of reference groups as standards of comparison for self-appraisal or as the source of the individual's norms, attitudes and values. See Kelley, H. H., "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Hyman, H. H. and Singer, E. (eds.) <u>Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research</u> (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp.77-83.

126. Jahoda, G., "The Social Background of a West African Student Population: I," <u>British Journal of Sociology</u>, Vol. 5, 1954, p.355.

127. Goldthorpe (1965), <u>op.cit.</u>

128. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.23.

129. Marvick, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.464.

130. Finlay, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.51.

131. Hanna, W. J., "Students," in Coleman, J. S. and Rosberg, C. J., <u>Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa</u> (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), p.414.

132. Jahoda, G., "The Social Background of a West African Student Population: II," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 6, 1954, p.74.

133. Hanna, <u>ob.cit.</u>, p.423.

134. Marvick, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.489.

135. See Merton's definition of 'influentials' in his study, "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," in Merton, R. K., <u>Social Theory and Social Structure</u> (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp.441-474.

136. Barkan, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.26.

137. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.26.

138. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.26.

139. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.31.

140. For an analysis of the theoretical concept, 'anticipatory socialisation' see Merton, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.319-25.

141. Goldthorpe, 1965, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.60-4.

142. Lloyd, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.9-10.

143. Burawoy, M., <u>Expectations of Form V Students</u> (Personnel Research Unit, Copper Industry Service Bureau; Kitwe, 1969).

144. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.29.

145. <u>UZ</u>, 20 July 1970.

146. <u>UZ</u>, 4 May 1970.

147. Kaunda, K. D., Address on the Occasion of the First Graduation Ceremony of University of Zambia Students, 17 May 1969.

C H A P T E R   T H R E E

SOURCE OF TENSION:

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

As a determinant of student behaviour the structure of the university social system must be awarded as much consideration as the structure of the wider social system. It is possible that the two structures give rise to dissonant status-sets and conflicting definitions of the student role. In such circumstances what social arrangements are available for conteracting the potential instability between the different status-sets and how does the individual cope with the conflict? An attempt to answer such questions will be the subject of succeeding chapters, while this chapter will be concerned to analyse the student role-status in the university social structure.

The Constitution and the Liberal University.

In exporting, transplanting and implanting education into its colonial territories Britain pursued a policy which acknowledged only one form of education - British education. This was no less true in respect of university education than of any other field of education, no less true of Africa than of India. During the crucial two decades before Independence when the education of the peoples of the colonial territories expanded at the greatest rate, it was the Asquith Report which set British policy for establishment of universities in her colonies. Ashby records the following assessment.

> The Asquith Report was Britain's blueprint for the export of universities to her people overseas. In the eyes of those who have used the blueprint over the last twenty years it has become more than a mere statement of government policy: it has been elevated to the dignity of a doctrine. Policy, which should be a convenient working hypothesis,

became hardened into dogma, resistant to criticism
and change. People talked of the "Asquith doctrine"
and referred to university colleges in Africa as
"Asquith colleges". The doctrine was a vivid
expression of British cultural parochialism: its
basic assumption was that a university system
appropriate for Europeans brought up in London and
Manchester and Hull was also appropriate for
Africans brought up in Lagos and Kumasi and
Kampala. There is no sign that the commission
considered whether the university systems to be
found in Minneapolis or Manila or Tokyo might be
more appropriate. In fairness to the doctrine, let
it be said that it left room for some adaptation;
indeed it encouraged changes in syllabus to suit
African conditions and it stressed the importance
of research into African languages and cultures.
But the fundamental pattern of British civic
universities - in constitution, in standards and
curricula, in social purpose - was adopted without
demur. Colonial universities were to begin as most
of the provincial universities in England began:
as "university colleges" which would be transmuted
into universities when they acquired charters to
grant their own degrees. From the outset they were
to be self-governing societies, demanding from
their students the same entry standard as is
demanded by London or Cambridge; following curric-
ula which might vary in detail but must not vary
in principle from the curricula of the University
of London; tested by examinations approved by
London and leading to London degrees awarded on the
recommendation of London external examiners. And
as for their social function, the colonial
universities were to be completely residential, and
their prime purpose was to produce "men and women
with standards of public service and capacity for
leadership which self-rule requires." In short,
they were, as in England, to nurture an élite.[1]

Of the new universities in the African nations the University
of Zambia was one of the last to be constructed. It was
therefore able to learn from the little experience of univer-
sities established elsewhere in the continent, particularly
West Africa. The Report on the Development of a University
in Northern Rhodesia (1963),[2] which was subsequently adopted
as a policy document by the Zambian government, contained
within it recommendations which suggested departures, albeit
not as significant as some would have liked, both from the

Asquith Report and the patterns of universities in British

West Africa. Ashby delineates three influences which have

acted to modify the Asquith plan over the last two decades.

> There have been local influences arising from
> national needs and aspirations of the newly
> independent nations; there has been the influence
> of academics from the United States of America
> who believed (and in the event have convinced the
> British that their belief was right) that American
> concepts of higher education have relevance to
> Africa; there has been the influence of a few
> British academics, such as John Lockwood, who have
> encouraged flexibility and adaptation in African
> higher education.[3]

It was indeed Lockwood, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Univer-

sity of London, who chaired the committee which reported on

the University for Northern Rhodesia. The supposed change

of heart amongst British educationists concerned with the

development of education in the colonial territories just

before their political independence, is reflected in the

Lockwood Report's declaration of intent.

> The starting-point of our inquiry into the estab-
> lishment of a university has been a two-fold
> conviction; first, that the university must be
> responsive to the real needs of the country;
> secondly that it must be an institution which on
> merit will win the respect and proper recogni-
> tion of the university world.[4]

What those 'real needs' are is left undefined in specific

terms but the two-fold conviction is translated into a number

of recommendations which depart from the traditionally

accepted pattern of African University education. In the

belief that standards of admission should be relative to the

supply of educated personnel at the secondary school stage

and should not be so high as to preclude all but a tiny

minority of extremely able students, the commissioners

recommended that a suitable performance at "O" level of the

bursaries, which stood at K450. Of this K180 pays for full board, K120 goes on fees, K40 is a book allowance, K3 goes to the student union, K1 goes to a medical fund, and K10 is caution money. The remaining K96 is pocket money.

The above recommendations represent 'concessions' to the manpower needs of Zambia, and in many political circles these needs are regarded as the only legitimate ones the university is expected to satisfy.[5] The Lockwood Report, too, gives little attention to any other national needs to which the university must be responsive. Thus the constitution of the University of Zambia is modelled on the 'two tier system' of the British civic university with its Council composed of both lay and academic personnel and a Senate composed of leading members of the university community.[6] In this area there has been little adaptation. Yet the experience of universities in West Africa suggest that some modification might assist the university to exist in harmony with the rest of society, and to remain sensitive to the prevailing political moods outside the university.[7] It is debatable whether the political structure of the British civic university, which has grown up around the defence of academic freedom and university autonomy, is equally suited to the social and political structures of African nations. Lockwood makes some such suggestion in an article devoted to 'The Transplantation of the University'.

> Even democracies in Africa are more authoritarian than in countries where they have flourished longer, and universities will probably have to rethink their position. That is why they should refuse to hark back to ideals of absolute freedom and, in taking a new stand as occupying a central role in national development, exercise a freedom of decision and enterprise which does not attract interference.[8]

But this view finds no reflection in constitutional amendments in the Lockwood Report.

It is easy to be critical of the Lockwood Report and suggest that its recommendations do not go far enough, but the constraints under which a new university is established present severe limitations on the changes which can be incorporated. Thus the expectation of the Zambian government and the Zambian people in general that their university be of international reputation might lead any radical departure from what is commonly accepted as a Western University to be interpreted as a second-rate substitute.[9] In this context radical adaptation would signify inferior status. Second, in view of the expense of a university[10] and its central role in fulfilling the manpower needs of the country, the cost of experimentation would be so high as to constitute too big a risk. The third constraint revolves around the reliance, for some considerable time to come, on the supply of expatriate lecturers who will expect to find similar facilities in the University of Zambia as he would in his home university. A discussion of what should be the nature of the University of Zambia is not germane to the present examination of Zambian students and the following sections will consider the nature of the university community: its physical and social structures.

The Physical Structure of the University.

The Lockwood Report rejected the suggestion that the University of Zambia comprise a collection of the "existing colleges upgraded to university standard"[11] and recommended that the university have its own headquarters on its own campus. It should be located near Lusaka so that it can be

integrated into the life of the capital city and be a focus of national and international activities and conferences. The precise location recommended and accepted was three and a half miles along the Great East Road from the centre of Lusaka, but a short cut across fields halves the walking distance. Until the first building had been constructed students studied at the Oppenheimer College for Social Work, now referred to as the Ridgeway Campus. The latter is next to the University Teaching Hospital and all the medical students are still accommodated and attend most of their lectures there. In 1968 the new campus was brought into operation and in subsequent years expanded until in 1971 there were 1200 students residing there with a further 300 on the Ridgeway Campus.[12] Only very few students do not live on one of the campuses.

The main campus, though only three and a half miles from the centre is nevertheless isolated from the rest of Lusaka. Transport into town is infrequent and students normally have to make use of the taxis that run along the Great East Road. Only a handful of students have cars and virtually none have bicycles and during term-time, except at weekends when many students visit friends, relations or enter the neighbouring townships for a drink, they remain on the campus. Transport between the two campuses is more frequent and university buses are used for this purpose. The university is a self-contained community with meals, snacks, drink, stationery, books, newspapers and other incidentals all available on the campus.

Despite the words of Mwanakatwe ("...the University's staff and students should restrain their demands for better living conditions, bearing in mind that the University was not

intended to be a prestige institution which would create new and unrealistic standards of living.")[13] It was his government that decided to accept the Lockwood Report and to build the undoubtedly prestigious university buildings. No one can fail to be impressed by the splendour of the architecture - though many may find it aesthetically discomforting - the spacious lawns and the artificial lakes which adorn the front of the university. The halls of residence are no less comfortable, albeit noisy, and impressive, as is the library. Of the five blocks of Halls of Residence, four are for the men while a fifth block a quarter of a mile away on the other side of the campus is for the women. A series of new blocks are due for completion in 1972. Recreational facilities for students are not well provided for. There is one football pitch, a rugby pitch, four tennis courts, a bar where beer is sold in the evenings and a cafeteria open in the mornings and afternoons. More often than not dances are held on Saturday nights but being in a minority, girls tend not to attend them. There is no focus for informal student recreational and social activity, apart from the bar, as would be provided by an outdoor swimming pool or a student union centre. The lecturers' accommodation is scattered around the eastern side of Lusaka, presenting an obstacle to casual staff-student relations.

The compact and self-contained structure of the university conduces to a cohesive and closely-knit community. The few foci of activity makes communication easy and rapid. Consequently the community leaders can easily mobilise support for any particular cause or in a crisis situation, just as the community is very vulnerable to outside forces as when, for

example, the police and the army surrounded and took over the campus.

The Social Structure of the University.

The component sections of the university community - students, administration, skilled and unskilled manual labourers and academic staff - all interact on the same campus. While cohesion generally characterises relations within each group, divisions, conflict and indifference characterise relations between groups. The following discussion will confine itself to a description of the composition of the groups and an analysis of the relations between each individual group and the students.

The academic staff is nearly all expatriate, and of the expatriates only a handful are black - these coming mainly from other African countries. In addition there are a few Indians. Many are young and come out to Zambia on three to five-year contracts not long after they have graduated from their home university. The distribution of the lecturers in 1969 according to where they received their academic training is indicated in Table 9:

TABLE 9 - ACADEMIC TRAINING OF 1969 LECTURERS AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA.[14]

U.K. Degree only	70
U.S.A. Degree only	27
U.K. or U.S.A. Degree and Other Western Degree	14
Other Western Degree	5
Western Degree and/or South African Degree	20
Degree in Developing State and Western Degree	15
Degree in Developing State only	5
Degree in a Developing State and Socialist Degree	0
Socialist Degree	4
TOTAL	160

The dominance of lecturers with only a 'Western Degree' - 72%
of the total - suggests that many had relatively little ex-
perience in teaching in an African country, though a small
number of lecturers had spent a great proportion of their time
in Africa after receiving degrees in the 'West'.

For the majority who find themselves in an African univ-
ersity for the first time a period of adjustment is necessary
to acclimatise to the new environment and student. Entering
the university at "O" level after passing through a type of
secondary schooling which develops the reproductive faculties
rather than the analytical and critical faculties in the trad-
ition of missionary education, whose content is often divorced
from the experience of the student and whose medium is not
the student's mother tongue, the Zambian student faces problems
which do not exist for students in the "metropolitan" coun-
tries. This creates corresponding difficulties for the
lecturer. The incentive to learn is also withdrawn because
of the little competition amongst the students assured of good
jobs after graduating and confronted with a relatively low
failure rate.[15] The lecturer for all these reasons may find
it difficult to stimulate the students even if he makes ser-
ious attempts in that direction.

Whereas in his home universities, the lecturer is ex-
pected to make contributions to both teaching and in research,
the central function of the University of Zambia as fulfilling
urgent manpower requirements inevitably leads to a dispropor-
tionate emphasis on teaching at the expense of research.
Research facilities in the natural sciences are necessarily,
from purely financial considerations, less well developed in
Zambia, though clearly certain branches, such as medical

research, are of central importance to the nation's welfare. In the humanities, apart from the matter of expense, different barriers obstruct the lecturer from carrying out research. The shortage of statistics, the lack of tradition and acceptability of research in the social sciences, the sensitivity to and suspicion of criticism, the impediments of race consciousness and a heritage of poor race relations, and the necessity to learn Zambian vernaculars if the researcher is to make meaningful contact with all but the tiny minority of English speakers, present formidable obstacles to the effective conduct of research. Though by no means insuperable, few lecturers are sufficiently committed to Zambia to stay there a sufficiently long time to overcome these obstacles and carry out research which might assist in planning for national development but would invariably help the lecturer to make his teaching relevant to the experiences of his students. Until such a body of knowledge and research on Zambia is available the lecturer will have to rely on foreign material less likely to interest the student. In addition to the normal teaching burden during term-time, lecturers are expected to prepare notes on their lecture courses for correspondence students and to teach these students at classes convened at residential courses during the vacations. This further reduces the time available for research. The de-emphasising of research has one consequence particularly germane to the discussion here, namely the corresponding enhancement in the importance of the student in the university community. Decisions made in political organs of the university, more than is usual in other universities, revolve around the interests of the students.

Obtruding on the traditional student-teacher relationship is the all pervasive black-white relationship which seriously affects the institutional climate in which teaching takes place. In the established universities of the colonising powers relatively little importance is attached to the nationality of the lecturer (though there have been a number of instances where political views have affected staff-student relations),[16] but in the new universities of Africa trying to emerge from the heritage of colonial domination, colour becomes a significant factor of orientation in many contexts.

Relations between students and lecturers are characterised at most universities by apathy and uninterest on both sides. Relations between students and lecturers at the University of Zambia are particularly stiff due to the intervening factor of race. Student regard for the lecturer is characterised by the deference-resentment syndrome; deference towards his supposed erudition and competence as a lecturer and resentment towards the continued presence of white men in positions of authority. In different contexts, different students will regard the actions and views of different lecturers in a positive or negative light according to their relative emphasis on resentment and deference.

There are clear indications that different students will react in different ways to the expatriate lecturers. Some more than others will resent their presence. The first opinion poll for example suggested a spread of attitudes towards lecturers. Students responded to questions as follows,

There is too little interaction between students and teachers

76% agreed, 15% were uncertain, 9% disagreed[17]

Lecturers are not interested in their students

36% agreed, 36% were uncertain, 28% disagreed[18]

The ambivalence expressed in the second set of responses suggests a spectrum of positive and negative attitudes towards lecturers, while the first set of responses represents the expectation that lecturers should make attempts to improve relations with their students. The more self-assured and academically orientated students are the ones most likely to take a positive attitude towards the lecturers, seeing them more as lecturers than as expatriates.

Students appraise lecturers not only in terms of their capacity to teach effectively, as they would do anywhere else, but also in the implicit attitudes they adopt towards the students as Africans. There are those lecturers who appear to be excessively harsh (often well-meaning lecturers who have had prolonged contact with Africans) and those who appear as excessively lenient - a form of inverted racialism common amongst those who have had little experience of teaching in an African environment. As far as the student is concerned, both these types over-identify with the 'problems of black students' either through criticism or sympathy. Both, therefore, emphasize the student's blackness as though he were a member of a backward "species" of mankind. On the other hand, the students recognize another type comprising those lecturers who are too insensitive to the difficulties of the black student. An editorial in the student newspaper UZ summarises the position.

> We think there are two types of lecturers who are no good for this place. There is the lecturer who does not see things beyond his lecture room. He is too preoccupied with dishing out principles that have to

be applied in exams to secure as many degrees for
his students as possible. He fails to grasp the
extra-mural bearing of his students. He succeeds
in manufacturing problem-solving machines out of
his students without understanding them. He
therefore fails to help them think rationally.

The other type of lecturer is the one who tends
to over-react. He thinks he is a modern Rhodes'
mission here to solve the problems of the
indigenous people. Always a trespasser, he does
not realise that some problems had better be
solved by the Nationals themselves. In the end
his 'enthusiasm' distracts him from reality and
he ends fed up with Africa and all she breeds.[19]

Students will stress the expatriate role or the lecturer

role according to the situation. Thus in those situations

where there is a betrayal or opposition to what students con-

ceive to be their interests the expatriate role will be

stressed. In those situations where support is rendered to

the student or opposition to the student's enemies is voiced

then the lecturer role is given emphasis. Once they step out

of the very narrow definition of the lecturer role, they auto-

matically lay themselves open to student attack in the idiom

of their expatriate status.

A group of British Citizens living in Zambia last
Thursday sent a telegram to Edward Heath, the
British Premier, opposing a renewal of arms'
sales to the Republic of South Africa. While
appreciating this progressive stand taken by
these Britons, we at the same time question the
sincerity of the move. As British citizens work-
ing in Zambia, their primary aim is the security
of their jobs. They believe that the resumption
of sales of arms to South Africa is a 'hostile
act towards Zambia - our host country'. However,
it is also our sincere belief that the protest is
a superficial one - a hypocritical move. We
believe that once in Britain, these same people
can be ardent supporters of Enock Powel - the
national hero of the majority of the British
people. We see this protest move as a security
measure to their contracts. By simple calcula-
tion, they hope the renewal of their contracts
will be easy. In fact they know that the tele-
gram will in no way sway Heath from his policy of
sending arms to the Boers in the Republic of
apartheid.[20]

Most notably amongst the 'British citizens' was a group of
lecturers and it was against these that the editorial was
directed. Yet when the lecturers are perceived to be siding
with the students against or subjected to pressure from a
common opposition then they are viewed in a more favourable
light. Following the university crisis of July 1971 when
the university was closed and the ten member executive of
the students' union suspended, two lecturers were deported
presumably for instigating or supporting the students' action.
After the university had reopened an opinion poll was run and
students were asked to state their views over the deportation
of the lecturers.

> The deportation of the two lecturers was in the
> interest of the nation.
>
> 3% agreed, 10% were uncertain, 87% disagreed[21]

This was an unambiguous expression of solidarity with the
lecturers against the government. Divisions based on colour
were dissolved. Thus, the manner and extent to which the
racial or expatriate factor affects relations between students
and lecturers varies from student to student, from lecturer
to lecturer and from situation to situation. But at no time
was there any major confrontation between students and
lecturers.

The lack of interaction which characterises informal
relations between students and academic staff, also character-
ises, as one might expect, relations between students and the
manual labourers employed by the university. From time to
time students have complained about the shortcomings of the
cleaning and kitchen staff stimulating an exchange of hostili-
ties between students and the University Staff Association.

