the executive and its members also widened.⁸¹ This simply means that the executive was increasingly unaware of what

⁷⁶ Times Reporter, "Teachers Reject New Party", *Times of Zambia*, 7th February, 1991. p. 2.

⁷⁷ Times Reporter, "Teachers' Union Split" *Times of Zambia*. 14th March, 1991. p. 3.

⁷⁸ Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*, 14th March, 1991. p. 3.

⁷⁹ NAZED1/6/22 NORATA Annual Report for 1960. p. 3.

⁸⁰ NAZ ED1/6/22 Letter from W.C. Little Permanent Secretary, Ministry of African Education Dated 22nd August 1962.

⁸¹ Interview with Mr. Edwin Bwalya Former ZNUT Provincial Secretary for Lusaka, 20th January 2017.

was happening in the branches as the union became bigger and members in the branches did not know its plans.

4.3 Ways of Response

4.3.1 Federal Period, 1953-1963

The NORATA and NORUT responded to the challenge of apathy by having campaign drives for more members in this period. This campaign included writing letters to teachers, publishing a newsletter and by making appeals in the media. Letters of appeal were written to teachers who were in the Civil Service because they did not feel the urge to join NORATA as they had their own association, NORASA which was for African Civil Servants. Such a stance to convince teachers to join was taken in 1956.⁸² Teachers were called upon to support NORATA as it was also their organisation just as NORASA. Circulars were sent to College Lecturers and Secondary School teachers appealing to them to join the association. Through such an activity, the union which had become NORUT in 1962 planned to enroll at least 3,000 members.⁸³

Other methods used to overcome this challenge were appeals which NORATA and later NORUT made to would be members in the newspapers and on radio. Just before independence, the union appealed to European, Asian and coloured teachers to join its ranks.⁸⁴ These groups of teachers had their own associations which were only open to members of their own race. The Europeans had the Northern Rhodesia Teachers' Association which was open to European Teachers "with recognized professional qualifications in the service of the European Education Department of the

⁸² NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Minutes of the Central Executive Committee. 20th October, 1956. p.2.

⁸³ NAZ ED1/6/22 Minutes of the NORUT EXCO Meeting Held in Lusaka on 28th December 1962. p.3.

⁸⁴ Staff Reporter, "Teachers' Union Seeks Members." *Northern News* 5th February, 1964.p.1.

Northern Rhodesia Government.”⁸⁵ The Asians had the Northern Rhodesia Indian School Teachers Association established in 1957.⁸⁶ In order to convince the other races to join, NORUT contended that having one union for all teachers would yield positive results in the area of collective bargaining. Another argument in support of one union was that, one strong teachers’ union of all races was necessary as government would realise the importance of teachers in the advancement of the whole country as they were going to speak with one voice.⁸⁷

The idea of publishing a monthly newsletter was another method which NORATA intended to use to sort out the problem of apathy. This idea was initially considered in 1956 when it was felt that the association needed to be properly publicized so that all the teachers were aware of its existence and activities.⁸⁸ It was agreed by members of the Central Executive that such a newsletter needed to be sent to all branches and some selected schools. The notion of having a newsletter was reinforced in 1961 when an Organising Secretary from the Alabama Teachers’ Association, G.W.Jones who was visiting Northern Rhodesia pointed out that publicity of the value of the teachers’ union needed to be given the greatest attention. The Organising Secretary stressed that through newsletters, individual teachers were going to be aware of the Associations’ past, present and future plans.⁸⁹ Even though the association had resolved to have a newsletter, its publication was not consistent due to lack of finances. Talks of having a newsletter and a journal for teachers were still alive in December 1962.⁹⁰ The newsletter informed teachers on the benefits of joining

⁸⁵ NAZ MLSS1/21/32 Northern Rhodesia Teachers’ Association Constitution. p.1.

⁸⁶ NAZ MLSS1/23/81 Trade Unions Registrar’s Report for 1960.p.1.

⁸⁷ Staff Reporter, “Teachers Strike?” *Northern News* 1st November, 1963. p.1.

⁸⁸ NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers’ Association Minutes of the Central Executive Committee. 20th October, 1956. p.2.

⁸⁹ NAZ ED1/6/23 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers’ Association Meeting with Mr. G.W. Jones (Organising Secretary of Alabama Teachers’ Association) 25th January, 1961.p.1.

⁹⁰ NAZ ED1/6/23 Minutes of the NORUT EXCO Meeting Held in Lusaka on 28th December 1962. p. 3.

the union. Teachers were told that if they did not join the union, they were not going to benefit from its negotiations.

The union also resolved to employ other strategies such as the sending of Christmas Messages to teachers every year.⁹¹ This was done to continuously remind teachers that NORATA and later NORUT cared about their wellbeing. Furthermore, application forms were made available to most branches of the NORATA so that those who were interested in joining could do so.⁹²

Regarding financial challenges, NORATA was encouraged to find alternative means of income generation instead of just depending on membership subscription. The Organising Secretary of the Alabama Teachers' Association, Jones pointed out in 1961 that NORATA needed to be financially sound in order to carry out important projects. He gave an example of Tanganyika where the teachers' association planned to solve transport difficulties by purchasing a Land Rover.⁹³ Jones further pointed out that financial assistance especially from the government was significant in the attainment of some form of financial security. He gave an example of the association in Ghana which had received £6,000 from the government to help in its operations.⁹⁴

Therefore, the union asked for financial assistance from the World Confederation of Teaching Professionals, (WCOTP) and it was given a sum of £200 towards the payment of a full time Secretary General in 1961. The same organisation also donated a sum of £190 in 1963.⁹⁵ Appeals of financial assistance were also made from within the territory as early as 1954 when NORATA

⁹¹NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Minutes of the Central Executive Committee. 20th October, 1956. p.2.

⁹²NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Minutes of the Central Executive Committee. 20th October, 1956. p.2.

⁹³NAZ ED1/6/23 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Meeting with Mr. G.W. Jones (Organising Secretary of Alabama Teachers' Association) 25th January, 1961.p 3.

⁹⁴NAZ ED1/6/23 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Meeting with Mr. G.W. Jones (Organising Secretary of Alabama Teachers' Association) 25th January, 1961.p.2.

