

**A HISTORY OF THE ZAMBIA NATIONAL FARMERS' UNION (ZNFU),
1905-2000**

BY

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I, Levison Changwe, declare that this Dissertation:

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APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

This study is a historical investigation of the Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) from 1905 to 2000. ZNFU is one of the oldest associations in Zambia traced back to Fort Jameson town (present day Chipata). It started as a Tobacco Farmers' Association in 1905. In 1938, it changed to Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union (NRFU) until 1964 when Zambia became independent. After the attainment of independence in 1964, it was called Commercial Farmers' Bureau (CFB) and finally changed to ZNFU in 1992. This research was prompted by the fact that the available literature does not fully capture the history of the farmers' union that represents the interest of the farming community. Although there is a lot of scholarly work on the history of agriculture in Zambia, very little has been documented on how the farming community was represented in the country. Three main areas were investigated which included the origin and development, changing roles, challenges and achievements of the farmers' union. This study utilised the qualitative method of data collection. Both primary and secondary data were collected from the University of Zambia Main Library, the National Archives of Zambia, Zambia Agricultural Research Institute (ZARI) formally Mount Makulu Research Station, Central Statistics Office and ZNFU Offices. Oral interviews were also conducted with farmers and union officials. In analysing the data, historical evidence was examined by comparing what each source stated. The study argued that the development of the farmers' union was provided by the tobacco settler farmers who followed the construction of the railway line which reached the Victoria Falls in 1902, Broken Hill in 1906 and Congo in 1910. This was due to the high demand for food stuff in the mines. The study further examined the challenges of the farmers' union which included the lack of markets especially for African farmers, an increase in electricity tariffs, levy contributions to the union and transport problems. The study further argued that the failure of the union to provide security, poor input distribution to members, failure to facilitate calibrated weight scales to members, provide enough information on climate change, as well as the lack of efficiency and incompetent staff became a major challenge for the union to operate effectively. The study concluded that despite the challenges faced by the farmers' union, a number of successes were also scored. These included the introduction of the Agricultural Land Bank (ALB), establishment of collection points and the Farmers' Consolidation Scheme (FCS) for both commercial and small scale farmers respectively. Furthermore, the study discussed how the union facilitated the introduction of the Drought Relief Scheme which assisted members who were affected by drought, fire or floods. In the field of scientific development, the farmers' union worked in collaboration with ZARI in order to improve on crop, livestock and technology of production.

DEDICATION

To my late father, Levison Changwe (SNR), and my mother, Rosa Ntaimo Changwe who both understood the importance of education and gave me an opportunity to pursue my dreams.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACF	Agricultural Consultative Forum
ASIP	Agricultural Sector Investment Program
ALAB	Agricultural Land Bank
AFC	Agricultural Finance Company
BoD	Board of Directors
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CFB	Commercial Farmers' Bureau
CFU	Conservation Farming Unit
DAZ	Dairy Association of Zambia
DFAs	District Farmers' Associations
FISP	Farmer Input Support Programme
FLO	Farmers' Licensing Ordinance
GART	Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust
LCS	Lima Credit Scheme
MAFs	Maize Farmers' Associations
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MoED	Ministry of Energy and Development

NAMBOARD	National Agricultural Marketing Board
NFA	National Farmers' Alliance
NFUB	National Farmers' Union of Britain
NUPWA	National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers
NRAA	Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Association
NR	Northern Rhodesia
NRFU	Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union
PAZ	Poultry Association of Zambia
SWAAU	South West Africa Agricultural Union
TBZ	Tobacco Board of Zambia
TFAs	Tobacco Farmers' Associations
UTC	United Tobacco Company
ZEFF	Zambia Emergent Farmer Finance
ZNCB	Zambia National Commercial Bank
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
ZNFU	Zambia National Farmers' Union
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers' Union

LIST OF PLACES-NAMES OF TOWNS AND COUNTRIES

OLD NAME

NEW NAME

East Luangwa.....Eastern Province

Fort Jameson.....Chipata

Northern Rhodesia.....Zambia

Mount Makulu Research Station..... Zambia Agricultural Research Institute

Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union.....Zambia National Farmers' Union

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Historical Background

Agriculture has been an important economic activity that has sustained human lives in Zambia from time immemorial. More than seventy percent of the Zambian poor and rural dwellers are employed in this sector.¹ However, in order to claim their equitable share of the agro-market, input distribution and favourable policies, farmers begun to mobilise themselves into associations which later culminated into the development of a farmers' national organisation in 1900 which took interest in local and national issues. Among the early farmer national groupings included the tobacco, cotton and maize associations which served multiple functions such as coordinating cooperatives for marketing agricultural produce, distributing information to farmers through meetings and publications. They also served as a media through which farmers and their leaders expressed views on public issues.²

The Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) as it is known today is one of the oldest unions which, through its predecessor associations and unions, supported farmers in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Its origins date back to 1905³ when a few settler tobacco farmers in Fort Jameson (present-day Chipata), affected by the poor commodity prices in the depressed market and problematic access to inputs and financial assistance, decided to come together and establish an association⁴ which later became the farmers' union. The union began to lobby for better conditions for farmers in the tobacco industry by providing services such as marketing,

¹ Central Statistics Office, *Annual Reports on Agriculture Department*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2015), p. 40.

² Central Statistics Office, *Annual Reports on Agriculture Department*, 2015, p. 40.

³ Lyton Hambani Zgambo, "Farm labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia, 1898 - 1964," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983, p. 32.

⁴ National Archives of Zambia, (N.A.Z) BS1/128, B.S.A.C, Administrative of North-Eastern Rhodesia, Administrators Report, 31st March, 1905.

price relief bonus and credit facilities to its members.⁵ It can be stated here that agricultural activities by the white settler farmers in Northern Rhodesia followed the construction of the railway line which reached the Victoria Falls in 1902, Broken Hill in 1906 and linked with the Congo railways in 1910.⁶ The market for agricultural products continued to expand with the development of the mining and other industries during the First World War from 1914 to 1918 while favourable world market conditions stimulated production of flue cured Virginia tobacco.⁷ This was confirmed by Mbozi Santebe who noted that white settler farmers within and outside Northern Rhodesia found fortune in the selling of maize to the emerging Copperbelt community.⁸ Africans, particularly those along the line of rail also found markets for their agricultural produce especially maize and tobacco.

By 1914, over 1,100 farmers were members of various farmers' associations in the country. These associations collaborated with the first cooperate organisation in Northern Rhodesia, the North-Western Rhodesia Farmers' Society which was entirely European in membership and was registered by the registrar of the High Court of Northern Rhodesia on 16th October, 1914.⁹ Subsequently, a number of European societies mushroomed in almost all places where European settlers were engaged in farming. For instance, between the 1913 and 1914 planting season alone, about fourteen new tobacco farmers were reported to be engaged in tobacco farming.¹⁰ Since cultivation of tobacco required enough land, the British South Africa Company (BSAC)

⁵ Garyn Abrahams, "Zambia's Food System, Multiple Sites of Power and Intersecting Governance," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2010, p.148.

⁶ Northern Rhodesia Government, (N. R. G) *A brief guide to Northern Rhodesia*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1960), p. 75.

⁷ N. R. G, *Northern Rhodesia*, p. 75.

⁸ Mbozi Santebe, "Colonial Government and the Great Depression in Northern Rhodesia, Administrative and legislative Changes, 1929-1939," M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2015, p. 3.

⁹ N.A.Z, MAG 2/21/215, Midlands Farmers' Association, Mazabuka and Chisamba Farmers' Union, 1932-1946.

¹⁰ John A. Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964*, (New York: Humanities Press, 1968), p.144. see also, V.J, Eylands. and B. K, Patel, "Agricultural Research" In Adrian Wood, Stuart A. Kean, John T. Milimo and Dennis Michael Warren, (eds) *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reforms in Zambia*, (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1990), p. 308.

allocated about 53,892 acres to new farmers and the size of the farms granted ranged from 12,000 to small farms of about 1, 500 acres.¹¹ Later in 1924, the Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Association (NRAA) was formed and it worked with the existed tobacco and maize farmers associations in assisting the farming community.¹² As a result, maize and tobacco farmers prospered because of the technical advice rendered to them by the United Tobacco Company (UTC) and the Tobacco Association on farming. However, the world depression of 1929 reversed that development. This was due to the loss of the local market through the closure of some of the mines between 1931 and 1933 on the Copperbelt which forced many farmers, both large and small scale out of production.¹³ In spite of the challenges faced by the farming community, the associations main aim was to encourage better farming methods, marketing and animal husbandry among farmers in the country.¹⁴ From 1928 to the 1940s, many societies such as cooperatives were formed in Chipata and other places in Northern Rhodesia where associations encouraged various activities that supported farming including the establishment of farmers clubs. These farmers' clubs provided adequate information to farmers on types of soils, seeds and land preparations. This was the reason why it was necessary for members to belong to the associations. In 1938, the Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union (NRFU) was finally established to represent the interests of farmers in the country.

The NRFU continued as a small commodity tobacco farmers' union throughout the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁵ During this period, the membership of the union comprised a mixture of commercial, small scale and subsistence farmers. In order to give impetus to the farmers' organisation, the Farmers Licensing Ordinance was introduced by the union executive who

¹¹ N.A.Z, NE/A2/5/5, Administrator, North Eastern Rhodesia to the Secretary, NCE Company, April, 1904.

¹² N.A.Z, MAG2/21/215, Midlands Farmers' Association, Mazabuka and Chisamba Farmers' Unions, 1932-1946.

¹³ N.A.Z, NR 17/186, Report on the Commission of Inquiry in the future of the European Farming Industry, 1954.

¹⁴ N.A.Z, MAG2/21/215, Midlands Farmers' Association, Mazabuka and Chisamba Farmers' Unions, 1932-1946.

¹⁵ N.A.Z, MAG2/13/178, Farmers' Association Cooperative Society, 1931.

represented farmers and became law in 1948.¹⁶ Under this Bill every farmer who provided competence became a registered farmer subject to an annual licensing fee.¹⁷ It was through payments of annual subscription that the organisation opened its membership to include farmers of all races.¹⁸ During this period the NRFU became a powerful organisation representing the interest of all farmers in Northern Rhodesia. The union worked to establish farmer-owned cooperative warehouses where producers stored their produce and received certificates of deposit that were used as loan collateral.¹⁹ In this way, farmers held their crops off the market during the usual period of low harvest-time prices.

Thus, the farmers' union existed under different names over the century. From the earliest times, the interests of farmers were represented by various associations until the establishment of NRFU in 1938.²⁰ During the colonial period the union had many white farmers who practiced commercial farming that prompted it to change the name to Commercial Farmers' Bureau (CFB). The existence of CFB helped the government to support farmers and provided them with information on policies especially on agricultural and labour fields. By this time, CFB had only one or two black farmers, the rest were white commercial farmers who lobbied for services such as better prices, good policies and incentives. In the late 1980s, CFB lost its influence due to the fact that it lacked the national character as it handled only one category of farming that is commercial. It was viewed by the government as a corporate club that was only interested in its own success. After 1990, the CFB attempted to encourage small scale farmers to join it but the name was misleading. In 1992, CFB was renamed Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU)²¹

¹⁶ Government of the Republic of Zambia (G.R.Z) *Zambia Farmers Hand Book*, (Lusaka: African Farming Equipment Company, 1984), p. 68.

¹⁷ G.R.Z, *Zambia Farmers Hand Book*, p. 69.

¹⁸ G.R.Z, *Zambia Farmers Hand Book*, p. 69.

¹⁹ N.A.Z, MAG2/13/178, Northern Rhodesia Tobacco Cooperative Marketing Union, 1931.

²⁰ G.R.Z, *The Zambian Farmer*, p. 25.

²¹ G.R.Z, *The Zambian Farmer*, p. 25.

and the constitution changed as it embraced both small and large scale farmers. ZNFU headquarters is located in Lusaka the capital city of Zambia. It is based in the Agricultural Showgrounds together with other various commodity associations such as, the Poultry Association of Zambia. Following its establishment, ZNFU played a critical role in the development of the agricultural sector as one of formidable lobby groups representing the interests of the agricultural community in Zambia.

The blowing of the political wind of change in Zambia in the 1990s did not stop the union. In fact, the ZNFU evolved following the new political and economic atmosphere. The union advanced its operations by lobbying for input provision and output prices from the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) government in 1991.²² This was because of the liberalisation policy adopted by the MMD government which, among others things, witnessed the removal of subsidies from agricultural inputs such as maize seed, fertilizers as well as beef products. For example, the Grain Committee of the ZNFU met in Lusaka in 1993 and resolved that members of the union would seek K8, 500 for 90kgs bags of maize produced.²³

The traders and ZNFU leaders emphasised the importance of cooperative buying and selling as well as the improvement of agricultural education and the elimination of speculation on the commodity markets. Most importantly, the Union advocated for the low cost of production prices and a reasonable profit.²⁴ The advocacy of the government intervention in agricultural economy paved the way for the farmers' union to foster agricultural development and progression for the farmers.

Thus, for over 100 years, ZNFU and its predecessor associations and unions have consistently and objectively served Zambian farmers and agri-businesses. From inception in

²² Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, June, 1993, p. 5.

²³ Weekly Reporter, *The Weekly post*, October, 1993, p. 1.

²⁴ Bruce E. Field, *The National Farmers Union and the Early Cold War*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), p. 244.

1905, the farmers union was committed to developing the agricultural sector by ensuring that it promoted and effectively represented and safeguarded the interests of members as individual farmers, corporations and other organisations involved in the business of agriculture in order to achieve sustainable agriculture, economic and social development throughout the country.²⁵

After independence, the union membership stood at 1175 and these were distributed over sixteen branches and affiliated associations. Their main function was to protect the interest of both European and African farmers engaged into farming²⁶ and to advise the government on all questions affecting agriculture, including prices of products.²⁷ Small producers would then bear the burden since they had reasonably fixed costs. Thus, the union focused on the interests of the consumers and the small farmers. It collected and distributed information to members regarding agriculture and marketing of agricultural produce.

Despite rhetorical commitment by the new government to market liberalisation in agricultural documents, the advocacy efforts by the union helped to strengthen public spending on two major subsidy programmes, the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) which subsidised inputs for maize production and the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) which purchased maize from farmers at above-market prices in the 1980s.²⁸ For the last decade, these two programmes routinely accounted for over 70 percent of the budget allocated to the Ministry of Agriculture.²⁹ It is against this background that this study has been undertaken to trace the origin, development, changing roles, challenges and achievements of ZNFU from 1905 to 2000.

²⁵ G.R.Z, *The Zambian Farmer*, p. 226.

²⁶ G.R.Z, *Report on Rhodesia National Farmers' Union and Commercial Farmers' Farm Management Department*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1967), p. 30.

²⁷ G.R.Z, *Report on Rhodesia National Farmers' Union and Commercial Farmers of Zambia, 1980*, p. 31.

²⁸ G.R.Z, *Transitional National Development Plan*, (Lusaka: Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2002), p . 52.

²⁹ G.R.Z, *Transitional National Development Plan*, p. 52.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Despite the fact that the Zambia National Farmers Union, (ZNFU) has played a significant role in promoting the interest of Zambian farmers since its inception, very little has been documented about the origin, development, changing roles, challenges and achievements of this farmers organisation. The available literature does not fully document how it has strived to achieve its objectives from the colonial period to independent Zambia. This study attempts to examine the history of the ZNFU from 1905 to 2000.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to document the history of ZNFU from 1905 to 2000.

Specifically, the study

- i. Investigated the changing roles of ZNFU.
- ii. Examined the challenges faced by ZNFU.
- iii. Assessed the achievements scored by ZNFU.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will contribute to the already existing scanty literature on the history of the ZNFU. It is also hoped that the study will stimulate further research by scholars who may be interested in the history of the ZNFU from 1905 to 2000.

1.5 Literature review

The world economy is based primarily on agriculture due to its positive impact. The work of M. R. Bennedit³⁰ is significant to this study. It argues that in the early decades of the American national history, economic sectors which were dominated heavily by the farmer groups became important in the establishment of the national policy. In 1887, the Farmers and

³⁰ M. R, Bennedit, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1870- 1950*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), p. 139.

the Labour Union of America were established which later changed to the National Farmers' Alliance (NFA).³¹ The NFA presented farming as their occupation. Farmers developed a national organisation that took interest in local state and national issues. Bennedit argued that NFA took an active part in promoting agricultural legislation and group action. He further noted that the organisation served multiple functions such as operating cooperatives for marketing agricultural produce, distributing information to the farmers through meetings, publications and served as a medium through which farmers and their leaders expressed views on public issues.³² Bennedit's work is vital because it provides background information on the farmers' union and the role it played in representing the interest of the agricultural community in the United States. This study will build on these insights.

The work of Gilbert C. Fite examines the role of the farmers' union in the USA in 1905.³³ This farmers' union had the power to keep agricultural commodities off the market until the prices were approved by the farmers' union through blocking. Fite pointed out that blocking was a way of incrementally building market powers and bargaining with processors until there were enough commodities where farmers could set their own prices.³⁴ Through this block marketing, the union could lift commodities of the regional markets where prices were higher to others. Fite's work is vital to this study as it gives us the understanding of the role of farmers' union in the agricultural sector.

Michael M. Flamm argues that the evolution of the National Farmers' Union of the United States of America (USA) ideology began in response to the Great Depression of the 1929

³¹ Bennedit, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1870- 1950*, p. 139.

³² Bennedit, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1870- 1950*, p. 139.

³³ Gilbert W. Fite, *American Farmers, the New Minority*, (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1981), p. 102.

³⁴ Fite, *American Farmers, the New Minority*, p. 103.

which caused failure in the agricultural sector.³⁵ Flamm further stated that agriculture was the economic centre of the nation and therefore NFU created strong marketing cooperatives for the farmers. His work is significant to this study because it provides some insights of the role of the union which is also part of the research.

Graham Cox, Philip Lowe and Michael Winter³⁶ examined the history of the national farmers' union in England. These scholars argued that farmers in their relations with workers and landlords depended upon the assertion of their interests in the market-place and to the government. They contended that conflict between farmers and landowners was a long-established feature of agrarian politics.³⁷ However, they insist that its importance was to be increased by the grown relations between farmers and government, food processors, and suppliers. They concluded that the union effectively turned its back and focused on agricultural production that assumed national political priority in debates on tariff reforms and protectionism.³⁸ Although this study focuses on national farmers' union in England, it provides insights into the role of the farmers union when applied to the Zambian context.

Frafulla Sanghvi's study is another relevant work to this study as it gives insights into why agriculture in India focussed on surplus power for economic development.³⁹ Sanghvi's work, examines the consequences of the growth of surplus power in the agricultural sector in unplanned economy. He argues that the development of the agricultural sector in India was due to the cooperation that existed between the government and farmers' organisation. This suggests that workers in agriculture enjoyed the protection offered to them by the trade unions and how

³⁵ Michael W. Flamm, "National Farmers Union and the Evolution of the Agrarian Liberalism, 1937-1966," *Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. 68, (1994), pp. 54-70.

³⁶ Graham Cox, Philip Lowe and Michael Winter, "The Origins and Early Development of the National Farmers' Union," *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (1991), pp. 30-31

³⁷ Cox, Lowe and Winter, "The Origins and Early Development of the National Farmers' Union," pp. 30-31

³⁸ Cox, Lowe and Winter, "The Origins and Early Development," pp. 30-31

³⁹ Frafulla Sanghvi, *Surplus Manpower in Agriculture and Economic Development*, (London: Bodley Head, 1969), p. iv.

they contributed to agricultural production. This work is important because it gives ideas of how cooperation between the government and the farmers' organisation contributed to the development of agriculture in India. The study builds on some of the insights especially when analysed from the Zambian context.

Furthermore, some studies have highlighted problems in the leadership structure as another enemy to trade unionism in Africa. For example, Wogu Ananaba in his work, *The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria* pointed out that some leaders were dishonest and that they lacked union democracy in the conduct of affairs.⁴⁰ Ananaba's work supports the notion that the roles of the trade unions change over time due to changes in the leadership structure. Similarly, Vuta Kamba contributed to this discussion by arguing that African trade unionists had difficulties in grasping voluntary association because their traditions trained them to believe that membership was an ascribed characteristic.⁴¹ This study acknowledges Ananaba and Kamba's contribution to the understanding of the role of trade unionism in Nigeria as it relates to the Zambian situation.

The purpose of W. Arthur Lewis's study was to present the original ideas for studying economic development. His work focuses on the economic growth which engaged worldwide interest, because no comprehensive paper on the subject was published for about a century. However, in his study, he showed how the farmers' union provided collateral security to the farmers.⁴² The cost of lending lay in acquiring information about the borrower's credit status in the cost of collecting instalments. He further notes that commercial banks were lending money to farmers, in sums of fifty pounds or less, these costs amounted to the equivalent of a rate of interest of twenty per cent per annum. Lewis's study is vital to our research as it points out the role of the farmers' organisation in providing collateral security to the farmers.