A strike[22] by the association provoked a number of letters in UZ complaining about the 'laziness' of the association's members. The President was later reported in UZ to have attacked students at a meeting of his association.

> The President of the UNZA non-academic staff association slammed the University undergraduates for what he called "utter disrespect" towards members of staff.
>
> Addressing his members on Friday Mr...... referred to students as "being too conscious of themselves as if they were already graduates". ....He went on to say that negotiations were under way to enable workers to have a free lunch at the university as no transport was provided to take workers for lunch....[23]

The reactions in the letter pages of the following issue of UZ were equally hostile to the staff.

> This is to answer Mr......who said in his article [sic] in last week's 'UZ' publication that students are feeling conscious of their education. This is baseless and shameful. Does he expect us to remain silent when his men don't dust off tables in the studybedrooms? When waiters can't serve us properly, when cooks cook poor food, what does Mr......expect us to do? Your men are lazy today, Mr...... After that strike of yours, I don't see why your men should have their pay increased. Toilets go without toilet paper or fragments; we eat 'raw' eggs; knives, forks and spoons are just heaped together (not arranged as before the strike); cobwebs fill the study-bedroom ceilings....
>
> If he continues, the relationship between students and the non-academic staff will be as "rider and horse". And of course we shall be the riders and the workers the horses....[24]

Other letters were equally devoid of sympathy for the workers' case, suggesting that the students had assumed the posture and attitudes of a dominant class. Thus in the confrontations between the staff association and their employers - the university authorities - the students supported the latter.

Equally, the administration has been reported as openly supporting the students in their feud with the workers. When the 'canteen' (cafeteria) refused to sell copies of UZ because of the anti-worker letters it had published, the bursar was reported to have dismissed the "seller's action as bunkum, adding that the canteen did not belong to the non-academic staff association".[25] Though at no time have the students come out in support of the staff association, the latter did extend support to the students after their confrontation with the government in July 1971. When the university was reopened the President of the Staff Association made the following remarkable gesture in a widely distributed open letter to the students.

> The Central Executive of the University Staff Association is very pleased to welcome you back to your normal studies. In view of this, the entire Executive of the Association together with its members had planned to hold a Free-Welcome Dance at the Ridgeway Campus this Saturday. But after reviewing the whole position of the other ten comrades of your Executive who are not with us today, we have found it very unfitting to welcome you at a dance in the absence of the other comrades....[26]

Though probably a tactical move designed to attract the support of the students in their pursuit of improved working conditions, it must also be seen as an expression of solidarity with the student defiance of external oppression from the government. Again relations, generally characterised in terms of class distinctions and antagonisms, under certain circumstances, give way to solidarity.[27]

In so far as the students did not sympathise with the workers' cause, so they became allies of the employers - the university administration. Yet relations between students

and the administration have not always been cordial. When
students arrived in March 1971, for example, for the begin-
ning of the academic year they found little organisation in
the provision of accommodation and many spent their first few
nights in corridors or together with two or three others in
rooms meant for two. A demonstration was staged for the first
time within the campus against the university authorities for
their inefficiency. The Registrar came in for bitter attack
and though he was black, students exploited his expatriate
status suggesting that this made him unconcerned about
Zambians and that he should return to Ghana from whence he
had come.

More significant, perhaps, is the administration's respon-
sibility for student discipline. The responsibility for dis-
cipline rests ultimately with the Vice-Chancellor[28] but in
these matters he is advised by the Dean of Students who
mediates between the students and the administration in non-
academic matters.[29] The episode in which three students were
suspended in ways which appeared to the student body as
arbitrary, illustrates some aspects of the relations between
students and administration. The students' point of view was
presented in a circular written by the President of the
students' union.

> I presume most of us have been greatly concerned
> about the crime-penal complex especially in as
> far as it affects the recently suspended and ex-
> pelled students. We are concerned about this not
> because we do not agree that the students
> involved may have been guilty of some misconduct,
> but that we strongly question whether
>
> 1. the offences committed merit the form and
> severity of the punishment that goes with them.
>
> 2. the decisions which were taken were based on
> dependable sources and a genuine review of the
> cases with clear cut evidence from both the

accused and the accuser at the same hearing,
in person and with the incorporation of
individuals such as may be necessary in the
particular case to help by way of providing
such information as may lead to a sane
judgement of the case.

3. the governmental channels followed, be
it by precedent or not, were the appropriate
ones.

4. the publication of letters such as con-
cern private individuals serves any purpose-
ful motive at all.[30]

Not only did the President criticise the arbitrary decisions
made by the Dean of Students with the support of the Vice-
Chancellor and the manner in which the student union executive
had been by-passed, but he convened a meeting of the three
governing bodies within the student community - the Hall
Councils, the Council of Representatives and the Union Executive.
The purpose of the meeting was to consider what action, if any,
should be taken on behalf of the suspended students and what
recommendations be presented to the Vice-Chancellor for a more
satisfactory judicial and disciplinary machinery. All this
was duly done with a list of recommendations submitted to the
Vice-Chancellor to the effect that future cases of indiscip-
line be first reported to the Hall Councils which would then,
as required, be passed onto the Council of Representatives
and in the more serious cases brought before the Union
Executive for consideration and recommendation.[31] In those
cases where misdemeanours are reported direct to the Dean of
Students without passing through the Hall Councils then the
former should refer the case to the Union Executive. These
recommendations for greater student participation and consul-
tation in disciplinary matters were approved as a basis for
future disciplinary procedure with but few amendments.[32]

The above case suggests that the students are concerned to gain as much control as they can over decisions which directly affect them. It also points to the willingness of the administration to respect student demands for participation and consultation in university affairs. An index of student participation in university decision-making forums may be gauged from Table 10, indicating student participation on university committees.

TABLE 10 - UNIVERSITY COMMITTEES ON WHICH THERE ARE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES.

The University Senate (3)

The Student Affairs Board (8)

The Library Committee

The Bookshop Committee

Part-time Degree and Diploma Studies Committee

Public Relations Committee

The Advisory Board of the University and the Community

The Adult Education Committee

The Centre for African Studies

The Scholarships and Prizes Committee

The Regulations Committee

School of Natural Sciences Committee (5)

The Long Term Revision of the Degree Structure Committee (2)

(Figures in brackets refer to number of students on the committee.) [33]

Negotiations were going on for student representation on the

University Council, but have not yet been accomplished because such an arrangement requires parliamentary legislation.[34] In the administration of the university, the student is accorded considerable importance and he is often consulted through his representatives before decisions are actually made. Thus, for example, before the university reopened, after it had been closed in July 1971, the Vice-Chancellor consulted a representation from the student body as to what he might say in an opening address to the returning students to cool off what promised to be a very tense atmosphere.

Because the research function of the university is relatively insignificant, the teaching function takes on a correspondingly increased importance and consequently student affairs become the pivotal concern of the university. Academic politics are cast in the idiom of the student interest. The importance attached to the student is reflected in the respect he is accorded in the decision-making processes within the university where his genuine participation is greater than would normally be found in universities. The administration and the academic staff have both respected student autonomy and the rights of the union executive to run its own affairs in its own way. There has been a considerable reluctance on the part of the administration and academic staff to interfere with specifically student affairs. The union executive has considerable influence over the running of the university, but how much influence has the individual student over the decisions made by its executive? The next section attempts an analysis of the political structure of the student community.

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE STUDENT COMMUNITY.

A discussion of the formal organs of student government is insufficient as an explanation of the distribution of influence within the student community. Therefore consideration will be given to the responsiveness of the leadership to the demands and opinions of the led, and also to the forms and extent of student participation in the government of their community. At this juncture no reference will be made to divisions within the community arising out of diverse origins relating to race, nationality or tribe. The influence such divisions have on student government will be considered in following chapters.

Institutional Mechanisms of Student Government.

All registered full-time students of the University of Zambia are members of the University of Zambia Students Union (UNZASU). Union dues of three kwacha per student are deducted at source. The UNZASU Executive Committee has twelve members including a President, Vice-President, Secretary General, Vice-Secretary General, Treasurer, Vice-Treasurer, Social and Cultural Secretary, Sports Secretary, Publicity Secretary and three Committee Members. Elections to office are normally held once a year in two stages approximately one month after the beginning of the new academic year. The first stage is a contest for the post of President and at the second stage, held one or two weeks later, the contest is for the remaining posts.

Over and above the UNZASU Executive, there is a more authoritative body - the Council of Representatives - composed

of five members elected from each primary unit of residential organisation together with the union Executive making at most thirty seven members. The Chairman of the Council of Representatives is the President of the union. The main task of the Council is to review the activities of the union executive and normally meets once or twice a year. It has the power to recommend to the student body as a whole the suspension or dismissal of any member of the union. Thus in 1971 the Council of Representatives sat to discuss the 'misappropriation' of union funds and decided to dismiss the incumbent Social and Cultural Secretary and to suspend the Treasurer from their offices. Following the government's suspension of the entire student executive from the university, the Council, at a meeting on 30th September, 1971, decided to refer the question of fresh elections to the entire student body. The Council if it is convened can act as a powerful formal check on the union executive.

Social Status of the Leadership.

The mechanisms for overturning the incumbent union executive each year and the provision, which has been used, for the Council of Representatives to dismiss or suspend members of the executive during their term of office in themselves go a long way to promoting a leadership sensitive to the needs and demands of the led. In a discussion of the structural prerequisites of democratic government in trade unions Lipset[35] has suggested that status differentials between the leaders and the led is conducive to oligarchic government. The desire to retain high status and rewards of leadership will encourage the incumbent leadership to resist its

democratic removal through the control or suspension of
elections. The greater the status differential between the
leaders and the led the more determined will the former be
to eliminate those 'democratic' procedures which threaten to
unseat them. This is particularly true when the deposed
leaders have no alternative but to return to the lowly status
from which they rose. Though student leaders lose their
status when they leave office, and become once more a member
of the led, nevertheless the descent is not a great one.[36]
Within the student community the rewards of leadership in
terms of power, prestige and wealth are relatively small.
Indeed the history of the UNZASU executives suggests that
leadership involves considerable risk to a university career.
The first President in 1966, a student from Kenya, had to
leave during his term of office[37] and his successor also left
while still in office.[38] The next President was overthrown
together with his executive for abusing his powers and estab-
lishing a close relation with government which almost led to
the introduction of a student national service. 1967 wit-
nessed the short and eventful career of Henry Chanda who was
suspended from the university by the Vice-Chancellor after
leading a demonstration against the Zambia Mail and writing
what was interpreted in government circles as a highly insult-
ing letter to the Minister of State for Presidential Affairs,
Aaron Milner. The following regime of 1968 was led by a
Rhodesian who was dismissed from office by the student body
for the misappropriation of funds. The same fate befell the
Malawian student elected to President the following year.
Only Marshall Bushe - President in 1970 - managed to stay a
full year in office. The entire executive of 1971 was suspended

half way through the year by the government. Such a history
might well discourage students from standing for positions
in the union executive, but add to this the normal burden of
academic studies which are not lightened for members of the
executive, it is remarkable that there are so many contest-
ants for the posts. In other countries to have been President
of the Union is regarded by outside society as a prestigious
and creditable achievement which places one in a favourable
position when it comes to applying for jobs for example.[39]
In Zambia partly because of the lack of a university tradi-
tion and partly because of the low esteem and suspicion that
enshrouds the graduate, such prestige is not conferred upon
the ex-president when looking for employment. His position
as President has only enabled him to possibly establish con-
tacts with members of government which may conceivably afford
him a favoured position on graduating. Given a relatively
low status and few rewards, the member of the union executive
is not likely to try and perpetuate his position in office,
even if he survives for the entire academic year.[40] Therefore
democratic procedures within the student community are un-
likely to be threatened by the student executive.

Participation in the Small Scale Community.

Lipset[41] suggests that one of the guarantees of democ-
racy in private government is high level of participation
amongst the membership and in those trade unions where this
takes place he speaks of an "occupational community".

> The frequent interaction of union members in all
> spheres of life appears to make for a high level
> of interest in the affairs of their unions, which
> translates itself into high participation in
> local organisations and a greater potential for
> democracy and membership influence.[42]

The residential university, such as the University of Zambia, represents an extreme form of "occupational community" where members live, eat, work and play together all within the same confined area. This too makes for a very closely knit[43] and therefore cohesive community in which many of those with whom one interacts, interact with one another. Communication between students in such a confined geographical area is easy and discussion on affairs and issues affecting the student community finds no obstacles. Since nearly all students eat at two contiguous dining halls, circulars distributed there at meal times will be read by the vast majority of the community.

Because the student community is so concentrated and because it is still a small-scale society there is no need for an administrative bureaucracy to run its affairs efficiently. Thus one of the main deterrents to democracy - bureaucracy - has not appeared in the community.[44] Instead, leaders are inevitably always accessible to the led and, therefore, cannot avoid continual pressure from the rank and file to conform to the latter's demands and expectations. Unable to escape such pressure, the leadership tends to be very responsive to the led. Not only is the leadership accessible to the rank and file but its actions are, for similar reasons, very 'visible' to the community and any departures from acceptable practices are quickly brought to the notice of the entire community.[45] Thus money is misappropriated not during term-time but during the vacations.

The consequences of bureaucratic administration, conducive to the development of oligarchical tendencies, are not present in the student community. There is no control over

internal communications, no censorship of views opposed to
the incumbent government and thus no formal obstacle to the
crystallisation of an oppositional group. Communication of
sentiments opposed to the incumbent leadership within the
student community can take place at the informal level through
social interaction, or at a more formal level through the
medium of circulars distributed at mealtimes, notices pinned
up around the campus or the convening of meetings. But
perhaps the most effective means of expressing opposition to
or criticising the union executive or, indeed, any other
interest in the student, university and wider societal com-
munities is through the medium of the independent press.

Student journalism has developed in fits and starts. The
first newspaper was the *Voice of UNZA* - printed for and spon-
sored by the student union for both internal and external
readership, which never really got off the ground[46] until it
was revived in 1970 as a stencilled quarto size weekly. As
the Editor of the independent UZ claimed, being a mouthpiece
of the union executive, it would die a natural death. It
only ran for a few months. The publicity secretary of the
first student government of 1971 was also a keen journalist
and leading member of the UNZA Journalist club. He was con-
cerned to combine *The Spark* (the Journalist Club's newspaper
begun in 1969 which appeared two or three times each term in
a printed form designed to cater both for internal and external
readership) of which he was the Chief Editor, and the *Voice of
UNZA.* Eventually with the financial assistance of the univers-
ity administration *The Observer* was floated and has so far
gone into three issues.[47] This too was as much aimed at the
wider public as it was to the student body. The price which

must be paid for a student newspaper with as polished a
format and presentation as the Observer is the loss of independ-
ence and a limitation on the type of article which can be
accepted. Sponsorship from the union or the university admin-
istration has frequently led to tension and conflict between
the editorial board and the UNZASU executive, particularly
when the executive comes under attack in the newspapers.[48]
Secondly the considerable time lag between going to press and
the completion of printing (some two weeks) renders news
items largely obsolete when read by the student. An external
audience is essential to its success and this too affects the
content. For these reasons the printed newspapers have not
normally had a very long life nor have many issues appeared.
However, as regards the independent press produced solely for
internal readership the success of the eight to fourteen page
weekly, UZ, is unrivalled. Undoubtedly the most popular
student newspaper produced on the campus, priced at two ngwee
and selling approximately 800 copies each Monday, UZ caters
for a wide range of interests and exhibits a quality which
varies considerably from week to week. It is produced spon-
taneously over the week-end on stencils and receives a small
revenue from advertisements. It was begun in 1969 and in
1970 became an 'institution' at the campus producing some
twenty-one issues. The same number appeared in 1971.

There have been occasions when UZ has unveiled union
executive practices which are not wholly consonant with the
student interest and invited the students to question the
legitimacy of the union leadership. In one of its issues
UZ revealed under the headline 'Students angered..."filthy
UNZASU" ' [49] that the social and cultural secretary had been

misusing his powers. He was accused of choosing his own
'adherents' for people serving on the television programme
Your University and that these people were 'not worth the
job at all'.[50] In addition UZ reported that

> ....twenty-one students, including three girls,
> are to go and attend conferences in U.S.A.,
> Europe and East Africa. The names of the
> students going to these places may not be
> revealed to avoid embarassment...Meanwhile
> Mr......has denied that the choice of
> students going overseas was his own responsi-
> bility....[51]

Writing in the Voice of UNZA, three days later the UNZASU
Publicity Secretary in an open letter to the Chief Editor of
UZ warned

> The role that your paper, UZ, has assumed is
> disastrous, divisive, degrading, unimpressive,
> and to say the least has fallen short of serv-
> ing the students' interests,.....Many members
> of this community - female and male - have
> been petitioning me to ban your paper. It
> would be painful for me to such a thing for I
> believe in the freedom of the press, and not
> the sarcasm, bias, abusiveness of the Press.
>
> The UNZASU government is now asking you to
> change your course of journalistic manoeuvre,
> and we hope for this change, the sooner the
> better....[52]

Both the Chief and Senior Editors of UZ were called before
the union executive to explain their actions but the meeting
ended with

> UZ still maintaining her complete sovereignty.
> The Secretary General and the Publicity
> Secretary remained adamant to all positive
> evidence substantiating the allegations....[53]

The following issue of UZ devoted five of its fourteen pages
to some of the letters sent in supporting UZ in its 'struggle
against corruption' and attacking the publicity secretary for
his uncalled for tirade on UZ.[54] In fact the Editor-in-Chief
became very much a hero in the eyes of the student body, and

the UNZASU executive had little alternative but to cancel plans for student participation in foreign conferences, and to bow to overwhelming student opinion. UZ had in this instance clearly reversed an UNZASU executive decision against its will, highlighting its influence over student government. This was the only unequivocal example of a dramatic reversal in policy effected by the student press. The probability that 'malpractices' will be discovered and revealed in the press must make student government very wary of actually engaging in activities that would be regarded as illegitimate. In other words the power of the student press and student opinion resides more in precluding from the outset certain choices of action, than in influencing which of a number of legitimate modes of action is actually chosen in the decision-making process. This 'restrictive face of power'[55] is all the more effective because of the accessibility and visibility of the leadership in the small-scale community.

Apart from the control of communication oligarchical governments tend to monopolise the chances of learning the political skills, necessary to unseat the incumbent leadership. Here again the nature of the student community makes any such monopoly impossible. One of the bases for selection to enter university rests on a person's ability to articulate his views, and there are many occasions when he can exercise such abilities in front of a student audience. Apart from exploiting the written medium of the student press and mealtime circulars, participation in student societies affords opportunities of assimilating and learning political skills. There are a wide variety of societies and associations on the campus but few have established themselves as active bodies and it

is the same people who tend to run each society. The
University of Zambia Dramatic Society (UNZADRAM) is probably
the strongest and most successful society on campus. It has
in the past competed, with considerable success, in national
amateur dramatic competitions. It has staged a number of
well received and well publicised performances such as the
dramatisation of Chê Guevara before delegates to the Non-
Aligned International Conference of 1970 and the open-air
play Chikwakwa theatre was built by members of UNZADRAM.
Apart from UNZADRAM there is an active Student Christian
Association which meets regularly once or twice each week.
There are also the less well patronised associations and
societies linked to broad academic disciplines such as the
Medical Association, the Engineers' Association, the Education
Association, the Economics Club, Public Administration Assoc-
iation, the Business Association, Geographical Association,
Law Society, and the Sociological Association. Significantly
there is no political association, though in 1968 such an
association, with distinctive Marxist or socialist flavour,
did exist but this collapsed after the departure of its key
members. There is no branch of any political party on the
campus and the body nearest to any consistent political ges-
tures has been the Sociological Association which has taken
it upon itself to invite prominent politicians and ex-
politicians both from the government and opposition benches
to come and talk to the student body on political matters of
topical interest. There is also an active debating society,
which naturally promotes the skill of public speaking. Hold-
ing an important executive position in any of these associa-
tions offers the aspirant leader a platform for publicity.