⁹⁵ NAZ MLSS1/26/239 Trade Union Registrar's Report for 1963.p.2.

asked for financial assistance from the Director of African Education and other interested individuals.⁹⁶ Interested individuals included the Principal of the Jeanes Training Centre in Mazabuka and other European Staff of the same institution. It has also been recorded in the Trade Union's Annual Returns for 1963 that NORUT received a grant of £180 from the UTUC.⁹⁷ However, this is a contradiction of the poor financial state of affairs of the UTUC. This Congress was in such a financial mess that it was asked to dissolve itself. It was for this reason that the government gave it £5,000 when it became ZCTU to help it start on good footing.⁹⁸ Even ordinary members were told that their money was desperately needed to turn the infant association, NORATA into a healthy adult. The officials of the association contended that a penny subscribed was not a waste but an asset which would yield dividends. This way of response to financial challenges yielded some positive results because the money which the association received was used for various activities. For instance, the assistance which it received from interested individuals which amounted to £23.2s.6d helped in the printing of membership cards.⁹⁹ Even though what was received were not huge sums of money, it can be argued that this facilitated the completion of certain activities and in that way the association continued functioning. In an effort to minimize financial anomalies in financial books, NORUT organised seminars where union officials were taught basic book-keeping skills such as recording income and expenditure

⁹⁶ NAZ ED1/6/1 Letter from Treasurer of NORATA M.M. Sakubita to the Assistant Director of African Education dated 12th January, 1954, Also Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Treasurer's General Annual Report Covering the period July 1953 to 30th April 1954.p.1.

⁹⁷ NAZ MLSS1/26/239 Annual Return for a Registered or Unregistered Union for 1963.p.2.

⁹⁸ Press Release, Number 1825 President on Role of Trade Unions. 29th November, 1965.p.6. See also Annual Labour Reports for 1965 and 1966.

⁹⁹ NAZ ED1/6/1 Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association Treasurer General's Report Covering the Period July 1953 to April 1954.p. 1.

separately. This was the situation in 1963 when a workshop was organised for all Provincial Secretaries.¹⁰⁰

To ensure that there was unity and concord in the union, leaders needed to understand trade unionism. Therefore, they were exposed to trade unionism ideals through refresher courses and workshops within and outside the country.¹⁰¹ For instance, in 1963, some members of the union went to West-Germany for a course in trade unionism for a period of eight months.¹⁰² Ordinary members were called to fight together to improve their conditions of service irrespective of whether they were degree holders or not.¹⁰³

4.3.2 Response in the Post-Independence Period, 1964- 1991

During the early part of this era, the union which now became ZNUT was still grappling with the problem of apathy as it had failed to convince the majority of teachers to join. The union still had less than five thousand members in 1964.¹⁰⁴ The union therefore continued its campaign for members through print media. It continued to call for teachers of other races to join. In December 1964, the union called yet again on members of the Northern Rhodesia Teachers Association to disband and join ZNUT. The union contended that the Northern Rhodesia Teachers' Association did not stand for multi-racialism and this meant that it was obsolete in a multi-racial Zambia.¹⁰⁵

The campaign to recruit more members also took the form of travelling to different parts of the country by leaders in the union executive and talking to teachers about the benefits of joining the union. Teachers were told that the union provided a perfect platform for them to know what was

¹⁰⁰ NAZ MLSS1/26/288 Letter Written by General Secretary of NORUT to Registrar of Trade Unions. 2nd May, 1963.

¹⁰¹ NAZ CO.2/25/2 Letter Written on 27th June 1963 Addressed to General Secretary of NORUT from UTUC.

¹⁰² NAZ CO.2/25/2 Letter Written on 27th June 1963 Addressed to General Secretary of NORUT from UTUC.

¹⁰³ NAZ ED1/6/24 Northern Rhodesia of Teachers- Western Province Union News Letter Volume 1, 1961 p.1.

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1964. p.67.

¹⁰⁵ Staff Reporter, "Appeal to Join New Teachers' Union" *Northern News*. 20th December 1964. p.1.

happening in the Education system as a whole because teachers serving at different levels of the system interacted during certain union activities such as workshops. It was further stated that no individual teacher no matter how powerful he or she was had the power to negotiate for better conditions for teachers and change the image of the teaching profession. In February 1966, the union through its General Secretary Muletambo Mubita launched the “Meet the Teacher Campaign”.¹⁰⁶ This campaign was aimed at increasing the membership of the union from less than 5,000 in early 1966 to about 9,000 members out of the 12,000 teachers in Zambia by 1967.¹⁰⁷ The campaign was carried out in two phases. In the first phase, tours were made to the Copperbelt, Central and Southern regions of the country. During the second phase, tours were under taken to areas which had fewer members such as the districts of Mbala and Luwingu in the Northern Province, Namushakende and Luampa in the western region of the country. This campaign had yielded some positive results in the later part of 1966 as the union had approximately 5,000 members. These results continued even in the years that followed as membership had slightly increased to over 6,000 in 1968.¹⁰⁸

Letters continued to be used in this era as a way of inviting all the teachers to join. This was the case in 1973. The ZNUT through a letter called upon all expatriates and non-expatriates educators to join.¹⁰⁹ It assured the teachers in its letter of May 1973 that they needed not to have any fears of joining forces with ZNUT. In addition to this, the union threatened that it had the power to request the Ministry of Labour to enforce a closed shop.¹¹⁰ A closed shop is an arrangement which an

¹⁰⁶ ZNUT Newsletter for 1966. pp.2-3.

¹⁰⁷ ZNUT Newsletter for 1966.pp.2-3

¹⁰⁸ Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1968.p.59.

¹⁰⁹NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZNUT to Head Teachers, Secondary School Teachers, College Principals and Tutors. 8th May, 1973.