⁴⁰ Wogu Ananaba, *The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria*, (London: Hurst and Company, 1979), p.259.

⁴¹ Vuta Kamba, *The Development of Trade Unionism in Tanganyika*, (New York: Hoover Institution Publications, 1969), p .142.

⁴² W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 5.

Robert. H Bates and Michael F. Lofchie⁴³ looked at how African countries increased production through the development of the state farms, state ranches, irrigation, river basin projects and other production schemes. These scholars argued that expenditure on these schemes provided very little benefits to the peasants and promotion of economic and social dualism in the countryside. They further noted that African countries provided incentives for increasing production by allowing private markets to generate an appropriate set of prices such as Zambia where maize prices were controlled in 1984.⁴⁴

M.F, Lofchie's article in R. H. Bates and M.F. Lofchie's edited work, analyses how African countries ignored to a great degree, the advantages of pricing policies as a means of obtaining increased production.⁴⁵ Indeed, he argues that in the absence of prices, even command forms of production were lacking. The structure of prices prevented the distribution of income in the countryside. The work of Lofchie's article is crucial because it examined the aspect of farm prices where farmers' union played major roles of negotiating for their customers. This study will build on these insights.

V. B. Singh's⁴⁶ account was on trade unions and how they helped to improve workers conditions in the working place. He notes some of the specific functions of the trade unions. They include among others, to protect, safeguard and improve the interests of the workers or employers. Singh asserts that an increase in national production was reflected in a higher standard of living. This principle generated incentives for more production but also kept the rate of accumulation higher than those for consumption. This mainly happened in industries. His

⁴³ Michael F. Lofchie, "Introduction," in Robert H. Bates and Michael F. Lofchie, (eds) *Agriculture Development in Africa*, (London: Praeger Publishers, 1980), pp. 2-4.

⁴⁴ Lofchie, "Introduction," pp. 2-4.

⁴⁵ Lofchie, "Introduction," pp. 2-4.

⁴⁶ V. B. Singh, "Trade Unions and planned Economic Development," in V.P. Singh, (ed), *Role of labour in Economic Development*, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1970), pp. 103-106.

study focuses on the trade unions in industries rather than agriculture which are the focus of this study.

One school, identified with William E. Allewelt, Jr, was about the function of farmers' cooperatives and how they unified farmers on a commodity wide basis so that they could utilise market power and raise total returns on agriculture.⁴⁷ By contrast, followers of James D. Shaffer contended that cooperatives functioned as “competitive yardsticks.”⁴⁸ They did not monopolise commodity markets but simply added enough competition to the system and gave farmers the basis on which to judge the performance of investor-owned agri-businesses. Allewelt's study is significant to our work as it provides similar functions such as creating marketing opportunities for farmers. This study builds on these insights.

N. K Duggal's study of agrarian policies in Namibia brought to the fore the farmers' union which represented the farming community in the country. It was called White Farmers Association (WFA), formed between 1910 and 1911 during the Germany occupation of the country.⁴⁹ Regional and special associations were formed along with the national organisation which later became the South West Africa Agricultural Union (SWAAU). The black farmers were not allowed to form their unions but they survived with the little services given by SWAAU. The White Farmers union organised cattle auction for its members. The union determined the prices of the livestock owned by both blacks as well as the whites.⁵⁰ Duggal's work is relevant to our study as it investigates the significance of farmers' unions by providing

⁴⁷ William E, Allewelt Jr, *Agricultural Cooperatives: Are They Still Relevant?* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), p. 60.

⁴⁸ Shaffer D. James, *Thinking about Farmers' Cooperatives, Contracts and Economic Coordination*, (London: Oxford Press, 1987), p. 61.

⁴⁹ N. K, Duggal, *Toward the Agrarian Reforms, Policy Optional for Namibia*, (Windhoek: United Institute for Namibia, 1979), p. 28.

⁵⁰ Duggal, *Toward the Agrarian Reforms, Policy Optional for Namibia*, p. 28.

markets for its members. Although Duggal's work focuses on Namibia, it provides useful insights about the role of the farmers' union. This study builds on these insights.

The works of John G. Pike focuses on the prehistory and the economic activities that took place in Malawi.⁵¹ He argues that the development of farming was dominated by the whites who mainly depended on the transition from subsistence to cash crop.⁵² It is important to note that Malawi was primarily a farming country where different crops such as tea, tobacco, maize and cotton were cultivated. Pike's works is paramount to our study because it gives us ideas of how a small scale farmers' association emerged into a better one which is part of this study.

A.K.H Weinrich⁵³ in his study, looked at agricultural planning in the developing countries such as Zimbabwe. The planning to a large extent was based on the decision and determination of the government and the farmers' organisation to change the agricultural practices of farmers in order to increase the production and to raise the living standards of people. He further argues that, the government had the financial ability to assist the farmers to increase their production, but the most important factor was the people's assessment of their governments' motives in introducing economic changes. His study went further to examine government policy and tested its effectiveness in the light of the peasant agriculture in Zimbabwe. For example, he notes that in a country in which ninety five percent of all people were Africans and less than five percent were of European origin, yet the small European community controlled both the political and economic destiny of the country and possessed fifty percent of all agricultural land.⁵⁴ Although focusing on Zimbabwe, Weinrich's study is significant to our research as it provides depth into understanding the role of farmers' organisation in agricultural production.

⁵¹ John G. Pike, *Malawi: A Political and Economic History*, (London: Pass Mall press, 1968), p. 4.

⁵² Pike, *Malawi: A Political and Economic History*, p. 4.

⁵³ A. K. H. Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia, Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 2.

⁵⁴ Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia*, p. 4.

Similarly, the works of Tobias Takavarasha⁵⁵ and Michael Bratton⁵⁶ are crucial to this study as they analysed the establishment of farmers' unions in Zimbabwe. Takavarasha's work examined the two representative farmers' union organisations which reflected the division of land and the scale of farming operations. He notes that the oldest and most prominent was the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU).⁵⁷ He further argues that, CFU represented the interest of the large scale commercial farmers' from its inception as the Rhodesia Agricultural Farmers' Union in 1905 and throughout the colonial period. It influenced agricultural policies through parliament and presented its members on Agricultural Marketing Boards (AMB). Secondly, the Zimbabwe Farmers' Union (ZFU) represented Communal Land Farmers (CLF) and Small Scale Farmers (SSF). It was established in 1991 by the merging of two unions (ZFU) and National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe (NFAZ) in 1980. Prior to the 1980s, representation on the board of agricultural parastatals and on the policy committees of the Agricultural Marketing Authorities was confined to large scale farmers. He argues that in 1985 the three unions, CFU, ZFU and NFAZ formed the Joint Presidents Agricultural Committee (JPAC) which met regularly and discussed matters of interest and formulated common agricultural policies.⁵⁸ His work is important to our study as it gives a similar analysis in terms of its origin and development as those found in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia).

Similarly, Bratton study's described, among other issues, the reasons that led to the creation of the Commercial Farmers' Bureau (CFB) in Zimbabwe.⁵⁹ He notes that CFB was formed out of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union (RNFU) which was established in 1942

⁵⁵ Tobias Takavarasha, "Agriculture Pricing Policy," in Mandivamba Bukuni and Carl K. Ficher, (eds) *Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1994), pp. 153-154.

⁵⁶ Michael Bratton, "The merger of farmers in Zimbabwe," *African Studies Review*, Vol. 37, no. 1, (1994), pp. 37-39.

⁵⁷ Takavarasha, "Agriculture Pricing Policy," p. 153.

⁵⁸ Takavarasha, "Agriculture Pricing Policy," p. 154.

⁵⁹ Bratton, "The merger of farmers in Zimbabwe," p. 37.

when various associations made up of large and small scale white farmers agreed to unify under a central constitution. Bratton argues that from a peak membership of 6500 members in 1970, the union membership rose to 4000 at independence and about 4500 in 1991. He further stated that the union was governed by the general council which comprised of a president, vice president, eight regional branch chairmen and commodity associations⁶⁰. Similarly, the current study also unveils that (CFB) was also formed out of (RNFU).

Existing literature also indicates that changes in the law in Zambia played a pivotal role in the operation of unions. Darlington Banda pointed out that the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act of 1964 was the earliest piece of legislature in independent Zambia.⁶¹ This Act, according to Fincham and Zulu provided the legal framework for the protection and regulation of trade unions.⁶² In order to emphasize this point, Anirudha Gupta made reference to the comments of the Zambian labour Minister Justin Chimba in 1964.⁶³ Gupta states that the Act would create stable industrial relations between employers and employees. An added advantage to that was that it would check trade unions from receiving financial and other forms of assistance from the outside. Furthermore, Gupta explains that, this was seen as an advantage because unions received assistance from outside; there was a possibility that they could align themselves with people who might pose a threat to national security. The discussions on the changing laws of Zambia by various scholars are pertinent to this study because the law directly affected the operation of all unions.

⁶⁰ Bratton, "The merger of farmers in Zimbabwe," p. 39.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² Robin Fincham and Grace Zulu, "Labour and Participation in Zambia," in Ben Turok, (ed) *Development in Zambia*, (London: Longmans, 1974), pp. 216-225.

⁶³ Anirudha Gupta, "Trade Unionism and Politics on the Copper belt" In William Tordof, (ed) *Politics in Zambia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), p. 298.

Vincent Musakanya's study on credit unions in Zambia examined and assessed the role played by the unions in encouraging farmers and businessmen to join cooperatives and improve their savings and finances.⁶⁴ Musakanya, further showed how the unions provided expert information on farmers and businessmen on how to raise their standards of living. The study examines how the credit unions in Zambia contributed to the country's socio-economic development.⁶⁵ His work is helpful to our study as it provides information on credit facilities such as loans which are similar to those issued by the farmers' union examined in this study.

Maxwell Mumba's work was mainly to establish constraints that supplemented factors such as low producer price that deterred small scale cotton farmers from meeting their loan obligation. Mumba further explained that although loan recovery showed an improvement in the case of Dunavant Cotton (Zambia), problems still remained. Hence there was a need to identify the real problems farmers encountered in the farming system that hindered them from repaying loans.⁶⁶ He notes that factors such as low produce and price had been cited as the major causes of loan default in most studies.⁶⁷ The study does not mention the union that was responsible for the farmers' affairs, a gap which this study attempts to fill.

Joy Host kalyalya examines the nature of the impact of Nakambala Sugar Estate on the area in which it was situated in 1962. He noted that, the establishment of the estate created employment to the people in the area and outside Zambia. Kalyalya⁶⁸ argues that the national union of plantation and agriculture which represented the interest of workers had challenges. Among these challenges were poor labour conditions for the workers at the estate. Although

⁶⁴ Vincent Musakanya, "The role of credit unions in Social-economic Development in Zambia," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1982, p. 13.

⁶⁵ Musakanya, "The role of credit unions in Social-economic Development in Zambia," p. 13.

⁶⁶ Maxwell Mumba, "A Study of constraints Small Scale Farmers face in repaying loan in full: A Case study of Monze Farmers," B.A. University of Zambia, 2002, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Mumba, "A Study of constraints Small Scale Farmers face in repaying loan in full," p. 10.

⁶⁸ Joy Host Kalyalya, "A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964- 1984," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988, p. 54.

kalyalya did not specifically deal with farmers union, he provides a description of the condition of workers rather than farmers. This study is pertinent to our research as it highlights the challenges faced by the workers as it relates to the farmers' organisation in Zambia. It builds on these insights.

D. Lianda's work identified draught and fire to be the major factors that made it difficult for small scale farmers in Zambia to pay back loans to banks which were the lending institutions.⁶⁹ This forced the lenders to grab the assets like animals, farming implements and household goods from the farmers. Additionally, Lianda notes that, inputs from lenders arrived late and this made the farmers fail to produce good harvest. This study is imperative as it points out challenges faced by small scale farmers due to their failure to pay back loans. However, he did not address how the farmers union responded to this matter which this study will investigate.

In his study, "The Impact of Petauke Cooperative Marketing Union," Edson Banda⁷⁰ examined the development of cooperatives and marketing union and its affiliated societies in the context of the evolution of Northern Rhodesia government policy in the cooperative movement in the colony. Banda alludes to the fact that, cooperatives and marketing societies dealing in tobacco and groundnuts began to be formed in Petauke in 1946.⁷¹ The formation of these societies helped in negotiating for prices for different commodities in eastern province of Zambia. His work is significant to this study as it provides ideas of how societies performed in colonial times and how they assisted the farming community, insights which will be beneficial to our study.

⁶⁹ D. Lianda, *Small Scale Farmers in the Liberalised Economy from a Gender Perspective*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1988), p. 20.

⁷⁰ Edson Banda, "The Impact of Petauke Cooperative Marketing Union, (P.C.M.U) on Peasant Economy in Petauke District of Northern Rhodesia, 1946-1964," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1984, p. 25.

⁷¹ Banda, "The Impact of Petauke Cooperative Marketing Union," p. 25.

To show that agricultural production by African farmers was discouraged during the early phase of colonial rule, Dodge's work was crucial.⁷² This study argued that the limited funds spent on agriculture by the government were allocated primarily for the development of European farming. Such a policy resulted in a highly uneven development of agriculture, that is, both between European and African production, and between the line of rail and outlying provinces. However, Dodge's study does not give us information of any organization that was responsible in the agricultural sector which this study addresses.

Antony Chipoto *etal*⁷³ examined the agricultural policy of Zambia as guided in a large measure by the advocacy efforts of the Zambian National Farmers' Union, (ZNFU). This represented the interests of emergent and large-scale farmers over the years. They argued that the union successfully shaped the terms of debate over agricultural development to favour its membership.⁷⁴ This advocacy contributed to an agricultural public spending strategy that reflected and defended the interests of large-scale farmers over small-scale producers, as well as land legislation that favoured investment capital over the rights of farmers in customary areas. This work is relevant to our study as it provides information on the role of the farmers' union to the farming community.

Zambian labour historiography is well furnished with various scholars who have discussed the development of unions. Among them are Friday Mulenga⁷⁵ and Noel Joseph Simwanza⁷⁶. In his study, Mulenga pointed out that the late 1940s marked the birth of the union

⁷² Doris Jansen Dodge, *Agricultural Policy and Performance: History, Prospect and Proposals for Change* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1977), p. 40.

⁷³ Antony Chapoto, Chance Kabaghe and Olipa Zulu Mbata, "Politics of Maize Sector in Zambia," in Antony Chapoto, Nicholas J. Sitko, (eds) *Agriculture in Zambia, Past, Present and Future*, (Lusaka: Indaba Agricultural Policy Research, 2015), pp. 69-80.

⁷⁴ Chapoto, Kabaghe and Mbata, "Politics of Maize Sector in Zambia," pp. 69-80.

⁷⁵ Friday Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness among African Railway Workers in Zambia, 1953-1972," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1987, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Joseph Noel Simwanza, "Trade Unions in Zambia, An overview," B.A. University of Zambia, 2004, p. 6.

movement in the Zambia. However, his focus was on the railway and mining industries⁷⁷ respectively. Although Mulenga did not discuss the development of the farmers' Union in Zambia, his work is very crucial to the study as it clearly point out the factors which motivated Africans to join the union movement in the colonial era. He further noted that railway workers demanded better conditions of service, higher wages, better housing, sanitation and an end to industrial colour bar.⁷⁸ Robin Fincham and Grace Zulu agreed with Mulenga when they stated that the labour movement in Zambia grew out of the workers' desire for autonomy at the place of work.⁷⁹

Similarly the works of Simwanza⁸⁰ is critical as it gives an elaborative account of how Trade Unions became a necessity to promote and present workers economic interests. He argues that the workers in turn learnt through experience they needed to organise themselves into strong bodies. This study builds on these insights.

1.6 Methodology

The primary and secondary information for this study was collected from different sources. The first part of data collection was done at the University of Zambia main library, particularly the Special Collections section where books, journals, dissertations and agricultural reports by Northern Rhodesian government were consulted on the origin and the development of farmers' unions were accessed. The second part of data collection was done from the National Archives of Zambia especially information on the organisation, changing roles, challenges and achievements of ZNFU was obtained from NAZ. In order to find relevant information, the study utilised the primary sources such as, agricultural minutes from Zambia Agricultural Research

⁷⁷ 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), pp. 3-17.

⁷⁸ Mulenga, "The Development of Worker Consciousness," p. ii.

⁷⁹ Fincham and Zulu, "Labour and Participation in Zambia," pp. 214-228.

⁸⁰ Simwanza, "Trade union in Zambia," p. 6.

Institute, (ZARI) formally Mount Makulu Research Station, newspapers, correspondences, government publications, district and provincial reports on the farmers' union.

The final part of data collection on challenges and achievements of the ZNFU was from ZNFU Offices, ZARI, Central Statistical office, Lusaka District and Provincial Agricultural Offices. Oral interviews were also conducted with ten members regarding the farmers' union to compliment with the written sources. The data collected led to a positive conclusion about the unions' activities and the role it played in the transformation of the agricultural sector in the country.

The study used an open-ended interview method in which informants were allowed to comment on the origin, development, organisation, changing roles and achievements of the ZNFU. The Interviews were conducted with two ZNFU serving officials and six farmers. They were conducted both in offices and homes of interviewees. The information was obtained through hand-written notes and audio recording to capture responses. The qualitative methods were used to organize, interpret and analyse data collected from primary and secondary sources of information as well as the interviews.

1.7 Organisation of the study

The study consists of five chapters. Chapter one provides the introduction to the study. Chapter two investigates the changing roles of the Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU). Chapter three examines the challenges faced by ZNFU while Chapter four assesses the achievements scored by ZNFU. Finally, Chapter five is the Conclusion of the whole study.

Chapter 2

Changing Roles of the ZNFU, 1905 - 2000

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the history of the Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) can be traced to 1905 when it was called Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union (NRFU), a name that was maintained until Zambia became independent in 1964. During the post-colonial period, NRFU changed its name and became Commercial Farmers' Bureau (CFB) before it adopted its current name of ZNFU in 1992. This chapter investigated the shifting roles and contribution of ZNFU and its predecessors, NRFU and CFB towards the development of agriculture in Zambia. The chapter maintained that the national farmers' union played a critical role not only in protecting the interests of farmers, but also in providing various services to the farming community in Zambia. Among others, the farmers' unions promoted agricultural scientific research and development, disseminated information to farmers regarding commodities on the markets. The chapter further pointed out that the union provided skills, offered employment, organised agricultural shows and field days, promoted irrigation systems, and more generally, oversaw the operations and worked closely with other specialised farmer associations such as the Tobacco Farmers' Association and the Maize Farmers' Association.

2.2 The Roles of National Farmers' Unions

2.2.1 NRFU, 1905 - 1964

Before the formation of NRFU, farmers' activities were controlled by associations such as tobacco, cotton and maize associations. In order to improve farming, especially that of small scale farmers in Northern Rhodesia. These farmers' associations worked with the Northern Rhodesia government and distributed some vegetable and Irish potato seeds to small scale

farmers.¹ This was to ensure that a cheap source of food was available. This measure was intended to uplift livelihoods of farmers especially small scale so that they could easily pay taxes to the government that was heavily undercapitalized and depended on land sales for survival.² During this time, the state through the associations also promoted cultivation of cotton by Africans for sale that took centre stage in Chipata. The Secretary of the British South African Company (B S A Co.) in London was directed by the Board of Governors to send the Egyptian cotton seed for trial to the North-Eastern Rhodesian Administration in 1904.³ Consequently, thirty African growers were issued with this seed.⁴ Cotton cultivation received most attention from the colonial state even though African-grown cotton did not fare well in comparison to that on European one. By 1907, it was clear that attempts to establish a cash crop within the local farming systems would not be successful.⁵

However, after the amalgamation of North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1911, the concession became part of Eastern Province of the territory of the Northern Rhodesia or some 4, 700 square miles in the Fort Jameson District. One important condition of the North Chartered Exploration Company (NCEC) was to make sure the rights of Africans within the concession were to be respected.⁶ This meant that no African would be removed from land needed by the NCEC unless one was willing to leave or be compensated by being given enough land within that area to grow his crops. This was emphasised by Mvunga who stated that

¹ McPaison George Mwalukanga, "Constraints on Cotton Production in Northern Rhodesia: the Case of Fort Jameson Area, 1900-1945," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983, p. 11.

² Wolfgang Dopeke, "Aspects of the History of European Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia," Dip. Historical Studies, St. Johns College, 1980, p. 41.

³ Mwalukanga, "Constraints on Cotton Production in Northern Rhodesia: the Case of Fort Jameson Area, 1900-1945," p. 11.