However, such associations do not promote their own candidates for office in the union executive to the same extent as is to be found in, for example, British Civic Universities where active participation in a political society is in some cases a sine qua non for a successful campaign for position in the union executive or student representative council. Because of the small size of the student community at UNZA candidates for office do not depend on sponsorship by some organisation. Affiliation to a particular association or commitment to a political orientation are largely irrelevant to the appraisal of candidates in the student elections at UNZA.[56]

Nor do these associations, partly because they are not yet established, act as pressure groups for the pursuit of the interests of their members. Though there are small disbursements available from union funds the student government has little influence or impact on the associations and their interests cannot be furthered through the application of pressure to the student union executive. Since the leadership is accessible to the rank and file and responsive to the demands and expectations of the latter and because the interests of the student community are relatively homogeneous there is little need of organised pressure groups to promote the interests of the rank and file. As a result there are no strong organisations which mediate between the student and his leaders.

Just as the union executive is accessible to influence from the led so the rank and file are available for mobilization by the leadership. This is readily observable in the participation patterns of the student body, particularly in crisis situations. Thus overall participation in such events

as voting are relatively high. 66 per cent of the students
voted in the 1971 presidential elections and 48 per cent in
the 1970 elections.[57] The relative low turnout in 1970 may
be accounted for in terms of the historical record of
'irresponsible' leadership involving 'corrupt practices and
excessive drinking' and the adverse criticism levelled
against all three contestants as equally unsuited to the
position of President. Student demonstrations staged outside
the British High Commission in 1970 and the French Embassy
in 1971 had very strong followings. An estimated 90 per cent
of the student population were involved in the first and
over 60 per cent in the second. Over 50 per cent of students
would attend meetings addressed by eminent politicians.

Whereas under normal circumstances it is the leadership
which is responsive to pressure from below, in a crisis situa-
tion, demonstration, or packed political meeting it is the
rank and file which becomes accessible to 'mass mobilisation'.
The structure of the student community - its cohesiveness
based on common interests and its close-knittedness[58] - fosters
rank and file mobilisation and the resistance to the develop-
ment of countervailing pressures. The absence of strong
organisations, interest groups, etc. mediating between the
leaders and the led militates against the expression of
opposition to the majority view. In circumstances where it
appears to the majority that unity is vital, minority views
are not tolerated and if necessary crushed through pressures
of intimidation.[59]

Conflict between the Student Body and the Union Leadership.

Inherent in any leadership is an element, however slight, of bureaucratisation. Though the union is keenly sensitive to pressure from below, nevertheless other pressures are brought to bear which conflict with the interests of the student body as a whole. The existence of cross pressures contributes to the instability of the position of the President of the Union. Since the inception of the university in 1966 only one President has managed to stay his full term in office. The remainder lost their posts for any of three reasons. The first category is suspension by the university authorities for leading or partaking in public criticism of the government or one of its most senior leaders. A second group have been ousted by the student body itself for 'corrupt practices' in particular the misappropriation of student union funds. Presidents in a third category were suspended from office for entering into a tacit alliance with government leading to the advocacy of views dissonant with the student interest as perceived by the student body. Consideration of the first category will be deferred to a later chapter, while the second and third categories will be considered in turn as manifestations of the disparate and often conflicting interests of the leaders and the led.

In the eyes of the student body, the use of union funds to meet private financial obligations, while emphatically condemned, is nevertheless an established practice amongst officers in the union executive. At the UNZASU General Meetings, the item that invariably excites the most controversy and suspicion, as well as consuming the greatest time, is the

one related to financial matters. No student government is free from suspicion and at least two Presidents have been deposed for alleged misappropriation of funds.[60] Scandals of 'corrupt executives' appear regularly in the pages of UZ. The newly elected student government of 1971, set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate an alleged misappropriation of funds to the tune of seventeen thousand kwacha. The Commission established to its own satisfaction that there had been some considerable misappropriation of funds and was able to isolate certain members of the executive as clearly guilty of misusing union funds. (Though the Commission maintained that some seventeen thousand kwacha had indeed been lost, they were not able to discover precisely how this came about.)[61] So frequent have been the accusations, and in some cases they have been proven beyond doubt, that the rank and file expect each executive to 'misuse' funds and the more cynical suggest that students stand as candidates with the express intention of making a personal financial gain if elected to office.

Such a view of leaderships is not confined to the student body but prevails amongst trade union memberships, outside the university.[62] In the country at large there is evidence that the ruled look upon the national leadership as 'lining their pockets' with public money.[63] Leaders are indeed expected to favour their kinsmen or tribesmen in the distribution of the available valued goods. Thus 'corruption' of this kind is at once both condemned and exploited by the led and in this way perpetuated.

Interpreted as a manifestation of traditional, particularistic values by some social scientists,[64] the Zambian justifies such practices by reference to African tradition in

which primordial or particularistic loyalties to kinsmen, tribesmen etc. are given greater emphasis and value than commitment to the wider public. But corruption is a universal phenomenon to be found not only in Zambian or other such societies but in private and public governments throughout the world. Lipset, for example, considers that corruption is a consequence 'of specific social structures where conformity to one norm necessarily involves violation of another norm'.[65] According to Lipset, corruption in trade unions in America stems from the conflict between the norms of achievement and democracy both, in his view, fundamental components of the value system of American society. Though this may indeed explain the source of 'corruption', it does not explain why in some situations such a conflict of norms gives rise to 'corruption' whereas in other circumstances it does not. In other words what generates a commitment to particularistic norms at the expense of universalistic norms?

Rapid upward group mobility, as when the Zambian political élite took over from the colonial government, promotes a state of anomie in which pre-existing social constraints are cast aside. The social constraints imposed on a subject group by a ruling class are no longer applicable to the emergent group, which rises into the positions vacated by the colonialists. Thus while the social constraints of the colonial era are cast aside, no new set makes its appearance to contain the behaviour of the 'new political élite'.[66] Pressure from below and from the side are unavailable to establish a commitment to universalistic norms over and above the pursuit of private interest. Once the political élite establishes a pattern of behaviour which is readily observable as

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emphasizing particularistic norms, then, being so salient a
reference group, other leaderships in society award corres-
ponding legitimacy to 'corrupt' practices.

Commitment to particularistic as opposed to universalis-
tic norms will be governed by a balance of pressures. Amongst
student leaders the pressures towards particularism may come
from without in the form of obligations to kinsmen or the
adoption of a particular life style appropriate to the status
of a student leader or from within in the form of keenly felt
personal aspirations and desires, accentuated by a background
of poverty. On the other side, universalistic commitments
will be pursued according to the sanctions the student body
can apply to its leadership for 'misusing' public funds. In
the past the student body has been able to apply no other
effective sanctions but moral censure and suspension from
office. The money 'misappropriated' has never been recovered.

The execution of 'corrupt' practices will be contingent
on available opportunities. In the case of the student
government the check-off system of contributing to union funds
and the authority to dispense with that money residing within
the executive offers ample opportunity for channelling money
into private pockets rather than union projects.

Finally the partial commitment to particularistic norms
may be interpreted as a 'reward' for a partial acceptance of
universalistic norms. Thus student leaders may regard the
channelling of union funds into their own pockets as an
appropriate reward for the services they have rendered to the
student body. This is likely to be the case in those communi-
ties where voluntary service is not acknowledged as rewarding
in itself. There is indeed a significant absence of voluntary

activities amongst Zambian students in contrast to the
numerous such activities which take place for example in
British universities.[67] On the other hand, the status and
prestige accorded to the position of President of the Students'
Union outside the university in England is very much greater
than it is in Zambia where it has connotations of arrogance
and elitism. The small status differential which separates
the student leader from the led and its poor image outside
the campus is compensated for by taking possession of some of
the union funds. In this way the rewards for taking on the
onerous and risky role of President of the union are
extracted in a manner which may not be necessary in the con-
text of universities in other societies.

A further significant factor in the disbursement of
union funds brought to light by the Nguni Commission was the
absence of a reliable accounting system.[68] The failure on
the part of executive to introduce such a system may be attrib-
uted either to ignorance or to a deliberate neglect with a
view to facilitating the use of student funds for private
purposes. Though 'corruption' quickly excites the indignation
of the student body, the betrayal of student interests to the
individual interest is in many ways preferable to a betrayal
to the government interest. There have been two issues on
which the student leadership has yielded to lateral pressure
from government rather than succumb to counter-pressures from
the rank and file. The first concerned a prospective National
Service to which the student body was opposed and the second
concerned the appropriate action to be taken to ensure that
student bursaries were increased.

After the President had invited a group of approximately

twenty students, including the union executive, to the State

House for dinner and explained to them the problems the

country was facing, the union leadership and others who had

been invited began to urge for the introduction of national

service for students. This initiative from the leadership

was rejected by the student body as a whole, and, indeed, the

leadership must have been aware that this suggestion was not

very popular, as an opinion poll had earlier shown.

> Students should be forced to participate in a
> National Service of one year before receiving
> their first degree.

36% agreed, 9% were uncertain, 55% disagreed[69]

As early as 1967 the incumbent President was ousted by the

student body because he had been conducting negotiations with

the government for the introduction of a National Service for

students. In both cases the leadership was responding to

the   national interest rather than the narrower student

interest.

The second example concerns the issue of student grants.

The student body have been clamouring for an increase in bur-

saries for some time on the grounds that they had not changed

ever since the university had begun. Negotiations with

government had seemed to break down and many apparently wished

to demonstrate over the issue, as early as March 1970. The

student government brought into office in April 1970 set

about renewing negotiations with the government. Presenting

a summary of the situation, in May 1971, just before leaving

office, the President said that the proposals now being con-

sidered should bear fruit but if they didn't then there was no

other course of action than some form of demonstration. No

progress was in fact made and the third opinion poll revealed students' preferences as regards possible demonstrations.

> When students in other parts of the world are demonstrating against U.S. presence in South East Asia then we should also demonstrate.
>
> 26% agreed, 14% were uncertain, 60% disagreed[70]

> If economic sanctions on Rhodesia are formally lifted by the British Government then students should demonstrate outside the British High Commission.
>
> 53% agreed, 17% were uncertain, 30% disagreed[71]

> If student bursaries are not increased then a demonstration should be staged outside the Ministry of Education.
>
> 70% agreed, 12% were uncertain, 18% disagreed[72]

Though the demonstration over student bursaries had the greatest appeal, it was a demonstration against the French for their assistance in augmenting the South African supply of arms, which actually took place. The student leaders were very unwilling to stage a demonstration for the purposes of increasing student grants for a number of reasons, but uppermost in their minds must have been the risk they incurred from a hostile government. Student leaders are generally cautious about staging public demonstrations which express student opposition to government policy. (The two that have been so staged have ended up with student leaders suspended.[73]) The bursary and national service issues represent the two most notable instances of the student leadership making voluntary concessions to 'moderate' leadership.

Though the student leadership is generally responsive to the demands and expectations of the led, this is not the view

of the latter as the first and third opinion polls indicate.

> Student leaders do not represent the student body
> as a whole.
>
> 54% agreed, 32% were uncertain, 14% disagreed[74]
>
> 51% agreed, 23% were uncertain, 26% disagreed[75]

The expression of dissatisfaction reflects on the one hand
the expectation of unwavering loyalty from the leadership and
on the other hand the checkered history of executive officers
who have been ousted for misuse of student funds or for est-
ablishing close ties with government. That only one govern-
ment has survived its full term in office is as much an index
of the _expected_ devotion to the interests of the community,
as it is of the unrepresentativeness of the student leadership.

In choosing their Presidents, students have elected
those candidates who were the least likely to submit to out-
side pressures detrimental to the student interest and who
were the least likely to 'misuse' union funds. This may be a
partial explanation as to why, of the last four Presidents
elected by the student body, three of them have been non-
Zambian Africans. The status of 'aliens' - as they are
referred to - is thwart with insecurity and the government has
been loth to offer them citizenship rights and in some cases
has refused to extend residence permits.[76] At the university
he has often been the subject of abuse for his sometimes
close affiliation with white students, particularly females,
and for his lack of interest in fighting for the freedom of
his homelands in Rhodesia and South Africa.[77] The Rhodesian
or South African black is therefore very vulnerable to pres-
sures from the Zambian students and a President from one of

these nationalities would be very wary about antagonising
the student body. Secondly, being an alien, the Rhodesian
or South African President would have less interests in est-
ablishing a close affiliation with government, than the
Zambian President whose future is in Zambia and whose support
could be canvassed for on a sectional basis.

Though the student community will attempt to exercise the
fullest control over its executive, nevertheless as the univ-
ersity expands in size so the student government will be
bureaucratised with increasing status differentials between
leaders and led and a less accessible and visible government.
Such tendencies could lead to an executive more amenable to
outside pressure and private interest and less sensitive to
the demands of the rank and file.

Incompatible Political Structures as a Source of Tension.

A leadership sensitive to the led and devoted to the pur-
suit of the student interest to the exclusion of other compet-
ing interests in the wider society leads to what is seen from
outside as 'irresponsible' or 'selfish' leadership. The very
characteristics of the community which encourage high levels
of participation in student government and which sensitise
the leadership to the demands and the mood of the led, and
therefore do not permit the moderation of those demands, are
also responsible for tensions between students and the govern-
ment. Unable to compromise the student interest in competition
with a host of other interest groups in the wider society, the
leadership is viewed by the government as extremist and
irresponsible.

On the other hand, a bureaucratised form of government

whose continued existence is not so dependent on support from the governed and less responsive to the demands of the rank and file is better placed to compromise the interests of the rank and file when competing with conflicting demands from other sections of society. In moderating the demands made on behalf of its membership, the leadership of the bureaucratised private government may be rewarded with admission to the ruling class where its bid for continual leadership will be supported by other sections of the ruling class. In Zambia, for example, the bureaucratisation of the mineworkers' union has led to the emergence of a leadership less sensitive to the demands of its membership but whose continued dominance has been made possible through legislative action by government (the outlawing of rival trade unions and the legislation for one union in one industry), support from management (the introduction of the union dues shop so that the leadership no longer has to 'fight' for following amongst the rank and file with extremist demands) and the coercive machinery of the state (the intimidation of rival leaders). The leadership, having little legitimacy from the rank and file, nevertheless pre-empts the emergence of an alternative less 'moderate' leadership more responsive to the demands of the workers and less responsive to pressures from management and government.[78] Lipset has summarised the position.

> Integration of members within a trade union, a
> political party, a farm organisation, a pro-
> fessional society, may increase the chances
> that members of such organizations will be
> active in the group and have more control over
> its policies. But extending the functions of
> such organizations so as to integrate their
> members may threaten the larger political sys-
> tem because it reduces the forces making for
> compromise and understanding among conflicting
> groups.[79]

The structure of the student community which lends itself to active involvement by the students in self-government and which raises a leadership sensitive to the student interest, also brings the student body into tension with the wider society in particular the government. The tension will be the greater the lower the legitimacy of conflict in that society. The examination of the Zambian political structure in the previous chapter revealed it less able and the government less willing to tolerate opposition than in those societies in which the liberal university has been nurtured. Tension between students and government is, therefore, likely to be greater in Zambia than in England. At times when the government is less prepared to tolerate opposition, becomes more authoritarian and when stress in the political system is particularly acute, then tension between students and government will increase correspondingly. Again the more sectional are the student demands, the more tension they are likely to create. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a student leadership, concerned to protect itself, resisting some extremist student demands in an attempt to avoid kindling the tension between students and the government or party.

STUDENT OPPOSITIONALISM.

The intellectuals of the underdeveloped countries
since they acquired independence, insofar as they
are not in authority, do incline toward an anti-
political, oppositional attitude. They are dis-
gruntled. The form of the constitution does not
please them and they are reluctant to play the
constitutional game. Many of them desire to ob-
struct the government or give up the game of
politics altogether, retiring into a negative
state of mind about all institutional politics or
at least about any political regime which does
not promise a "clean sweep" of the inherited order.[80]

Shils locates two sources of oppositionalism characteristic
of intellectuals in the 'new nations', the first in the
heritage of oppositional politics from the colonial period
and a second in the aversion to bureaucratic legal government
in contradistinction to the all-embracing diffuse authority
of the 'indigenous traditions'.[81] Over and above these
origins there are of course those which characterise intel-
lectual communities elsewhere. Lipset, for example, has
delineated a set of structural factors which predispose the
intellectual to 'leftism' in the United States of America,
including the fear of the power of 'business', absence of
conservative ideologies, isolation from the élites of the
country, relatively low income as compared with other profes-
sions, the feeling that he is not accorded deference commen-
surate with his self esteem and the questioning of the status
quo which inevitably accompanies any creative process.[82] A
number of these factors can be carried over into the Zambian
context.

In the wider social system, the Zambian student has
little influence over decisions of major consequence, and is
excluded from active participation in the political system.
His status in many contexts is low as a consequence of hos-
tile propaganda and he is not accorded the deference that he
believes his superior enlightenment deserves. His economic
status, incomparably superior to all but a minority of
Zambians, is at the same time equally inferior to the ruling
class, conceived as the dominant reference group. Of itself,
the student's role-status in the social, political and
economic structures of society lends itself neither to feel-
ings of deprivation or gratification. However, once a series

of reference groups and a set of expectations are introduced
he evaluates his position in negative terms.

Though the most highly educated section of society, the
student is nevertheless to be found outside the ruling class.
Given the importance of education in the central systems of
values and priorities, the student's elevated status in the
educational hierarchy, 'incongruent' with his lowly position
in the social, economic and political structures, fosters
feelings of intense relative deprivation in these institu-
tional spheres.[83] In a 'Western' society a person, in particu-
lar a student, will hold positions in the separate institu-
tional hierarchies of roughly equal status. The structures
are said to be 'congruent' and deprivation deriving from in-
consistent positioning in the different status hierarchies is
relatively rare.

Deprivation in the wider political system is further
exacerbated by the contrast of the political structures of
the university system and the wider Zambian social system.
Whereas the student participates in and influences decisions
made by his own student government and by the university
authorities he is accorded no such influence in the wider
system.

Thirdly the student feels deprived on account of the
difference between his present economic, political and social
standing in the Zambian society as compared to his expected
future status as a member of a professional class. All three
factors typical of the student role-status in the Zambian
social structure, intensify the feelings of relative depriva-
tion felt by students and intellectuals in any society. The
existence of such feelings of deprivation are possibly

reflected in the student's assessment of his position in Zambian society.

Students are an élite cut off from Zambian society. 24% agreed, 20% were uncertain, 56% disagreed[84]

Students belong to the upper class of Zambian society 28% agreed, 14% were uncertain, 58% disagreed[85]

Compounding the feelings of deprivation and inclining the student towards 'oppositionalism' is a further factor inherent in the liberal university, namely the conflict between the 'creative process' or 'search for truth' and the preservation of the status quo.[86] As one student wrote in the columns of UZ.

> The university exists to teach and pursue truth.
> It faces all around it and within it untruths.
> The student is told that he must search for truth
> and finds around him the denial of truth of life
> and liberty of masses of people in his country.
> He imbibes doctrines of equality and human rights
> and sees around him incessant violations of human
> rights. He is told that the basis of scholarship
> is objectivity and finds that his life and that
> of his parents and society is based on personal
> pursuits and impersonal egoism not high sounding
> philosophies. He is exhorted to use his imagina-
> tion as an instrument of progress and sees its
> methodical abuse in the ingenuous transformation
> of sense into nonsense and nonsense into sense.[87]

The liberal ethos enshrined in the outlook of the architects of the university, its two Vice-Chancellors (Dr. Anglin and Professor Goma - both brought up in the Western tradition of university education), and its academic staff is expected to develop the critical and analytical faculties of the student and therefore opposes the status quo, leading to an assault on the surrounding society.