¹¹⁰ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZNUT to Head Teachers, Secondary School Teachers, College Principals and Tutors.8th May, 1973.

employer has “of requiring all workers to join a particular union as a precondition of being hired.”¹¹¹ The union claimed that this was possible because 60% of teachers were members of ZNUT.¹¹² The union went further to assert that it did not like to take such an avenue because educators were capable enough “to rise to the realization of knowing the key that protected them.”¹¹³

Apart from using letters and directly appealing to teachers, ZNUT used incentives to entice teachers to join such as scholarships, integration of secondary school teachers in the leadership structure and financial support for occurrences such as funerals.¹¹⁴ Through its cooperating partners such as the Danish Teachers’ Union, teachers who exhibited excellent academic skills were given scholarships abroad to pursue Bachelor’s Degrees in Education. This attracted some teachers in the 1980s to join. The policy of integrating secondary school teachers and college lecturers had some positive results as there were even some of them who served as Provincial Chairpersons and District Secretaries of the Union such as Philemon Mwanachingwala a lecturer at Nkrumah Teachers’ College who served as ZNUT Provincial Chairman in 1989 and Paul Mulenga a Secondary School teacher in Kalulushi served as District Secretary in 1986.¹¹⁵ The union further targeted teachers who served in private schools. It resolved that teachers from the

¹¹¹ <https://www.thought.co.com> Robert Longley, “What is a Closed Shop in the Work Place? The Pros and Cons You Should know”, accessed on 19th November, 2018.

¹¹² NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZNUT to Head Teachers, Secondary School Teachers, College Principals and Tutors. 8th May, 1973.

¹¹³ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZNUT to Head Teachers, Secondary School Teachers, College Principals and Tutors. 8th May, 1973.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017. See Also Times Reporter, “School Heads Powers Checked.” *Times of Zambia*. 6th February, 1986.p.5. See Also Times Reporter, “Mansa Teachers Stick to Boycott”, *Times of Zambia*, 13th February, 1989. p.5. The articles mention the positions of Mwanachingwala and Mulenga.

private schools needed to be encouraged to “seek membership in the union as they were also a part of the education machinery.”¹¹⁶

The ZNUT’s response to the problem of apathy did not just involve telling people who were already serving as teachers about the importance of being a unionised worker. The union organised outreach programmes to Teachers’ Training Colleges where students who were future teachers were told the benefits of belonging to ZNUT.¹¹⁷ Once some of these teachers were recruited by the Ministry of Education, there were orientation programmes which also encouraged them to join ZNUT. This strategy of educating student teachers on the importance of being unionised is a clear indication that the campaign for members had gained momentum and the teachers’ union was prepared to use whatever means available just to get more members.

The assurance and threats from ZNUT did not make all the teachers in the country to become its members. There was still resistance from expatriates, teachers who served in private schools and secondary school teachers. Therefore, appeals to join the union continued to be made as late as 1985.¹¹⁸ However, these ways of response were quite successful as the union grew in size as shown by the table below. Even the 1971, IRA helped the union to grow due to its policy of one union in one industry. The government maintained its support for the union and condemned the Secondary School Teachers’ Association of Zambia which did not want to be part of ZNUT in the 1980s.¹¹⁹ It pointed out that Secondary school teachers already had a union which was ZNUT and

¹¹⁶ Republic of Zambia Ministry of Education, Education for Development Subcommittee Report on Private Schools 1975.p.7.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

¹¹⁸ Zana, “ZNUT Launches Membership Campaign.” *Zambia Daily Mail*. August, 1985.p.3.

¹¹⁹ Times Reporter, “ZNUT Split can’t be allowed” Times of Zambia, 19th September,1983.p.7 and NAZ CO2/25/2 Record of a Meeting between Officials of the Ministry of General Education, Youth and Sport and the Secondary School Teachers’ Association Spokesman- Mr. H. Chimwano in the Permanent Secretary’s Office on 11th May 1989.p.1.

SESTAZ had no right to speak on behalf of teachers. According to government, SESTAZ was nonexistent in law.¹²⁰ This of course helped ZNUT to continue growing in the 1980s when others were pressing for a split. Membership which was at 2,401 in 1964 continued to increase throughout the 1980s as indicated in the table, up to over 40,000 in 1991.

Table3: The growth in membership of Znut from 1964-1991

YEAR	MEMBERSHIP
1964	2,401
1965	2,118.
1966	5000
1967	5,287.
1968	6,198.
1969	6,107
1970	6,107
1971	9,500
1972	11,116
1973	11,142
1974	12,631
1975	12,955
1976	13,558
1977	13,655
1978	15,001
1979	15,520
1980	23,4224
1981	25,384.
1982	26,977
1983	28,608
1986	25,000
1990	36,230
1991	46,700

Source: Ministry of Labour Annual Reports.

In response to financial challenges, the ZNUT tried to broaden their economic base in this era by applying for a compulsory check-off system, appealing for financial assistance from its own members and other organisations, setting up a credit union, cutting costs and increasing membership subscription fees. The union decided to apply for a compulsory check-off system in 1967 claiming that it had a total membership of more than 62% of the total qualified teaching force

¹²⁰ NAZ CO2/25/2 Record of a Meeting between Officials of the Ministry of General Education and SESTAZ Spokesman.p.1.

in Zambia.¹²¹ The union went on to claim that even the balance were potential ZNUT members except that they were too far in the rural areas.¹²² The union wanted to have this system applicable to every local Zambian teacher. This request to the labour Ministry was not granted as voluntary check-off system continued to be used even in the 1970s.¹²³

In addition to this, the union made calls for self-sustenance among the branches.¹²⁴ The union needed to be financially strong and this had to start at the branch level. It discouraged branches from depending on the Headquarters for all their financial needs.¹²⁵ It further told teachers that they needed to form credit unions in their branches. The objective of the credit unions was to, “inspire solidarity and self-help among the trade union members.”¹²⁶ The regional leaders pointed out that credit unions were necessary because they helped workers during times of financial difficulties. Teachers needed to contribute every month to make the credit unions functional. Branches applied to the Ministry so that part of their members’ salaries could be deducted.¹²⁷

The call for self- sustenance was not very successful. Some branches simply had no capacity to have their own credit unions. For instance, some branches in Luapula had their application for a credit union denied because they wanted their monthly deductions sent to the Treasurer of the Chingola Teachers Savings and Credit Co-operatives.¹²⁸ Where registration was approved, there

¹²¹ NAZ CNP1/1/48 Letter from General Secretary of ZNUT Mr. Muletambo Mubita to Minister of Labour. Dated 29th December, 1967.

¹²² NAZ CNP1/1/48 Letter from General Secretary of ZNUT Mr. Muletambo Mubita to Minister of Labour. Dated 29th December, 1967.

¹²³ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter from ZNUT to Head Teachers, Secondary School Teachers and College Principals dated 8th May, 1972.