⁴ Mwalukanga, "Constraints on Cotton Production in Northern Rhodesia," p. 11.

⁵ J.A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society: a Political History of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. 30.

⁶ Sundhrabala Dhasaratha Naidoo, "The Origin, Conduct and Settlement on the North Charterland Exploration Company and Land Dispute with Colonial Office, 1895-1941," M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983, p.3.

Northern Rhodesia was essentially a “native” area and all land dispositions particularly to non-natives were subject to native interest.⁷ In other words no disposition of land was to take place without the concerned of the native interest. This system was adopted from Tanganyika that declared all ungrazed as “public land” with consequences that such land was at the disposal by the governor for the benefit of Africans who were involved into agriculture. The right of occupation was allowed to both natives and non-Natives for definite not exceeding Ninety- Nine years.⁸ It was during this time that, 54,000 acres was sold to 10 European settlers and there were also numerous applications for the land in the concession.⁹ As a result of that more labour was needed to work on the farms.

In 1913, there was an additional heavy demand on the Eastern province labour market for the purpose of war that resulted into shortage of local labour for agricultural purposes. This was demonstrated by Naidoo who stated that, between 1914 and 1916; over 20,000 men were recruited as porters from the province that included 12,000 who came from Fort Jameson.¹⁰ In 1917, the Fort Jameson Farmers’ Associations and NCEC complained over the shortage of labour and tried to have activities of the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau in the area curtailed. This was so because Eastern province was spotted as one of the largest suppliers of labour to the Bureau. This was noted by Alfred Tembo who stated that, African men offered their labour power to the local European farmers to grow food such as maize needed to feed the growing urban population and cash crops like cotton and tobacco for export.¹¹ This was in line with the

⁷ Patrick, Mpanza Mvunga, “Land Law and Policy in Zambia,” Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1977, p. 298.

⁸ Mvunga, “Land Law and Policy in Zambia,” p. 298.

⁹ Naidoo, “The Origin, Conduct and Settlement on the North Charterland Exploration Company and Land Dispute with Colonial Office, 1895-1941,” p. 8.

¹⁰ Naidoo, “The Origin, Conduct and Settlement on the North Charterland Exploration Company and Land Dispute with Colonial Office, 1895-1941,” p. 23.

¹¹ Alfred Tembo, “The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964,” M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2009, p. 22.

designation of the Eastern Province as a food supplying area in the economy of Northern Rhodesia. By 1920, the men had returned from military duty and hope for recovery of the agriculture was last in sight. In order to recuperate agriculture, the United Tobacco Company signed a contract for three years with the Tobacco Farmers' Association in Fort Jameson and the Scheme turned to be very profitable for the company and farmers. For instance, in 1920, NCEC purchased from settler farmers approximately 439,800 lbs of Virginia tobacco.¹² In 1923, both small scale and commercial farmers were allowed to sell their produce to the government through the associations they belonged to. The government through associations established collection points along the Great East Road from Fort Jameson to the Copperbelt Province where food stuffs were needed because of the mines.

However, the measure to protect settler producers of cotton, tobacco and maize was introduced in 1931 and 1932 respectively that helped to curb the flow of finances. The impact of these measures was immediately demonstrated. For example, expenditure of imported maize from South Africa fell from £6,000 in 1931 to £600 in 1932 and £100 in 1933.¹³ These savings contributed to the administration's expenditure on weights and bridges which were erected in Choma, Mazabuka, Lusaka and Kitwe which also include cattle dips and loans to farmers until 1937.¹⁴ Imports of any kind were only allowed when local produce failed to meet the local demand a situation which occurred after 1937.

In 1932, the Northern Rhodesia Government promoted the formation of the Livestock Cooperative Society. The main reason for the formation was to encourage mining companies and

¹² Naidoo, "The Origin, Conduct and Settlement on the North Charterland Exploration Company and Land Dispute with Colonial Office, 1895-1941," p. 24.

¹³ Ackson M. Kanduza, "The Impact of Railway Rates and Customs Agreements on Settler Farming in Northern Rhodesia / Zambia, 1910-1939: The Case of Maize and Cattle," M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1979, p. 121.

¹⁴ Kanduza, "The Impact of Railway Rates and Customs Agreements on Settler Farming in Northern Rhodesia / Zambia, 1910-1939: The Case of Maize and Cattle," p.122.

meat contractors to purchase at least fifty per cent of their requirement from the society. In order for the society to meet the high demand for meat products, the NRG guaranteed the society the sum of 5000 without interest.¹⁵ In 1935 the NRG enacted the Maize Control Ordinance which started to operate in 1936. Later in 1937, the Cattle Marketing Board was also established.¹⁶ The establishment of the Maize Control and the Cattle Marketing Boards gave North-Western Rhodesia Farmers Society (NWRFS) and the Livestock Cooperative Society of Northern Rhodesia (LCSNR) the monopoly to purchase maize and cattle from local producers and sell to consumers in the territory. These organizations were empowered to be sole importer and exporter of maize and cattle in the colony. Under the Ordinance, settler farmers were given seventy- five per cent of the local market and twenty- five per cent was left to the Africans.¹⁷ As a result of these measures, NR largely relied on domestic maize and beef production from 1931 to 1939.

Internally, measures were also taken to reinforce those which had been taken to reduce the adverse impact of imports on settlers agriculture in NR. Internal organization was carried out into two phases; these were from, 1931 to 1933 and 1935 to 1937.¹⁸ During the first phase, the mining companies were persuaded in 1931 to sign a three year contract with NWRFS for the supply of maize and maize meal. The price was fixed at 9s. 6d pay bag based on Millinga's calculation of the cost of production of an average of eight bags to an acre.¹⁹ This clearly illustrated that the Northern Rhodesian government did not encourage high cost of production. This was demonstrated by Maxwell Ronard Storrs and Hubert Young who encouraged internal cooperation among the maize and cattle producers, contractors, traders and mining companies in

¹⁵ Kanduza, "The Impact of Railway Rates and Customs Agreements on Settler Farming in Northern Rhodesia / Zambia, 1910-1939: The Case of Maize and Cattle," p. 123.

¹⁶ Northern Rhodesia Government (N.R.G) Cattle Marketing and Control Ordinance, No: 13 of 1937.

¹⁷ Kanduza, "The Impact of Railway Rates and Customs Agreements on Settler Farming in Northern Rhodesia / Zambia, 1910-1939: The Case of Maize and Cattle," p. 123.

¹⁸ N.R.G, *Annual Report on Agriculture Department, 1931, p. 6.*

¹⁹ National Archives of Zambia (N.A.Z) SECT/1/72, Economic Agricultural Matters, 1931 -1938.

Northern Rhodesia. It was during this time when a number of agricultural associations such as Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Association (NRAA) and Tobacco Cooperatives Society were formed. Later in 1938 NRFU became a union. In order for NRFU to perform its role efficiently, it revised the leadership structure²⁰ by incorporating the Board of Directors (BOD) in 1945 which was also known as the National Council or the Congress. Its function was to implement policy issues that were found in the constitution.²¹ The major objectives of the NRFU were to promote sympathetic understanding between all persons interested in farming, to advise government on investigation and development of the market for both processed and unprocessed agricultural products and conduct research in regard to the problems relating to agriculture and work towards the reduction of the cost of production and marketing. Through these objectives, NRFU created cooperation and understanding among the farmers in Northern Rhodesia for their mutual benefit.²²

In order for NRFU to deliver services to farmers effectively, ten or more farmers were organised to form a branch of the NRFU at the district level where many members were found and mobilised.²³ It was at branch level where the union officials elected the Chairperson, the Vice Chairperson and the Secretary for a period of two years. Leaders at the branch were monitored by union officials to run the affairs of the union to form societies and cooperatives. In this regard, members found at district level considered themselves as part of the NRFU structure and were free to participate in the affairs of the union as members. As Lundwe argued, without

²⁰ Graham Cox, Philip Lowe and Michael Winter, *The Origins and Early Development of the National Farmers' Union*, pp. 30-31. See also, Mail Reporter, *Zambian Mail*, June, (1965), p. 5.

²¹ N.A.Z, NR/17/186, Report of the Commission of inquiry in the future of the European Farming Industry, 1954.

²² N.A.Z, SP/3/21, Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union, 1947-1957.

²³ N.A.Z, RC/482, Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Union, 1927-1928.

members at the grass roots, no organisation would function properly because that was where the majority were found.²⁴

Membership of the union was specifically from the European societies and cooperatives that derived their living in whole or part, from the land and who produced crops and livestock for sale at the value of £10 per annum provided their subscription to the union was up to date. The Central Council at its discretion approved honorary membership of the union provided such honorary members were farmers as the term, 'farmer' excluded citizens and persons engaged in food production of less than 50 acres of land who did not normally derive their sole or principal livelihood from agriculture.²⁵ In this case, agricultural products included crops, timber, livestock, poultry, eggs and honey.²⁶ Therefore, every farmer as provided in the licensing ordinance of 1946 became a member of the union and the records of their production were provided by the Executive Council.²⁷

Through the Executive Council, the NRFU assisted farmers and tobacco associations to be established along the line of rail for easy access to transportation of Virginia tobacco and maize. NRFU decided to approach the government with the aim of introducing the Farmers Licensing Ordinance (FLO) in 1946. The introduction of the Licensing Ordinance was designed to ensure compulsory contribution to the farmers' union after it was found that subscription on the voluntary basis was inadequate.²⁸ NRFU through FLO provided for the payment of an annual license of £2 which government collected and remitted to NRFU. In turn, part of the money was redistributed to the local branches and associations. The licenses were issued by the Civil or the Native Commissioner of the district in which the farmers were engaged in agriculture, and

²⁴ O. C. Lundwe, "Demonstration: A teaching Tool," *Farming in Zambia*, 3.2, (January: 1968), pp. 20-33.

²⁵ N.A.Z, Mag/2/20, Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union, 1952-1961.

²⁶ N.A.Z, Mag/2/2, Provincial Team Minutes and Agenda, 1949-1950.

²⁷ N.A.Z, Mag/2/2, Provincial Team Minutes and Agenda, 1949-1950.

²⁸ N.A.Z, Mag/2/2, Extracts from the minutes of meeting of Executive Council held on the 4th January, 1947.

expired annually on the 30th day of September. The licenses were not granted for a period longer than twelve months according to the Executive guidelines.²⁹

However, prior to 1949, the farming industry was small and the membership was between four and five hundred. According to the Ordinance No. 5 of 1948, the maximum fees for farmers license was raised from £2 to £5.³⁰ This information on the raised farmers' license fees was accepted by the Secretary of the NRFU who then conveyed the results of the referendum conducted by the union on the question of increasing the farmers' licenses from £2 to £5 to the government.³¹ The need to increase the license fees was to meet the expenses of the union. During the referendum, voting was conducted and the total number of votes cast were 153 with those in favour of raising the fees being 103 while those against were 50.³² The results from voting demonstrated that about 66% were in favour and 34% were against.

The NRFU often consulted other bodies such as the Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Farmers Association and Maize Farmers' Associations regarding matters of safeguarding the funds raised from the farmers' licences. NRFU's main objective was to safeguard institutional funds from being mismanaged by members, especially the officials. The idea to safeguard funds followed the outlines of the Southern Rhodesia Legislation where it visualised the constitution as the body recognised by the governor to represent farmers in the territory called Northern Rhodesia. The draft constitution provided for the establishment of a special government account into which license fees were to be deposited. It also gave power to the governor to control the

²⁹ N.A.Z, EP4/1, Minutes of Agriculture and Commercial Association of Growers, Fort Jameson, 1939-1948.

³⁰ Extract from Hansard No 60, column 58-60, 10th March, 1948.

³¹ N.A.Z, MAG2/2/28, Annual Report on Minutes of meeting between the members for the Agriculture and representatives of the farmers' union, 22nd January, 1949.

³² Extract from Hansard No 60, column 58-60, 10th March, 1948.

expenditure of funds which were accumulated and withdrew support from the Northern Rhodesia based farmers union if it ceased to be the representative body of the farmers in the country.³³

The powers and responsibilities of the Executive Council under NRFU included among others:

- i) To defray expenses incurred in respect of the promotion and incorporation of the union. To appoint the secretary for enumeration as decided upon and carry out the business of the council;
- ii) To transfer any portion of funds to any association or society whose objectives were focused on agriculture and expended the funds of the union in its discretion to the best of the agricultural industry;
- iii) To purchase, exchange, hire or otherwise acquire any movable or immovable property or any rights or privileges necessary or convenient to the purposes of the union;
- iv) To make standing orders for the conduct of the business of the council and Committees.³⁴

NRFU operated and relied on the financial resources that it mobilised. It utilised the accrued funds from the farmers' license account that was realised from the subscription, grants, donation and banquets.³⁵ These funds were controlled by the council and used to settle all expenses incurred in connection with the office of the union including the payment of officials and servants, travelling allowances, rents and council expenses, and all other items related to the maintenance of the union offices. Furthermore, in 1949, NRFU through the council provided travelling allowances for delegates who attended the meetings or meeting of the sub-committees of NRFU.³⁶

³³ Ministry of Agriculture (M.O.A) *Annual Report on Agriculture, November, 1948.*

³⁴ Ministry of Agriculture (M.O.A) *Annual Report on Agriculture, November, 1948.*

³⁵ Extract from Hansard No 60, Column 58-60, 10th March, 1948.

³⁶ Extract from Hansard No 60, Column 58-60, 10th March, 1948.

In order for the NRFU to monitor the membership from the districts in the country, it provided registers to officials found in those districts who were members of the union. These registers recorded each farmer in that area. This was because the union was interested in those farmers that needed guidance pertaining to farming and the general agricultural practices. In this regard, NRFU entered into an agreement with the editors of a Journal published in Southern Rhodesia called the *Rhodesian Farmer* in which the Northern Rhodesian Farmers Register was published in 1949. This was done because it was an essential valuable medium to reach the farmers. NRFU paid subscription for those farmers who were unable to pay to the union and also purchased for them agricultural inputs such as seeds and insecticides.³⁷ The services provided were beneficial to both members of the union and the colonial government in Northern Rhodesia.

NRFU went further to represent certain sections of farmers of Central Province of Northern Rhodesia later extended to other areas such as the Copperbelt Province. Brelsford states that more and more farmers took up land and later formed associations which applied for membership from the union in 1949.³⁸

In 1949, farmers who were members of NRFU faced challenges such as pests and drought during the farming season that started from September to April. Drought was one of the factors that affected many farmers especially small scale farmers. In order to help the small scale farmers who were confronted with the problem of drought, the NRFU introduced a scheme on Drought Relief in 1949.³⁹ This scheme was designed to assist members who were affected by drought, fire and floods.⁴⁰ For instance, during the meeting of NRFU Executive Council and

³⁷ N.A.Z, 1/99, Note on the Farmers Licensing Amendment Bill, 1948.

³⁸ W. V. Brelsford, *Hand Book in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, (London: Cassel and Company, 1960), p. 262.

³⁹ N.A.Z, MAG2/2/6, *Annual Report Minutes of Meeting of the Council of the Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union, Lusaka: January, 1949.*

⁴⁰ N.A.Z, MAG/13/1, Northern Rhodesia Tobacco Cooperative Marketing Union, 1946.

farmers held in 1950 in Fort Jameson (now Chipata), it was agreed that NRFU would provide long-term loans to affected farmers which would be repaid in three annual instalments without any interest.⁴¹ Furthermore, the scheme was introduced to assist farmers to obtain loans during the period of shortage. Thus, more than fifty small scale farmers benefited from this scheme. In this regard, during the meeting held in Monze in 1950, W.H. Wroth, who was a member of NRFU, stated that, early compensation of loans by Northern Rhodesia stopped drifting farmers away from their farms but to provide them with a sense of security.⁴² The compensation of the small-scale farmers made them survive in the agricultural industry due to the effective meeting. During the meeting between NRFU and the government over the provision of security in terms of relief bonus, it was suggested by the representatives of the union that it was necessary to distinguish between the relief bonus of the immediate occasion that was caused by drought and measures to offer security to the farming community. NRFU and government representative concluded that services such as loans were only going to be provided to farmers who were members of the union.⁴³ These services provided by the union helped farmers in the agricultural sector to develop.

In the field of scientific development, NRFU worked with the Northern Rhodesia colonial government to establish an agricultural research Station at Mount Makulu in 1950.⁴⁴ Its establishment helped the agronomists, botanists, chemists and animal husbandry men and women to become more competent to handle nearly all cases pertaining to agriculture. Stimulated by the farming community, they contributed to improving the technology of crop and

⁴¹ N.A.Z, MAG/13/1, Northern Rhodesia Tobacco Cooperative Marketing Union, 1946.

⁴² N.A.Z, MAG/13/1, Northern Rhodesia Tobacco Cooperative Marketing Union, 1946.

⁴³ N.A.Z, MAG2/2/6, *Annual Report on Minutes of Meeting of the Council of the Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union, Lusaka: 1949.*

⁴⁴ Dorothy Mwansa, "A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001, p. 33.

livestock production. They advanced the diagnosis and treatment of all types of soils, plant controls, animals, pests and diseases.⁴⁵ Yizenge A. Chondoka notes that by 1950 even those farmers who did not register as improved farmers started to increase their use of modern technology and more efficient methods such as crop rotation.⁴⁶ The use of crop rotation made it possible for the farmers to use the given piece of land for a long period of time without it being exhausted. The result was the increase in agricultural production.

Apart from that, NRFU often emphasised that the government announced prices of crops such as tobacco, cotton and maize in time so that farmers could plan ahead. Previously, farmers committed themselves to planning for a given crop by winter ploughing and purchased some essential inputs such as seeds and fertilizers before prices were announced by the government in the hope that when announced, the price would be affordable. For instance, in 1956, Garden Layson, the District Farmers Associations (DFAs) chairman in Mazabuka who was a member of NRFU negotiated for good prices of cotton for the farmers in Northern Rhodesia.⁴⁷ Layson believed that the more DFAs were affiliated to the NRFU, the stronger the union became and the more the government listened to the farmers' voices on matters pertaining to agricultural development in the country. Therefore, the future of farmers in the country depended upon the strength of the NRFU. Besides, NRFU influenced government policies on agriculture. It lobbied for good marketing prices where producers and buyers were geographically close to each other in order to make farming as a business affordable. Furthermore, it provided an effective way of disseminating information regarding agricultural inputs and on all matters related to food security in the country. NRFU viewed market information as a critical factor in a liberalised

⁴⁵ Mwansa, "A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980," p. 33.

⁴⁶ Yizenge A. Chondoka, *Government Technical Assistance to African Farmers in Mazabuka District, 1924-1954, Zambia Land Studies*, (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988), p. 24.

⁴⁷ Commercial Farmers' Bureau (C.F.B) "Productive Farming," *Official Journal of CFB No. 131*, (1984), pp. 1-2.

economy, without which farmers could not make informed decisions on how to effectively and profitably market their agricultural produce.

Furthermore, NRFU recommended that farmers should make use of the agricultural commodity exchange which offered them the best price for agricultural products and this became an effective mechanism against the power of monopolies.⁴⁸ As J. C. Momba stated, NRFU stimulated crop marketing prices and at times passed legislation to improve the economic relationship between farmers and consumers in the country.⁴⁹ It encouraged lawyers to act on behalf of farmers against marketing agents who failed to honour their contracts while accepting the spirit of resolution.⁵⁰ NRFU further updated farmers on commodities on the market and how much they were being sold through the farmers' magazine published by the union.

Additionally, it disseminated information to members and the farming community as a whole on major agricultural developments using magazines and journals such as *Productive Farming*.⁵¹ Through this initiative, NRFU distributed up to 1400 copies of magazines to its members country-wide and sold about 400 copies monthly and about 200 copies were left for advertising. Mwansa states that in 1963, over 30,000 posters, pamphlets and hand-outs were issued on different forms of agricultural technology.⁵²

After independence in 1964, a number of farmers subscribed to journals where many articles appeared in magazines such as, *Farming in Zambia* and *Productive Farming*. These publications provided information about loans available to farmers from the union. For instance, in June 1964 the *Productive Farming* which contained information about the farmers irrigation

⁴⁸ C.F.B, *Agricultural and Pastoral Production*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1989), p. 2.

⁴⁹ J.C. Momba, "Peasant differentiation and the Rural Party Politics in the Colonial Zambia," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 11, 2 (April, 1985), pp. 182-190.

⁵⁰ C.F.B, *Agricultural and Pastoral Production*, p. 3.

⁵¹ Zambia National Farmers' Union (Z.N.F.U) *Congress Report*, 2010, p. 17.

⁵² Mwansa, "A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980," p. 33.

system that was launched by the Zambian government to assist farmers in crop diversification through irrigation.⁵³ In the same magazines, about 150 farmers were shortlisted for the said loans.