Orientation to the political system, the national

leadership and the national philosophy reflect the influence of the above factors on the student's outlook upon society and his position in it.

Orientation to the Wider Political System.

Students recorded their disenchantment with the little influence they are accorded in the wider system in the opinion polls. Their assessment of that system and those who operate it finds expression in an idiom which acknowledges the university and student communities as an implicit frame of reference. The weekly columns of UZ provide ample evidence of the manner in which the 'moral criticism' is cast.[88]

One dimension absent in the student and university government but present in the national government is leadership access to coercive force. It was noted earlier that the first clashes between student and UNIP revolved around the latter's use of force in its card checking campaigns and that in 1966 the NUZS Annual Conference condemned such action by the Youth wing of the party.[89] Students are particularly conscious of violence at the time of elections.

> When elections take place people will be barred
> from bars, shops and other public places. They
> will be beaten and police will just look on be-
> cause there is a law which allows it so long as
> the man doing the clobbering belongs to the
> right party. Afterwards, big politicians,
> people who should have told their trigger-happy,
> stone-howling lieutenants what to say and do,
> will thank the common man for fairness and
> peacefulness of the elections. By that they
> will mean that not enough skulls were bashed in
> the Copperbelt, not too obvious rigging or mis-
> counting of papers was brought to light.
> [90]

Though there are effective institutional mechanisms for

controlling the leadership on campus, students perceive no
such effective mechanisms at the national level. The formal
elections conducted every four years and the continued exist-
ence of a formal opposition are looked upon with scepticism,
because, in the student's view, the government fails to
regard them in the spirit for which they were intended.

> ....it is interesting to follow the steps leading
> to the ballot. There is the business of campaign-
> ing. That the ruling party monopolises the cam-
> paigning media is of little doubt. It is not sur-
> prising that opposition parties find themselves
> campaigning indoors and do without posters because
> publishing companies for fear of getting into
> trouble with government, are often reluctant to
> print for them. Radio broadcasts which are solely
> in the hands of government, do not for one moment
> mention opposition parties' names unless for the
> sake of disgracing them in one way or another.
> The pre-voting period is controlled in such a man-
> ner as to allow as little publicity, if any, of
> the opposition as possible to reach the rural
> areas. A very embarrassing situation comes when
> opposition parties are banned only a few days be-
> fore polling day. Their leaders are put under
> arrest on the excuse that the prevailing riots
> were initiated by them. While this may be a des-
> perate action, let us look at cases where govern-
> ments have been silent after hearing that their
> youths (some older than my father) started trouble
> and in a bid to retaliate, the opposition members
> were triumphant. Some governments do not hesitate
> to ban the innocent opposition and find themselves
> in a shameful position on hearing that those
> alleged to have started the trouble have been
> acquitted in court....[91]

The state apparatus - the forces of coercion, the mass media
and the law - is crudely seen as an instrument which the rul-
ing class manipulates to perpetuate its rule. On the other
hand, student government has no access to coercion, cannot
control communications or the expression of oppositional views,
and has no opportunity to influence judicial proceedings as,
for example, in the case of the Nguni Commission which was
virulently devoted to exposing the malpractices of student
government.[92] A further contrast between student and national

government is the social distance between the leaders and the led. Within the student community rewards in terms of status, power and wealth for taking up office are small and the descent into the rank and file is slight compared with the differentials which separate the leaders from the led at the national level. National leaders, if they lose their posts, would have difficulty in finding alternative positions with equivalent power, prestige and wealth. By contrast, the student leader can continue to be active and influential in student politics even after his term in office as an informal leader endowed with experience in student government. Ex-leaders are regarded with a certain reverence and are sought after for advice. Thus the President in 1971 would consult the President of 1970 on matters of student government and on occasions, where leadership was crucial as for example when demonstrations have been staged outside British and French Embassies, it was the student leaders of previous regimes who featured most prominently. To forestall a severe fall in status, the national leadership tends to eliminate those procedures which allow the replacement of one government by another culminating in the creation of the one party state.

> Sad to imagine most African governments fail because the leaders (everyone of the Messiahs) purport themselves to be their own countries' Moses who must lead the flock to paradise - indispensable ones who will insult their electorate. The insults, the despotism, are tantamount to Moses hitting the stone fiercer than was commanded. The leaders will stand on a hill and look yonder to see what they'll forego. This is after they've clung to their posts - nations never use their best brains since they are a challenge to the old folk. Leaders talk like parrots and the electorate dance. Leaders pick on the dullest brains, breed them, and so the henchmen will never let go.[93]

The one party state is perceived as a means of perpetuating
and consolidating the rule of the incumbent leadership and
eliminating opposition.

> The most ardent devotees of such a system are
> members of the present ruling party. This is
> not surprising. These people see in the one-
> party state a guarantee of permanent office
> and less possibility of contesting in an
> election where they might lose their vote to
> the opposition.[94]

Opposition to the one party state was expressed in the third
opinion poll.

> The time is now ripe for the declaration of a
> one party state.
>
> 11% agreed, 8% were uncertain, 81% disagreed[95]

One final contrast is between the character of the liber-
al university and the authoritarian political system in which
it is embedded. The liberal outlook, indelibly engrained in
the outlook of the academic staff and leading administrators,
extols the toleration of opposed views and the pursuit of
critical assessment based on evidence, unconstrained by out-
side pressures. The political system of the wider society,
however, is less tolerant of criticism and debate, and of the
pursuit of learning irrespective of where it may lead; rather
it is concerned to forge a degree of unity of thought, inten-
tion and deed which in certain areas may prove to be incompat-
ible with teaching in the liberal university.[96]

Orientation to the National Leadership.

Though the ruling class can be decomposed into a set of
parallel élites, one of these élites - the political élite -
maintains a position of pre-eminence. The student looks to

this national leadership as the distributors of power and directors of national development. In their eyes it is less the system which 'makes the leaders' but more the 'leaders which make the system'. The assessment of the political system contains more than a tinge of 'Fanonism', and the critique of the national leadership, consciously or unconsciously, follows Fanon even more closely.[97]

Given his present feelings of deprivation, accentuated by aspirations to enter the ruling class, if not necessarily the political élite, the student seeks to distinguish two types of leaders; those likely to favour the student as a possible recruit to the central positions in the ruling class and those likely to favour the loyal party official.

> It is strange to know that the present cabinet advocates economic development and change and yet they do not want to step down for young intellectuals to take over.
>
> It must be realised that Zambia...is entering a period of serious economic development. Therefore in order that the period is not messed up by unskilled hands...[there must be]...more new political intellectuals on the political scene.
>
> Mwaanga of the United Nations must come back and spearhead this revolution as he is a man of high calibre. The student union can publish a list of young dynamic politicians who have the development of their fellow men at heart and make sure its influence is used to get these young men the votes they need.
>
> I am...convinced that the old men now in office must go. The vitality in them has faded away. They must be able to appreciate this change otherwise the revolution will not be preserved and its momentum will not be sustained.
>
> The problem with our present leadership is that it tends to remain in power by using the white man and colonialism as a scapegoat for anything that goes wrong, instead of maintaining power by constructive development projects.[98]

The idiom of generations is again used, this time in the interests of the students to wrest power from the incumbent leadership.

The arguments Fanon adduces in his condemnation of the 'national bourgeoisie' litter the pages of <u>UZ</u>. The exploitation perpetrated by the 'native bourgeoisie has only been achieved by its colonial predecessors'.

> We have heard enough scandals that have been committed by our national leaders. The nation has waited patiently for the blow that would deal with them accordingly. The memories of colonial exploitation have revived when we think of the exploitation the common man is suffering at the hands of his native bourgeoisie.[99]

The party becomes an instrument of exploitation.

> The fathers of exploitation in this country have unashamedly hidden themselves under the protective umbrella of the Party....[100]

The legitimacy won by the leaders of the liberation struggle has now degenerated into open hypocrisy.

> Would I be a nationalist if I were to condone the activities of such tin-pot heroes just because they were in the forefront of the national liberation movement? Countrymen the time has come when complacency will only number our hey days. We cannot and must not let this country be ravaged and left bare by those who talk of daylight socialism on political rostra and yet afterwards engage in nocturnal discussions of how to amass money by exploiting the common man and sending their loot to Europe for it to earn interest, waiting for them until things become hot here.[101]

And all this is consolidated in the exploitation of the common man.

> It is now common knowledge that most of our leaders own farms, where cheap labour is obviously used...These farms are not meant to benefit the common man in any way...The so-called referendum gave us back our land but now we know who it was in aid of. The common folk thought that it was a beneficial deal on their side. They rushed to occupy those farms. They were turned out by the same people who had promised them the land. The land is for anyone who can buy it, it soon became clear to everybody. And who can buy it? Of course the high bracket guys. And who are they? ...The common man is left in the cold. His position has not changed even a little bit. He in fact is glaring hunger in the face because the

little money allocated for the improvement of his small garden is being stolen by some government underdogs.[102]

The common man is portrayed as the innocent victim of an exploitative race of leaders.

I speak on behalf of the silent majority who are helpless in the face of this gigantic and monolithic leviathan which rewards one according to how much hoodwinking of the masses he has done....[103]

The masses are presented as duped by their 'oppressors'.

These same rich 'responsible' men want to cheat the ignorant masses by preaching Humanism and exploiting the ignorant youths to go on 'seek and destroy' missions to terrorise the masses.[104]

And it is here that analyses deviate from the Fanon argument, which rests on the claim that the 'common man', the peasant and the worker are well equipped to govern themselves, that they be not regarded as children who have to be led but as adults who are entitled to direct democracy in which they themselves make decisions which crucially affect their lives.[105] The party and the government are but instruments in the performance of the popular will, directly expressed. The student, on the other hand, sees the 'common man' as helpless, ignorant, incapable of resurrecting himself, apathetic and unresponsive to his own needs. He must be protected from the outrages of the national leadership and led in his own interest by those who know better - the enlightened few. The present leadership knows nothing but exploitation, caring only for its own aggrandisement which it pursues irrespective of the cost to the nation. The 'freedom fighters' have outlived their usefulness as leaders and must be succeeded by the younger, 'enlightened' intellectuals more responsive to the 'national good' and better able to lead the people towards

the 'eradication of poverty, disease and ignorance'. The
evils of the present government lie not in the system,
characterised by the gulf which separates the leaders from
the led, but in the leadership which mercilessly operates the
system in the defence and extension of the interests of the
ruling class at the expense of the 'common man'. The students,
albeit inarticulately, advocate the enthronement of the
intellectual and demand that the 'old guard' defer to the
dynamism and prowess of the young intelligentsia, as the
recruitment reservoir for the legitimate leadership.

Ideology and Counter Ideology.

An examination of the student's orientation to the offic-
ial national 'ideology' of Humanism provides an interesting
illustration of his perception of the Zambian society.
Humanism, a variant of African Socialism, seeks to combine
elements of Christianity and Socialism with a view to formu-
lating a 'man-centred' society in which the dignity of the
individual is paramount.[106] As in the case of other African
Socialisms, Humanism draws sustenance from a conception of
the 'traditional' African community as a mutual aid society,
in which communalism is stressed rather than individualism,
cohesion rather than conflict, acceptance rather than rejec-
tion, and widely spread responsibilities rather than narrowly
defined obligations. This is a society in which man was
highly valued and human dignity respected. All men are equal
and none more privileged than others. Such is the socialist
ideal which the Humanist society must strive to achieve while
at the same time adopting the technological advances of West-
ern society to uplift the material standard and the quality

of life. Society must be organised in such a way that the 'evil' effects of industrialisation as experienced in England during the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth century on the one hand and coercive apparatus harnessed to force industrialisation on the peoples of communist countries on the other hand must be both avoided. Industrialisation in Zambia must proceed but never at the expense of the dignity of men. The common man as Kaunda refers to him must control those decisions that affect him through an apparatus of participatory democracy, such as may be constituted in industry through worker control or works committees or at the village level in cooperatives. Above all Zambia must resist any tendencies for classes to develop, and to eliminate categories such as the rich and the poor. In other words Humanism rejects the association between a 'capitalist' economy, albeit state capitalism, and the formation of social classes.

As a code of behaviour, Humanism exhorts every Zambian to be a good Christian and love thy neighbour. It deplores all forms of discrimination based on race, creed or religion according every group in Zambia a significant role in the development of Zambia. It embodies, however, beyond these general statements no explicit or implicit conception of the dynamics of social change. It awards no group in society with an historic mission to champion Zambia's future. It sees the relationship between the introduction of 'modern' or 'Western' institutions and 'development' or social change in a simplistic manner taking no account of the multifarious unanticipated consequences of transplanting institutions and technology from one society to another or of creating institutions anew. Its

development and practical significance is illustrated in public policy, where attempts have undoubtedly been made to reduce social inequalities, to remove any traces of racial discrimination, to gain control of the expatriate owned industries and banks and to strive towards equality of opportunity. In moving towards the Humanist Society, however, Zambia has faced serious obstacles which, in the short term, could probably be only overcome by the radical reconstruction of society. It is against this background that the students' views must be gauged.

An analytic distinction may be drawn between the people who espouse the tenets of Humanism, and Humanism itself, though of course the image Humanism presents and its characterisation in public policy is dependent on its interpretation by those responsible for its propagation. Thus perhaps the most widely accepted view of Humanism amongst students is of a veil redirecting attention away from the exploitation that continues unabated in its name. This view corresponds to Mannheim's 'particular conception of ideology' which

> ....is implied when the term denotes that we are sceptical of the ideas and representations advanced by our opponent. They are regarded as more or less conscious disguises of the real nature of the situation, the true recognition of which would not be in accord with his interests.[107]

For some Humanism is merely an exercise in hypocrisy.

> While on [one] side Zambia's poverty, hunger and want is the accepted rule...on the other side the humanist travels in prestigious Mercedes Benzs....[108]

> Has the philosophy of Humanism managed to work in Zambia? The answer of course is no, mainly because of the dedicated efforts of the preachers of the doctrine. I am not a good Christian, but I think that somewhere in the Bible Jesus says, or at least implies that it is of no use to tell a child that if he sins he will go to hell, when you actually commit those sins in front of him.[109]

Perhaps the most radical and articulate critique was offered

by Masautso Phiri, who specified and concretised the feeling

of many students.

> Zambians and expatriates alike have discovered the
> happy fact of the [wideness] of Zambian Humanism.
> Vocal adherence to the philosophy, they discovered,
> is a good cover-up for exploitation. Or in the
> name of high productivity they manage to squeeze
> out of the Zambian worker maximum labour possible.
> And it is difficult to pin-point who exploits in a
> Humanist state since if the government can pay its
> junior staff as low as K36.00 a month and still
> extract some National Provident Fund out of him,
> one wonders why a privateer should not do the same.
>
> Because we define Humanism in terms of fairness,
> it is fair to obtain a loan of K25,000 at the ex-
> pense of the common peasant who cannot even ob-
> tain fertiliser for his subsistence. This is an
> illustration of the failure of externalisation -
> in content and in practice of Humanism and its
> creation. Its wideness has made it open to a
> variety of interpretations - and in truth (apart
> from Dr. Zulu's book and Fortman's After
> Mulungushi) - no serious debate has been under-
> taken by either our intellectuals or the mass
> media for the benefit of the unfortunate common
> man.[110]

That scepticism and cynicism towards the sincerity of the ex-

ponents of Humanism, is widespread amongst students is illus-

trated in the third opinion poll.

> The leaders of the Nation follow the precepts of
> Humanism.
>
> 10% agreed, 19% were uncertain, 71% disagreed[111]

Humanism has provided the students with a cudgel to attack the

hypocrisy of the national leadership.

Rather than appear revolutionary, Humanism is seen to

buttress the status quo. As far as the student is concerned

Humanism - to use Mannheim's terminology - is an ideology

rather than a Utopian construct. It does not 'tend to break

the bonds of the existing order' but rather represents a set of

situationally transcendant ideas which never
succeed _de facto_ in the realization of their
projected contents.[112]

Phiri pursues a distinction similar to Mannheim's between

ideology and Utopia

> In an attempt to explain the lack of critical
> writings on the subject of Humanism - whether
> literary or studies - one is tempted to look
> at the origin of ideologies in general.
> There are two kinds of origins of ideologies.
> The first is a reaction against existing sys-
> tems - Marxism is such a kind of ideology.
> It attempts to find solutions to problems
> that are affecting society at the time. They
> cover socio-economic as well as political
> problems. The second originates from at-
> tempts to fortify existing systems. The rise
> of welfare societies and syndicatism in
> capitalist societies is an attempt to main-
> tain the status quo. Most African ideologies
> are in the second grouping, and they must
> often attempt to justify certain actions of
> political leaders. Zambian Humanism offers
> an example of such ideologies which are often
> dry of any practicability and its exponents
> seem contented that it remains so.[113]

Turning to the content of Humanism, students find its

two sources of inspiration, Christianity and a 'romantic'

conception of traditional society, particularly disconcerting.

Though many students have experienced intensive religious

teaching, the more 'radical' have rejected it as the hand-

maiden of colonisation and exploitation. It is seen as a

Western system of thought through which the colonised people

were cowed into submission. Kandeke in a 'socialist' critique

of Humanism is particularly contemptuous of its association

with Christianity.

> Our HUMANISM in Zambia should not appear to be
> based too much on religion. We have had
> enough of the ecclesiastical empty teachings
> of Hebrew ontology, cosmology and metaphysics.
> Religion is no longer a 'unifying' force. See
> how the White 'Christians' in America
> interpret "LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR"...by lynching

the Black Christians! What is becoming of race
relations in Christian Britain? What is the
answer of Christian Germans torturing other
people in Auschwitz? The religious Moslem
northerners of Nigeria massacred like mad the
Christian Eastern IBOS (of Biafra), a couple of
years ago. The same is true of northern Arab
Moslems and Black southerners of Sudan. The
late South African premier, a Doctor of
Divinity, strongly described and subscribed to
the philosophy of apartheid which Socialist-
Humanist condemn as immoral. Can somebody tell
me the logic of orders in the Roman Catholic
Church, or the so many sects in Christianity?
In our country of Zambia, what is the story of
Lenshina and her religion; and how much
national unity are the Watch Towers promoting
in our fatherland? How does one expect a
people to be politically united when they are
so divided religiously? This is one of the
many reasons why our HUMANISM in Zambia should
not, I repeat SHOULD NOT have a religious tint
....114

Whereas Kandeke condemns the intolerance of religious fanatics,

others have attacked the very opposite trait in Humanism; its

passivity and lack of militancy and its tolerance of the mis-

demeanours and aggressions of others. The cool and at times

insulting reception accorded President Kaunda in London and

New York when, as Chairman of the Organisation of African

Unity, he led a delegation to the Western world in a bid to

arrest the supply of arms to South Africa outraged the student

body in Lusaka. The following commentary is taken from the

issue of UZ following the President's return to Zambia.

Heath the British Premier is said to have 'sent
a group of black leaders packing'. He told KK
point blank that Britain would never be in-
fluenced in her actions by black natives who
after all had been granted independence by the
Tories. Nixon, in cahoots with the monk Heath,
flew to California instead of seeing the 'ugly
faces' of black leaders...KK surprised and
shocked us when he advised us not to hate
whites just for the stupidity of one man even
though he is their leader...We expected KK to
do what Nasser did in 1956. After he was re-
buffed by the West who refused to finance the
Aswan dam project he dramatically nationalised

the Suez Canal owned and controlled by the
Western Capitalists. He told the people "let
the Western powers choke in their anger". We
therefore wanted KK to announce en masse one
hundred per cent nationalisation of the mines,
banks and other Western companies and let the
capitalists choke in their rage. But to our
embarrassment and shock, KK wants us to turn
the other cheek. We want justice now because
to go on our knees to people who insult our
leaders at dinner tables and ask them for
mercy is not only contrary to revolutionary
ethics but also a symptom of utter helpless-
ness. It is time we forgot our so-called
western beneficiaries and look elsewhere for
true friends. We are fed up of being
acquisitive to western morals of toleration
and "love thy enemy".[115]

The Humanist ideology has no revolutionary content, and indeed

it harks back to a tradition which is seen as the very anti-

thesis of revolutionary change. The romanticising of the

African past as some form of idyllic existence, common to most

varieties of African Socialism, is viewed as irrelevant to the

needs of present day Zambia.