¹²⁴ NAZ EDU2/14/9, Regional Committee Seminar Held at Hillside School, Chipata. 24th March, 1973.p.2.

¹²⁵ NAZ EDU2/14/9, Regional Committee Seminar Held at Hillside School, Chipata. 24th March, 1973.p.2.

¹²⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZCTU to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education, dated 28th September, 1972.

¹²⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZCTU to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education, dated 28th September, 1972.

¹²⁸NAZ EDU2/14/9Letter Written by ZCTU to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education, dated 28th September, 1972

were other factors which hindered normal functioning such as lack of sensitization. Some teachers did not understand the concept of credit unions. Therefore, they resisted the notion of having part of their salaries deducted every month.¹²⁹

In addition to this, some teachers were not patient enough to wait for the money to mature. They wanted to see results immediately. Another contributing factor towards the failure of the credit unions was lack of transparency from the people who were in charge of the distribution of the funds raised from the credit unions.¹³⁰ Some treasurers did not give proper explanation on how the money was used. There were instances when some of them were even taken to the police for misappropriation of funds.¹³¹ There were reports of officials forging bank cheques. For instance, there were reports in Lusaka of an official who forged a cheque and withdrew an amount of K1,084 in 1984.¹³² It was further reported that the official was not given a stiff penalty as he was just told to repay the amount in instalments. Concerned ZNUT members in Lusaka further discovered that the credit union had not been registered for five years. Due to such reports, a steering committee which was headed by Stephen Kaliminwa instructed the Zambia National Commercial Bank Centre Branch not to allow any body to withdraw money from it until further notice.¹³³ The steering committee also made an appeal to the Ministry of Education and Culture to stop deducting members' contributions to the credit union until everything was sorted out.¹³⁴ Such controversy contributed to the failure of the credit union as it dissuaded some teachers who were willing to join. As if that was not enough, members had troubles accessing the finances. Others were

¹²⁹ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

¹³⁰ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

¹³¹ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017. See also Times Reporter, "ZNUT Lusaka Executive Axed from Office." *Times of Zambia*. 6th April, 1984. p.1.

¹³² Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*, 6th April, 1984.p.1.

¹³³ Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*, 6th April, 1984.p.1.

¹³⁴ Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*, 6th April, 1984.p.1.

repeatedly told that the people who were in the queue to get the money were just too many so they could not be helped.¹³⁵

Calls for members to contribute to the coffers were also made in this era. In certain cases members including those in the executive responded positively to such calls. For instance in 1971, Regional Secretaries of Eastern Province were described as selfless in their actions because they used their own resources to organise meetings.¹³⁶ In 1972, ordinary members belonging to the Lusaka region made contributions to purchase a Land Rover for their union following appeals in 1967. Therefore, the problem of lack of transport which was caused by lack of finances was abated. However, some members were discouraged from using their own finances to help the union because it could not compensate them. An example of such a situation occurred on the Copperbelt in 1972 where the Regional Secretary N. K. Kalungu could not be reimbursed after paying for telephone bills using his own money.¹³⁷

Foreign bodies such as W.C.O.T.P. and Teachers' unions from the Scandinavian countries were also used by ZNUT to sort out problems caused by lack of finances. The W.C.O.T.P. which started helping teachers in Zambia prior to independence did not just restrict itself to money. The confederation also donated goods. For instance, in 1966, it gave ZNUT a gift of a Honda Trail Motorcycle which was supposed to help in its day to day running.¹³⁸ The Confederation also sponsored some seminars which discussed important educational issues. For example it sponsored a seminar which took place in Lusaka in 1975 whose focus was Curriculum Development in a

¹³⁵ Interview with Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

¹³⁶ NAZ EP4/12/15 Zambia National Union of Teachers Provincial Report for Eastern Province. April, 1971. p.2.

¹³⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter written by Copperbelt Regional Secretary Mr. N.K. Kalungu to Financial Secretary of ZNUT, Christin Mulundika dated 14th October, 1972.

¹³⁸ Newsletter for 1966.p.2.

developing nation.¹³⁹ Pertaining to the Scandinavian teachers' unions, the Norwegian Union of Teachers contributed over K300, 000 to facilitate the organisation of a ZNUT Study Circle for female trade unionists in 1989.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the union sorted out problems which emanated from lack of finances by using business packages such as loans and mortgages. The challenge of paying rent was sorted by approaching the Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF) for a mortgage. As a result of such a move, the Head Office of ZNUT began operating from its own building in Lusaka in 1975.¹⁴¹ This initiative taken by the union to operate from its own building was an indication that it had become more creative in sorting out its problems in a changing society.

Another strategy that was used to ensure that there was an improvement in the financial status of the union was reducing costs. An example that can be given regarding this was what happened in 1973 when the Deputy General Secretary Shiyenge Kapini relinquished his right of getting a monthly entertainment allowance of K50 and cut his salary by K10.¹⁴² As a result of cutting costs, the financial situation improved slightly in the three years which followed as the union was able to pay the people it employed and give imprest to various regions.¹⁴³

The union also hiked subscription fees so as to have enough money in its coffers. This was the case in 1968 when members' monthly subscriptions were increased from 20 Ngwee to 30

¹³⁹ NAZ EDU2/18 Letter from General Secretary Shiyenge Kapini to Z.C.T.U. General Secretary. Dated 8th October, 1975.

¹⁴⁰ Times Reporter, "K300, 000 Given to ZNUT." *Times of Zambia* 18th August, 1989. p.7.

¹⁴¹ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Zambia National Union of Teachers Report of the Acting General Secretary, Mr. Shiyenge Kapini to the 8th Annual Convention of Delegates Sitting from 4th to 5th January, 1975 at Mulungushi President's Citizenship College Kabwe.p.8.

¹⁴² NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers Press Release, 25th April, 1973.p.1.

¹⁴³ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers General Secretary's Report to the Ninth General Meeting at the National In Service Teachers College-Chalimbana from 3rd to 4th January, 1976.p.3.