2.2.2 CFB and the Development of the Agricultural Industry, 1964 -1991

In 1964, NRFU was changed to CFB. This is because CFB was mainly for white commercial farmers in Northern Rhodesia. These commercial farmers grew crops only for sell and they were few in number. In order to increase the membership of CFB and be recognised by government, it allowed small scale farmers to join the CFB.⁵⁴ In an effort to assist farmers in the agricultural industry, CFB established linkages where fifty emergent farmers were able to obtain loans from the Zambia Emergent Farmer Finance (ZEFF).⁵⁵ ZEFF was a lending institution that was formed by the government after 1964 with the aim of helping small scale farmers to access loans. The small scale farmers accessed loans from ZEFF through the CFB that facilitated the submission of eighty five loan applications to ZEFF of which only fifty were considered for various projects such as construction of dams for irrigation.⁵⁶ Through this scheme, the number of farmers who benefited from the programme raised from 50 per cent in 1962 to 80 per cent in 1965.⁵⁷ This was probably because of the country's independence when many small scale African farmers developed interest in farming as a business. It was for this reason that CFB managed to raise about 80 million kwacha from facilitation fees. These fees were extended to farmers through the block farms which catered primarily for small scale farmers who had no capital assets of their own.

⁵³ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, p. 17.

⁵⁵ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, p. 17.

⁵⁶ Lombard and Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia since Independence*, p. 58

⁵⁷ Lombard and Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia since Independence*, p. 59.

Further, CFB directed farmers to open up new fields by providing fertilisers in form of seasonal and medium term loans for the equipment and livestock to the farmers.⁵⁸ The expansion of the emergent farmers in terms of hectares increased from ten to thirty partly because of CFB's assistance in securing loans from commercial banks such as the Agricultural Finance Company (AFC). By 1965, the loans obtained from these financial lending institutions made it possible for emergent farmers to buy agricultural inputs such as seeds, chemicals, fertilisers and farm machinery such as tractors, ploughs and planters. These inputs made it possible for farmers to produce about 60 percent of the volume of the marketed maize and 45 percent of the other market crops in Zambia.⁵⁹ Practically, every district in Zambia had a few emergent farmers but the majority were found in Southern, Central, and to a lesser extent, Eastern and the Copperbelt mainly because of easy access to rail and road transport as well as fertile soils and enough rainfall found in these areas which supported agricultural activities. These conditions prepared some of the farmers to graduate from small scale to commercial farmers.⁶⁰ Consequently, to increase high production in the farming industry, literacy levels became an essential aspect.

The CFB also collaborated with other institutions such as AFC in providing skills training to members in the agricultural sector. The goal was to improve literacy levels among its members especially the small scale farmers. In 1965, AFC trained about 198 farmers in financial literacy. Such training was intended to impart skills to small scale farmers in financial management and entrepreneurship.⁶¹ The same form of training was later rolled out to fifteen other DFAs with small scale farmers as the target group. It was the training acquired by the farmers that in turn increased the general receptiveness to new farm management skills.

⁵⁸ C.F.B, "Commercial Farming," *The Zambian Farmer*, vol. 5 No: 12, (1984), pp. 4-5.

⁵⁹ Mulambo Malambo, "Rural Food Security in Zambia," Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1987, p. 23.

⁶⁰ J. Kydd, "Changes in Zambian Policy since 1983," *Problem of Liberalisation and Agrarianization Development, Policy Review* 4, (1986), pp. 233-259.

⁶¹ C.F.B, "The Rhodesia Farmers," *Journal of the Federation*, vol. 31. No: 47, (March, 1961), pp. 2-6.

In an attempt to regulate employers and employees' relations in the agricultural industry, the CFB signed a recognition agreement with farm owners in 1964.⁶² The contents of the agreement were confined to matters relevant to terms and conditions of employment of any worker employed in the agricultural sector. Among the terms and conditions agreed upon with the union was to allow open meetings to be held on the farm property after working hours, provided they were conducted in an orderly and responsible manner and were to be attended only by employees of the farm in question. The Ministry of Labour considered this to be the best agreement of its kind because it contained reconciliation procedures which prevented labour troubles. This created harmony in the agricultural community between the employers and the employees. Due to the stability that the agricultural sector experienced in the context of labour relations, more production was recorded in the industry. For example, there was an increase in the cotton acreage from 280 in 1963 to 3,200 in 1964 and the acreage yield increased from about 200 lbs (weight of measurements in pounds) of cotton per acre in 1965 to 1900 lbs in 1966.⁶³ The yields of 2,500 and 3,000 lbs per acreage were recorded at commercial level where labour was highly required.⁶⁴

In 1967, CFB and the National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers (NUPAW) signed a Memorandum of Understanding on how to increase labour in the agricultural sector. NUPAW was a union that was formed at Nakambala Branch in 1967. It was headed by Timothy Kazawale (Chairperson), Robertson Sikwibele (Secretary) and Sofy Nguni (Treasurer). The representatives of NUPAW and CFB agreed that CFB should recognise NUPAW as a properly constituted representative body and the sole organisation representing the interests of the members throughout the agricultural industry of Zambia in matters concerning wages and

⁶² N.A.Z, CNP1/1/48, Employers and Employees Organisation (Trade unionism), 1956-1964.

⁶³ N.A.Z, CNP1/1/48, Employers and Employees Organisation (Trade unionism), 1956-1964.

⁶⁴ C.F.B, "The Rhodesia Farmers" *Journal of the Federation*, pp. 2-6.

conditions of employment.⁶⁵ The unionisation of the farm labour proceeded at a fast rate because the majority of the commercial farmers who favoured unionism perceived it as a measure of maturity on the part of the farmers who supported the unions. It also meant that the process of the unionisation of farm workers could no longer be held back. M Petric, a farm manager at the Maize Research Institute in Mazabuka, summarised the issue of unionisation as follows:

We can help each other with the union, we provide employment here. As a result, we expect high labour productivity; the union can do a lot to educate its members that wage increase can only come about through increased productivity.⁶⁶

In June, 1969, CFB called all commercial farmers to a meeting. The meeting was presided over by the president of CFB Derick Watson in Mazabuka. The aim of the meeting was to persuade African commercial farmers to join CFB in order to make them protected as they participated in agricultural production. CFB, as a farmer representative took the task of expanding agricultural production whether by increasing the volume of production for the commercial farmers themselves or by rendering assistance to farmers in various ways. It brought co-operation between African farmers and Europeans in the farming community.⁶⁷ Watson concluded his report on farmers by emphasising that a bumper harvest and prosperity of the agricultural sector was one of the objectives of the organisation. CFB often organised workshops where farmers were taught the best farming methods to use including utilisation of high improved yielding seed varieties, fertilisers and pesticides.⁶⁸ These technologies attracted

⁶⁵ N.A.Z,CNP/2/1/119, Farmers' Association Minutes and Matters, 1962.

⁶⁶ Bornwell Peter Mtamira, "Labour in Commercial Farms in Zambia: A Case Study of Southern Province, 1945-1980," M.A. Dissertation, UNZA, 1989, p. 80.

⁶⁷ N.R.G, Annual Report on *Zambian Commercial Farming*, 1969, p. 11.

⁶⁸ C. S. Mwila, "Subsistence and Commercial Agricultural and Rural Strategies in Zambia," Ph.D. Thesis, Hague University, 1978, p. 9.

considerable attention among the planners, economists, researchers and politicians alike because of their potential to increase agricultural productivity among the farmers.⁶⁹

The CFB employed farmers' representatives across the country where farming was practised. It employed a part time Chairman and a full time General Secretary who maintained contacts with its members through the Council and DFAs.⁷⁰ The council was composed of twenty one members who represented thirteen associations from Livingstone, Kalomo, Choma, Monze, Mazabuka, Lusaka West, Chongwe, Chisamba, Kabwe, Mkushi, Copperbelt East and Fort Jameson. These associations represented committees dealing with commodities such as maize, cattle, dairy products, cotton, fruits, vegetables, poultry and pigs. These committees ensured that skilled manpower was employed to provide necessary information to the Ministry of Agriculture on almost all aspects of production and marketing. This happened at a time when the country's development of commercial farming was still largely a European undertaking. It was a fact that it 'represented the centre of Zambian farming.'⁷¹ During 1970/71 season, farming activities increased because of the CFB that persuaded the government to introduce agricultural subsidies in its policies. These policies were in collaboration with the principal objective of the Third National Development plan (TNDP) from 1979 to 1983.⁷² This plan contained a variety of farming methods such as conservation farming.

2.2.2.1 CFB and its role in promoting Conservation Farming

Conservation Farming was an agricultural method that was initiated by CFB specifically for small scale farmers in Zambia in the 1980s. It was based on enhancing natural biological

⁶⁹ Z.N.F.U, *Report on Conservation Farming Unit*, 1996, p. 50.

⁷⁰ G.R.Z, *Zambia Farmers Hand Book*, p. 67.

⁷¹ G.R.Z, *Zambia Farmers Hand Book*, p. 68.

⁷² G.R.Z, *Third National Development Plan*, 1979-1983, p. 167.

processes above and below the ground.⁷³ The CFB played the crucial role in the development and promotion of conservation farming technologies in Zambia. Among the technologies used was the minimum tillage which was a way of planting crops by ripping the land just to a depth of about 15cm and this gave it a distinctive feature to conventional farming.⁷⁴ It can also be pointed out that, minimum tillage reduced soil and moisture loss, improved soil fertility and structure and reduced labour at land preparation. The CFB's initial interest in minimum tillage began when several commercial farmers from the organisation travelled to Australia and the United States of America (USA) in the early 1980s. The main reason for adopting conservation farming was because of its potential to reduce fuel consumption from 120 to 30 litres per hectare.⁷⁵ Conservation farming was actually an approach to farming which used different ideas that together increased long-term profitability, reduced cultivation to maintain soil, water storage, reduced soil erosion by increase soil organic matters and reduced across paddock to avoid compaction.⁷⁶ This made the CFB to start trials on a permanent basis at Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust (GART) in Chisamba, using the experience and the first successes that were scored by Brian Oldreive, a commercial farmer of Zimbabwe. In 1985, the Conservation Farming Unit (CFU) which was one of the programmes of the CFB was established to adapt and promote hand-hoe basins with the aim of developing systems that would produce 6 to 8 tons per hectare of maize. The CFB played a major role in adapting conservation farming to small hand-hoe farmers in Zambia. This was revealed by a number of demonstrations

⁷³ Z.N.F.U, *Annual Report on Conservation Farming Unit*, 2000, p. 54.

⁷⁴ Z.N.F.U, *Annual Report on Conservation Farming Unit*, p. 54.

⁷⁵ Haggblade Steven and Gelson Tembo, *Conservation Farming in Zambia. Environment and Production Technology Division*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2003), p. 33.

⁷⁶ Joyce Phiri, "Agricultural Innovation and Development: A case study of Communication about the Conservation Farming in Katete District," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2011, p.13. See, Zainab P. (<http://www.znfu.org.zm/policybriefs> - accessed on 27th March, 2015).

and trials that were carried out by CFU that reached 395 during the 1985 season. These demonstrations and trials were entirely through the CFB's invention.⁷⁷

The introduction of conservation farming was vital to the small scale farmers as it improved on part of land preparation. The preparation was either by Ox-drawn rips lines or the hand-hoe basins lay out in a precise grid of about 15,850 per hectare.⁷⁸ This preparation of basins was done during the dry season immediately after harvest. Therefore, this method of farming allowed for the early planting of crops at the onset of the rains which was critical for its success. It used special tools such as, ripper, chaka and ripper tractor.⁷⁹ However, the common tools used by small-scale farmers were Chaka and Ripper. The Chaka looked like a hoe but was more durable and stronger than the hoe. It was a farming tool that was designed by the CFU facilitated by CFB for digging and planting basins.⁸⁰ It was shaped in such a way that it was easy to dig basins even in the dry season. The ripper was a narrow tool used for the deeper penetration in the ground and used less draught force and less surface soils disturbances.⁸¹ At times this tool was also used to facilitate planting of crops. This tool was further used to control soil erosion which is the wash away of the top soil by rains.⁸²

Before the end of 1985, the Zambian government and CFB endorsed conservation farming as a national extension policy. The overall policy of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, (MACO) was to facilitate and support the development and the sustainability of

⁷⁷ G.R.Z, Constraints of the Economic Development in Zambia, 1971, p. 280.

⁷⁸ Phiri, "Agricultural Innovation and Development," p. 14.

⁷⁹ Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MACO) Participatory and Extension Approaches, Trainers Manual, 2nd Edition, Lusaka, Zambia. See, Also Kenneth Phiri, "Adoption, Impact and Spatial Diffusion of Conservation Farming among the Scale Farmers in Chipata: The Case of Southern Agricultural Block," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2013, p. Vi

⁸⁰ Siacinji Musiwa, *Conservation Tillage in Zambia: Some Technology, Indigenous Methods and Environmental Issues*, (Lusaka: NRDC, 1980), p. 40.

⁸¹ Conservation Farming Unity (CFU) *Conservation Farming and Conservation Farming Agricultural Hand Book for ox- farmer in Agro-Ecological Regions I and II*, (Lusaka: ZNFU, 2007), p. 12.

⁸² C.F.U, *Conservation Farming and Conservation Farming Agricultural Hand Book*, p. 14.

the agricultural sector to guarantee food security at the national and household levels and minimise the limitation in the quality of input supplied to areas of production.⁸³ The CFB engaged the districts with MACO staff to ensure that inputs were transparently and equitably distributed among farmers especially small scale farmers in the country.⁸⁴ Regional Managers were also employed to supervise all activities at districts. Their contribution to this matter resulted into improvement of DFAs representation at the local level. This made it possible for the district agricultural and camp committees to supervise input allocations and distribution to the farmers on time which resulted into an increase in the number of members who benefited from the programme from five hundred to seven hundred in 1985.⁸⁵

The distribution system of markets was composed of various participants and numerous exchange points where physical functions of marketing such as assembling, transportation, standardisation, storage and processing were significant. The food grains producers were scattered all over large areas of the country. Marketing these agricultural products involved a large number of transactions and participants which the CFB facilitated.⁸⁶ However, in 1985, the CFB Executive Director John Hudson informed the government regarding the shortage of farming inputs such as fuels.⁸⁷ Hudson further warned the government that if it failed to take appropriate measures of delivering the commodity on time, it would affect the farming community that was about to start planting their crops. CFB advised the government to facilitate the distribution of farm inputs such as seed and fertilizer to the farmers on time to avoid

⁸³ C.F.U, *Conservation Farming and Conservation Farming Agricultural Hand Book*, p. 16.

⁸⁴ G.R.Z, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1982, p. 50.

⁸⁵ G.R.Z, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1982, p. 55.

⁸⁶ P. Nyanga, "Food Security, Conservation Agriculture and Pulses: Evidence from Smallholder Farmers in Zambia," *Journal of Food Research*, (2012), pp. 120-138.

⁸⁷ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, November, 1986, p. 4.

disruption.⁸⁸ In responding to the farmers' representatives concern, in 1985, the Zambian government introduced the short season hybrid seed called the MM603/604.⁸⁹ These new seed varieties were drought tolerant, disease resistant and less management intensive than RS52, which was the most popular hybrid type of the year. These characteristics made it possible and less risky for all small scale farmers especially those outside the conservative maize growing areas such as along the Luangwa Valley. The starter of the maize varieties by small and medium scale farmers was rapid and extensive following their introduction in the 1985 season which resulted in an estimated 20 percent increase in the overall maize yields levels.⁹⁰ Therefore, there was an improvement in Zambian hybrids at an estimate of 60 and 20 percent yield advantage over local and RS52, respectively. By 1989, almost half the total of small and medium maize areas were planted with improved seed varieties and the proportion increased to nearly 60 percent by the end of 1989.⁹¹

2.2.3 ZNFU and the Development of the Agricultural Industry, 1991-2000

2.2.3.1 ZNFU's role in Agricultural Shows and Field Days

In 1992, CFB was transformed into ZNFU. The change of the name brought both commercial and small scale farmers in one umbrella when discussing matters relating to the agricultural sector.⁹² Agricultural shows and field days were temporary exhibition events that offered farmers the opportunity to learn new ideas of production.⁹³ They facilitated the process of agricultural modernization because they promoted awareness, participation and motivation of farmers towards self-sufficiency in food production. Agricultural shows and field days were

⁸⁸ G.R.Z, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1982, p. 126.

⁸⁹ Julien Ann Howard, "The Economic Impact of the Maize Varieties in Zambia," p. 243.

⁹⁰ Julien Ann Howard, "The Economic Impact of the Maize Varieties in Zambia," p. 243.

⁹¹ G.R.Z, Annual Report on Department of Agriculture, 1982, p. 128.

⁹² Weekly Reporter, *National Mirror*, 27th April, 1992, p. 11.

⁹³ E. N. Mbata and C.C. Iwueke, "How to Mount Effective Agricultural Exhibition: A Guide for Extension Workers," *Extension Bulletin No. 10, Umudike, National Root Crops Research Institute*. (1984), p. 20.

among the events organised by ZNFU. For example in 1996, ZNFU created a platform through which farmers participated in at least 244 block shows, 323 field days, 22 roadside shows and a national show in Lusaka.⁹⁴ These activities exposed farmers to enhanced new technologies and good crop husbandry practices and other necessary information for increasing productivity. Through members participation in Commercial Agricultural Shows and Field Days, their membership kept on increasing. For instance, membership of ZNFU increased from 900 in 1995 to 1011 in 1996 because the organisation effectively represented the interests of all the farmers.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Field Days were organised for specific crops at a time and the scientists demonstrated their modern techniques of growing them. The Field Days not only drew both large crowds of peasant and commercial farmers, but also provided a strong link between the local, regional and national agricultural exhibitors.

2.2.3.2 ZNFU and the Promotion of Irrigation

In order for members to adequately access irrigation facilities, ZNFU collaborated with the Ministry of Energy and Development in promoting low cost irrigation technologies such as treadle pumps, drip kits and hip pumps through the issuance of vouchers. Following this programme, ZNFU recorded an increase in the number of low cost irrigation equipment purchased by the members in 1996. For instance, 220 treadle pumps, 39 family drip kits and 15 hip pumps were purchased by the farmers who were affiliated to ZNFU.⁹⁶ Such equipment was used by farmers to irrigate their crops during the dry season. A good example was in Mkushi District where farmers utilised water pumps to collect water from Lunsemfwa River for their crops. Most of them were commercial farmers who grew crops such as wheat, soya beans and

⁹⁴ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, 1993, p. 17.

⁹⁵ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, p. 22.

⁹⁶ N. M. Mason and R. J. Myers, "Effects of the Food Reserve Agency on Maize Market Prices in Zambia," *Agricultural Economics*, vol 3, (2013), pp. 23-44.

maize which required a lot of water. John Sumelius noted that Mubuyu Commercial Farm in Mazabuka, located about 85 kilometres (kms) south of Lusaka with over 400 hectares of agricultural land, was serviced using irrigation through the dam that was constructed to make the land productive.⁹⁷ Sometimes, some farmers mixed nutrients with water to improve on the growth of their crops. Besides that, ZNFU also trained rural masses through the study group concept. This was a group of eight to sixteen members, (farmers) with the common goal of doing farming business together.⁹⁸ Through their gathering, farmers learnt the best use of the irrigation equipment in their fields.

2.2.3.3 ZNFU and its Lobbying Role

ZNFU also played a vital role as a ‘watchdog’ of the agricultural sector in Zambia.⁹⁹ It disseminated vital information such as position papers and advisory notes on policy matters. Because ZNFU represented farmers and agribusinesses in the agricultural industry, it also lobbied government to ensure that there was early supply of inputs to farmers during the farming season and set favourable floor prices for the agricultural produce. ZNFU also worked as a supervisory body of the agrifood economy which describes industries involved in the mass production, processing and inspection of food produce made from agricultural commodities.¹⁰⁰ A practical example occurred in 1996 when the Agricultural Sector Investment Program (ASIP) was established. It was formed by the Zambian government to act as a tool for implementing the policy of maize marketing liberalisation and market reforms of 1994,¹⁰¹ ASIP’s overall objective was to provide improved agricultural services through the promotion of free market

⁹⁷ John Sumelius, *Strengthening Farmer-led Economic Activities and Agribusiness through Producer Organizations in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2011), p.3.

⁹⁸ *Agricultural Consultative Forum, Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Printech Limited, 1990), p. 23.

⁹⁹ G.R.Z, *Zambian Farmer*, 1998, p. 32.

¹⁰⁰ G.R.Z, *Zambian Farmer*, p.32.