The long existence in the history of African
liberation of the desire - preparatory or
otherwise - has been the creation of an
identity - a black identity. The massive
poems of the negritude type are the product of
an African's attempt to rediscover his self.
Unfortunately Zambian Humanism rises from the
embers of this spent-out force - that blacks
since they suffered for centuries must now get
back not only the controls of power but also
the controls of wealth. And at the same time
it fails to extricate the black man from the
frivolous disposition of white man's luxuries.
To the current exponents of Zambian Humanism
it suffices that ten out of a thousand blacks
own shops in what was once a white area - or
that they are able to drive long mercedez
benz cars - and play golf on Sunday afternoon
at what once were whites only clubs. The
movement of blacks to such pompously prestig-
ious areas becomes an entry into an elitist
shell for a selected few. It is similar to
the desegregation process now going on in
America which always leaves the grassroots to
fend for themselves.[116]

By invoking concepts of a traditional society without
classes, without exploitation and without conflict, Humanism
fails to come to terms with what the student perceives to be
the real and genuine Zambian society in which inequalities
are glaringly obvious. He becomes increasingly bored with
pleas from the national leadership that the problems inheri-
ted from the colonial era or perpetrated by the nation's
enemies - both internal and external - must be held respons-
ible for the present inequities and economic problems.

> Our Humanism in Zambia should be directed at
> breaking down the existing false walls and
> privileges which are dividing our society
> into classes. The education system of having
> types of schools, or the health system of
> providing two types of medical services, was
> considered socially immoral during the
> struggle for independence. During the pol-
> itical struggle we charged that it was
> immoral from the Humanist point of view, to
> segregate people on purely racial or social
> grounds. We accused the colonialists of
> providing separate residential areas. We
> even accused the powers that were, of separ-
> ate burial places. What is the excuse for
> continuing such capitalist-moral practices in
> Zambia?....
>
> In our Humanism in Zambia, economic reforms
> should be aimed not at transferring capital-
> ism from foreign hands into local hands, thus
> creating national bourgeoisie and capitalists,
> but at completely changing the present social
> structure which appears to be not different
> from the pre-independence structure. In
> order to raise a new Humanist sanctuary the
> old capitalist sanctuary must be destroyed,
> that is the law![117]

Humanism embraces all groups in society exhorting each
to behave in a neighbourly way to every other. It eschews
any recognition of conflicting or disparate interests, stres-
sing the contribution of each section of society to the goals
of national unity, and national development. This is pres-
ented as an unambiguous goal, no reference is made to

priorities in national development, nor to the political
decisions which must be made to establish that set of priori-
ties which will inevitably favour one group at the expense of
another. Humanism gives no specific guide as to how scarce
resources be distributed. It offers the student no plan of
campaign in which national reconstruction can proceed, it has
little revolutionary content that could be concretised in
student action and it fails to appeal to any prejudices which
might unleash a vigorous assault on the nation's problem.
Apart from its manipulation as a shield for the protection of
the exploitative practices of the national leadership, many
students also perceive it as incongruent with the needs and
realities of Zambian society.

> Humanism is relevant to the needs of Zambia.
> 50% agreed, 20% were uncertain, 30% disagreed[118]

A more negative picture emerges on consideration of the views
of students taken year by year. Amongst the first years 61%
felt Humanism to be relevant, while the figure for second
years was 45%, for third years 40% and for fourth years 18%.[119]
No such differences appeared either between subjects or sexes,
and the association between year and attitude towards Humanism
in part reflects a process of increasing cynicism towards the
affairs of Zambian society as they have developed over the
last four years. The fourth years are likely to be the most
cynical not only because of developments over the last four
years but also because they have greater knowledge of politi-
cal manipulations at the national level than those who have
only recently left school. The older students have also been
more intensively socialised into the political culture of the

university student community.

One of the main areas of congruence between the student outlook and the philosophy of Humanism is the acclamation of nationalism. In those situations where students and leaders activate the same role - the Zambian role - as, for example, they do when faced with aggression from other countries, then there is an identity of interest. The yearly occasion on which students demonstrate outside a foreign embassy for its support of the South African or Rhodesian regimes begins as a ritual of solidarity with the government, though it normally finishes as a confrontation between the students and the state as represented by the police. In asserting nationalist fervour, the students urge more radical measures than the government has been prepared to take, in nationalising the mines and sustaining an aggressive policy towards the South. The clash between extremist and moderate nationalism is a potential source of conflict between students and the government, akin to the distinction Weber draws between the 'ethic of responsibility' and the 'ethic of absolute ends'.[120]

Having rejected Humanism as an ideology which formulates an acceptable conception of Zambian society or which offers inspiration to action, have the students articulated a 'counter-ideology' to take its place? Socialism in any of its varieties has little appeal amongst the students, and except for a tiny minority it is regarded with distrust. (Though this does not discourage students from using socialist critiques to shower abuse on the national leadership.) Indeed students oppose socialist, egalitarian ideals with the ideals of a meritocracy, congruent with their interests as students and as an incipient professional 'class'. While their antagonists

outside the university refer to them as a privileged minority - the 'favoured sons of the nation' - who should be grateful for the sacrifices made on their behalf, the students retaliate by arguing that they arrived there on merit and it is this that accords their position legitimacy. Anyone can apply to enter the university, each case will be considered on merit and those admitted will have earned the right to a place at the university. Applying the concept of meritocracy to the wider society, they deplore the practices of selection to posts based on loyalty, kinship or tribal links (though as individuals they would probably not be averse to accepting positions gained in such a manner). In their view, merit, defined in the narrow sense of formal qualifications, should play a much greater role as a criterion of entry to the national élites.

Oppositionalism and Populism.

The oppositional mentality typical of the Zambian student is no less characteristic of intellectuals elsewhere. Shils has noted the phenomenon amongst intellectuals in the new states in general and in the case of the Indian intellectual in particular.[121] The rejection of the incumbent personnel of the Zambian political élite is with but few exceptions total, suggesting that students have never really contemplated the execution of power or attempted to empathise with the politician faced with concrete problems with solutions determined not by principles but by the exigencies of the distribution of power and wealth, and the pressure of external forces. The pursuit of total nationalisation and a militantly aggressive policy towards South Africa are not 'feasible' solutions

without sacrifices which might jeopardise the position of the
decision maker. Zambia is still dependent on support from
its enemies to preserve its present economic status, and has
no sanctions at its command to assert itself against external
oppressors. The student may embrace the greater cause and
the greater ideal and be prepared to make the corresponding
sacrifices, but the national leadership is more concerned to
pursue moderate and less risky policies. While the national
leadership castigates the students for their poor sacrificial
spirit, the students regard sacrifice under the present
policies of compromise as hypocritical and supportive of action
they themselves renounce.

The oppositional mentality not only reflects the discrep-
ancy between the ethic of absolute ends pursued by the student
generation and the ethic of responsibility pursued by those
endowed with authority but also the student's alienation from
authority. Another feature - populism - has been widely assoc-
iated with the intellectual's feeling of alienation. However,
the politically conscious student tends to reject the resur-
rection of what appears to him as the very antithesis of the
'revolutionary' cause. In rejecting African Socialism, the
student argues that the glorification of Zambia's past, along
with the concepts of Negritude and slogans such as 'black is
beautiful' not only fail to assign dignity and pride to the
African but on the contrary point to the very opposite - the
absence of a tradition and a distinctive Africanness. The
very need to stress or re-enact a 'cultural heritage' suggests
that in some way the African tradition either does not exist
at all or is inferior to the alien cultures which have been
imposed on the colonial peoples. Harking back to a mythical

past and the glorification of the common man is tantamount, in the eyes of many students, to an expression of inferiority to the colonialist culture of the European. The greater confidence which national leaders are seen to place on expatriate experts, and the tendency for leaders to send their children to universities abroad are but evidence of what the Vice-Chancellor referred to as the 'insufficient decolonisation of the mind'.[122]

Though such arguments are powerful justifications for the rejection of populism, they do not explain why in many countries, not only the 'new states', intellectuals and students have come to identify with the 'common man', the peasants, and the workers. In the universities of America, and Europe a small proportion of students, albeit a vocal minority, have sought a common cause with the oppressed groups in society. The political ideology to which they have subscribed has rejected the entire fabric and structure of society and not the personnel in command positions who are regarded as 'victims of the system'. The Zambian student however has levelled his attack specifically at the incumbents of positions in the political élite. Such a stance is not incompatible with their own expectations of entering the ruling class, while an open identification with the oppressed classes of Zambian society would contradict their aspirations to positions of high status and wealth. In addition the symbols of achievement and high status - 'Western style of life' - are in direct conflict with the life style of the lower classes of society. In aspiring to positions in the ruling class, adopting 'western life styles' is part of a process of anticipatory socialisation which precludes the response to populistic calls for support

of the common man and the glorification of 'indigenous tradition'.

Populism is more likely to have support in those countries where there exists a community of students and intellectuals whose chances of entering the ruling class are slender and who, therefore, do not aspire to such positions. In such societies alienation from political authority and society in general may be assuaged by populistic acclamation. In Zambia, on the other hand, there is no such community of students and intellectuals. So urgent is the demand for manpower to replace expatriates in the administrative, technical and managerial positions that the student is assured of a place in the upper classes and intellectual pursuits are rarely followed or cultivated for their own sake. As competition increases it is likely that the students will exhibit a greater interest in specifically intellectual activities, find time to consider their role in society in greater depth and perhaps immerse themselves in a populistic culture as has happened in other parts of the world.

TENSIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS AND SOCIETY.

"Elitist" Systems of University Education.

Lipset has suggested that students, who emerge from systems of education which guarantee them a place in the nation's élites, are likely to identify with rather than oppose the existing élites.

> Students may realistically expect to enter the
> élite and thus they tend to identify with the
> existing one...This is not simply a function
> of better intellectual and social qualifications

on admission or of better prospects after
graduation. The pattern of teaching in the
"élitist" systems is much more conducive to
the incorporation of the student into the
university community as a part of the cen-
tral institutional system. Residence in
halls with intimate contact with teachers
serving in <u>loco parentis</u>, smaller classes,
tutorial arrangements, isolation in a part
of the country not far from, but not easily
accessible to, the capital city, as well as
generally patrician, non-populistic, social
and political culture all contribute to
this result.[123]

It has been one of the major arguments in this chapter that
the very factors which Lipset delineates as conducive to the
'incorporation of the student into the university community
as part of the central institutional system' are responsible
for the structural discontinuity between the university and
wider social systems lending itself to functional autonomy
and alienation from the 'central institutional' system.

A student's 'identification' with the existing 'élite'
is dependent not only on the prospective and extant positions
in the social structure but also, and this is where Lipset's
argument is too simple, on both the students' and government's
perception of those positions. The foregoing analysis has
shown that when a considerable proportion of the incumbent
élite appears to be hostile to the student, the student feels
alienated from his countrymen, who in his view undervalue the
worth of his education, and as a consequence he develops an
oppositional stance towards the 'élites'.

The last two chapters have pointed to four structural
origins of tension between students and the wider society.
The first, concerning the student's future role, arose from a
generalised resentment of the mass of society towards those
who hold or will hold positions of power and wealth - an embryo

class antagonism - and in particular the intellectual who feels his 'superior' education entitles him to such positions in the ruling class.

Such feelings of antipathy towards students exist in most societies: what is different in the Zambian case is the existence of similar views within the political élite. It is this second source of tension which encourages the leaders to incite the led to an open expression of hostility towards the student.

In the all important selection for positions in the ruling class there are two criteria of recruitment, namely that based on experience and loyalty and that based on formal expertise. In a country which has had, until recently, an undeveloped educational system the two reservoirs from which the channels of recruitment emanate are largely mutually exclusive. Consequently the decision to favour one or other of the groups is arbitrary and governed more by the strength of the representation of each group in the core of the ruling class - the political élite - and in the respective élites to which entry is sought. This then provides the second source of tension between the students, with advanced levels of formal education but little experience, and the loyal experienced personnel with relatively little formal education. The tension is mitigated by the existence of expatriates whose departure makes room for Zambians, in particular students, to move up into the various élites. In this way some of the competition between Zambians is redirected against expatriates who are accused of clinging to their lucrative positions.[124] Nonetheless any overt political action on the part of the students is seen by the members of the powerful party organisation as

a challenge to their control of the avenues of upward mobility through the party into the central executive. The students are excluded from active involvement in the party as students; their involvement is possible only if they begin at the bottom of the political ladder as an ordinary citizen.

A third source of tension derives from the student's present role outside the ruling class and the feeling of alienation associated with it. The student feels relatively deprived when comparing his present role-status in the wider social structure, on the one hand, with what he anticipates to be his future role-status and on the other with his present role-status in the university social structure. A fourth source of tension stems from the structural discontinuity between student community and the wider social system. A relatively democratic student government with a leadership sensitive to the demands of the rank and file is incompatible with an authoritarian Zambian government which attempts to eliminate sectional demands in favour of the mobilisation of the population towards a vaguely defined common goal, and which accords opposition and criticism a very low level of legitimacy.

Tension and Tension Control.

The set of tensions between students and the government or wider society here outlined all revolve around the student role-status in the university and wider social structures. The importance of that tension and the likelihood of it breaking out into an open confrontation is contingent on a number of factors related to the relative importance of the student role within the student's set of multiple roles. Insofar as

the student role-status assumes paramount significance in
the eyes of the student and the government so the tension
which surrounds it is likely to break out into a confrontation.

Related to the importance of the student role is the
degree to which the student's other role commitments 'cross
cut' the tensions emanating from the specifically student role.
What are the nature and strength of the bonds which, through
the activation of his multiple roles in the wider social
structure, link the student to those with whom his student
role-status brings him into conflict? To what extent, for
example, is the student linked to the political elite through
kinship ties? Where there are loyalties cross cutting one
another tension in any one is cancelled by bonds of solidarity
in others.[125] The next chapter will be concerned to identify
those roles of the student which may prevent the outbreak of
a confrontation and stabilise relations with the outside
world through a network of conflicting allegiances.

A third factor contributing to the outbreak of tension is
the solidarity of the student community. Hitherto the student
community has been considered as a homogeneous body with no
significant lines of social differentiation. Insofar as their
common role-status is paramount so internal divisions will be
less important and their common interest as students will form
a powerful unifying bond. The following chapter will there-
fore consider the activation of other roles, apart from the
student role, which emerge from both the university and wider
social structures, giving rise to divisions within the community.

A fourth correlative factor, which has already been con-
sidered, is the solidarity of the society outside in its
antipathy towards the students. It was suggested that those

in the more secure positions with a university education were possibly less hostile towards the students. However other leaders, who exhibited considerable resentment, in their attempts to mobilise public opinion against the student stressed the student role-status. As far as the society outside the university was concerned the tensions were between the government or the party and _all_ the university students and were defined in terms of the student role-status. Such an orientation differs significantly from that adopted towards workers who express sectional interests as when, for example, they take strike action. In such cases the government and party tend to define the conflict in terms of 'irresponsible leadership' rather than the worker role-status, reflecting the greater power and support for the worker in the wider society.

N O T E S.

1. Ashby, E., _African Universities and Western Tradition_ (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp.19-20.

2. Republic of Zambia, _Report on the Development of a University in Northern Rhodesia 1963_ (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1964). The Commission was chaired by the well known educationist Sir John Lockwood previously Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, and who had been intimately connected with the development of university education in other parts of Africa.

3. Ashby, E., _Universities: British, Indian, African_ (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p.289.

4. _Report on the Development of a University in Northern Rhodesia 1963_, op.cit., p.1.

5. In Zambian society outside the university and even within the university there is the belief that its sole function is to turn out 'experts' and not students with 'useless arts degrees'. The idea that a university should perform a critical or research function is alien to the thinking amongst the majority of the members of government. See, for example, speech by Mr. Chirwa, M.P. for Petauke, in Parliament.

> ....I come to the University of Zambia...I think it is proper that the government thought in terms of professional people at the university because the science or arts subjects that we have now embarked upon will never get us anywhere, because Zambia at present does not need these B.A. General's or B.A. What's. It needs professional people, engineers and doctors. These are the chaps we need here. The troubles will never stop on the Copperbelt, Sir, because we do not have qualified people who will take over from expatriates in those mines. We shall continue to have strikes. We shall continue to have unfounded strikes on the Copperbelt because the expatriates are proud, they have the technique. They will say, "We can march out at any time." When are we going to have our own boys? It is only the University that can provide the suitable young men to man the Copperbelt. If we had started with giving professional degrees to our men and women, I think the Copperbelt situation would have been allayed.

Hansard, No. 6, 30 March 1966, Col. 849.

6. For details of the composition of these bodies and the constitution see, Government of Zambia, _University of Zambia Act_ (Act No. 66 of 1965) and its subsequent amendment, _An Act to Amend the University of Zambia Act, 1965_ (Act No. 10 of 1970).

7. For an analysis of the friction between universities and governments in Africa see, Ashby (1966), op.cit., Chapter 10, pp.290-343.

8. Lockwood, J., "The Transplantation of the University," in Hamilton, W. B. (ed.), _A Decade of the Commonwealth 1955-1964_ (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), p.272.

9. Other commentators have noted the 'ambition to have institutions as similar as possible to the best to be found in Britain,' see Ashby (1964), op.cit., pp.43-9.

10. Under the Five Year Development Plan 1966-70 the Government has allocated nearly K16 million (£8m.) for the development of the University Project. Mwanakatwe, J. M., _The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence_ (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.183.

11. _Report on the Development of a University in Northern Rhodesia 1963_, op.cit., p.25.

12. According to statistics compiled by the Office of the Registrar, there were 104 students living off campus, 243 on the Ridgeway Campus and 1207 at the Great East Road Campus in 1971.

13. Mwanakatwe, op.cit., p.195.

14. Molteno, R., "Our University and Our Community," _Africa Jewel_, Vol. 2, Nos. 3 & 4, 1970, p.43.

15. According to statistics from the Office of the Registrar, there were 205 'redirections' in 1971 which corresponds to a failure rate of 16%. Amongst first years the rate was 19%, amongst second years 15%, amongst third years 9% and amongst fourth years 12%.

16. There is a difference of course between a university staff almost totally dominated by expatriates and one where expatriates are a tiny minority.

17. _Opinion Poll One_, Question 25.

18. _Opinion Poll One_, Question 18.

19. _UZ_, 27 September 1971.

20. _UZ_, 29 June 1970.

21. _Opinion Poll Four_, Question 8.

22. The strike was over increased pay the workers thought they had been awarded, but which failed to appear at the month end.

23. _UZ_, 27 July 1970.

24. _UZ_, 3 August 1970.

25. _UZ_, 3 August 1970.

26. Circular from the President of the University of Zambia Staff Association to the student body, 3 September 1971.

27. The analysis follows the 'situational approach' pioneered by the Manchester School of Social Anthropology. See for example, Gluckman, M., "Anthropological Problems arising from the African Industrial Revolution," in Southall, A. (ed.), _Social Change in Modern Africa_ (London: International African Institute, Oxford University Press), pp.67-82. Mitchell, J. C., "Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies," in Banton, M. (ed.), _The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies_ (London: A.S.A. Monographs 4, Tavistock Press, 1966). Epstein, A. L., "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa," _Current Anthropology_, Vol. 8, No. 4, October, 1967.