Ngwee.¹⁴⁴ The same occurred in 1983 when membership subscription fees were increased from K1 to K2. The central executive pointed out that such an increment was necessary because the union was on the verge of collapsing.¹⁴⁵

In order to have access to the desperately needed income which came from subscriptions, the union resolved in 1976 that the Financial Secretary needed to have updated registers for members and to keep up to date with the number of the total teaching force.¹⁴⁶ However, the union did not manage to have updated figures of the number of teachers in the country because the Ministry of Education did not have such figures at times. To this effect, the union complained to the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport to produce accurate figures of teachers who were employed so that it could not be robbed of some subscriptions.¹⁴⁷

Regarding the cessation of the check-off system by government, the unionists themselves took up the challenge of collecting subscription fees from members. In 1985, the union officials on the Copperbelt asserted that, “the party and its government’s action to stop the collection of dues on behalf of the union was a blessing in disguise because it afforded an opportunity to be self-dependent.”¹⁴⁸ Although the union resolved to collect money by visiting different schools, it was not an easy task to collect money from individual teachers.¹⁴⁹ Teachers who were away from their stations during this exercise could not contribute and the union lost out. In short, the check-off system ensured that everything that was due to the union was paid while the system of using a

¹⁴⁴ Government of the Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour Annual Report for the Year 1968.p.30.

¹⁴⁵ Mail Reporter, “Don’t House Teachers in Hovels” *Zambia Daily Mail*. 5th April, 1983.p.5.

¹⁴⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Ninth General Council Meeting, 3rd to 4th January, 1976. p.3.

¹⁴⁷ Times Reporter, “Special ZNUT Posts Coming.” *Times of Zambia*. 27th February, 1991.p.3.

¹⁴⁸ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, August 1985.p.3.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

three man committee (Three Representatives of ZNUT at School Level) to collect fees was not reliable.¹⁵⁰

With regard to the unequal representation of women in the leadership structure, the union decided to establish Women's Committees at the district, provincial and national level. Furthermore, the Department of Gender was set up to enhance women's participation in 1989.¹⁵¹ There was also a deliberate policy of ensuring that at each structure women were encouraged to aspire for positions. Through the Women's committee, women were sensitized on the importance of belonging to a union. In fact, the amount of money which the Norwegian Teachers' Union gave ZNUT was meant for that purpose.¹⁵² Union officials from the Scandinavian country came to Zambia at the invitation of the Women's Affairs Committee. Their mission was to help train fifty women from different parts of the country on how to be good leaders. It was hoped that the women would pass on the information to their colleagues at local school level and that it would be a success just as it was in Zimbabwe.¹⁵³ This effort made by ZNUT to integrate women in the leadership structure yielded some results at branch and provincial level. At the national level, the results were not so promising because there was never a female member of the Central Executive after Christine Mulundika. The second female to serve in the Central Executive was Margaret Harawa who served as Deputy Secretary of Finance after 1991.¹⁵⁴

In response to disunity and lack of coordination, ZNUT responded by intensifying Workers' Education. Seminars were organised for both leaders and ordinary members of the union even

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Mr. Edwin Bwalya, Former ZNUT Provincial Secretary for Lusaka, 20th January, 2017.

¹⁵¹ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017.

¹⁵² *Times of Zambia*, 18th August, 1989.p.7.

¹⁵³ *Times of Zambia*, 18th August, 1989.p.7.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Margaret Harawa Former Deputy Financial Secretary for ZNUT.29th January, 2017.

before the union established its own Workers' Education Department in 1976.¹⁵⁵ The union made it clear that difficulties were going to continue unless leadership at local and regional levels woke up to its expectations.¹⁵⁶ Leaders were told that they needed to demonstrate the ability to take initiative in coping with the unexpected. Furthermore, they needed to make meaningful decisions when they were required to. For instance, they did not need to fear to speak against work stoppages which were not justified due to the probability that they might lose popularity. In addition to this, leaders were urged to be flexible enough in order to adjust to changes around them.¹⁵⁷

As poor communication between the leadership and ordinary members was the main cause of confusion in the union, Kapini emphasized during seminars that leaders needed to be good communicators.¹⁵⁸ They needed to communicate to ordinary members on the progress of negotiations. To enhance this spirit of communication, he suggested that there was need for more contacts between Regional offices and branches so that members were acquainted with new developments in the union.

As transport difficulties were what impeded proper communication in most provinces, the union in 1973 pledged to give more money to the regions so that tours could be a reality.¹⁵⁹ This was implemented a year later in 1974 when the imprest for each region was increased from K30 to K100.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, the union purchased eight motorbikes in 1975 for all the regions except

¹⁵⁵ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Ninth General Council Meeting of 1976.p.2.

¹⁵⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers Lecture by the Deputy General Secretary Mr. Shiyenge Kapini on the Occasion of the Trade Union Leadership Seminar Organised by the ZNUT in Monze. 2nd June 1973. p.2.

¹⁵⁷ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers Lecture by the Deputy General Secretary Mr. Shiyenge Kapini on the Occasion of the Trade Union Leadership Seminar Organised by the ZNUT in Monze. 2nd June 1973. p.2.

¹⁵⁸ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers Lecture by the Deputy General Secretary Mr. Shiyenge Kapini on the Occasion of the Trade Union Leadership Seminar Organised by the ZNUT in Monze. 2nd June 1973. p.2.

¹⁵⁹ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Report on the Copperbelt Tour, 17th -27th May 1973. p.3.

¹⁶⁰NAZ EDU2/14/18 Speech by Acting General Secretary Mr. Shiyenge Kapini at the Copperbelt Regional Convention, 29th November, 1974. p.4.

Lusaka which had a vehicle and the motorbike donated by the W.C.O.T.P. to ease transport problems.¹⁶¹

Through seminars, leaders were also urged to be selfless.¹⁶² The Deputy General Secretary, Shiyenge Kapini pointed out that they needed to be empathetic to the needs of ordinary members. The union was against people who just joined in the hope of holding big posts at the Headquarters. Kapini stated that the real job was in the regions and not the Headquarters. He further told leaders that if they could not perform at local levels then they were not going to do anything at the national level either. He further stated that self-fulfillment, self-actualization and enrichment of all human beings were some of the aims of teacher leadership. Therefore, they needed to prepare teachers to develop both aspects of usefulness and fulfillment. To enhance the aspect of usefulness, teachers needed to feel needed in the union and one way of doing that was by encouraging them to bring suggestions on how the union could properly function. Regarding fulfillment, teachers needed to be reminded of their worth in national development.¹⁶³

Through the intensification of worker education, leaders and ordinary members were also taught the importance of having a good relationship with government.¹⁶⁴ According to Kapini, a teachers' union which did not have good relations with the Ministry of Education had difficulties influencing educational policy and that the grievances of their members would not be addressed. He emphasized that teachers' cases, even genuine ones were lost because some trade union officials

¹⁶¹ NAZ EDU2/14/18 ZNUT News Service, 25th November, 1975. p.2 and Speech by General Secretary Mr. Shiyenge at the General Meeting of the Livingstone Branch of the ZNUT in Victoria Hall. 30th November 1975.p.2.