¹⁰¹ Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (M.A.F.F) *Annual Report on Agricultural Commercialisation Programme, 2000-2005*.

development, reduction of commercial activity and enhancing efficient delivery of public services. The small scale farmers complained about ASIP's failure to disburse funds on time to ZNFU. However, ZNFU confronted the ASIP to restructure the Ministry of Agriculture Food and Fisheries, to enable efficient implementation of programmes and the provision of various services to farmers and other agribusiness firms. ZNFU further influenced both commercial and small-scale farmers within union ranks to support the ASIP. However, ZNFU also performed through the support from the European Union (EU). This was so because it stood strongly as a local farmers' institution, its significance in the Zambian food system was to manage donor funds and to govern the value chains through agricultural regulation. Although ZNFU played a pivotal role in the domestic economy, it also remained a key intermediary institution that facilitated Zambia-EU trade through commodity associations that were linked particularly to the Tobacco Board of Zambia, (TBZ).¹⁰² This was because ZNFU was the mother body of farmers where commodity associations affiliated to and in return acted as the negotiator.

ZNFU, as an intermediate institution represented producers and supported the farming industry innovation strategies, influenced the spread of information to its members and acted as an overseer of government agricultural policy. Besides that, it also offered training opportunities for productive market chain integration for small-scale farmers in the agrifood system.¹⁰³ Although the ZNFU was funded in part by international donors as mentioned above, it also remained as a union of local food economy. This is so because most of the farmers produced crops that were easily accessed by the people in the country. It is important to note that, ZNFU's core business was also concerned with the cultivation and strengthening of the food economy as

¹⁰² Abrahams, "Zambia's Food System," p. 159.

¹⁰³ L.O. Jonsson and P. Oscarsson, *Conservation tillage with Oxen, Conservation Farming Handbook*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2002), p. 35.

it prepared to lobby from the state the policies that fostered the growth and protection of the sector.¹⁰⁴ It was through ZNFU that the agricultural sector improved.

Furthermore, ZNFU participated in the food production system through its mediating role. It linked farmers and the state to the markets in order to secure high value chains for development as it connected producers to markets. Through its capacity of linking strategies, ZNFU engaged actors in chain food coordination as part of a larger organised union that pointed to the agility of the food system. It responded to the needs and priorities of the food system and reflected the changing political economy of the country as it related to the agricultural sector.¹⁰⁵ This demonstrated that ZNFU, as an institution supported the country's agricultural sector and growth of the food system. Therefore, the availability of the food system suggested that as the food economy built up, the country increased its income through exporting surplus produce such as maize and tobacco.¹⁰⁶

Due to the food system mentioned above, ZNFU was further fashioned by the economic environment where farmers were able to engage into farming wherever they could be found. This was so because ZNFU created interaction among the members of the agricultural community in the country. This interaction led to the protection of small- scale farmers from low prices because of the inconsistency of state policy.¹⁰⁷ For example, in 1998, ZNFU managed to convince the government to accept any produce that came from all farmers as long as they met the required standard. This was possible because it represented producers and supported the state to provide resources necessary for the development of the agricultural sector in the country.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ M.A.F.F, *Training in Conservation Farming to Support Small-Scale Farmers Development, Field Services Department, Technical Services Branch, Lusaka, 1990.*

¹⁰⁵ M. Beacon, *The Marginalisation of Urban Agriculture in Lusaka*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2001), p.22.

¹⁰⁶ N.A.Z, MAG1/25, *Zambian Agriculture, 1964-1965.*

¹⁰⁷ M.A.F.F, *Conservation farming and land use*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ M.A.F.F, *Conservation farming and land use*, p. 61.

2.2.3.4 ZNFU and Specialised Associations

As an independent body that protected commercial and small scale farmers and other stakeholders in the agricultural sector, ZNFU did not work in isolation, but worked in collaboration with other associations including the Tobacco Association of Zambia (TAZ), Poultry Association of Zambia (PAZ) and Zambia Export Growers Association (ZEGA).¹⁰⁹ These associations were affiliated to ZNFU that represented the interests of farmers in the different agro sectors around the country.

For instance, in 1999 TAZ had more than two thousand mainly small scale members. However, their contributions to ZNFU were less than those of commercial farmer whose membership was five per cent but contributed more than ninety per cent of TAZ floor that was worth Forty Million United States Dollars (USD 40).¹¹⁰ The funds collected by the Government through ZNFU was used to expand membership base for commercial farmers' who engaged in farming in Southern, Central and Lusaka while small scale farmers in Western, Southern and part of Central provinces.

In 2000, the Poultry Association of Zambia (PAZ) was established.¹¹¹ PAZ remained as the mouthpiece of the entire poultry industry in Zambia and was intended to tackle the difficulties faced by the industry by liaising with government through the ZNFU to control input costs and drive demand to enable growth and diversity.¹¹² It represented more than half of the districts in Zambia where over 75 percent were small-scale farmers involved in poultry production. PAZ existed to enhance the capacity of members through measured production, improved marketing and admittance to technical information, lower input costs and lobbying

¹⁰⁹ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, 2010, p. 17.

¹¹⁰ Z.N.F.U, *Congress Report*, 2010, p. 19.

¹¹¹ *Poultry Bulletin*, May, 2001, p. 148.

¹¹² *Poultry Bulletin*, July, 2002, p. 40.

from the government. It focused precisely on the poultry industry and some of its objectives were to support, promote, develop and protect the interests of members and the industry, and to foster a sustainable internal trading mechanism in Zambia.¹¹³

Further, in 2000, ZEGA was established by ZNFU to be responsible for the production and export of fresh flowers and vegetables in the country. It was set up to protect both commercial and small scale farmers that were involved into the business of horticultural production in Zambia.¹¹⁴ This was further supported by the Zambian Government that provided tax incentives on imported inputs in the production process and on capital equipment. The introduction of the tax incentives in 2000 attracted new investments into the industry and this resulted into the export of 60 tonnes of flowers to the United Kingdom.¹¹⁵

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that from its inception in 1905, the National Farmers' Union, known initially as NRFU, later renamed CFB and then ZNFU played a critical role in promoting the interests of farmers in the country and contributed significantly to the overall development of the agricultural sector. It has been demonstrated that in an attempt to disseminate information to farmers and other interested parties, multiplicities of techniques were used by the union. It was noted that the union played a significant role in helping both small scale and commercial farmers in the improvement of the agricultural industry. Furthermore, the chapter also noted that the introduction of Farmers Licensing Ordinance in 1946 was to ensure compulsory contribution to the farmers' union after it was found that subscription on a voluntary basis was inadequate and that the burden of maintaining the organisation had developed on the basis of worthy teamwork.

¹¹³ Z.N.F.U, "Refocuses its vision," *Zambian Farmer*, p. 10.

¹¹⁴ Z.N.F.U, "Refocuses its vision," *Zambian Farmer*, p. 10.

¹¹⁵ Z.N.F.U, "Refocuses its vision," *Zambian Farmer*, p. 10.

In this regard, the Act provided for the payment of an annual license fee of £2 which government collected and remitted to the central union. In turn, part of the money was redistributed to the local branches and associations. As a result of the efforts of the national farmers' union, there were improvements in the agricultural sector through the introduction of new technologies and skills management. Furthermore, the union recommended that farmers make use of agricultural commodity exchange programmes and initiatives which offered the best price for agricultural products and this became a very effective control against the power of monopolies. Even though the organisation faced challenges, it was partly successful in that it created a platform where farmers expressed their views concerning agricultural production.

Chapter 3

Challenges faced by the ZNFU, 1905 - 2000

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examined the challenges faced by the farmers' union as reflected in the operations of Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) by 2000. It argued that although the union was in existence for almost a century, it faced some setbacks such as the lack of markets especially for African farmers, increase in electricity tariffs, financial problems due to lack of levy contribution to the union by the members and transport problems. The chapter further explored the failure of the union to provide security, poor input distributions, and failure to facilitate calibrated weight scales to its members. The chapter further revealed that the union also failed to provide adequate information on climate change to its members. It also examined how the lack of efficiency and incompetent staff constrained the unions' work and performance.

3.2 Challenges faced by National Farmers' Unions

3.2.1 NRFU, 1905 - 1964

During the period between 1905 and 1910, farmers were controlled by associations such as, Tobacco, Cotton, and Maize Farmers' Associations and the demand for food stuff was low. However, during the First World War, (1914 to 1918), the demand for food stuffs especially in the mines of Kansanshi and Bwana Mkubwa on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia increased. Therefore, European and some African farmers who settled in the country at this time produced crops such as maize and tobacco. In 1920, the demand for these two crops was high and markets were needed where they could be sold. For instance, in 1930, African producers sold about 30,000 bags of maize to traders, but by 1935 the figures had soared to 100,000 bags. The European output available for sale within the same expanded from 168,000 bags to 211,000

bags.¹ However, it is argued here that the biggest constraint was that the markets were largely reserved for the European rather than African farmers.² For more than ten years, from 1930 to 1940, the colonial government paid African farmers less than their European counterparts for the same crop.³ However, the NRFU failed to intervene into this matter even though it was an organisation that presented the farming community in the country. It is important to note that other crops such as coffee became a viable industry in Abercorn district in 1935 such that at least 41½ tonnes of the crop was exported from the area. However, the outbreak of the insect pests led to a high proportion of failure on both Africans and European farms.⁴

Furthermore, NRFU faced other challenges such as an increase in electricity tariffs in 1953 from four to eight percent. This was because of poor rains received in the previous year, 1952. The increase in the commodity contributed to the reduction of the membership of the union because some farmers failed to renew.⁵ In 1956, the high electricity charges became the stumbling block to the development of the agricultural and irrigation schemes in particular areas such as Mazabuka where farmers were worried with this development. However, NRFU demanded that Government re-examines the proposed increase in electricity tariffs and no increase be granted until the preferential tariffs currently extended to the mines were standardized with other sectors, agriculture inclusive. Nevertheless, this appeal by NRFU was not heard by the electricity supply company.⁶

In 1960, the chairman of NRFU, M. L. Dean differed with the Northern Rhodesian government concerning the contributions of the levy to the union. He noted that African farmers

¹ *Annual Report, Department of Agriculture, Maize Control Board*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1937), p. 3.

² W. Allan, *The African Husbandman*, (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), p. 70.

³ National Archives of Zambia (N.A.Z) MAG 2/3/6, European Agricultural Development Committee, 1937-1946.

⁴ Lyton Hambani Zgambo, "Farm labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia, 1898 -1964," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983. p. 57.

⁵ Mail Reporter, *Northern News*, June, 1961, p. 9.

⁶ Mail Reporter, *Northern News*, June, 1961, p. 10.

paid less compared to European farmers.⁷ The recommended amount to be paid was £5 but this was reduced to £1 not only to accommodate African farmers but also to be able to pay with less difficulties. In a meeting, NRFU and Northern Rhodesian government officials agreed that both subsistence and commercial were all farmers and therefore they needed to participate in running agricultural activities. The NRFU faced a lot of criticism over the levy contributions from the commercial farmers who used machinery, large capital, and title to their land as collateral security. The NRFU further agreed that small scale farmers were free to participate though commercial farmers continued being responsible for arrangement of any meetings.⁸ In the meeting, it was agreed that anyone who was a farmer was free to forward any matter which needed to be put on the agenda. However, the responsibility was still in the hands of the commercial farmers. Commercial farmers benefited more than small scale farmers even though they were the minority.⁹ It was this situation that led the government not to fully support the works of the NRFU.

The Northern Rhodesia government further stated that the agricultural product Levy Act, No 19 of 1960 laid down that procedures as defined in the Grain Marketing Act of No 23 of 1960 as amended would henceforth be required to pay not exceeding two shillings five pence, (2.5 d.) per 200 lbs bags weight shelled maize or two shillings, (2 d.) per 200 lbs weight of maize on the cob. The proceeds from this were to be paid to the appropriate producers association. In this event, NRFU agreed that the levy deductions from the shelled maize be delivered to the board at the rate of one shilling twenty five pence, (1.25.d) per standard bag.¹⁰ However, NRFU did not succeed in obtaining such authority from the majority of the members

⁷ N.A.Z, MAG 2/21/69, Commercial Farmers' Union, 1963-1966.

⁸ N.A.Z, MAG 2/21/6, Commercial Farmers' Union, 1963-1966.

⁹ *The Farmers Magazine*, 1989, p. 50.

¹⁰ N.A.Z, MAG 450/11/5, Annual Report on Agriculture, 1964-1967.

because of the misunderstanding between the government and the farmers' representative. This was one of the challenges that the union faced at the time.

3.2.2 CFB, 1964 - 1991

After Zambia obtained independence in 1964, commercial farmers who were mainly Europeans left for countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. Many of them left Zambia rather than face the political changes and uncertainty.¹¹ The reason was that, CFB was composed of white farmers and they were threatened by both sustainable drop in land value on the market and also the alleged threat of the dispossession of their land by the new government. Constitutional safeguards were effectively removed by the 1969 Referendum followed by the implied threat of the land dispossession. It was argued that freehold title and very long lease be converted to short leases to conform to government policy on land tenure.¹² At this time, the CFB could not comment on this matter due to the limited power that it had for not being allowed to participate in politics. The general feeling of insecurity affected farmers attitude to certain enterprises and to capital investment. There was a market decline in labour and capital enterprises under expatriate management. For example, Virginia tobacco, dairy and beef, by contrast maize production expanded fast since independence, as poultry and horticulture gave quick returns on low investment.

The external factors were government's economic laws, regulations and the institutional arrangements under which CFB interacted with other Government agencies.¹³ The government had put up policies that were unrealistic and inconsistent. These external challenges were further compounded by the government's inability to clearly and unambiguously define the goals which

¹¹ C. S. Lombard and A. H.C. Tweedie, *Agricultural in Zambia since Independence*, (Lusaka: Neczam, 1972), p. 58.

¹² Lombard and Tweedie, *Agricultural in Zambia since Independence*, p. 59.

¹³ Government of the Republic of Zambia (G.R.Z) Zambia Agricultural Pricing and Parastatal Performance Study, 14th June, 1985.

it expected the union to accomplish and the time span in which they were to be accomplished. The union was set up as a non-profit organisation yet the time span in which it was expected to help the farmers through subsidies were not clear. The government also failed to define that set of operational criteria which the union was to apply to itself and finally failed to construct an organizational interface between itself and the union.¹⁴ Thus, from the very beginning, the government failed to give the Bureau sufficient operational autonomy on day to day matters for it to attain its objectives. As documented in the Act, the Bureau was in the exercise of its power and the performance of its duties was subject to the written direction, both general and specific of the minister.¹⁵

As already noted, the main aim of the CFB was to provide relevant information about the agricultural sector in the country. The government perceived the CFB as a political instrument to be used to achieve its political objectives. It looked at it fundamentally as a vehicle for implementing a policy of low food costs. Thus, the government thought it had a legitimate right to intervene in its operations even if to do so impinged on the efficient operations of the Bureau. The Bureau was required to negotiate with the buyers and the sellers of fertilizer and maize to have uniform prices regardless of location.¹⁶ In addition, the Bureau at times stood ready to purchase and supplies these commodities everywhere, irrespective of the distance the commodity had to be transported and the value of the merchandise handled by the depot. The cost of storage was further borne by the Bureau.¹⁷ These constraints on their own ensured non -viability of the enterprise especially that the enforced losses or subsidies were inadequately recouped by the central government. Thus, the government did not expect the Bureau to operate at a profit; the

¹⁴ N.A.Z, Box 78 B/14 Report on the National Agricultural Marketing Board, prepared by Williams and T. Wardale for Honorable A.M. Milner M.P September, 1971, p.1.

¹⁵ G.R.Z, Agricultural and Rural Sector Survey, Vol. ii, Report No 84. 20th October, 1975, p. 36.

¹⁶ G.R.Z, Agricultural and Rural Sector Survey, p. 36.

¹⁷ G.R.Z, Agricultural and Rural Sector Survey, p. 36.

point was to extend services and to keep the food prices low.¹⁸ The policy functions of the Bureau therefore invariably involved activities which were non-commercial such as price guarantees and the provision of uneconomic services. These activities resulted in harms, more accurately described as policy deficits.¹⁹

The Minister through the government set unrealistic pricing on maize and fertilizer. The government used the price controls to influence the pattern and composition of production and the distribution and consumption of maize. For example in 1974, CFB continued to operate a maize subsidy in accordance with government policy of maintaining the price of maize meal to consumers at a low level. However, this could not work because CFB failed to persuade the government to increase the maize price for the farmer for the 1975 season from K4.30 to K5.00 per 90kg while maintaining the price charged to the consumer at K3.90.²⁰ The principle disadvantages of the subsidies were that they removed incentives for efficiency and created liquidity crises that resulted in farmers being paid late for their produce. Also because of government's perception of CFB as a vehicle to carry out its mandate, it had to put the CFB in unbeneficial conditions. It was therefore impossible of CFB to operate efficiently because it operated under a faulty system. However, because of its nature as a service organisation, CFB was unable to break even and work efficiently thereby finding it impossible to expand its businesses of protecting the interests of farmers in the country.²¹ The effect of this was that it was unable to increase employment opportunities or to sustain its operational setup in terms of transport and marketing.

¹⁸ J. Pletcher, "The Political Uses of Agricultural Markets in Zambia," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4. (December, 1986), p. 612.

¹⁹ S. M. Makings, *Agricultural Problems in Developing Countries in Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 129.

²⁰ G.R.Z, Report of the Committee on Agricultural, Land and Cooperatives, 1978, p. 29.

²¹ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 30th September, 1975, p.10.

Because transport and marketing was dictated by the government commodity pricing, CFB did not have powers to challenge the government's decision. Mr O. Bean, who worked in the personnel division of CFB, testified to this fact that government decided where to erect silos, sheds or slabs for farmers.²² He stated that the management of the CFB was there just to facilitate government policy. It was the government through the Minister that declared controlled products and prescribed areas in which such products would be considered controlled. The government through the Ministry of Agriculture fixed prices without consulting the CFB, thus without taking into account the cost of production of the produce as well as comparative advantage. As documented in a lot of government annual reports on agriculture as well as the Bank of Zambia annual reports, the Minister would often announce the maize price to the public before the season ended.²³ Paul Lusaka, who was Minister of Rural Development in 1975, announced that the government had increased the producer prices of maize for the 1975/76 season. These price increases and other incentives were also announced by the Minister of Planning and Finance, Alexander Chikwanda in 1975. He said that the government would spend K33 million to subsidize fertilizers.²⁴ In 1980, the price of maize was raised from K11.70 per 90kg to K13.50 per 90kg while the price of fertilizer was reduced by K2 per 50kg. Further, the personality and zeal of the Minister also affected the operations of the CFB. This was seen with variations that existed in terms of price increases and various incentives. There were also cases where lines of authority were conflicting resulting in inefficiency and ineffectiveness. All these ministerial interventions were to ensure that the political objectives of the government were not interfered by farmers' representatives.

²² Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1st February, 1975, p. 5.

²³ Bank of Zambia (BoZ) *Annual Report for the year ended December*, 1980, p. 15.

²⁴ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1st February, 1975, p. 5.

Apart from the policy environment under which CFB operated, it also faced another external challenge of limited resource allocation to the organisation by the government. As observed already, CFB generated little revenue from its members and therefore depended entirely on government resources to meet its operational costs. However, CFB had to grapple with insufficient working capital caused by numerous operations it was called upon to service.²⁵ This was also reported by the Board Chairman, Alexander Chikwanda in 1977. He stated that at the end of the year under review, the amount received was K16 million which was insufficient to cover the total operations. This created operational difficulties for the Bureau and resulted in late collection of produce and payments to farmers.²⁶ As one Bureau official said, “If the Ministry of Finance had given us the required amount of money in time, we could have prepared farmers inputs in time.”²⁷

As the Bureaus’ duty was to organize agricultural marketing in the country, sufficient funding was essential for the successful operations of the agricultural industry. However, its operations were handicapped by the need to stretch meagre managerial resources throughout the country. It was during this time when government imposed obligation to equalise producer prices throughout the country, regardless of comparative advantage pertaining to some areas over others and to serve remote sparsely populated areas. As Joshua Lumina pointed out in the parliamentary debates of 1974, where he stated that the Bureau never failed to carry out its duties but because of the problems it faced due to government’s failure to provide it with sufficient finances.²⁸ This was the major constraint on the Bureaus’ performance since its inception.

²⁵ N.A.Z, SP1/5/35, Provincial Marketing Officers Conference, 6th -7th March, 1972.

²⁶ N.A.Z, SP1/5/35, Provincial Marketing Officers Conference, 6th -7th March, 1972.

²⁷ N.A.Z, SP1/5/35, Provincial Marketing Officers Conference, 6th -7th March, 1972.

²⁸ N.A.Z, Box 78B, Shelf No.14 Report on the National Agricultural Marketing Board, prepared by Williams and T. Wardale for Honorable A.M. Milner M.P, September, 1971, p. 1.