28. Government of Zambia, _University of Zambia Act_ (Act No. 66 of 1965), paragraph 12 states,
    The Vice-Chancellor shall have the power to exercise disciplinary control over the students of the University and may, for the purposes of power under this section, if he thinks fit consult any Committee appointed by him in that behalf from among the staff of the University.

29. The Dean of Students often finds himself bearing the brunt of opposition towards the administration. He assumes an intercalary position between students and administration.

30. _Judiciary, Governmental and Disciplinary Machinery in the University: The Recent Suspensions and Expulsion_ (Circular distributed by President of UNZASU, July 1970).

31. _Re-Recommendations on Procedure and Judiciary Machinery, University of Zambia_ (Open letter sent from the President of UNZASU to the Vice-Chancellor, dated 6 July 1970).

32. _Judiciary Machinery_ (Distributed to students as part of the Mid Year General Report of UNZASU, 1 October 1970).

33. _The Annual Report and Recommendations of the Secretary General, 1969-70_ (Circular distributed to students 6 April 1970).

34. However there is provision for a graduate to sit on the University Council, see _University of Zambia Act (Amendment)_ (Act No. 10 of 1970), Item 11.

35. Lipset, S. M., _Political Man_ (London: Mercury Books, 1963) Chapter XII, pp.357-402. See also Lipset, S. M., Trow, M. and Coleman, J. S., _Union Democracy_ (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956).

36. There were instances of obstructionism when the 1970 executive handed over to the 1971 executive. Members of the executive, for example, refused to hand over files and records of activities of the previous year. Clearly there are feelings of deprivation on leaving office but these are small compared to larger organisations such as trade unions.

37. There is still mystery as to how and why he left the university. One source maintained that he was expelled though the writer has not been able to confirm this.

38. There is also mystery surrounding the departure of the second president; some have said it was for academic reasons.

39. To have been President of the Oxford or Cambridge Union is a stepping stone into the British establishment irrespective of the class of degree achieved.

40. Of the 12 member executive of 1970, one, the Vice-President, stood in the following elections. He became President in 1971.

41. Lipset (1963), _op.cit._, pp.373-77. The conclusions are based on the study of trade union democracy in the International Typographical Union, Lipset _et al._ (1956), _op.cit._

42. Lipset (1963), _op.cit._, p.375.

43. The word is here used in the context of the theory of networks. See Mitchell, J. C., "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," in Mitchell, J. C. (ed.), _Social Networks in Urban Situations_ (Manchester: Institute for Social Research University of Zambia, Manchester University Press, 1969), pp.1-50.

44. Lipset (1963), _op.cit._, pp.359-63.

45. Perhaps one of the secrets of Bushe's success (President in 1970) was his residence on the Ridgeway Campus which made him less accessible and his behaviour less visible than the President who resides on the main campus.

46. The first issue appeared in August 1966. There does not appear to be another one until November 1968. It was then recontinued as a weekly in July 1970 until the end of the academic year in December.

47. The issues appeared in June, September and October 1971.

48. Attempts by the President of UNZASU to censure and dismiss the editor of the _Observer_ for an article he published in the second issue were rebuffed by the editorial board who came out in support of their editor.
49. _UZ_, 3 August 1970.
50. _Ibid._
51. _Ibid._
52. _The Voice of UNZA_, 6 August 1970.
53. _UZ_, 11 August 1970.
54. _Ibid._
55. See Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M. S., "Two Faces of Power," _American Political Science Review_, Vol. 56, 1962, pp. 947-52.
56. Indeed commitment to a particular ideological orientation which in some sense conflicts with the political interests of the student body as defined in narrow trade union terms is an obstacle to the mobilisation of support.
57. _Presidential Election Results_ (Circular distributed by Secretary of the Electoral Commission, 13 May 1971). _UZ_, 20 April 1970.
58. See Mitchell, J. C. (ed.), _Social Networks in Urban Situations_ (Manchester: Institute For Social Research, University of Zambia, Manchester University Press, 1968).
59. The picture of the student community approximates to Kornhauser's conception of mass society in which the élite is accessible to the non-élite and the non-élite available for mobilisation by the élite. Kornhauser, W., _Politics of Mass Society_ (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).
60. They were the Presidents elected in 1968 and 1969.
61. University of Zambia Students' Union, _Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Alleged Misappropriation of UNZASU Funds_ (Nguni Commission, September 1971).
62. There have been accusations of misappropriation of funds levelled for example against the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions.
63. See for example, Burawoy, M., "Another Look at the Zambian Mineworker," _African Social Research_ (Forthcoming).
64. See for example, Lipset, S. M., "Values, Education and Entrepreneurship," in Lipset, S. M. and Solari, A. (eds.), _Elites in Latin America_ (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp.3-60.
65. Lipset (1963), _op.cit._, p.394.
66. This idea is explored in greater detail in Burawoy, M., _Zambianisation: A Study of the Localisation of a Labour Force_ (Unpublished MS, 1971), pp.93-110.
67. There are never any collections for charity on the campus. And voluntary work does not have much appeal. Thus the local branch of the World University Service appealed to students to help build a clinic in Lusaka during the holidays. According to a report in _UZ_, 3 August 1970 it drew no response at all.
68. _Nguni Commission_, _op.cit._, pp.12-14.
69. _Opinion Poll Two_, Question 15.
70. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 20.
71. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 18.
72. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 19.
73. Henry Chanda was suspended in 1967. Cosmos Chola was suspended in 1971. Both were Presidents of UNZASU at the time.

74. _Opinion Poll One_, Question 23.
75. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 16.
76. See Chapter IV.
77. This will be given more attention in Chapter IV. Figures supplied by the Office of the Registrar indicate that in 1971 there were 1281 Zambian students, 31 Asians, 64 Rhodesians, 17 South Africans and 69 Europeans.
78. See Bates, R., _Unions, Parties, and Political Development_ (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), particularly Chapter 5, pp.74-97. Also Burawoy, M., _Another Look at the Mineworker_, op.cit.
79. Lipset (1963), _op.cit._, p.396.
80. Shils, E., "The Intellectuals in the Political Development of the New States," in Kautsky, J. H. (ed.), _Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries_ (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), p.219.
81. _Ibid._, p.217.
82. Lipset, (1963), _op.cit._, Chapter X, pp.310-43.
83. The concept of different hierarchies of stratification and their congruence has been developed in connection with the Indian caste system. See, for example, Bailey, F. G., "Closed Social Stratification in India," _European Journal Of Sociology_, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1963, pp.107-24. For responses to incongruence in the three hierarchies of caste, economic status and political power see Bailey, F. G., _Caste and the Economic Frontier_ (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967) and Silverberg, J. (ed.), _Social Mobility in the Caste System in India_, _Comparative Studies in Society and History_, Supplement III, 1968.
84. _Opinion Poll One_, Question 24.
85. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 24.
86. Lipset (1963), _op.cit._, p.343.
87. _UZ_, 27 September 1971.
88. Aron distinguishes three types of criticism, technical criticism where one puts oneself in the position of the administrator or ruler and advocates reformist measures, moral criticism which "raises up against things as they are the notion, vague but imperative, of things as they ought to be," and ideological or historical criticism which "attacks the present society in the name of the society to come [and] which attributes the injustices which offend the human conscience to the very essence of the present order." See Aron, R., _The Opium of the Intellectuals_ (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), pp.210-11.
89. See Chapter Two.
90. _UZ_, 27 July 1970.
91. _UZ_, 26 October 1970.
92. So independent and beyond influence was the Nguni Commission, that one official of the student government implicated in the misappropriation was accused of breaking into the room to pinch what he possibly thought was the only copy of the report. See _UZ_, 20 September 1971.
93. _UZ_, 3 May 1971.
94. _UZ_, 26 October 1970.
95. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 26.
96. The basis of the conflict may also be seen in structural terms. The liberal universities operate in a democratic manner with directives flowing up from beneath, while in

the wider political system the directives flow down
from government. The structural incompatibility inevit-
ably leads to tension.

97. See Fanon, F., _The Wretched of the Earth_ (Penguin Books,
     1967), particularly Chapter 3, pp.119-65.
98. _UZ_, 3 May 1971.
99. _UZ_, 26 April 1971.
100. _Ibid_.
101. _Ibid_.
102. _UZ_, 3 May 1971.
103. _UZ_, 26 April 1971.
104. _UZ_, 9 June 1970.
105. Fanon, _op.cit._, pp.150-65.
106. For an outline of Humanism see, Kaunda, K. D.,
     A Humanist in Africa (London: Longmans, 1966) and
     Kaunda, K. D., _Humanism in Zambia_ (Lusaka: Zambia
     Information Services, 1967).
107. Mannheim, K., _Ideology and Utopia_ (London: Routledge
     and Kegan Paul, 1960), p.49.
108. _UZ_, 3 May 1971.
109. _UZ_, 9 June 1970.
110. Phiri, M., _Commitment_ (Private copy subsequently pub-
     lished in _Times of Zambia_ end of 1971).
111. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 27.
112. Mannheim, _op.cit._, p.175.
113. Phiri, _op.cit._
114. Kandeke, T. K., "Towards Praxis Humanism," _The Jewel of
     Africa_, Vol. 1, 1968, p.10.
115. _UZ_, 26 October 1970.
116. Phiri, _op.cit._
117. Kandeke, _op.cit._, p.9.
118. _Opinion Poll Three_, Question 23.
119. Hanna notes that students in their first years are more
     active in partisan politics which he suggests is an
     indication that old-timers are more professionalised.
     This finding is compatible with the attitudes expressed
     by students to Humanism, in that activity in partisan
     politics is probably inversely related to cynicism.
     The student advances through the university and at the
     same time as becoming more professionalised he also
     becomes more cynical and anti-political. Hanna, W. J.,
     "Students," in Coleman, J. S. and Rosberg, C. J. (eds.),
     _Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical
     Africa_ (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of
     California Press, 1964), p.441.
120. Weber, M., "Politics as a Vocation," in Gerth, H. H. and
     Mills, C. W. (eds.), _From Max Weber_ (London: Routledge
     and Kegan Paul, 1948), pp.120-1.
121. Shils, E., "The Intellectual Between Tradition and
     Modernity: The Indian Situation," _Comparative Studies
     in Society and History_, Supplement I, 1961. Also Shils,
     op.cit., pp.217-19.
122. Address by the Vice-Chancellor, Professor L. Goma, on
     the occasion of the second Graduation Ceremony, 6 June
     1970.
123. Lipset, S. M., "Students and Politics in Underdeveloped
     Countries," in Lipset, S. M. (ed.), _Student Politics_
     (New York and London: Basic Books, 1967), p.30.

124. For the hostility between relatively well educated
     Zambians and expatriate supervisors on the mines see
     Burawoy (1971), op.cit., pp.45-78.
125. This point has been made by many writers. See Gluckman,
     M., Custom and Conflict (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956),
     pp.1-26. Dahrendorf, R., Class and Class Conflict in
     Industrial Society (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,
     1959), pp.206-40. Coser, L., The Functions of Social
     Conflict (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956),
     pp.72-81.

C H A P T E R F O U R

TENSION REDUCTION:

SYSTEM LINKAGES.

The discussion in this chapter will focus on the diverse members of the set of multiple roles which the social system awards to every actor. The first section will be devoted to the social background from which the student has emerged and the role of kinship ties as a link with the wider society. Further consideration will be given to the student's relations to other sections of society as expressed in his cultural orientations as 'purveyor of modernity' or as the inheritor of the indigenous values of Zambian society. Following which there is a discussion of the student's perception of his role-status vis-à-vis the Zambian labourers and his relationship to the party. The division of the community into two groups over the issue of affiliation to the ruling party will be examined in the light of ideological conflict within the student body. A further section will attempt to assess the significance of sectional loyalties to linguistic groups and more broadly to national and racial identities. In the next section two student presidential elections will be analysed in terms of the controversial issues they raised, the nature of and support for competing interests and the idiom in which these interests were expressed. Finally, an attempt will be made to assess the significance of the multiple roles of students in stabilising their relations with the rest of society.

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

Just as Marx inflicted an historic mission upon the proletariat so other social philosophers have honoured intellectuals with a similar mission. More recently, but in the same tradition as Plato's philosopher King, Mannheim has

viewed the intelligentsia as an 'unanchored, relatively classless stratum'[1] which, by embodying diverse interests in society, was in a position to synthesise the political thoughts to be found within different groups. Whereas other sections of society propagate systems of thought that reflect their position in the social structure, the intelligentsia recruited 'from an increasingly inclusive area of social life',[2] bound together by participation in a common educational heritage 'subsumes within itself all those interests with which social life is permeated'.[3]

> There are two courses of action which the unattached intellectuals have actually taken as ways out of this middle-of-the-road position: first, what amounts to a largely voluntary affiliation with one or other of the various antagonistic classes; second, scrutiny of their own social moorings and the quest for the fulfilment of their mission as the predestined advocate of the intellectual interests of the whole.[4]

There is some ambivalence as to which, if either, of these roles the Zambian student is expected to activate. On the one hand he is urged to forge a bridge between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' thus eliminating the evils of a class-consciousness, and at the same time to link hands with the common man in 'a noble march of determination and defiance against the enemies of progress'.[5] On the other hand he is expected to 'get on with his studies and leave politics to the politician'.

Both Mannheim and the official policy of the Zambian government fail to recognise two factors. The first has already been alluded to in previous chapters and will appear again in later chapters, namely that the student body or the intelligentsia does develop interests of its own, and does

propagate an ideology which defends those interests. The
existence of a 'union' and a belief in a meritocracy are wit-
ness to such developments amongst students as are the unassail-
able 'rights' to academic freedom and university autonomy
derivative of the interests of the academic community as a
whole. The second, which is what concerns the present dis-
cussion, is the myth that students or intellectuals are re-
cruited from a diverse set of classes and groups comprising
all possible points of view. Michels has emphatically
rejected this notion by pointing out that university education
is a privilege of the upper classes. Though he was referring
to Germany in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,
nonetheless studies of the backgrounds of students have re-
peatedly indicated differential patterns of recruitment which
favour the upper classes. While Michels argues that 'every
proletarian of average intelligence, given the necessary means,
could acquire a university degree with the same facility as
does the average bourgeois',[6] Aron suggests that the entry of
more children of workers and peasants into universities would
require a change in the nature of the transmitted culture
from 'the academic or bourgeois culture' to the 'popular or
Marxist culture'.[7] The experience of Peking University sug-
gests that democratisation of university admissions does
indeed entail some form of change in the university structure
to accommodate students from different strata of society.[8]
However, so long as the universities select their own entrants
on the basis of examinations of academic aptitude it is un-
likely that students or the intelligentsia will be recruited
equally from all strata of society, but on the contrary, as
writers such as Djilas suggest,[9] those from the more elevated

areas of society will secure preferential access to the
university, particularly where recruitment to élite positions
favours the university graduate.

Studies of the background of African students conform
to a pattern in which children from the higher socio-economic
strata of society are more likely to be recruited to the
university than those from the lower classes. Similarly the
educational attainment of parents is an influential factor
in the educational development of the children. This is
likely to be particularly so when the medium of examination
and instruction in secondary schools and university is not
the vernacular. Thus those children brought up by parents
who themselves speak English are at a considerable advantage
over those whose parents speak only in the vernacular. The
social origins of the Zambian students confirm the trends
found amongst students elsewhere in Africa.

The Social Origins of Zambian University Students.

For information concerning the social origins of students
at the University of Zambia, it will be necessary to rely on
two surveys; one conducted amongst undergraduates admitted
from 1966 to 1968 and the other conducted amongst graduates
of the university which includes those students who were ad-
mitted in 1966 and 1967.[10] Unfortunately the results of the
surveys are somewhat contradictory, as can be seen from Table
11 which also includes comparable results from Ghana and
Makerere.

The discrepancy between the two surveys of University of
Zambia students may be attributed to a number of factors.[12]

191.

TABLE 11 - OCCUPATIONS OF STUDENTS' FATHERS[11]

Father's Occupation	Ghana (%)	Makerere (%)	Zambia (1) (Undergrads.) (%)	Zambia (2) (Grads.) (%)
Professional	24	29	33	32
Clerical	12	3	26	3
Commercial	19	8	5	-
Artisans and other Manual	9	11	15	20
Farmers and Fishermen	27	47	15 *	45
Miscellaneous	9	2	6	-

*Includes 8% who were chiefs.

The first survey was conducted amongst two samples. One consisted of 321 out of the 490 registration forms of Zambian students admitted to the university in the period 1966 to 1968. The second sample comprised 223 Arts, Law and Humanities' students, which produced results closely approximating the other sample.[13] There is good reason to believe that the occupations stated by these students would be the ones stated by the entire population. However, for the survey of graduates the return was less than 20% and cannot be regarded as representative.[14] It is possible, for example, that the older students were more prepared to respond to the questionnaire and their fathers would be much more likely to have been farmers than the fathers of the younger graduates. There is a further problem inherent in both surveys in that students asked to state the occupation of their fathers are likely to exaggerate their answer, particularly if they are acutely 'status conscious' about their background.[15] This might account for the very low percentage of students who state they come

from a rural background, as compared with figures from the more educationally advanced countries of East Africa and Ghana.

Accepting the first survey as more accurate than the second, it becomes clear that students are disproportionately recruited from the white collar professions and occupations, that is those sections of the population familiar with the English language. It is probable that such sections were also more closely attached to the religious institutions which bore the greater burden of responsibility for educating the Africans of Northern Rhodesia.[16] The children of parents with a religious background were advantaged on three counts. First their parents' familiarity with English, second their parents' connection with the Christian Church indirectly favoured their children as regards entry to secondary education and third it is probable that parents converted to Christianity would be more eager than most to ensure that their children received a good education.

In a society where kinship relations are of considerable significance and where in certain areas it is common for a child to be brought up by his uncle or looked after by siblings, it is important to consider not just the father's occupation but that of other close kinsmen. The survey of graduates revealed the tendency for close kinsmen, even more than parents, to have occupations in those fields which required a knowledge of English, as can be seen in Table 12. Not only are the student's parents disproportionately recruited from the professional classes but so also are his close kinsmen, or at least those close kinsmen the respondents to the graduate questionnaire chose to mention. The figures even seem to

suggest that the kinsmen are more likely to be occupied in positions requiring familiarity with English than are the fathers themselves. It is probable, however, that the respondents chose those kinsmen with whom they were most closely in touch and with whom they had most in common.

TABLE 12 - OCCUPATIONS OF STUDENTS' KINSMEN AS
COMPARED WITH THEIR FATHERS' AND THE
TOTAL WORKING POPULATION OF ZAMBIA [17]

Occupation	Fathers (%)	Close Kinsmen (%)	Working Population (Africans) (%)
Professional	21	21	2
Managerial and Administrative	11	7	1
Clerical	3	8	8
Sales and Services	3	8	17
Production Workers	17	24	27
Farmers	45	33	45

Nevertheless, the graduate questionnaire does suggest that many of the close kinsmen are still very much villagers. A breakdown of the educational attainment of the same kinsmen indicates that the distribution of attainment, though at a higher level than the population at large, still spans the entire range with a high proportion without schooling.

TABLE 13 - EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MALE KINSMEN *[18]

Age (Years)	% No Schooling	% Primary	% Secondary	% Higher
10-19	3 (19)	41 (73)	42 (8)	14 (0.3)
20-29	- (24)	31 (57)	40 (17)	29 (0.2)
30-39	9 (36)	50 (57)	28 (5)	13 (0.2)
40-49	26 (49)	58 (46)	14 (3)	2
50-59	42 (68)	44 (30)	12 (0)	2
60+	67 (79)	33 (19)	-	-

* Figures in brackets refer to national percentages.