¹⁶² NAZ EDU2/14/9 Zambia National Union of Teachers Lecture by the Deputy General Secretary Mr. Shiyenge Kapini on the Occasion of the Trade Union Leadership Seminar Organised by the ZNUT in Monze. 2nd June 1973. p.2.

¹⁶³ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Shiyenge Kapini on the Occasion of the Trade Union Leadership Seminar Organised by ZNUT in Monze, 2nd June, 1973.p.2.

¹⁶⁴NAZ EDU2/14/9 Mr. Shiyenge Kapini on the Occasion of the Trade Union Leadership Seminar Organised by ZNUT in Monze, 2nd June 1973, p.1.

did not know how to present them. He observed that letters were written as if the union had already differed with Ministry Officials. In addition to this, the union responded favourably to the Ministry's invitation of having regular meetings with it so as to get rid of misunderstandings and mistrust that existed between the two and hoped that through such meetings, answers and explanations obtained from the Ministry would be conveyed to union members.¹⁶⁵

To put an end to the issue of having different utterances in the media, the Deputy General Secretary, Kapini pointed out in 1973 that only ZNUT had the right to make statements and so teachers who were fond of issuing statements to the media needed to stop.¹⁶⁶ He warned teachers that the union would not have room for them if they carried on using its name for their agenda because that was an act of indiscipline.¹⁶⁷ In addition to this, a special Department of Public Relations was established at ZNUT Headquarters in the late 1980s which had a task of communicating to the public on the affairs of the union.¹⁶⁸ This department had a Director who took the function of a Spokes Person. Only the Director of Public Relations, the Secretary General and the Chairperson could make official statements.

In the same spirit of curtailing careless utterances, District and Provincial Leaders were taught Public Relations Skills.¹⁶⁹ They were discouraged from making replies to statements uttered by Ministry of Education Officials who were outside their area of operation. For instance, a District Chairperson for the union was not allowed to answer to the comments of the Provincial Education Officer but could reply to the comments of the District Education Officer. (District Education

¹⁶⁵ NAZ EDU2/14/18 Minutes of a Meeting of the Minister of Education and the General Secretary of the ZNUT held in the Minister's Office on 23rd March, 1976.p.1.

¹⁶⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Letter Written by ZNUT to Head Teachers, Secondary School Teachers, College Principals and Tutors. 8th May, 1973

¹⁶⁷ Press Release, 29th May, 1976. p.2.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017

Board Secretary today.)¹⁷⁰ The Public Relations skills lessons which were taught to the District and Provincial leaders did not yield much as they continued to make comments which were supposed to have been made by the Chairperson or Secretary General. An example that can be cited relates to the comments made against the Ministry of Education by the Central Province Vice Secretary of ZNUT Philemon Mwanachingwala. He stated in February 1989 that, the Ministry of Education was delaying to respond to some pressing matters affecting teachers.¹⁷¹ Such a comment should have been made by the Chairperson or General Secretary not a Provincial leader because the Ministry of Education was far beyond Mwanachingwala's area of operation.

Another method which was used to overcome the challenge of disunity was the call for cooperation in the union.¹⁷² The union made calls to all teachers regardless of academic qualifications to cooperate and make the union a success. Ordinary members were told that they needed to be loyal and have confidence in the abilities of their leaders.¹⁷³ Top union officials emphasized the negative results of sectionalism in the union. They stated that, "the lack of a major breakthrough in the teachers' struggle for more equitable treatment from the public can be traced to the clannishness of the teachers in society."¹⁷⁴ This means that teachers did not view themselves as one group. They were divided into small groups by factors such as qualification and the areas they taught from (rural or urban areas). There was even the aspect of teachers who did not work in class rooms such as Head Teachers looking down on the classroom teachers.¹⁷⁵ Head Teachers were further told that

¹⁷⁰Interview with Mr. Roy Mwaba Former Vice President of ZNUT. 11th May, 2017

¹⁷¹ Times Reporter, "Mansa Teachers Stick to boycott" *Times of Zambia*, 13th February, 1989.p.5.

¹⁷²NAZ EDU2/14/9 Mr. Shiyenge Kapini's Speech. Headmaster's Role in Schools and What the Union Feels About their Work. 21st October, 1972. p.1.

¹⁷³ ZANA, "Unions Undermined, Claims Official." *Times of Zambia*. 13th February, 1983.p.7.

¹⁷⁴NAZ EDU2/14/9 Extract of Mr. Shiyenge Kapini's Speech on Headmaster's Role in Schools and What the Union Feels About their Work during a Workshop for Head Masters at Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka. 21st October, 1972. p.1

¹⁷⁵ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Mr. Shiyenge Kapini's Speech. Headmaster's Role in Schools and What the Union Feels About their Work. 21st October, 1972. p.1.

they needed to stop hiding circulars which came from the union. Such a negative attitude was condemned by the union as it worked against the union's motto of efficiency, cooperation and service. In addition to this, the union spoke against other issues which had the potential of causing disunity such as tribalism. This was because there were people in the union who stated that some officials found themselves in certain positions because they were of a particular tribe and that the national executive favoured certain regions in the country because some executive members hailed from those same regions.¹⁷⁶

The campaign to end lack of coordination in the union was not very successful in that leaders at the branch levels continued to tolerate strikes without following the proper channel of informing the Central Executive. For instance in 1986, teachers in Kalulushi and Chambeshi refused to teach because the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) refused to relax its rules of "barring non-mine employees and their families from going to mine hospitals."¹⁷⁷ The union's District Chairman and the Secretary were both in support of this decision by teachers and pointed out that they were not going to rescind their decision until ZCCM gave a positive response.¹⁷⁸ They returned to work though ZCCM did not rescind this decision immediately.