Furthermore, the importation of new grain bags and their distribution to farmers was a prime and established responsibility of the Bureau. However, this was not achieved with ease due to insufficient resources allocated for this exercise. For example, in July 1976, the *Zambia Daily Mail* reported that farmers in Choma faced shortages of grain bags because the Bureau could not supply enough to its members due to lack of finances. Choma Member of Parliament, Daniel Munkombwe said farmers in his area were unable to deliver their produce to depots because only 40 grain bags were available in stock.²⁹ In 1980, there was a repetition of the same. Following a bumper harvest that year, it emerged that the country's critical shortage of grain bags was not only due to mismanagement at the highest level of the Bureau but also the inadequate priority actually accorded by the government. The Minister of Agriculture, General Kingsley Chinkuli told parliament that the Bureau had in fact not been allocated the necessary funds to import 10 million jute bags from Bangladesh.³⁰ This affected the overall performance of the Bureau and consequently led to inefficiency.

In addition, the relation of CFB's own ideology on private sector development and Zambian farmers' interests was very influential. This was because of creating opportunities for economic and social growth as it was reflected in a stakeholders meeting in 1980. In the meeting, it was argued that Zambian agriculture was strongly political and acted within the policy environment which was a challenge. However, liberalisation efforts were reversed and government interventions in the fertiliser and seed markets as well as the maize market were effectively crowded on private sector participation, particularly in the small scale sector.³¹ Some of the interventions that attracted small scale farmers were short term subsidised inputs delivered to them on their doorstep and a fixed maize market to benefit those who were well organised to

²⁹ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26th July, 1976, p.15.

³⁰ G.R.Z, *Zambia Agricultural Pricing and Parastatal Performance Study*, 14th June, 1985, p. 28.

³¹ G.R.Z, *Annual Report on Research Council of Central Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi*, 1980.

access them. But the long term subsidies removed the farmers' potential benefits from private sector such as competition, variety and choice that ensured a market and reduced transaction costs for the farmers. By 1986, CFB managed to push for the price of maize to a very high level and then actively participated fully in the plight of its members in the districts. An involvement by CFB was much appreciated by the farmers that benefitted from the market, even though several stakeholders emphasised that it did not serve the long term interests of Zambian farmers, particularly the large part of small scale farmers that had no access to markets.³²

3.2.2.1 Transport Problems

Farmers also faced problems because of the poor road networks during the transportation of farm products from the farming zones to the marketing places especially for the small scale farmers. In most cases prices of transporting the produce were not specified. As a result, farmers suffered losses of their produce. The state of roads was not improved even though farmers paid crop levy to councils to improve them. CFB presented this matter to the Zambian government but nothing was done.³³ This was a challenge which CFB faced because of the failure by the government to support the union that represented the farming community. In this regard, CFB suggested for the introduction of a road levy refund system. This was because diesel which was used on farms was subjected to a road levy and this was the levy which government collected and channelled back to road infrastructure maintenance. However, machinery being used only in the fields on farms such as tractors, combine harvesters and other equipment did not use public roads to justify continuous payment of the road levy on the diesel used. Regionally and across most of the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) farmers got a refund of this levy

³² G.R.Z, Annual Report on Research Council of Central Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi, 1980.

³³ Zambia National Farmers' Union (Z.N.F.U) *Press Release*, July, 2000.

based on this principle.³⁴ In Zambia, for example, the rail sector was refunded hence it was argued that extending this to agriculture would go a long way in reducing fuel related costs incurred by farmers in land preparation, planting, spraying and harvesting. The union engaged the government on this matter but no fruitful results came out.

The parliamentary debates of the 1980s also brought out the transport problems that CFB faced with. Mr. Alexander Chikwanda, who was Minister of Agriculture then, pointed out that because of transportation problems, the CFB was not able to distribute the fertilizer for that season to all the districts in time.³⁵ He brought out the fact that CFB did not have enough trucks to transport the said inputs instead it relied on contracts for the movement of the bulk of its merchandises. It only had a fleet of transport for its domestic requirements. This fleet however, was completely inadequate for the expanding needs and constituted a bottleneck to the realisation of the objectives. Therefore, the CFB continued to rely on contracts for the movement of the bulk of its merchandise. The transport problem had an adverse effect on the performance of the organisation. Late delivery of inputs and late collection of produce became the order of operations for the CFB. The CFB spokesperson admitted that sometimes farmers received their fertilizer, seeds and other requisites late. All these activities involved transport, which was a challenge for CFB. This had also been echoed earlier in the same year when the spokesperson said that his organisation had completely failed to raise transport from the line of rail to bring the inputs and deliver them to farmers in the rural areas of the country. The spokesperson said that more than one million bags of maize worth nearly K6.8 million were needed by farmers for packing maize unless they were transported to them in 1980.³⁶ He attributed this failure to

³⁴ Times Reporter, *Lusaka Times*, 16th May, 2009, p.12.

³⁵ G.R.Z, Official Verbutum Report of the Parliamentary Debates of the 5th session of the 3rd National Assembly 12th January - 8th April, 1978, p.112.

³⁶ Mail Reporter, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11th October, 1977.

transport available in the country being already engaged in other exercises such as transportation of fertilizer and other goods.

The transportation problem continued to manifest itself in almost all the operation years of CFB. For instance, the 1980 marketing season was equally not spared. The Bureau experienced a problem in the movement of inputs to rural depots where there were storage points. This was mostly due to the lack of transport and the bad conditions of feeder roads which had not been maintained during the year after the heavy rains of the 1979/80 seasons.³⁷ At times inputs and other storage items such as maize, cotton and tobacco would be damaged before being retrieved because of poor storage facilities at the depots.

Apart from the Bureau having to deal with inadequate transport, the other problem was to do with the transporters themselves. The poor conditions of feeder roads contributed to the late collection of produce and in some cases, loss of produce as private transporters refused to take and collect produce from places where the roads were impassable.³⁸ Transporters, for example, in North Western Province refused to transport maize to the Copperbelt province for safe storage. The Provincial Manager at the depot, Mr. A. Mwape claimed that over 16 contractors refused to transport maize from Solwezi to Ndola citing poor road conditions as an excuse.³⁹ The transporters also complained that they were not paid enough money for their services. In a letter written to the Provincial Manager for Eastern Province, A.B. Chiponda, the District Manager for Chadiza wrote that, no fertilizer had reached Sindamisale depot in Chief Pembamoyo's area due to the roads which had become impassable.⁴⁰ This was also narrated by J. Jaula who stated that poor roads discouraged transporters from doing business. He stated that some roads were so bad

³⁷ G.R.Z, Provincial Agricultural Officers Annual Report for Central Province, 1975-1976, p.109.

³⁸ G.R.Z, Zambia Intensive Development Programme, Eastern Province, Phase ii Project, 1980, p. 10.

³⁹ G.R.Z, Report of the Committee on Agriculture, Land and Cooperatives, 1978, p. 29.

⁴⁰ N.A.Z, EP4/15/17/5644, Agriculture and Farming in Marketing Boards, 1977.

that drivers would be stuck for weeks in some remote and rural areas.⁴¹ Thus, although fertilizer and other requisites could be available, some transporters still refused to go out to deliver the fertilizer in the rural depots because of impassable roads. The most suitable vehicles for transporting produce in the rural areas were the ten ton trucks which were in short supply both from government and private transporters.⁴²

Further, the pan territorial pricing system meant higher transportation and handling cost in moving commodities from some remote areas. Thus, private traders were not attracted to maize marketing especially that only the Bureau and the Cooperative unions were entitled to reimbursement of the overhead costs. Prior to the 1982/83 season, the major trucking firms independently negotiated contracts on a consignment with the Bureau. However, in 1983, the government of Zambia introduced the system of fixed transport rates.⁴³ This made many transporters to complain that the Bureau did not pay them enough for their services and thus were reluctant to enter into contracts with it. In a letter written in 1984 to the party Secretary General of UNIP regarding the marketing officer who wrote that because of the inadequate transport from private transporters coupled with the fact that the Bureau was then running out of time, they had to appeal to the Minister of Defence to help in the transportation of maize and other crops.⁴⁴

3.2.2.2 Internal Factors

One internal factor that contributed to poor performance by the Bureau was the lack of efficiency among Administrators. The administration lacked a substantial planning capability.⁴⁵

This was because the government determined all principle policy matters, precluding the Bureau

⁴¹ C.F.B "Productive Farming," *Official Journal of CFB No. 4*, (1979), pp. 14-15.

⁴² N.A.Z, EP4/15/17/5644, Transportation of Fertilizer from main Depots to Rural Depots, 1976.

⁴³ G.R.Z, Report of the Committee on Agriculture, Land and Cooperatives, p. 29.

⁴⁴ Mail Reporter, *Daily Mail*, 8th November, 1977.

⁴⁵ G.R.Z, Agricultural Pricing and Parastatals Performance Study, 1980, p. 37.

from making long term operational and financial plans. In 1982, due to lack of autonomy in budgeting and management, the Bureau found it difficulties to plan ahead. For example, foreign exchange and procurement procedures imposed a constraint on transport plans, especially for the supply and distribution of fertilizer and grain bags.⁴⁶ In the same vein, foreign exchange for a fertilizer tender awarded in August 1983 was determined by government instead of the Bureau to lead. The lack of coordination in terms of delivering of fertilizer and produce to both rural and urban areas became a challenge to the Bureau. At times, the Bureau would hire a vehicle to collect produce in an area where inputs were needed.

The other challenge faced by the Bureau was the shortage of competent staff. In 1998, CFB was a very large and complex marketing organisation. It was responsible for the marketing of fertilizer, grain crops, and seeds and to some extent vegetables. This was noted by W.J.D. Watson, CFB president, who said that inadequate and competent staff became a challenge to organize and operate these services.⁴⁷ The Bureau found it difficult to train competent personnel that were needed at all levels. This was so because the government did not fully support the Bureau resulting it in offering seasonal employment only.⁴⁸

Likewise, because of the same problem of lack of qualified staff, some Bureau representatives were late in advising management of their transport requirements. This resulted in the late distribution and collection of inputs and crops from many depots throughout the country.⁴⁹ Therefore, because of the shortage of qualified staff from the Bureau, it was difficult to determine the causes of the excessive handling and marketing costs for agricultural produce and inputs. Lack of qualified workers further made it difficult for the CFB to perform its duties

⁴⁶ G.R.Z, Agricultural Pricing and Parastatals Performance Study, 1980, p. 44.

⁴⁷ G.R.Z, Zambia Intensive Development Programme, Eastern Province, Phases ii Project, p.10.

⁴⁸ Commercial Farmers' Bureau (C.F.B) "Productive Farming," *Official Journal of CFB No. 4*, (1979), pp.14-16.

⁴⁹ Agricultural Marketing Board (NAMBOARD) Annual Report on Statement of Accounts for the year ended, 31st December, 1976, p. 7.

efficiently as it lacked information about the size and location of stocks and the magnitude of domestic requirements.⁵⁰ It is for this reason that CFB suffered inefficiencies and losses in terms of membership renewal because of its unskilled workers.

3.2.3 ZNFU, 1991 - 2000

After 1991, all farmers in Zambia were protected by ZNFU and it was during this period when the government announced that in order to stimulate the private sector and encourage small-scale farmers to sell to high value chains, it reduced the amount to buy for the food reserve. This drastic change was strongly opposed by the ZNFU in 1992.⁵¹ During this time, ZNFU had a strong voice for its members as it embraced both small scale and commercial farmers in the country. According to the ZNFU, a reduction in state purchasing led to exploitative selling arrangements with unscrupulous traders and a massive grain glut. Instead, the ZNFU lobby urged the state to reduce its support for agriculture in tandem with the gradual growth of the agribusiness sector.⁵² Despite this, the Ministry of Agriculture went ahead with its decision based on alleged “cooked minutes” of state-private sector consultative meeting. An informant, Mwansa Bwalya noted that, the state faced continued criticism by the ZNFU for its prolonged monopoly on the fertilizer industry and its unsustainable commitment to subsidise fertilizer inputs for farmers.⁵³

In addition, the Zambian government provided agricultural investments to the farming sector as long they were secured by the union.⁵⁴ However, the union failed to provide security to farmers in the country as an integral part of farming to both commercial and subsistence farmers. This was due to poverty caused by the dry spell that occurred in 1995. The fields mostly affected

⁵⁰ G.R.Z, *Agricultural Pricing and Parastatal Performance Study*, 1980, p. 26.

⁵¹ Z.N.F.U, *Press Release*, December, 2008.

⁵² Z.N.F.U, *Press Release*, December, 2008.

⁵³ Oral interview with Mwansa Bwalya, Kapiri Mposhi, 24th December, 2016.

⁵⁴ C.F.B “Productive Farming,” *Official Journal of CFB No. 12*, (1988), pp. 5-6.

were those of maize where security guards were tied, beaten and at times killed by thieves.⁵⁵ This was due to the failure by the union to bring the two parties together who were individual farmers and government as the main stakeholder in the agricultural sector. The failure by the union to provide adequate security to farmers resulted into vehicles and livestock being stolen especially from commercial farmers.

Mizinga Cheelo an informant who was a small scale farmer argued that he had more confidence when dealing with traders and increasingly saw himself as a serious partner in the transactions, he noted that:

Although many traders were sceptical at first, later they also benefited as they traded directly with us as farmers in avoiding the need to share profits with middlemen.⁵⁶ In a short time, the business was successful and there were already definite signs that the relationship between farmers and traders was greatly improved.⁵⁷

However, even though, farmers involved themselves in trade, the union membership dropped from 70% to 60% in 1997 for failure by the union to provide market points for their members in the country.⁵⁸

Some stakeholders, among them was the union, that blamed government for interference in the market thus hindered sustainable development of commodity markets and private sector investments which included financial sector investment in agriculture. That discouraged private sector investments in marketing infrastructure such as storage facilities.⁵⁹ This was simply because the conditions were uncertain and government interventions were unpredictable. This

⁵⁵ C.F.B “Productive Farming,” *Official Journal of CFB No. 7*, (1988), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁶ Oral interview with Mr. Mizinga Cheelo, Central Zambia, 24th February, 2017.

⁵⁷ Oral interview with Mr. Mizinga Cheelo.

⁵⁸ K. Good, “Weak state and backward agriculture in Zambia: A case study and its implications.” in *Coping with Africa's Food Crisis*, (eds) by N. Chazan and T. Shaw, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 1988), p. 185.

⁵⁹ Good, “Weak state and backward agriculture in Zambia,” p.189.

made it difficult for the union to inform the members exactly what was happening in the farming community.

Another informant, Munsama Laskie a farmer from Chibombo district complained of the failure by ZNFU to provide varieties of seeds to farmers in the district. He argued that the union only delivered one type of seed that was MM 603 to the farmers.⁶⁰ This contributed to poor yields by the farmers because of either less or more rains received in 1998. This mainly affected small scale farmers who could not have any other alternative apart from planting the seeds that were delivered to them by the union. However, even though these seeds were delivered to the farmers by the farmers representatives, farmers received the commodity very late which sometimes contributed to poor harvest especially among small scale farmers in the district.⁶¹

Furthermore, small scale farmers continued to face challenges during the sale of their produce especially to the private buyers. This was because private buyers used uncalibrated scales.⁶² Their scales were not in accordance with the Weights and Measures Agency. Luccie Phiri argued that ZNFU had failed on this part to protect its members. Further, Phiri stated that, 50kgs of maize at times was reduced to 45kgs due to the tampering of the weighing scales by the traders. Therefore, farmers incurred losses. However, ZNFU response to this issue was that they were not responsible for controlling the Weights and Measures Agency.⁶³ ZNFU tried to engage the Weights and Measures Agency to supply the standard scales to its members in the country but it failed because small scale farmers could not manage to purchase them since they were expensive. This was also one of the challenges faced both by farmers and ZNFU.

⁶⁰ Oral interview with Munsama Laskie, Chibombo, Central Zambia, 24th February, 2017.

⁶¹ Good, Weak state and backward agriculture in Zambia, p. 190.

⁶² Oral interview with Luccie Phiri, Kapiri Mposhi, Central Zambia, 10th December, 2016. Also, Oral interview Mulonda David, Lusaka West, 5th March, 2016.

⁶³ Oral interview with Phiri.

ZNFU's work was anchored on providing solutions to the challenges faced by the farming community in Zambia. However, it failed to provide adequate information on climate change to farmers in the country.⁶⁴ For instance, in 2000 ZNFU failed to inform its members especially the small scale farmers about the rain pattern in order for them to adequately prepare themselves for the farming season. Joseph Zulu stated that ZNFU representatives mostly concentrated on reminding its members about the renewal of the membership than the challenges of climate change experienced in Kafue district.⁶⁵

In most cases, production performance of maize was considered successful only under favourable weather conditions.⁶⁶ Production therefore fluctuated considerably depending on weather conditions. During the opening of the Sixth General Conference for the Movement for Multi- Party Democracy, (MMD), President Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, who was also a member of ZNFU, acknowledged that the weather was beyond man's control and the most ideal situation could be nullified abruptly by adverse weather conditions.⁶⁷ From 1996 to 2000, Zambia was a net exporter of maize with virtually all the surplus being sold to Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and moved by rail. The effects of the drought were felt during some operation years of ZNFU. Among the effects was the failure of its members to pay affiliation fees because of poor yields. ZNFU facilitated the importation of maize to meet the shortfall at a very low price. The problems of adverse weather conditions continued to be experienced in some parts of the country such as Southern and Western Provinces of Zambia. They were more pronounced in areas which

⁶⁴ P. Nyanga, F. Johnsen, J. Aune and T. Kalinda, "Smallholder Farmers' Perceptions of Climate Change and Conservation Agriculture: Evidence from Zambia," *Journal of Sustainable Development*, (2011), pp.73-85.

⁶⁵ Oral interview with Joseph Zulu, Lusaka, 8th December, 2016.

⁶⁶ Bonard L. Mwape, "Zambia's Agricultural Policy and Performance; 1960-1980," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pittsburg, 1984, p. 204.

⁶⁷ Z.N.F.U, *Annual Report*, 2000, p. 20

had been traditional sources of Zambia's marketed maize.⁶⁸ Therefore, drought conditions made ZNFU to lose some of its members.

3.3 Conclusion

The chapter revealed that during the unions' work of protecting small scale and commercial farmers in the agricultural industry faced many challenges. The first one was that the union failed to provide equal market prices for both Europeans and African Farmers though they produced the same crop. This was because African farmers were cited to produce crops that were of low quality and therefore they could not be paid the same amount. Further, the increase in electricity tariffs by the government from four to eight percent had a negative impact on the union. This was because the members failed to renew their membership due to poor rains experienced in that year. The union negotiated with the company for the reduction of electricity tariffs, however, its request was not considered. As the union was set up as a non-profit organisation, it depended entirely on the government support for its members through subsidies that were not consistency. This was because the union did not have sufficient operational autonomy on day to day matters for it to attain its objectives. For instance, the union failed to persuade its members to pay levy to councils because of poor road networks during the transportation of farm products from farming zones to marketing places especially by small scale farmers. Because the union did not have trucks to deliver inputs and produce for its members, it engaged private transporters who at times refused to deliver and collect produce from places where the roads were impassable. However, before independence, the number of small scale farmers increased. This consequence created fear to the colonial Government who perceived the union as a political instrument that could be used to take over the government. As a result, little

⁶⁸ Mwape, "Zambia's Agricultural Policy and Performance; 1960-1980," p. 204.

support was given to the union to increase its membership. The union faced yet another challenge especially when it came to planning in a given season. This was because the government determined all principle policy matters, precluding the union from making long term financial plans. The failure to plan by the union resulted into delivery of one type of seed variety, that is the MM 603 to farmers. The affected farmers could not return seeds to get ones which were suitable for that particular soil because of distance. This contributed to poor yields especially to small scale farmers who had little capital. Finally, the conclusion of this chapter is that the union failed to provide and control scales especially those used by private buyers. Their scales were not in accordance with the calibrations used by the Weights and Measures Agency. The union tried to engage the Weights and Measures Agency to supply the standard scales to its members in the country. However, this failed because small scale farmers could not manage to purchase them as they were expensive.

Chapter 4

Achievements scored by the ZNFU, 1905 – 2000

4.1 Introduction

This chapter assessed achievements scored by the Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) in providing services such as the Agricultural Land Bank and the farmers' consolidation scheme which contributed to the improvement in the agricultural sector in the country. Furthermore, the chapter demonstrated how the exchange visits among small and commercial farmers in the country contributed greatly to the agricultural sector through technology. Besides that, the chapter also disclosed how the farmers union disseminated information to its members on the issue of diseases such as HIV-AIDS in the sector.