TABLE 14 - EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF FEMALE KINSMEN* [19]

Age (Years)	% No Schooling	% Primary	% Secondary	% Higher
10-19	3 (27)	41 (67)	47 (5)	9
20-29	14 (56)	36 (39)	39 (3)	11
30-39	41 (74)	32 (23)	23 (0)	4
40-49	58 (86)	35 (12)	7 (0)	-
50-59	64 (91)	36 (7)	-	-
60+	96 (93)	4 (5)	-	-

*Figures in brackets refer to national percentages.

The two tables stress the phenomenon referred to earlier, namely the tendency for students to be recruited from the advantaged sections of society and for university education to become a privilege of the upper and middle classes. The difference between the educational attainment of the close kinsmen and the total population in the higher education bracket is particularly wide. The gap diminishes with age corresponding to the circumstances of colonial education when severely limited opportunities did not permit the appearance of wide disparities. The first two age groups which comprise kinsmen younger than the graduate are also clearly amongst the privileged sections of society in the field of education. It might be tentatively conjectured that an educationally advanced group is consolidating its advantage through the transmission of that advantage from one generation to the next.

What of the occupations of the graduates? The responses corroborated the earlier observation that no students had entered the political bureaucracy, nor did any graduate anticipate entering full-time politics within the next ten years. Such an estrangement from the political career is reflected

also in the relative absence of any kinship relations to mem-
bers of the political élite. Of the two hundred and seventy
kinsmen whose occupations were mentioned only three were poli-
ticians.[20] This suggests that the children of the political
élite have not gained admission to the university through
their connection with those who wield power but have had to
pass through the normal channels. Nonetheless there is a wide-
ly held view that members of the political élite secure places
for their children in foreign universities rather than the
University of Zambia.[21] Whatever the reason, from random
observations made of the students, there does seem to be a
significant absence of close kinship ties with the political
élite. It is of course very possible that students tend to
keep the existence of such ties a closely guarded secret in
anticipation of the adverse attitudes it might elicit from
fellow students. In either event kinship ties with the politi-
cal élite are unlikely to act as a significant restraint on
the antagonisms between students and government or on the meas-
ures taken by the latter against the former.

Kinship Affiliations.

Though kinship ties are not obviously strong in relation
to the political élite, nonetheless they do provide the most
enduring bonds linking students to the wider society. Along
with the kinship ties, are a set of obligations which the stud-
ent like any other member of society cannot afford to neglect.
The obligations inherent in the 'extended family' - that of
providing material assistance to the younger and poorer members
spring from the co-existence within the same family of the rich
and the poor, the highly educated and the poorly educated.

Though the kinsmen of the student may be a more advantaged group as compared with the population as a whole, nevertheless it still contains within its midst members who depend or will depend on the student for material assistance. Thus the third opinion recorded that 22% of students were 'supporting' in some sense from one to three and 25% more than three kinsmen.[22] Once they have graduated and are gainfully employed obligations can only increase and graduates are expected to ensure that their siblings, for example, pursue their education unimpeded by financial handicaps. In the graduate questionnaire 92% claimed to be supporting one or more relatives.[23]

Though material obligations to the poorer kinsmen may be unavoidable, actual contact with the same relatives may be reduced to a minimum. In vacations, therefore, when most students obtain some form of employment, the students are likely to stay with those kinsmen with whom they have most in common. Table 15 compares the occupations performed by all the students' kinsmen with the occupations of those kinsmen they stayed with during the vacations.

TABLE 15 - COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS OF ALL KINSMEN
WITH OCCUPATIONS OF THOSE KINSMEN AND
FRIENDS VISITED DURING VACATIONS.[24]

Occupation	All Kinsmen (%)	Kinsmen and Friends Visited (%)
Professional	21	28
Managerial and Administrative	7	23
Clerical	8	18
Sales and Services	8	10
Production Workers	24	16
Farmers	33	3

Professional, managerial and administrative personnel comprise
over half the friends and relatives visited in the vacations.
Parents who reside permanently in the rural areas as farmers
may not be visited for years at a time. Thus the graduate
questionnaire revealed that only 16% of the persons visited
were parents, while 36% were siblings or cousins, 19% were a
parents' siblings, 16% were friends and 12% were spouses.[25]

There are a number of reasons why students should see
their parents so infrequently and favour kinsmen and friends
with backgrounds similar to their own. First there is the
practical matter of gaining wage employment in the vacation
which is most likely to be found in the towns. Thus only
those relatively well off kinsmen employed in the towns would
be able to accommodate them. According to the graduate ques-
tionnaire, of the kinsmen and friends visited in the student
vacations, 42% were in Lusaka, 30% were in some other line of
rail town, 25% were in some other town in Zambia while only
3% reported staying in a village.[26] A second reason for the
infrequency of visiting parents lies in what may be expected
of the returning student. It is possible that, like the miner
returning from the Copperbelt,[27] the student will be expected
to bring back with him the fruits of urban life, in particular
gifts for his kinsmen in the village. This the student would
find very difficult to afford and thus he avoids the obliga-
tion by staying away. A third reason concerns the differing
ways of life in town and village and the association of 'back-
wardness' with village life in the minds of many students.
Such comments as the following indicate values common amongst
students,

It is shameful indeed to see the most educated
bunch of girls in Zambia behaving like the most
uneducated group of females in the Amazon Forests.[28]

Life in the village is considered 'primitive' and unsuited to

the educated person.

"The Student Between Tradition and Modernity".

Not all students reject village life as something to be

avoided. Some are sensitive to a conflict between their own

way of life in the university and town and that of their

poorer kinsmen in the villages. The following is a poem by a

Zambian graduate student.

```
My mother cannot play
with her grandchildren
Between her and them,
there is no communication
She cannot understand their language
They cannot understand her language
Her imagery and symbolism are of the 'primitive'
Theirs are of the Television and the 'civilised'
Between her and them,
there is no common ground
Between them is a deep gap

My mother feels ill at ease
Her world is not our world
Her views are not our views
When friends come
We talk of
        golf and theatre
We talk of
        Horse-riding
           sailing
             flying
               or balling
We talk of things meaningless to her
She does not understand the language
                        we speak
and we say, 'damn her primitive'

And my mother says
She misses her food
Insisting she wants her nshima
And we tell her
        'she will, but not today'
She will eat it when we do
And that is once a week
```

> Then she asks why count how many times
> when nshima is to be cooked or eaten...
> My mother is never happy
>   in our home
> And now she won't come any more
> She seems to wonder
> My parents seem to wonder
> My relatives, my relatives' friends
> All seem to wonder
> Who am I? What am I?
> They all seem to ask
> And they all seem to agree
>   He is but a black whiteman
>   Without the whiteman's dignity
>   Nor sense of belonging
> A Mask...[29]

Ashby also refers to the rootlessness of the African graduate subjected to the culturally biased education of the university.

> There is a no-man's-land between European culture
> and African culture. In this no-man's-land
> thousands of African graduates pass their lives,
> not assimilated to Europe yet strangers to their
> own folk, insufficient in numbers to form a self-
> sustaining intellectual community. One of the
> urgent tasks for education in Africa is to cut
> channels of communication between the intellect-
> uals and the people, "to avoid the sense of
> separation of the university graduate from his
> much less well-educated countrymen."[30]

There are two groups of people who have continually stressed the separation of the student or intellectual from the mass of society; namely the intellectuals themselves and those observers who see the student only in his university en- vironment. One commentator from the latter group notes

> ....some students may have developed elitist
> attitudes because of the scarceness of the skills
> they are acquiring, their high standard of living
> on campus, and their physical isolation from the
> ordinary people.[31]

But such conclusions stem from observations made in the univ- ersity environment, where, as has already been noted, students are given a responsible and influential role to play. In the wider society where his role is of considerably diminished

importance and affording little influence, he is likely to
forsake many of his 'elitist' attitudes for those in conson-
ance with his position. While he remains on the university
campus, cut off from the rest of society, he can assume what
appear to be "elitist" attitudes, but once he moves into the
wider society he readily adapts to a new set of role expecta-
tions. There are few Zambians who will tolerate open expres-
sions of 'elitism', and the student is given little alternative
but to assume the role-status which he is accorded by the
wider social structure. The student's movement between the
university social system and the wider society may be likened
to the migrant who journeys from the town to the village each
with its associated social structure and derivative norms.
What Southall said of the migrant worker may be equally said
of the student,

> But the switch of action patterns from the rural
> to the urban set of objectives is as rapid as
> the migrant's journey to town. These objectives,
> however, are only a part of the whole set of
> norms with which he is forced to operate in town
> and his adjustment to the whole urban set of
> norms must be sudden on his first arrival there.[32]

The indigenous intellectuals also tend to stress their
separation from the mass of the people. Thus one may note the
obsession amongst African writers to stress the conflict
between 'traditional' and 'modern' values and the consequent
alienation of the intellectual as the 'purveyor of modernity'.[33]
However, it may be argued that the perceived conflict between
'tradition' and 'modernity' is largely a symptom rather than
a cause of their own alienation from society, an alienation
which is characteristic of intellectuals in general. As Shils
has noted, the more deeply felt is the sense of alienation the
more likely is the intellectual to attempt to immerse himself

in traditional culture and to glorify the folkways of the ordinary people.[34] Paradoxically, populism characterises intellectual communities with a well developed sense of their own apartness from society. That there is little genuine populistic feeling amongst students at the University of Zambia reflects the absence of a genuine intellectual community which has the time and inclination to seriously consider its own position and role in society. For the present day Zambian student whose future is secure in the civil service, industry or educational institutions there is little need for the development of the intellectual faculties, for the pursuit of truth or the consideration of the wider implications and values inherent in what he is learning.

At the same time there is an ambivalence towards certain aspects of his life and the nature of his studies stemming in part from a sensitivity to what appear to be different systems of values. This is particularly obvious when he defends his interests by recourse to a denial of the relevance of a particular value system. Thus students might argue that the use of external examiners and the adoption of standards acceptable to Western universities is a 'neo-colonial' trick to reduce the number of Zambian graduates, and that Zambian students should be subjected to specifically Zambian standards relevant to Zambian needs. However, such views do not have the support of the majority of the students who interpret the deviation from 'Western' standards as a decline in standards. The first opinion poll recorded the student views on this matter.

> The University should make every effort to produce
> graduates of international standard even if this
> means failing large numbers of students.

> 55% agreed, 12% were uncertain, 33% disagreed[35]

There is more uncertainty as regards the content of the

courses at the university.

> The content of university courses is not suited to
> the needs of the country.

> 25% agreed, 32% were uncertain, 43% disagreed[36]

Only a quarter were prepared to dismiss the courses as un-

suited to the needs of the country, though the percentages

varied from 32% amongst humanities students to 8% amongst

medical students.[37] The degree of ambivalence also reflects

the absence of any known alternative to replace the present

courses. The conclusion to be drawn is that the majority of

students do indeed embrace the values which are enshrined in

the liberal ethos of a Western University.

Yet there are occasions, as in the case of standards,

when a vocal minority may give the impression that they up-

hold the traditional values rather than those associated with

'modernity'. This is particularly prominent when specific

interests are being threatened as are those of male students

when female students assert themselves as equals to men. In

these circumstances the male students will rally what they

conceive to be traditional customs to the defence of their

continued dominance.

Approximately 18% of students are of the female variety,

enjoying their own hall of residence some four hundred yards

away from the male residences on the main campus.[38] The

student community must be one of the few communities in the

country in which there is no official or even unofficial dis-
tinction between men and women insofar as their student role-
status is concerned. In the village society there is a
relatively strict division of labour which ensures role segre-
gation between the sexes. Migratory labour was aimed at the
menfolk and initially the women remained in the village to
look after the children and fend for themselves. When women
and families came to town, they found no wage employment and
even today, for all except a tiny minority who have managed
to gain some education, the prospects for employment are bleak.
Unlike West Africa where one finds women employed in some form
of trade, in Zambia trading is permitted only under licence
which is difficult to obtain, expensive and can be restrictive
in the trading activities it permits. Some women do manage to
run illegal 'shebeens' - small taverns - in the townships,
selling home-brewed liquor while others engage in less digni-
fied activities, such as prostitution, to earn a little income
and a measure of independence from the menfolk. In general,
however, women in the towns have been dependent on the men for
a livelihood while continuing with the domestic chores to
which they were accustomed in the villages - looking after the
house and children and possibly cultivating small gardens in
the surrounding areas. It is against this background that the
relations between men and women students at the university
must be examined.

As a mark of her enhanced status, as well as to make her
more attractive, the lady student tends to embrace the tenets
of 'modernism', particularly in her apparel. Indeed, the
attitude of both female and male students towards clothes are
similar, both dress very smartly, the men are to be found in

suits while the women dress in the latest fashions of London
or Paris. They are also influenced by the fashions of the
American negro as in the wholesale adoption of Afro hair
styles and Afro wigs. The great pains taken to grow their
hair longer, to use skin lighteners and wigs not only make
them more glamorous but symbolise the role she expects to play
in society as one of the most educated women in the country.
At the same time her outward appearance clearly distinguishes
the female student from the majority of Zambian women in the
towns and villages who move around in traditional dress.

Resenting the elevated status of the female student and
the price they command because of their scarcity, the men have
been given to attack the women publicly where they are possibly
most vulnerable. The girls are accused of slavishly imitat-
ing 'European' habits and clothes even to the extent of
lightening their skin and in so doing betraying their own cul-
tural heritage and Zambianness.

> A new organisation has been formed in Mafia style
> on the campus. The organisation is called the
> Anti-Wig League and as the name suggests the cam-
> paign is not only against wigs, but also all
> forms of skin bleaching cosmetics.

> Progress in Africa can only be achieved if the
> potential mothers of the future sons of Africa
> are emancipated from the yoke of Western mental
> colonialism. The organisation will help a great
> deal in this by inducing the UNZA female élite to
> come and love their natural beauty and skin, and
> convince them that to be white does not necessar-
> ily mean to be beautiful.[39]

The third opinion poll revealed the antipathy harboured by
many male students towards certain of the ladies' fashions.

Wigs improve the looks of UNZA girls

29% agreed, 13% were uncertain, 58% disagreed[40]

Skin lightening cream improves the looks of UNZA girls

    33% agreed, 15% were uncertain, 52% disagreed[41]

Mini skirts improve the looks of UNZA girls

    53% agreed, 11% were uncertain, 36% disagreed[42]

Not surprisingly the girls largely boycotted this opinion poll, absconding with the polling box placed in their hall of residence. The response to the different items reflects a greater antipathy towards those artifacts which most seek to disguise the girl's Africanness. The arts students showed a greater disaffection with the facets of modern dress and make-up than did the science students, indicating that the results reflect more than a mere rationalisation of the interests of male students.[43] They also suggest a genuine consciousness and ambivalence towards their own denial of the 'traditional' culture and its replacement by what are, for all intents and purposes, artifacts of an alien culture.

Faced with such attacks the girls would, if they bothered to reply at all, retaliate in the name of 'modernity' and individual freedom.[44] One of the most fashion-conscious girls on campus wrote,

> There has been so much unnecessary nervous excitement about the wig and the modern woman in contemporary Africa. How acceptable is it for a housewife to wear a wig? Hasn't anybody the freedom to wear what he or she thinks is right for him or her? OR should there be an actual standard set up by those who feel they are greater than others morally or otherwise...Sociologically speaking a society has got its own culture. Culture is defined as a mode of life and is not static. Is it a shock that our women and girls have undergone socialisation...The big question is should we expose ourselves to any foreign influence? Shouldn't we choose what to copy and what to do away with?[45]

Another suggests that since the times are changing so must

Aiming his criticism at the girls especially, M....
declared "...One sees around the campus girls
walking in large groups like migratory birds around
the lakes or occupying an entire table."[49]

Their unsociability was expressed by the men in the first
opinion poll.

Female Students show an unwillingness to mix with
male students

    Male Students: 63% agreed, 22% were uncertain,
                          15% disagreed

    Female Students: 30% agreed, 21% were uncertain,
                          49% disagreed[50]

Male Students show an unwillingness to mix with
female students

    Male Students: 14% agreed, 24% were uncertain,
                          62% disagreed

    Female Students: 27% agreed, 17% were uncertain,
                          56% disagreed[51]

Female students thought that the females were slightly more
unsociable than the male students, but the male students were
much more positive in their assertion of female unsociability,
though this must be largely explained by a sex ratio of four
boys to one girl.

While accusing them of apathy, male students will gener-
ally resist any move by the ladies to enter into active
participation in student life except as girl friends or in the
role of secretary. It takes a particularly forceful girl with
much self confidence to break down the resistance of the men,
and her own inhibitions to deviate from norms practised in the
wider society. In the same way the men, while accusing the
ladies of betraying their Zambian heritage by wearing 'modern'
clothes, will themselves wear such clothes and also select
those same girls who are the subject of criticism as their

girl friends. In the idiom of tradition and modernity, the men attempt to defend the dominant role, accorded to them in the wider society, against a social structure which does not distinguish between men and women. Nonetheless the very use of the idiom of culture suggests that it has a powerful emotive appeal amongst many students who question a wholehearted embrace of 'Western' life styles.

The adoption of Western styles of life, mannerisms and dress is not new to Zambia. Wilson[52] noted the phenomenon at Broken Hill in the early forties and Mitchell[53] made an extensive analysis of African urban life styles on the Copperbelt in the fifties. In his Kalela Dance, Mitchell suggests that the African mineworker has adopted a 'European' value system as a basis for placing himself on a scale of prestige relative to other Africans.[54] Thus a Western style of life becomes a system of prestige in the towns against which Africans measure their status relative to one another. Thus, it would be an over-simplification to regard the tendency for students to embrace a Western life style as simply 'imitation' of the European not only because there is a definite process of selection but more importantly because the 'Western style of life' is a symbol of prestige and high status in Zambian society. Apart from its purely functional significance, the adoption of 'European' dress, therefore, must be regarded as part of the student's desire to be identified with an upper class. This indeed is how it is interpreted in the wider society and why the 'cultural argument' is often a guise for class conflict. When national leaders call for the resurrection of 'traditional' culture and a return to the values inherent in the 'tribal community', while virulently attacking such cultural

importations as the mini-skirt, they are doing more than up-
holding the pride and dignity of the Zambian. They are making
populistic appeals to the class interests of the mass of poor
Zambians. The 'ban the mini call' promulgated by UNIP leaders
and championed, sometimes violently, by UNIP Youths was as
much an attack on the upper classes and those, such as the
students, who anticipated entry to the upper classes, as it was
a genuine appeal for a cultural revival.[55]

STUDENTS AND THE WORKERS.

There is a vivid contrast between the background from which
the student emerges and the future he anticipates for himself.
The discrepancy between the occupations of the majority of his
parents and kinsmen and his own future occupation is reflected
in the educational differential which separates them. As a
group the students are being projected at artificially high
rates from the lower strata of a colonial society into the
highest strata of a post-colonial society, hitherto the ex-
clusive domain of the white rulers. The pressures attendant
on such rapid social mobility must have their repercussions on
the behaviour and attitudes of the students while they undergo
the transition.[56] Merton has suggested that the process of
anticipatory socialisation helps the individual to adjust to
his new membership group through the adoption of the norms,
values and life style characteristic of the group which he is
about to join.[57] This involves orientating to the new group
as a positive reference group while regarding the groups from
which he has emerged as a negative reference group. Thus, as
has been pointed out in previous sections, the student tends

to adopt the habits and life style, in so far as his relatively
small income will permit, of the professional class into which
he expects to move on graduation. At the same time he is un-
likely to adopt any overt sympathies for the present incumbents
of the professional class be they expatriates or Zambians.
The student will generally assume them to be opposed to his
rapid mobility into their ranks. Yet, significantly, the only
article[58] in UZ to devote any serious attention or sympathy
for the problems of another section of society[59] concerned the
teachers' strike for increased pay in 1970. The contributor,
himself a fourth year student destined to enter the teaching
profession, argued that the government should pay more atten-
tion to teachers as essential public servants, that their
demands be met in full and that the restricted leaders be
released forthwith. Sympathies towards the teaching profes-
sion should perhaps be seen in the light that some 40% of the
students would become teachers when they leave university.