Disunity continued in the union as ordinary members passed votes of no confidence in their union. This was the case in March 1987 when teachers in Lusaka passed a vote of no confidence against the national executive for negotiating what they called "a raw deal."¹⁷⁹ Secondary School teachers in Kalomo and Ndola did the same. The lack of unity in the union was also demonstrated by some comments made by some union officials in which they stated just like government that the strikes

¹⁷⁶ NAZ EDU2/14/9 Extract of a Speech Delivered by Mr. Saviour Kasonde, Vice ZNUT Provincial Secretary of Copperbelt Region at Ipusikilo School in Mufulira, 22nd October 1972. p.21.

¹⁷⁷ Times Reporter, "School Heads Powers Checked." *Times of Zambia*, 6th February, 1986. p.5.

¹⁷⁸ Times Reporter, "School Heads Powers Checked." *Times of Zambia*, 6th February, 1986. p.5.

¹⁷⁹ Times Reporter, "ZNUT, Minister Plead: Go back to Classes" *Times of Zambia*. 10th March, 1987.p.1.

by teachers were caused by disgruntled elements who wanted to destroy the stability the country was enjoying.¹⁸⁰ This argument was advanced by General Secretary Albert Chibale. The officials argued that teachers who were resuming work were receiving phone calls from unknown people telling them to stay away from classes.

Regarding the aspect of improving communication between the leadership and ordinary members, results were not promising too. Teachers simply did not use the proper channel of communicating their grievances. Instead of making their branches aware of the problems they faced, they quickly involved government and party officials. An example of such a case was what happened at Sefula Secondary School near Mongu in 1983 where twenty one teachers sent a petition to the office of the Western Province Member of Central Committee over the non-electrification of their school.¹⁸¹ There were also incidents when the leadership would say that they were not aware of teachers staying away from work. This was the case in 1987 when the Provincial executive of the ZNUT in Eastern Province stated that it had been caught unawares by the strike action of teachers.¹⁸² Regarding the issue of SESTAZ, ZNUT tried to patch relations with it in 1989.¹⁸³ At a meeting in Lusaka, the two sides resolved that government was to blame for grouping Diploma holders together with certificate holders. SESTAZ noted that the proposals which ZNUT had submitted were similar to the ones it was proposing hence the two were going to be allies in the task of improving teachers' conditions.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, it was agreed that SESTAZ be accorded observer

¹⁸⁰ Times Reporter, "Teachers' Strike in New Turn: It's a Plot to fan trouble." *Times of Zambia*. 13th March, 1987.p.1.

¹⁸¹ Times Reporter, "Teachers' homes need K96 M" *Times of Zambia*. 31st January, 1983.p.5.

¹⁸² Times Reporter, "Teachers Strike" *Times of Zambia*. 25th February, 1987.p.7.

¹⁸³ Times Reporter, "Teachers Mend Fences" *Times of Zambia*. 22nd March, 1989.p.7.

¹⁸⁴ Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*, 22nd March, 1989.p.7.

status at all negotiations. SESTAZ could not be part of the negotiation team because it was not allowed to engage in collective bargaining as it was just an association under the 1971 IRA.

The peace which existed between the two was short lived as trouble loomed just after two months.¹⁸⁵ The ZNUT accused SESTAZ of confusing its members over conditions of service. This was when the former accepted government's offer of K780 as annual allowances for Diploma holders who taught senior classes. The ZNUT tried to ensure that the grievances of Secondary School teachers were heard by even visiting places in the country where they were complaining. They were also told that they were free to take their complaints and observations on the salary proposals to ZNUT branch officials who would in turn take them to the national executive.¹⁸⁶ ZNUT also tried to pacify the teachers by stating that members of the national executive were just human beings who were capable of making mistakes which could be corrected.

In addition to this, the union had a plan in February 1991 of streamlining the Central Executive so that it could have "specialist positions which would deal with specific conditions of service affecting members in various categories."¹⁸⁷ ZNUT planned on having three Organising Secretaries responsible for Primary, Secondary and Teacher Education. It was highlighted that the reorganization was going to draw staff from each of the three sectors.¹⁸⁸ This meant that the union's staffing was going to be more diverse with teachers from different categories working for it. This was a move which was necessary for the image of the union.

The union continued to fight against the formation of another union by telling teachers that only one was necessary. The union pointed out that splinter unions would only make the problems of

¹⁸⁵ Times Reporter, "Stop it ZNUT Warns Meddlers." *Times of Zambia*. 12th May, 1989. p.1.

¹⁸⁶ Times Reporter, "Come to Us, ZNUT Asks Teachers." *Times of Zambia*. 20th June, 1987.p.7.

¹⁸⁷ Times Reporter, "Special ZNUT Posts Coming." *Times of Zambia*. 27th February, 1991.p.3.

¹⁸⁸ Times Reporter, *Times of Zambia*, 27th February, 1991.p.2.

teachers worse and that defecting to another union was far from solving any problem.¹⁸⁹ The arguments made by ZNUT did not stop Secondary School teachers and College lecturers from leaving the union. The union which had a membership of over 40,000 in 1991 lost about 7,000 secondary school teachers and 700 college lecturers.¹⁹⁰

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter sought to examine the challenges and the ways in which first NORATA and later NORUT and ZNUT responded to them from 1953 to 1991. The findings demonstrate that the challenges and the ways of response changed over time due to some factors in the education system and society as a whole. For instance, the challenge of financial bankruptcy in the federal period emanated from the fact that the union did not have enough paid up members. This was not the situation in the years of independence as government agreed to a voluntary check-off system for the union. Therefore, other factors came to play such as embezzlements. With regard to ways of response, the level of creativity had improved in the era of independence as the union employed methods which it never used in the federal period. The chapter also demonstrates that some ways of response worked while others did not. In short, the chapter proves that the unions did not just sit helpless in the midst of challenges they faced.

¹⁸⁹ Times Reporter, "Teachers' Union Split" *Times of Zambia*. 14th March 1991.p.3.

¹⁹⁰ Times Reporter, "ZNUT Intact" *Times of Zambia*. 15th March 1991.p.3.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the development of the Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association (NORATA), Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers (NORUT) and Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) from 1953 to 1991. The study focused on the roles of the teachers' association and the unions, their relationship with the government in different eras of Zambia's political history and their challenges and ways of response.