4.2 NRFU, 1905 - 1964

4.2.1 The State and Agricultural Land Bank

In order to improve the agricultural production in Northern Rhodesia in the early 1900s, tobacco, cotton and maize farmers' associations persuaded the colonial government to give twelve European farmers in Eastern Province 54,000 acres of land for ranching and cotton growing.¹ John A. Hellen noted that, the early development of the Eastern Province was in the hands of white settlers who came with the mission of farming.² This was confirmed by Chabatama who stated that, in 1907 settler farmers benefited from the colonial government who sponsored farmers' schemes and associations because they lacked adequate capital.³ In 1910, the associations decided to serve the interests of the settler farmers by providing the credit facilities from the colonial government. Later in 1925, the Department of Agriculture was established by

¹ Wolfgang Dopcke, "Aspects of the History of European Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia," *Dip. Historical Studies*, St. Johns College, 1980, p. 41.

² John A. Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964*, (Munich: Welt Forum, 1968), p. 188.

³ Mebbiens Chew Chabatama, "The Colonial State, the Mission and Peasant Farming in North- Western Province of Zambia: A case study of Zambezi District, 1907-1964," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1990, p. 3.

the colonial government with the aim to serve the interests of the settler farmers. This was to support commercial crops such as maize that was needed in the mines. In order to achieve that, the settler farmers through the associations generated a deliberate policy that later persuaded the colonial government to establish a Land Board in 1947 which became the Agricultural Land Bank (ALAB) in 1953.⁴ The ALAB gave loans only to those settler farmers who were producing crops on a large scale on freehold or lease hold land. This was done by settler farmers who had a high degree of security and protection from the union. The European farmers benefited much more than African farmers in terms of accessing loans because they had title deeds for their farms that gave them security. For example, the number of white settlers who obtained loans from ALAB increased from fifty to ninety in 1954.⁵

Furthermore, the NRFU, with the help of the colonial government, participated in the marketing of African agricultural produce to ensure that agricultural development was not held back for lack of marketing facilities and also to provide some measure of price stabilization for key commodities.⁶ For example, in 1956, NRFU encouraged agricultural production through the establishment of collection points of farm produce in Eastern Province. These collection points were used as “depots” where farmers would assemble all their produce. NRFU further negotiated with the state to establish markets along the line of rail and other accessible parts of the territory.⁷ The efforts by NRFU of facilitating on the agricultural marketing and putting in place a marketing system by the colonial government were aimed at increasing food production which led to food security in the country. The concern of the Northern Rhodesian government through

⁴ National Archives of Zambia (N.A.Z) KDG5/1, Fort Jameson District Notebook vol. I, 1900.

⁵ N.A.Z, KDG5/1, Fort Jameson District Notebook vol. I, 1900.

⁶ N.A.Z, 23D/19, List of Government Publications, S.M. Makings, Agricultural Marketing Committee; A note on crop price stabilization and Government responsibility with reference to conditions in Northern Rhodesia, 1963, p.10.

⁷ Northern Rhodesia Government (N.R.G) *The Marketing of African Agricultural produces in Northern Rhodesia*, Rhodes Livingstone Institute, (Lusaka: Government printers, 1962), p.1.

NRFU was to increase rural agricultural production to all farmers and guarantee them markets for all production as a means of improving rural farmers' income.⁸ The income generated provided the rural population with greater opportunities to sell more produce and earn more. Therefore, since it was the desire of the government to develop rural areas, NRFU ensured that marketing facilities were provided for the disposal of output and that the price structure and marketing organisation was adapted to the circumstances of the areas to be developed. This prompted the state to control grain supply and pricing as well as subsidizing of fertilizer to encourage small scale peasants to be involved in farming.⁹

In 1957, farmers complained to NRFU over the poor harvest due to infertile soils in some parts of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia. This prompted the NRFU to approach the government over the issue. In response, the government introduced chemical fertilizers to the farming community that assisted especially small scale farmers to improve their productivity.¹⁰ This was because farmers were able to plant their crops even though the area under discussion had experienced enough rainfall. Given these limitations, increased agricultural productivity was only achieved at a cost of massive investments in agricultural inputs such as chemical fertilisers.¹¹ The period after independence, therefore, saw a rise in the use of fertilizers especially by the small scale farmers as it was seen to be a crucial element of encouraging African farmers to increase their involvement in market of agriculture where they were involved in all activities of farming. Later in 1957, government introduced the fertilizer subsidies. Although the fertilizer subsidies in the long run put a huge financial cost on the government, it was provided for the purpose of supplying small scale farmers with affordable inputs in order to

⁸ N.R.G, *The Marketing of African Agricultural produces in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 4.

⁹ National Marketing Board (NAMBOARD), *An Evaluation of Agricultural Credit System in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1960), p. 17.

¹⁰ Patrick E. Ollawa, "Rural Development Strategy and performance in Zambia; An Evaluation of Past Efforts," *Journal of African Studies Review*, Vol.21, No.2, (September, 1978), pp. 110-115.

¹¹ J. K. McPhillips and A. P. Wood, *Soil Productivity and Fertilizer Use*, (Iowa: University Press, 1990), p. 87.

improve their incomes.¹² This increase in fertilizer use improved and increased maize yields, especially that the fertilizer was heavily subsidized. Farmers through NRFU now had access to government subsidized fertilizer. This was because fertilizer was regarded as the major input in maize production in the country.¹³ The subsidies further encouraged consumption of inputs among small scale farmers and emergent producers and consequently promoted production of maize.

4.2.2 Farmers' Consolidation Scheme

In 1956, NRFU called for a meeting with the colonial government in Lusaka to consider the proposed new farmers' consolidation scheme under which NRFU members would get long term loans to help them repay part of their short term debts.¹⁴ The scheme was introduced by the colonial government to assist farmers. By 1957, farmers who wanted to obtain loans applied to the farmers' debt consolidation committee in Lusaka through the union that supported them as their members. The committee granted loans to farmers for the partial payment to creditors and the rest of the debt was frozen for a period of five years from 1957 to 1962.¹⁵ This was so to allow farmers to prepare adequately for the payments. If any farmer made profit within five years, he was allowed to pay back the whole amount of debts at once. The loans were assessed through the support from NRFU. The NRFU further negotiated in the acquisition of the farming tools such as tractors, ploughs and harrows for the farmers. The debt consolidated committee paid merchants selling these items on behalf of farmers who obtained loans from the scheme

¹² NAMBOARD, "Fertilizer distributions off to flying start," *Zambian Farmer, Inco-operating Commercial Farming*, (June, 1972), pp. 19-24.

¹³ C. H. E. Sichinga, "Fertilizer Distribution, Handling and Storage," in *Namboard Training Materials*, (March, 1988), p.1.

¹⁴ N.A.Z, CNP2/13/75, Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Debt Consolidation Scheme, 1958-1963.

¹⁵ N.A.Z, CNP2/13/75, Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Debt Consolidation Scheme. See also, Post Reporter, *Central African Post*, August, 1949, p.7.

within the agreement.¹⁶ Any farmer who came under the debt consolidated scheme was eligible to acquire a loan from the scheme. This scheme covered the growing expenses and rent if any. The scheme was initiated by the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council under the consolidation ordinance.

Furthermore, NRFU called for another farmers' meeting that was held by the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council in Lusaka at Ridgeway Hotel in 1963.¹⁷ The meeting was chaired by E.P Wroth who was the Northern Council Chairperson. The objective of the meeting was to come up with strategies of dealing with the outbreak of fires in the fields. During the meeting, it was agreed that the crop that was to be insured would be maize and the maize fields of about two to 40 hectares in size would be covered in the scheme. The range of hectares proposed was to encourage the farmers to cultivate large pieces of land for them to produce high yields. In order to achieve this, NRFU proposed the use of well-established and experienced farmers who acted as assessors and investigators for the damages caused by fire through the head office in Monze district of Southern Province.¹⁸ However, no claim of bonuses was allowed on the tobacco insurance because more fires occurred on maize than on tobacco fields. In order to prevent the outbreaks of fire in the agricultural sector, the mobile tractor equipment¹⁹ was introduced that was stationed near maize fields. This method of preventing the fires was used very well by the farmers. It was this preventive measure facilitated by NRFU that led to the increase in maize production from 6,000,000 in 1964 to 7,000,000 bags of maize in 1965.²⁰

¹⁶ N.A.Z, SP3/21/1, Mazabuka Farmers' Association, 1952- 1963.

¹⁷ N.A.Z, MAG 3/4/241, Northern Rhodesia National Farmers' Union Meetings, 1961-1963.

¹⁸ N.R.G, Ministry of Agriculture Provincial Annual Reports, 1963. See, G. Kay, *Changing Patterns of the Land Use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia*, (Hull: U.H.P, 1963), p. 69.

¹⁹ N.A.Z, SP3/21/1, Mazabuka Farmers' Association, 1952-1963.

²⁰ N.A.Z, MAG 2/2/114, North Eastern Rhodesia Agricultural and Commercial Association, 1954-1958.

4.3 CFB, 1964 -1991

4.3.1 Farmers' Exchange Visit

In 1964, the population of the farming community in Zambia had increased and this necessitated the need for experienced farmers to provide latest scientific advances and technology tools to new farmers in the farming community. The results of enhancing the tools increased efficiency and led to improved production. In this regard, the Commercial Farmers Bureau (CFB) that took over the affairs of the farming community after independence persuaded the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to allow exchange visits among small and commercial farmers in the country. The CFB considered this an important activity because it exposed farmers to improved agricultural productivity and other agronomical practices.²¹ For example, in 1966, the CFB through the Director of Agriculture who was an employee of the government requested the National Farmers Union of Britain (NFUB) to visit Zambia and advise members of the farming community on the best way of improving agricultural productivity among farmers in the country. The visitation of NFUB did not only benefit the farmers but also CFB on technical aspects such as pricing, marketing and environmental sustainability. This visitation facilitated by the CFB was helpful to the members of the farming community. This was so because the subsistence farmers were able to improve in their farming methods that made it easy to move into the cash economy as they were able to produce quality crops.²² This initiative brought by CFB gave all farmers an opportunity to grow crops such as tobacco.

The Zambia Dairy Sector was one of the specialised associations of CFB that was responsible for dairy activities. Through CFB, the dairy sector managed to make some improvements. Among the improvement worth noting was the development and enactment of the Zambia Dairy Industry Development Act (ZDIDA) in 1969 which led to the formation of the

²¹ N.A.Z, MAG 2/21/69, Commercial Farmers' Union, 1963-1966.

²² N.A.Z, MAG 2/21/69, 1963-1966.

Daily Board whose mandate was to regulate the operation of the Dairy Industry in Zambia. It was through CFB's effort that the government mobilised resources for the establishment of the Dairy Board in 1970.²³ It is important to note that without the Dairy Board in place, the Act would not have been enacted.

Besides other CFB's achievements, it also supported the establishment of the Dairy Association of Zambia (DAZ) in 1970 whose primary objective was to promote and protect the interests of dairy farmers and others involved in the production of milk for both domestic and export market.²⁴ DAZ was the national membership based organisation with a countrywide coverage representing the dairy industry. Furthermore, CFB through the dairy association led to the reintroduction of the Zambia Milk Production in schools, a programme that existed from 1971 to about 1980 when it eventually stopped due to the financial challenges which resulted in the government failing to meet the required subsidies to support the programme.²⁵ However, the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, and the World Food Programme (WFP) implemented this programme in 1984 and were facilitated by CFB.

4.4 ZNFU, 1991 - 2000

For many years, the Zambian government thought the voice of the farmers would help other governments to take over control.²⁶ This was because farming was well recognised by the government and contributed to about forty percent of the country's economy and had a large following.²⁷ It was in 1991 what the United National Independence Party (UNIP) under President Kenneth David Kaunda lost elections to the Movement for the Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) under Frederick Titus Chiluba. However, within the same year, 1991, there was also a paradigm

²³ N.A.Z, MAG 2/2 /28, Minutes on Commercial Farmers' Bureau, 1966.

²⁴ G.R.Z, *Zambian Farmer*, p. 3.

²⁵ Zambia National Farmers' Union (Z.N.F.U) *Congress Report*, 2010, p. 17.

²⁶ Z.N.F.U, "Productive Farming," *Official Journal of CFB No. 238*, (1993), pp. 2-3.

²⁷ Z.N.F.U, "Productive Farming," *Official Journal of CFB No. 238*, (1993), pp. 2-3.

shift when the entire agricultural industry, with five categories of membership including the Farmers Association, Specialized Associations, Agribusiness Chamber, Corporate members and Associate members came together under one umbrella called the ZNFU²⁸. Therefore, ZNFU did not only represent the farming sector but also other sectors involved in agri-business.

However, Zambian farmers were not protected against rapid depreciation of the local currency, the Kwacha. In this regard, in 1992, ZNFU called for the strengthening of the financial markets by changing the necessary legislation that developed the instruments such as commercial cards which would be used during the period of commodity price crash.²⁹ Opportunities for option transactions were taken on board to enhance price stability. In an attempt to achieve this, ZNFU requested for the establishment of a regulatory framework for agricultural credit from the government. The agricultural credit was an agreement that allowed farmers access to borrow money from lending institutions and to ensure that credit agreements were adhered to.³⁰ The legal system comprehended to all those who gave and received credit from the lending institutions to pay the loans within the stipulated time.³¹ The lending institutions such as Farmers Credit Association and Tobacco Credit Association were able to achieve their objectives such as providing funds to farmers through the national data banks that were established to monitor credit beneficiaries, to reward those who repaid and punish defaulters. For those farmers who managed to pay back the loans, ZNFU assisted them to obtain title deeds for them in order to develop their farms because of the provisions of collateral security.³²

²⁸ Z.N.F.U, "Productive Farming," *Official Journal of CFB No. 238*, (1993), pp.3-4.

²⁹ Z.N.F.U, "Commercial Farming," *The Zambian Farmer*, vol. 5 No: 2, (September, 2000), pp. 5-7.

³⁰ Z.N.F.U, "Commercial Farming," *The Zambian Farmer*, vol. 7 No: 8, (August, 1991), pp.13-15.

³¹ Z.N.F.U, "Linking Small Scale Farmers to Markets," *Practical Guide no: 16*, (2017), pp. 6-8.

³² Z.N.F.U, "The Zambian Farmer," *Agriculture Today*, vol. 1 No: 10, (2003), pp. 4-5.

4.4.1 ZNFU and HIV-AIDS

The agricultural sector is one of the main employers and sources of livelihood in Zambia. It is also one of the main labour demanding sectors in the country. However, the sector has been affected by the Human Immune Virus-Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV-AIDS) pandemic. HIV-AIDS has killed most productive age groups of 15-45 years. Due to this, labour has been badly reduced on farms in the country.³³ In order to minimise this, ZNFU was engaged in HIV-AIDS awareness with the aim of protecting the spread of the disease among the farming community in Zambia.³⁴ This awareness campaign was introduced by ZNFU in 1994 and was sponsored by Food and Agricultural organisation (FAO) in collaboration with the United Nations (UN). The main target groups were the small-scale farmers who rarely had adequate information about the deadly pandemic. The ZNFU realised this by designing a communication strategy that focused on driving the messages home about the disease through meetings and drama.³⁵ The ultimate intension of ZNFU was to attain behavioural change among the small scale farming community as a preventive measure to the spread of the disease. In an effort to reduce the death rate among farmers, ZNFU's HIV-AIDS project was carried out in two stages. The first one was a formal orientation that was done through workshops, sessions, followed by the drama and the artistic stage performances.³⁶ These activities were performed during open days in different areas of the country where members were found.

Furthermore, HIV-AIDS has adversely impacted on food security in the country. For example, a survey carried out by ZNFU in 1995 revealed that an adult prevalence rate of more than twenty-five per cent of estimated production loss was due to HIV-AIDS on the affected

³³ Z.N.F.U, "The Zambian Farmer," *Agriculture Today*, vol. 1 No: 10, (2003), pp.4- 5.

³⁴ Z.N.F.U, "Commercial Farming," *The Zambian Farmer*, vol. 3. No: 5, (1988), pp. 40-42.

³⁵ Z.N.F.U, "Commercial Farming," *The Zambian Farmer*, vol. 4. No: 10, (2001), p. 56-58.

³⁶ *Agricultural Consultative Forum, Annual Report*, (Lusaka: Printech Limited, 1998), p. 34.

small scale farmers.³⁷ The survey further, showed that agricultural output declined by fifty per cent among farmers affected by HIV-AIDs especially on maize production while small scale farmers declined by sixty per cent as a result of illness and deaths from HIV-AIDS. In order to assist scale farmers on food security, ZNFU persuaded the Ministry of Agriculture to distribute about forty bags of seeds and eighty bags of fertilizers to affected small scale farmers in Chiengge district for them to have food to combat opportunistic infections among farmers.³⁸ The inputs given to them were used to establish homestead vegetable gardens in order to improve on their nutrition. Good nutrition helped them to maintain a good immune system in their bodies in order to make them stronger to fight the disease. The participation of other members who were not HIV positive removed the stigma from infected members. Other members of the community also benefited from the free lessons on nutrition offered by members of the group as most of rural farmers in Zambia depend largely on what they cultivate for their nutrition. Thus, ZNFU promoted diversified food production and nutrition education at household level in order to mitigate the negative impact of HIV-AIDS in the country.³⁹

In areas such as Chiengge District where HIV-AIDS prevalence rates had reached twenty-five per cent among adults, agricultural support was focused on HIV-AIDS-affected farmers with limited labour. This was because fifty per cent of male folk had died of HIV AIDS who provided labour to the farming community. As a result, ZNFU encouraged small scale farmers to practice conservation farming to reduce on the labour intensity of ploughing and contribute to the promotion of sustainable agriculture.⁴⁰ Reduction of available labour force due to the need to attend to the sick relatives was also considered an important reason for the limited land under

³⁷ J. White and E. Robinson, *HIV/AIDS and Rural Livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa*, (London: Natural Resources Institute, 2000), p. 29.

³⁸ White and Robinson, *HIV/AIDS and Rural Livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa*, p.30

³⁹ C. Baylies, *The Impact of AIDS on Rural Households in Africa*, (London: Oxford Press, 2002), p. 33.

⁴⁰ Baylies, *The Impact of AIDS on Rural Households in Africa*, p. 34.

cultivation. Because of that, ZNFU persuaded small scale farmers to make small groups of about eighty to meet regularly and share labour tasks in order to make work easy and increase production of enough food to feed those affected by the HIV-AIDS in the community.

4.4.2 ZNFU and the Information Centres

The idea of Information Centres (ICs) for use by farmers was initiated by the ZNFU and the Swedish Cooperative Centre (SCC) at the end of the 1990s.⁴¹ The ICs basically consisted of groups of farmers both in rural and urban areas who planned and shared information on a particular theme using study material produced by SCC. The ICs were organised within one of the 69 DFAs which were members of ZNFU. One typical example was Kalomo which had 50 ICs.⁴² The ICs were in contact with ZNFU members who were the first recipients of information from the DFAs. The contact farmers disseminated information through committees that belonged to the networks of five farmer groups, each farmer group having ten members.⁴³ The ICs became a meeting point for farmers information, both technical and economic which the union managed.

In 1993, the character of ICs changed and became more market oriented. Farmers in small groups were able to discuss issues of inputs, especially fertilizers which were subsidized and common price negotiations to sell produce together in order to establish a good and fair price with purchasers. The ICs further facilitated the collection of produce into gross stocks which were physically located at certain points to be collected by purchasers. This created a fair platform to increase the marketing volumes of produce that made private actors more interested and offered a better price especially to small scale farmers in the farming community.⁴⁴

Furthermore, in 1995, ZNFU worked with the Agricultural Consultative Forum through Roy Landless a commercial farmer and a member through ICS on the positive achievement on

⁴¹ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 13.

⁴² Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 3.

⁴³ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 6.

agricultural competitiveness study that led to the reduction of fuel prices. For instance, petrol was reduced from K_R 0.95 to K_R 0.50.⁴⁵ The price of fuel was cost reflective as ZNFU and the government worked on reducing the number of middlemen and taxes along the value chain in the petroleum sector which significantly contributed to the reduction of the commodity. However, without the ICs placed in districts, information on reduction of fuel commodity would have not being known by the members. This move assisted in reducing production costs for farmers. Because of the Agricultural Consultative Forum, ZNFU through ICs was able to obtain funding for the study on agricultural competitiveness which had a major impact on the national budget and constituted a lot in terms of direction in the agricultural industry.⁴⁶

The Core Support Programme (CSP) was also initiated by ZNFU in IC areas where membership was massive. Among the areas identified were Chisamba and Chibombo districts because of their strategic location. The members in these areas were strengthened by the evaluators from the union. This resulted in an increase in membership by Ninety- three per cent in 1992. By 1995, ZNFU had more than 70,000 paid up members of which the majority were small scale farmers.⁴⁷ This was evidence enough to prove that ZNFU was a national organisation representing all farmers at all levels. ZNFU was able to perform effectively through ICs which collected relevant information from small scale farmers for policy research and lobby by the union.⁴⁸ This programme which was implemented by ZNFU significantly contributed to the increase in terms of membership in the country.