The first conclusion in this study is that the formation of provincial associations and later NORATA was necessitated by the poor working conditions which the African teacher was subjected to such as low salaries and poor accommodation. Secondly, the general roles of a teachers' union which are advocating for improved conditions of service, influencing educational policy, educating teachers on their roles and improving the status of learners was never the same due to different political, economic and social factors unique to each period.

The colour bar of the federal period which tended to degrade an African made NORATA and NORUT demand for good working conditions for Africans. The fact that racial segregation was non-existent after independence made the union focus on other issues such as fighting for the same conditions of service for female teachers which other female government workers enjoyed. The role of influencing educational policy changed after independence in that the ZNUT performed a far greater function after independence than NORATA and NORUT did in the federal period. The two teachers' organisations which functioned in this period had no chance to speak on the curriculum as a whole. They just focused on some issues such as the introduction of certain subjects. Just as with other roles, educating teachers on their roles underwent some transitions as

the form of education dwelt much on how to become good teachers without the component of supporting the government in the federal period while support for government was emphasized after independence. Uplifting the status of a learner was never the same due to developments which were happening in the education sector such as the establishment of the University of Zambia in 1966 which gave ZNUT an opportunity to voice out on some ills at the institution.

Regarding the relationship between the teachers' organisations and the government, the first conclusion is that the law regulated it. Furthermore, the relationship that the teachers' union had with the government cannot be separated from the relationship which the entire trade union movement had with it as all trade unions were subjected to the same laws and suspicions. Furthermore, the labour movement opposed some government policies in unison.

The study further concludes that this relationship between the government, the association and the unions was complex as it was characterised by hostility and industrial peace. Strikes during the period of review demonstrated the hostility of relations while agreements which were made between the two demonstrated how cordial or peaceful relations were. The fact that NORATA and NORUT were represented on the Native Education Advisory Board in the federal period and ZNUT on Education councils, Zambia National Commission for UNESCO and ZNPF is indicative of the fact that relations were cordial at times. The study further concludes that the Second Republic represents the worst case of hostile relations between the two as government used different methods such as arrests and statutory instruments to make the union submit to its wishes. However, the union remained unintimidated and continued to press for improvements in the working conditions of teachers. In short, the ZNUT continued to be independent.

The general challenges of apathy, financial bankruptcy and disunity also changed because they had different causes unique to each period in history. For instance, the apathy of the federal period

was caused by the fact that some people were ignorant of the existence of NORATA. This was not the case in the era of independence as teachers knew of ZNUT's existence yet they decided not to be members. The financial bankruptcy of the federal period was caused by factors which were beyond the power of the unions such as the refusal by different employers to allow stop orders while those of the independence era were caused by factors which could have been controlled such as misappropriation of funds and embezzlement. Even the nature of disunity was different after independence. The disunity of the pre-independence period slowed down the operations of the union but this challenge eventually caused a fracture after independence. With regard to the ways of response, the study concludes that the reason they changed in different eras was not only due to certain developments in the era of independence such as the availability of credit packages such as loans to Africans but also due to the creativity of some leaders who spent their own resources to ensure that programmes occurred as scheduled. In addition to this, some of the methods which the union employed to combat its challenges had productive results while others did not. Although this was the case, it proves that the union did not just sit helpless and wait for solutions from outsiders.

The study in its examination of the roles, relationship that the association and the unions had with the government, the challenges and ways of response, demonstrates that there were great successes scored which have changed the teaching profession forever such as paid maternity leave and special allowances. The study also concludes that the union's failures in the period of review was due to certain factors such as lack of financial discipline. Lastly, the study demonstrates that all the three main aspects examined in this study changed.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Membership of Norut against other unions in 1962 and 1963

<i>Trade Union</i>	<i>Year of Registration</i>	<i>Membership 1962</i>	<i>Membership 1963</i>
Northern Rhodesia Union of Journalists	1963	-	40
Pilots Association of Central Africa	1963	-	4
Kabwe African Municipal Workers	1962	460	-
Amalgamated Engineering Union	1950	146	130
South African Typographical Union	1957	72	79
Northern Rhodesia Civil Servants Professional Officers Association	1960	178	196
National Union of Health Employees	1963	-	150
Northern Rhodesia Dairy Marketing Board Staff Association	1963	-	62
Northern Rhodesia Association of Local Government	1952	-	601
Central African Road Services Workers' Trade Union	1954	987	900
Northern Rhodesia Mines African Police Association	1957	405	352
Northern Rhodesia Localised Civil Servants Association	1958	958	750
Northern Rhodesia African Printing Workers Trade Union	1961	277	301
National Union of Transport and General Workers	1961	1500	1,000
Rhodesian Society of Bank Officials	1961	450	435
Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service Association of Northern Rhodesia	1962	650	880
Shops and Factory's Workers' Union	1963	-	1000
Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union	1949	1,578	1416
Railway African Workers Union	1960	4,814	4,713
Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union	1950	4,682	4,543
Northern Rhodesia Mine Official and Salaried Staff Association	1950	2,748	2852
Northern Rhodesia Mines African Staff Association	1954	1,990	2005
Northern Rhodesia Civil Servants Association	1957	1,673	1,762
National Union OF Building, Wood and Metal Workers	1960	3,750	5000
National Union of Public Service Workers	1960	2,900	2,928
National Union of Hotel, Catering and Domestic Workers	1961	1,200	1500
Northern Rhodesia Union of Teachers	1962	1,310	3814
National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers	1962	506	2500
National Union of Engineering, Construction and General Workers	1963	-	3500
Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Trade Union	1957	28,000	30,160
National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers of United Trades Union Congress	1960	3,500	10,000
National Union of Local Authorities Workers	1961	4,000	5,196
Total Membership Registered Unions		68,734	88,760

Source: Ministry of Labour Annual Reports for 1962 and 1963.

APPENDIX 2: Disputes from various industries in Zambia 1963 – 1964

Industry	Disputes (1963)	Man days lost	Disputes (1964)	Man days lost
Agriculture	16	584	24	1,678
Metal Mining	57	361,000	22	69,231
Government Service	8	1,548	12	60,234
Education Service	2	3,840	2	-
Hotels	3	832	2	140
Laundry	3	138	1	42
Retail Trade	-	-	2	68
Road Transport	5	196	5	517
Railway Transport	-	-	3	16,147
Medical	-	-	1	18.

Source: Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1963, p. 77 Annual Report 1964, p.68