4.4.3 ZNFU and Lima Credit Scheme (LCS)

Small scale farmers appreciated the Lima Credit Scheme (LCS) as one of the most important services provided by ZNFU. It provided finance to small scale farmers who could not

⁴⁵ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 6.

⁴⁶ *Agricultural Consultative Forum, Annual Report*, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p.13.

meet the full financing of fertilizer requirements. In order to attain this effectively, ZNFU allowed farmers to meet half of the expenses of fertilizer they required by allowing farmers to repay over a period of twelve months. Several activities took place in this scheme where any farmer who wanted to use it was made aware of it by the union.⁴⁹ The illustrations are shown in (Appendix 2).

The access to agricultural inputs was the main reason for the (LCS) and it also added a supplementary to the relatively small packages from the Fertiliser Input Support Programme FISP, which in many cases was the farmers only chance to acquire standard seeds and fertilizer.⁵⁰ The farmers who belonged to LCS got their farming inputs on time; this was due to the Regional Managers who had put in a lot of lobbying effort for this programme. The results from the ZNFU Agricultural Production Survey estimated maize production for the year 1995 season around 2.47 Million Metric Tonnes (MT) with 97 per cent of the total output coming from small scale and medium scale farmers. ZNFU's LCS contributed about 19,524 ha to the total area under maize production.⁵¹ The expectations were that the yield from the LCS was about three tons/ha on average hence a total of approximately 58,572MT was expected. The three tons/ha yield was above the national average for small and medium scale farmers of 1.52 tons/ha recorded in the survey. The timely delivery of inputs and good crop husbandry was due to the proactiveness of ZNFU facilitation team which contributed to the LCS in the provision of better services to farmers in their areas. For example, the area under maize cultivation by large scale farmers was estimated at 9,179.50 ha. This was achieved because of the coordination

⁴⁹ John Ndulu and Charles Mutua, *Swedish Cooperative Centre and ViAF*, 2010.

⁵⁰ Z.N.F.U, *Board Meeting Report*, 1990, p. 5.

⁵¹ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 11.

between ZNFU and farmers associations such as tobacco and cotton by implementing the LCS effectively to its members.⁵²

Likewise, in order to increase the membership of small scale farmers in ZNFU, the ZNFU introduced the group membership. It was made up of ten members whereby each member paid half the cost of the membership fee to join the union. In order to achieve the discount, group members did not attract the payment of the levies. This move was engaged by ZNFU to support mainly small scale farmers who were the majority. The move created stronger representation of farmers and great influence on issues that affected the farming community.⁵³ This also applied to individual farmers' associations. To individual members, free copies of productive journals, desk calendars and membership cards were used to obtain discounts from various agro suppliers and this was important for ZNFU when allocating beneficiaries on a waiting list order. Before this, it was difficult to qualify services rendered to members of the institution. Even though ZNFU passed through difficult phases, farmers interests were protected.

4.4.4 ZNFU and Workshops

In 1995, ZNFU organised a workshop held at Hotel Intercontinental with the funding from the International Federation of Producers (IFAP).⁵⁴ The IFAP was the world body for farmers which the union was affiliated to. The workshop was organised in order to formulate an action plan to contribute towards bridging the gap between farmers and agricultural research centres in the country. This was because Zambian farmers, especially small scale farmers did not benefit from the existing agricultural research and extension facilities. This issue was referred to as a “research gap” and was well documented for many years.⁵⁵ Therefore, the success of agricultural research and the extension effort necessitated the contribution of the farmers through

⁵² Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 12.

⁵³ Z.N.F.U, *Productive Farming*, p.7.

⁵⁴ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, 2000, p. 6.

⁵⁵ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, p. 6.

their representative organisation.⁵⁶ This was achieved through the effort by ZNFU in strengthening farmers groups at grass-root levels as important partners in agricultural development in the county.

Despite its constraints, ZNFU did not falter much in its core functions of advocacy, member services and enhancing outreach to members, stakeholders and industry as a whole. In 1996, ZNFU called a workshop with TAZ and negotiated for extension of Value Added Tax (VAT) Offset Scheme on tobacco. In the workshop, it was supported for a slightly higher FRA maize price of K65/bag which however fell short of cost reflective price, facilitated some tonnage of 2,000 maize crop exports and helped to regulate wheat importations and bran exports in 1998.⁵⁷

In another workshop organised by ZNFU in Lusaka, Captain Chibuye, stated that large scale farmers main interest were credits, taxes, export policies and electricity, whereas small scale farmers had no access to credit. They were more concerned with food security, local market conditions and access to services such as information, training and subsidised inputs.⁵⁸ In view of that, large scale farmers viewed ZNFU as a “policy lobby machine” and the small scale farmers valued the outreach services from ZNFU headquarters in Lusaka. However, through the discussion, Chibuye noted that, large scale farmers brought to the table finances and human capacity while small scale farmers brought a strong constituency that was key to political influence and negotiating power.⁵⁹ This was achieved by ZNFU through workshops conducted between commercial farmers and small scale farmers in many districts in Zambia.

However, in some districts such as Petauke and Katete, the DFAs chairpersons became warehouse managers who also helped FRA to purchase most of the maize produced by local

⁵⁶ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Z.N.F.U, *Work Plan*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Oral interview with Captain C. Chibuye, Kapiri, Central Zambia, 10th July, 2017.

⁵⁹ Oral interview with Chibuye.

farmers in the districts. In these districts, they discussed with their members through workshops and agreed that buying points come closer to farmers through satellite depots.⁶⁰ The major facilitation of market access was in districts where DFAs had FRA warehouse managers and therefore ensured their members accessed favourable markets for their produce. Apart from that, small scale farmers increased access to inputs and rural finance through participation in ZNFU workshops or activities. It was through ZNFU support that the warehouses were secured to facilitate safe storage of produce. This improved income and livelihoods for thousands of farmers, both men and women in Zambia. Based on the current achievements, the ZNFU positioned itself as an organisation presenting the interests of the agricultural sector and developed a new Strategic Plan (2000-2004).⁶¹

In 2000, ZNFU continued monitoring and offering support to over 600 farmers who accessed over 4,000 seedlings and seed for Pine, Eucalyptus, Acacia and Citrus.⁶² Working with the Department of Forest and FAO, ZNFU organised a workshop where it mobilised honey producers to form a District Honey Platform in Mwinilunga district and Charcoal Producers to form a Charcoal Producer platform in Choma district with a view of enhancing business opportunities for the producer groups. ZNFU further organised a workshop where it trained representatives from the forest and farm producer groups in Choma and Mwinilunga on market access and development (MAD) process.⁶³ This enabled the groups to identify potential products for enterprise development within the realm of forest and farm facility. In order to ensure that farmers involve in the farm forest and access to finance in a way. Three farms and forest producer groups in Choma and four groups in Mwinilunga were selected to receive small

⁶⁰ Mason and Myers, "Effects of the food Reserve Agency on maize Market Prices in Zambia," *Agricultural Economics*, pp. 23-44.

⁶¹ Z.N.F.U, *Work plan*, 2010.

⁶² Z.N.F.U, *Work plan*, 2010.

⁶³ Z.N.F.U, *Work plan*, 2010.

grants funds from ZNFU for capacity building in the areas to improve production and marketing of products.⁶⁴

The achievement to improve on maize marketing by ZNFU for its members was appreciated by Graham Rae as the chairperson of the Grain Association of Zambia. Agriculture marketing and trade in the liberalised economy was a challenge if no policy interventions were put in place to avoid sub-economic pricing. Because of that, ZNFU engaged the government over the matter and supported the Public-Private Partnership (PPPs) in storage infrastructure. Furthermore, in 2000, ZNFU compelled government to allow its members to export maize to its neighbouring countries such as Congo especially through government to government deals during years of surplus production.⁶⁵ This was to allow its members to sell their produce to other countries. The union went further to lobby for an economic commodity pricing mechanism where the union and the government agreed on how to arrive at a price without necessarily pushing for the FRA floor price. This was brought in because of the negative impact of the FRA maize subsidy to millers. David Mulonda argued that the Millers Association experienced a number of trade disputes between farmers and millers especially on issues to do with production, export, import and commodity prices.⁶⁶ These developments contributed to lack of transparency and price competitiveness for commodities such as wheat and maize. It was on this issue that ZNFU promoted industrial stakeholders meetings where it came up with marketing and trade decision for critical commodities like wheat and maize.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Z.N.F.U, *Food Insecurity in Zambia*, p. 40

⁶⁵ Z.N.F.U, *Board Meeting Report*, 2009, p. 9.

⁶⁶ Oral interview with David Mulonda, Lusaka West, 23rd January, 2017.

⁶⁷ Oral interview with Mulonda.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the union scored many successes from the time of its inception. For instance, the union provided loans to farmers for the partial payment to creditors and the rest of the debt was frozen for a period of five years. Additionally, it negotiated for farming implements such as tractors, ploughs and harrows to farmers. Furthermore, the union provided solutions for the outbreak of fires in the fields by introducing the mobile tractor equipment as an aid. Further, as the agricultural sector expanded, the union through the Director of Agriculture requested National Farmers' Union of Britain who came into Zambia and advised members of the farming community on effective ways of running the sector. This improved production later compelled ZNFU that engaged government to allow its members to export maize to its neighbouring countries such as Congo through government to government deals during years of surplus production. The chapter concluded that though the agricultural sector was affected by the HIV-AIDS pandemic that killed many productive people. The union continued to promote diversified food production and nutrition education at household level through workshops, sessions and drama.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation traced the history of Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) as an organisation which represented the interest of farmers in the country and how it contributed to the development of the agricultural sector in the country. The first chapter attempted to explain the background of this farmers' organisation. The second chapter investigated the changing roles of the union. The third chapter examined the challenges that the union faced even though it provided services to its members while the fourth chapter assessed the achievements that this organisation recorded while trying to improve on agricultural production.

The farming community was regarded as a priority for the development of the country's economy and therefore needed an organization to protect the interests of its members. The first chapter revealed that before the formation of NRFU, CFB and ZNFU, farmers' activities were controlled by associations such as maize and tobacco associations. These farmers' associations provided farmers with information through meetings and publications. The chapter further, demonstrated that the union was able to perform effectively because of having a good leadership structure found at all levels.

The study further established that the Executive Council assisted farmers and tobacco associations to establish farms along the line of rail for easy access to transportation of Virginia tobacco and maize. It also demonstrated that it persuaded Northern Rhodesia's government to introduce the Farmers Licensing Ordinance in 1946. It was during this time that licence fees for farmers was raised from £2 to £5 to support the smooth running of the unions' affairs, such as the purchasing of registers for members found in different areas.

The study also revealed that in the 1949/50 season, small scale farmers in Chipata who experienced pests and drought were assisted by the union to access loans from the Drought Relief Scheme in 1949. It was noted that, the scheme supported only those members of the union who were affected by drought, fire or floods. It further contended that, the interest free loans were only given to farmers in order to motivate them to join the union so as to increase the unions' membership.

The study further pointed out that in the field of scientific development, NRFU facilitated the establishment of an agricultural research centre at Mount Makulu in 1950. This provided professionals such as, Agronomists, Botanists, Chemists and Animal Husbandry men to handle all cases pertaining to farming.

It also demonstrated that the establishment of farmers' publications such as magazines by the union contributed to agricultural production. This was confirmed by Dorothy Mwansa who stated that in 1963, over 30,000 posters, pamphlets and hand-outs were issued on different forms of agricultural technology.

The chapter further revealed that CFB established linkages where fifty emergent farmers obtained loans from the Zambia Emergent Farmer Finance (ZEFF). ZEFF was a lending institution that was formed by the government after 1964 with the aim of helping the small scale farmers to access loans. During this period, CFB facilitated the submission of eighty five loan applications to ZEFF of which fifty were considered for various projects such as construction of dams for irrigation.

In an effort to control employers and employees' relations in the agricultural industry, the CFB signed a recognition agreement in 1964. The content of the agreement was confined to matters relevant to terms and conditions of employment of any worker employed in the agricultural sector. Among the terms and conditions was to allow an open meeting to be held on

the farm after working hours provided they were conducted in an orderly and responsible manner and was attended only by employees of the farm in question.

Chapter two revealed that the union distributed some vegetable and potato seeds to small scale farmers. This measure improved the lives hoods of small scale farmers and managed to pay taxes to a government that depended on land sales for survival. It further supported the government to construct weights and bridges in Choma, Mazabuka, Lusaka and Kitwe. These facilities assisted farmers to transport their produce to various markets in the country.

In order to delivery services to farmers effectively, the chapter further highlighted that the union elected ten farmers who formed branches at district levels where many members were found and mobilised. They held office for a period of two years, later fresh elections. Leaders at the branch levels were monitored by union officials to form societies.

Finally, chapter two pointed out that agricultural shows and field days were among the events organised by ZNFU. These events brought both commercial and small scale farmers under one Umbrella body to discuss matters related to the agricultural sector. They further exposed farmers to enhanced new technologies and good crop husbandry practices and necessary information for increasing productivity. They further provided a strong link between local, regional and national agricultural exhibitors.

Chapter three examined the challenges that the union encountered as it attempted to promote agricultural production in the country. These challenges came about because it was the only union representing all people involved in the business of farming.

The study observed that there was a steady increase of tobacco farmers involved in the growing of maize to cushion the need for food in the country. This was witnessed on the Copperbelt Province of Northern Rhodesia where mining was done. However, the study pointed out that markets were largely reserved for European rather than African farmers though they

produced the same crops. The argument was that African farmers produced crops that were of low quality. This made it impossible for the union to intervene over this matter even though it represented the farming community in Northern Rhodesia.

The study has pointed out that the supply of power to farmers especially to those who were involved in irrigation was a challenge. This was so because farmers who were members failed to renew their membership due to poor rains experienced in that year. The union negotiated for the reduction of electricity but its voice was not heard by the Supplier of electricity.

The chapter observed that the union was set up as a non-profit organisation, yet it was also expected to help farmers with subsidies. This was not done because the government of Northern Rhodesia failed to set up operational criteria which the union was to follow in order to construct an organizational interface between itself and the government.

Furthermore, small scale farmers faced problems because of the poor road network during the transportation of farm produce from the farming zones to the market. The state of roads was not improved even though farmers paid a crop levy to councils to improve them. CFB discussed this matter with the government but nothing was done. For instance, in North Western Province, transporters refused to transport maize to the Copperbelt Province for safe storage because they were not paid enough money for their services even though they passed through roads which were impassable.

The chapter further revealed that apart from challenges from transporters and poor road network problems, the union also encountered inefficiency on the part of the administrators. It was noted that government determined all principle policy matters that denied CFB from making any long term operational and financial plans. Due to the lack of autonomy in terms of budgeting and management, CFB found it as a challenge to facilitate the supply and distribution of fertilizer and grain bags to its members on time.

Another conclusion reached by this chapter was that the union failed to provide and control scales especially those used by private buyers which were not in accordance with the Weights and Measures Agency. ZNFU engaged the weights and measures company to supply standard scales to its members but these were not purchased because they were expensive.

Chapter four assessed the achievements that the union scored while promoting agricultural production in the country. The union brought small scale and commercial farmers together by assisting them to obtain important documents such as the title deeds for their farms. Through the titles, about twelve Europeans came to own farms in the Eastern Province made up of 54 000 acres for ranching and cotton growing. The union further facilitated the establishment of the Agricultural Land Bank in 1953 that gave loans to the farmers.

Further, the chapter discovered that in the Eastern Province, the union encouraged agricultural production through the establishment of depots for its members. The establishment of these facilities provided agricultural marketing platform and food security for the local people.

Poor harvest due to infertile soils in some parts of Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia was addressed by the union that approached government which responded by introducing chemical fertilizers that assisted small scale farmers to improve on their production. The improved production made farmers to live better lives by having a balanced nutrition.

The chapter also acknowledged that due to the outbreak of fires in the maize fields; the union introduced a mobile tractor. This equipment was stationed near maize fields because maize fields were mostly destroyed by fire and needed to be protected.

The chapter further demonstrated that the visitation of National Farmers' Union of Britain to Zambia was very important to the farming community because it provided information on technical aspects such as pricing, marketing and environmental. This further contributed to the improvement of the agricultural production in the country.

The chapter concluded that although the agricultural sector was affected by the HIV-AIDS pandemic that killed many productive people. The union initiated awareness activities on the disease through workshops, sessions and drama. These activities were performed during open days in different parts of the country.

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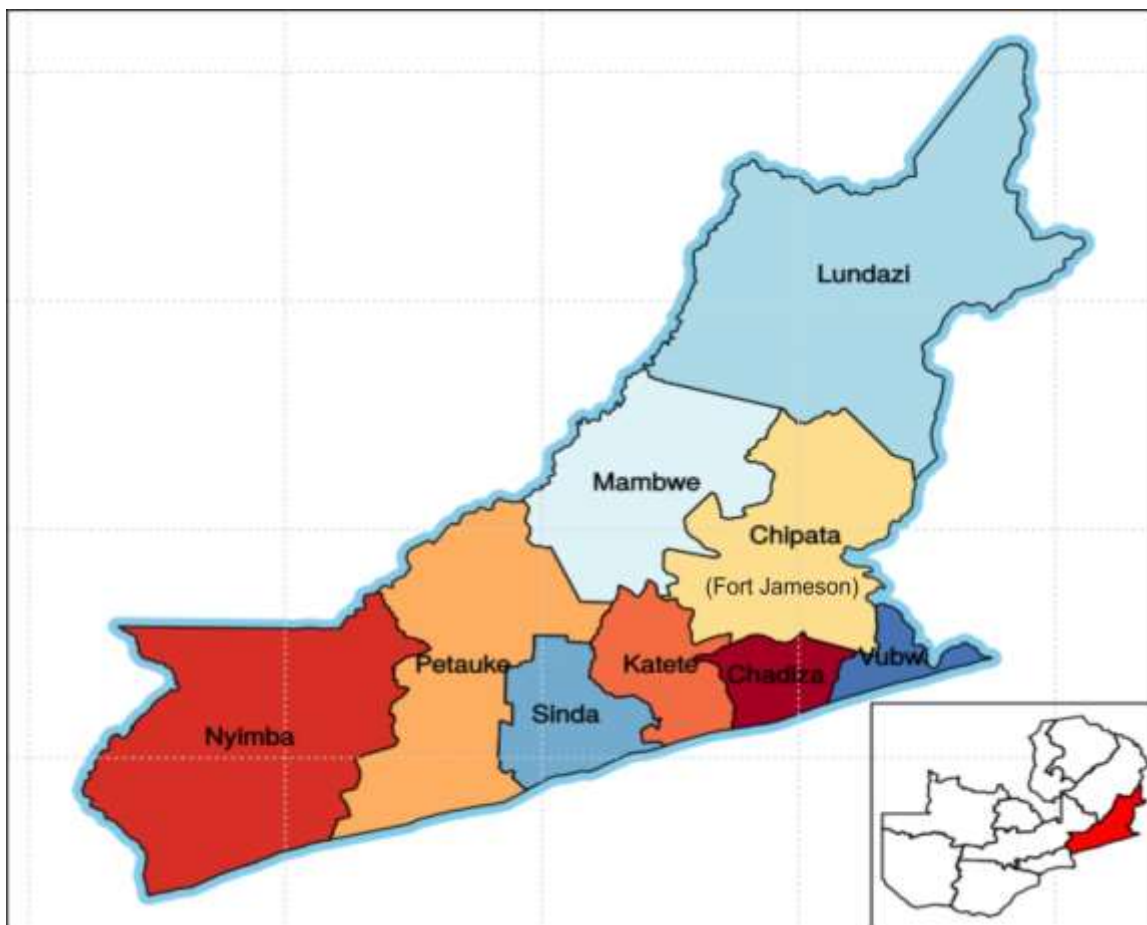
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Appendix 1

Map of Eastern Province Showing the Districts. (Fort Jameson inclusive)



Source: Department of Cartography, (UNZA), 2015.

Appendix 2

Activity/Month of the year	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
Renewal of DFA membership								XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Lima Scheme farmer mobilisation	XX	XX										
50% individual Deposit at DFA		XX	XX									
50% DFA Deposit in Lima Account			XX	XX								
ZANACO offers to DFA			XX									
Deliver fertilizer to DFA				XX	XX	XX						
Farmer collect fertilizer from DFA					XX	XX						
Maize growing period						XX	XX	XX	XX			
Maize drying period										XX	XX	XX
Maize marketing	XX	XX	XX	XX								

Lima-loan payment from maize sales	XX	XX	XX	XX								
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Table of Timings of the activities in LCS.

Source: John Ndulu (fine line system and management Limited) and Charles Mutua Swedish Cooperative Centre and ViAF). 2010.