A very different picture emerges when consideration is
given to the strike of the manual workers at the university
itself. Here, clearly the strike which brought the university
teaching operations to a standstill for almost a week affected
the interests of the students adversely. The students
expressed no sympathy for the non-academic staff, who had
struck because a pay increase which they claimed to have been
awarded at the end of June was not to be found in their pay
packets and subsequent negotiations had broken down without
any further offer being made. The students took over the oper-
ations normally performed by the workers in shifts and for the
short period of the strike managed to keep the kitchen, library
and transport facilities functioning normally. The students,

the administration (senior levels) and the academic staff all seemed determined to break the strike. The Vice-Chancellor, himself, applauded the action of the students in their efforts to keep the university functioning and preventing its closure. From no quarters did the workers receive support and given the condition of the labour market, their position was peculiarly weak; it was not long before the university had recruited alternative staff to do the manual labour and the non-academic staff were obliged to return to work if they wished to hold onto their jobs in a market where the supply of labour far exceeded the demand. The students were particularly contemptuous of the audacity of the workers to disrupt the university and of their leadership who 'have their English corrected by students'. The editorial in the Voice of UNZA expressed the views of the majority of students.

> One wonders how long students are going to live in this state of uncertainty. Though the strike is not aimed at the students, they are the people who suffer most. To prove this let us review the strike.
>
> There was a complete blackout in Africa Hall for the whole night. It seems one of the workers switched off the main switch and locked the door to the switch room, thus making Africa a real dark continent. The point is whether this was intended to provoke the students or authorities.
>
> On the other side two halls of residence had no bed sheets as they were taken to be changed when the strike began and the workers never thought of replacing them; even though the students didn't have a quarrel with them. The result was that the students of the halls concerned had to sleep for a whole week on thorny beds...Now see who is hurt, the authorities or the students.
>
> Last time the strike was aimed at disrupting the graduation ceremony while this time [it is] the student examinations. Are these occasions for the authorities or for the students?....
>
> It is not out of place to mention problems incurred by the students suddenly and unexpectedly while degrees were conferred upon them as being good cooks by Mr. P...The usually victimised ladies slept unprotected.

> It would be wise and more humane for us if when
> strikes occur everything possible is done in
> order to have students' peace and harmony. With
> better planning the university staff association
> could have more control of their stray bullets.[60]

The attitudes of the students towards the workers' cause ranged from hostility to indifference: no attempt was made to examine the nature of the workers' grievances or apply a principle of social justice in a framework wider than their own interests as students. The atmosphere on the campus was one of euphoria and self-congratulation at this latest manifestation of student solidarity. As the President of the union commented in his mid-year report.

> The workers' strike sent the enemy [apathy] to his
> sick bed. We had inflicted some fatal wounds. At
> this period, we effectively coupled mental labour
> with manual labour and when mental labour marries
> manual labour success is their first born.
>
> I must commend you all to fight against anyone who
> thinks we are book-readers only completely divorced
> from any manual activity. The way in which we or-
> ganised ourselves was a clear indication of the
> fact that we are self-reliant.[61]

Though initially there was a spontaneous and voluntary response to the call for hands in the kitchen, nevertheless after the first few days when the novelty had worn off the enthusiasm and numbers entering the kitchen had rapidly diminished to a handful. Only the recruitment of unskilled labourers in the meantime allowed the meals to continue. The indulgence in manual labour was a gesture which did not involve any hardship but on the contrary was both exciting and morally uplifting as an expression of student solidarity and student versatility.

Not only do the majority of students fail to sympathise with the interests of the workers on the campus, but many are inclined to assume the managerial attitudes they would assoc- iate with the Zambian political elite or the pre-Independence

white ruling class. An interesting portrayal of the emergent
ideological perspectives is to be found in an article on
'filth' which received wide acclaim amongst the students.

> Why is there the apparent reluctance to get any
> place we live in clean? Is it a deliberate move
> to get standards to deteriorate to their lowest
> so that we will be said to be failing as Africans
> to keep to accepted standards? Lack of supervis-
> ion among the immediate personnel on campus is
> very evident. Those that would have devoted all
> their energies to scrupulous cleanliness, main-
> taining a close eye over the labour force, were
> they still under their Majesty's EMPIRE
> BRITTANICA, pose irrelevantly as sympathisers of
> African National Leaders whilst undermining the
> authorities by failing to supervise their sub-
> ordinates....
>
> We are aware that it is false to say that the
> labour force is inadequate since all loitering,
> basking and even virtual sleep with the privileged
> unsupervised labour force is all waste. We know
> it is all done to frustrate us. Productivity is
> at a low ebb at this institution since the aim is
> deliberately to lower standards - to AFRICAN
> STANDARDS![62]

What is perhaps surprising, is not that the majority of
students were at best indifferent to the interests of the
workers, but that there was no minority group of 'radical'
students who capitalised on the workers' subjugation by the
'authorities'. Whereas in most European and American Universi-
ties the majority of students tend to be conservative and un-
concerned about the problems of the poorer sectors of society,
there is nevertheless a small minority, usually vocal and open
in articulating its views, who identify with the working
population. In Latin America such groups are likely to identi-
fy with the peasants in the villages.[63] In India, too, there
are strong communist groups on the university campuses.[64]
There are three key factors operating in the Zambian context,
not operating in these other countries, which may largely
account for the atypical uniformity of orientation of the

politically conscious Zambian student. Each has been con-
sidered earlier. First, virtually all the Zambian students
not only aspire to higher positions, but do not see any major
obstacles to their entering the professional classes though
they may perceive obstacles to their advancement within that
class. They are conscious of their upward mobility, of where
they have come from and where they are going and the differ-
ence between the two. The typical radical student in the
American university is likely to have been born into a pro-
fessional class and to have parents who are themselves grad-
uates from universities.[65] The possibilities of entering into
the ruling class are relatively slim and inter-generational
mobility is unlikely to be significant. Their position in the
professional class is relatively secure and adaptation to new
roles is not the problem it is in Zambia. Those who come from
a liberal professional background feel more secure and have
less to lose in identifying with the oppressed classes, than
the student of worker or peasant stock who is 'escaping' from
that background. Thus the tendency noted for American students
from the lower strata of society to be less radical politically.[6]

The social background from which the student emerges is
one facet of mobility. The other face concerns the future
prospects of the graduate. In Zambia the prospects of entering
positions in the nation's elites are much brighter than in a
country such as America where over 15% of the population of
university age attended college in 1950.[67] Thus in practice
the Zambian student is more likely to eventually move into the
ruling class than the American student who is more likely to
be amongst the ruled and therefore more inclined to empathise
with other groups within the ruled classes.

As a student the American is more likely to see himself as oppressed in a qualitatively different way from the Zambian. First, he is one of very many more, the authorities to which he is subject are remote and impersonal, and the influence he has over them negligible. There is in other words a continuity between the student role-status in the university and wider social structures where in Zambia there is a marked discontinuity. The American student may perceive his university as a factory or as a microcosm of society as it actually is outside.[68] The Zambian student perceives the outside society as being very different from the university and student communities; the one is oppressive and authoritarian while the other permits considerable freedom at the same time according him influence in decision-making processes. Because he does not feel oppressed by his university environment he is less inclined to empathise with those whom the social structure does subjugate. Whereas in the vacations when he takes up employment in industry or in the banks or wherever, he may identify in his worker role with the other workers, during his residence at the university his very different student role induces him to regard the worker as a 'class' beneath him. It is unlikely, therefore, that students will demonstrate as students on behalf of the workers.

The differences between the Zambian student and his coevals elsewhere may therefore be reduced to their differing social backgrounds, their disparate future role-status in society and the structural congruence or incongruence between the university and wider social systems.

Social Background and Political Behaviour.

To establish the validity of the hypothetical relation-
ship outlined above between social background and future roles
on the one hand and political orientation on the other, a
study must be undertaken within the same student community to
show that those from a relatively wealthy background are more
likely to be radical than those from poorer backgrounds.
(Only in this way can the other two variables be controlled.)
Unfortunately no such study has been undertaken amongst Zambian
students. However, studies have been undertaken in other
countries which may suggest at least qualifications to the
hypothesis.

Whereas studies of American students suggest that those
from the professional classes tend to be more 'radical' than
those from the poorer backgrounds, Hanna's[69] study of Nigerian
students and surveys of Indian[70] students come to opposite
conclusions. Apart from Hanna's study none of the investigation
of students in African universities attempt to systematically
link social background with actual behaviour or even attitudes.
Goldthorpe's study,[71] for example, considers the social origins
educational experience and problems of adjustment and occupa-
tions and attitudes after leaving college in three different
chapters but fails to attempt any relations between dependent
variables such as attitudes, aspirations, problems of adjust-
ment etc., and the independent variable of social origins.
Jahoda's[72] study suffers from a similar failure. Finlay commen

> In light of Ghana's fluid social structure, it is
> not surprising that social backgrounds do not deter-
> mine politicization. The most significant corre-
> lates of politicization are the faculty with which
> the student is associated and the degree toward
> which he is working.[73]

Hanna, however, considers student participation in party politics, dividing the student population into 'non-affiliates' (those affiliated to neither of the major parties) and affiliates. The affiliates were divided into those who supported the Action Group and those who supported the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and each affiliate was rated on the level of his partisan activity into 'nominals', 'occasionals' and 'actives'. Hanna found that the non-affiliates came predominantly from homes in which the parent or guardian was of 'high' occupational status whereas the reverse was true for the affiliates of both groups. The 'active' members of each party were more likely to come from low status occupational backgrounds than either the 'nominals' or the 'occasionals', but paradoxically the 'occasionals' came from lower status backgrounds than the 'nominals'.[74] Thus there is not a straightforward linear relationship between partisanship and occupational status of parent or guardian, though the evidence clearly suggests the lower the status the more likely a student will partake in partisan activity.

Impressionistic evidence of the Zambian student politics would suggest that those with a low status background are possibly more likely to be party activists. But as has been suggested at various points, and will be given more attention later, party activity on campus is slight and there is no party branch. The focus of political activity within the student community is the student union and the union executive are largely 'non-affiliates'. It is the background of membership of the UNZASU executive and university membership of the NUZS executive which must be examined for an assessment of the relationship between political activism and social background.

The recruitment to the union executive is through elections
in which the articulation of ideas in English is a prerequis-
ite for success. This in itself favours those who come from
professional backgrounds where English is spoken. On the other
hand recruitment to the party requires no such facility, indeed
it might be argued that fluency in English might prove to be a
handicap rather than an asset. Those who seek to partake in
political activity but who are precluded from access to the
student union executive by virtue of their difficulties in self
expression in English may be drawn to party activism.

In concentrating on 'party' politics and excluding
'student' politics Hanna is biasing his sample of student
'activists' to favour those coming from backgrounds where
parent or guardian has a low occupational status. His conclu-
sion that 'power was pursued to compensate for status depriva-
tion'[75] is therefore only partially valid until he examines the
participants in student union politics. After all the students
regarded as 'radical' and subject of studies on American
campuses are not the ones who are affiliated to the national
parties. It may well be that many of the Young Democrats or
Young Republicans, in the same way as 'affiliates' of Ibadan,
come from parental backgrounds of low occupational status while
the new 'left' or active 'non-affiliates' come from higher
status backgrounds.

STUDENTS AND THE PARTY.

There are few university campuses in Africa which do not
possess a branch of the ruling party.[76] The University of
Zambia is, however, an exception in that it has never had a

party branch and political associations have had difficulty
in making any effective appearance. In 1969, 1970 and 1971
there was no political society of any description. This may
be partly attributed to the exclusion and partly to the with-
drawal of students from the political arena. The following
discussion is devoted to the attempts that were made in 1970
to establish a UNIP branch on the campus, the divisions it
wrought within the student community and the reaction from
outside.

The Background.

In the middle of October 1970, Simon Kapwepwe then Vice-
President came to address the students in a question and answer
session on the topic of the proposed new constitution. At that
meeting he argued against the new proposals and at one point
referred to the necessity for students to affiliate to UNIP.
He came again on the 21st October to address the students at a
meeting of the Sociological Association, arranged some time
before, on the topic 'Students and the Party'.

> You have to join the Party, organise a branch, con-
> tribute to the society because we want to survive,
> it is not a question of democracy, you have to
> survive...If we are going to survive you young
> people are going to have to come in, in a big way
> because if you don't they'll control you and this
> colonialism does not die it only changes its
> colour like a tree...From the university, from
> secondary schools let us go into the villages and
> do National Service...Students cannot regard them-
> selves as an island. How can you then take over
> from me? You have to learn the hard way. You are
> going to be leaders in society...You must prove
> that you are capable. You cannot learn to swim by
> walking round the pool....[77]

Asked what was the future in the party of the student who advo-
cates complete nationalisation of the farms owned by M.P.'s,
District Governors, leaders and other elevated citizens, who

demands that schools should not only suit Mr. Skinner's
children but also Mr. Mulenga's children, and so on, the Vice-
President replied,

> This is just what I want. If we have no people who
> can stand up with their hands in their pockets and
> point out what is wrong we will be dying slowly as
> a nation. Democracy can only succeed if you have
> got capable people to manage it. Those are the
> questions that you must state in the party so that
> the party must answer them...Don't say them outside,
> we want them inside the party.[78]

No high ranking party leader had ever extended such a serious
invitation to the students to enter the party as students.
Hitherto the official policy dictated that students should get
on with their studies and leave politics alone. Kapwepwe was
now saying the direct opposite, that the nation could not
afford to allow its students to remain outside the party.
Following this second forthright speech of Kapwepwe students,
captivated by his message, began organising support for a UNIP
branch on campus. An opinion poll was conducted by the Socio-
logical Association to examine the student response to the
issues raised. Finally, a few days later, in response to the
NUZS President's televised announcement that the student con-
tingent for the forthcoming UNIP National Convention must not
go as students but in a private capacity, the Vice-President
of UNZASU, Cosmos Chola, stated to the press

> It is our firm conviction that students must be
> represented at the forthcoming historic UNIP
> national convention.[79]

Mobilising Opinion on Behalf of the UNIP Branch.

For those who wished to see a Party Branch on the campus
the centre of gravity of the argument rested on the 'responsi-
bility of the intellectual' to help forge unity and national

development at a time when the country was facing enemies both from within and without. In essence such appeals followed the theme which Kapwepwe had already outlined. The debate was conducted through mealtime circulars from which a number of extracts will be taken. Perhaps the most eloquent ideological support for the formation of the branch began with a poem by Otto Rene Castille

> One day
> the apolitical
> intellectuals
> of my country
> will be interrogated
> by the simplest
> of our people
>
> They will be asked
> what they did
> when their nation died out
> slowly,
> like a sweet fire
> small and alone....
>
>   ....and they'll ask:
> 'What did you do when the poor
> suffered, when tenderness
> and life
> burned out in them?' [80]

In less eloquent terms but more likely to resonate student sentiments, another wrote of the responsibility of the students as custodians of the nation's independence.

> ....you and I as youth are the only ones who are
> true custodians of our independence who can real-
> istically defend this nation. We shall not be
> justified to leave the guidance of the nation in
> the hands of the afternoon. Because to them, it
> is only a means by which they secure and consoli-
> date material benefits as they are not sure of
> their tomorrow. [81]

Not only must students oppose the 'afternoon generation', but they must also throw off their political virginity, dirty their hands and show that they can match criticism with an equally positive and dedicated contribution to the development of their

country. The students must set an example of how to run the
country.

> ....we have criticised the spilling of blood during
> our national and local elections. Yet, we have
> never stood up to give an example as to how poli-
> tics - though it is now referred to as "a dirty
> game" - should be conducted. I for one will [not]
> raise a finger in order to attack anybody because
> of differences on political grounds...I have always
> been UNIP and yet violence has never been my party
> slogan...We shall never assault anyone physically,
> intellectually we shall argue with everybody....[82]

Now was the time to show the 'afternoon' generation that the

youth can indeed play an important and constructive role in

the government of the country.

> ....you and I have previously blamed both the
> Government and the Party for making unrealistic
> decisions at times. We have also sounded loud that
> the "afternoon" generation is not prepared to share
> with the youth in directing affairs relating to the
> running of the nations the world over. This has
> led to students in universities resorting to strikes
> and demonstrations in order to reverse things.[83]

One spoke of the historic mission of the intellectuals in

Asia, Africa and Latin America, as the 'cream of the nation'

and the 'vanguard of the revolution'.

> ....We are the cream of the nation, its intellect-
> ual vanguard...We are here to postulate constructive
> ideas: i.e.
>   (a) How to best utilise the land - to increase
>   agricultural production.
>   (b) Increased production in factories.
>   (c) The writing of new literature that will
>   benefit the spiritual and cultural well-
>   being of the nation.
> ....We have a purpose. When our nation needs us we
> shall try to the best of our ability to serve her,
> using the knowledge we have acquired at the
> University of Zambia.

> There are students and students and students.
> There are progressive students who are opposed to
> the Establishment. A case in point is the govern-
> ment of North America - U.S.A. The American Govern-
> ment is committing acts of genocide against the
> heroic and freedom-loving peoples of Vietnam.
> Domestically it is oppressing and exploiting twenty
> million of her own people and more. Furthermore,

this same *American Government is holding to ransom*
the entire world - the entire world - the contin-
uous threat of Nuclear War. The progressive
students and intellectuals of the USA are playing
a positive role in opposition to their government.
The revolutionary and progressive students and
intellectuals of Africa, Asia and Latin America
have a totally different role to play from that of
their counterparts in the Western countries. We
must constantly re-evaluate our position in soc-
iety. Our duty is to stand by the side of our
Nations and Societies in times of crisis.[84]

The same writer stressed the crises facing the nation through

external aggression of the powerful nations in the world.

UNIP is correctly pursuing its cherished ideals of
galvanizing the forces of progress in this
country. That Zambia is undergoing and experienc-
ing a serious and acute phase in her history, has
to be reiterated here and now. The fascist dogs
and wolves of Imperialism have already gnashed
their teeth. Ready to pounce and dismember the
body of this young and progressive nation. Can
evidence be produced to substantiate the previous
statements? YES
    (i) The bombings that took place on and near
        the Angola/Zambia border - Kalabo.
    (ii) The bombings of innocent villagers in the
         Eastern Province.
Who is responsible for these bombings? Portuguese
fascism and NATO which is supported by the UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA and her allies....
The crisis that is manifesting itself is not only
particular to Zambia alone. It has assumed a
continental and universal proportion. The African
Revolution has been and is fighting a life and
death struggle against Imperialism which is work-
ing day and night to re-enslave and re-colonize
Africa and Zambia.[85]

Given the crisis facing the nation, the need for unity and the

responsibility of the intellectual then what practical meas-

ures are open to the student? To fight from outside the party

is divisive and doomed to failure because of the tendency for

those in power to mistake criticism, motivated by a concern

for the 'progress' of the nation, for opposition.

....to me Bishop Reed was correct when he main-
tained that you can only fight and right a system
when there is a dialogue between the resistors and
those who defend the existing system. And to be

effective, use the same platform used by those
who maintain the condemned system. What I
mean here is that; we can only be effective if
we were in the very system in whose hands
affairs of this nation have been entrusted.[86]

Working through the Party might, it was argued by another,

facilitate student contribution to the solution of his own as

well as national problems.

There has been a growing tendency to criticise
government policies or party activities without
using the right channels through which these
criticisms can receive practicability. I must
point it out clearly, and without bias, that no
matter how much we criticise in the air, little
will be achieved. Why not have some people to
channel grievances - national and other - through
the party? We might achieve more by being con-
structive; let us not destroy without building
something more concrete. Neither can we solve
problems by refraining from politics. It is
inevitable, therefore, to allow those who are
UNIP supporters to alleviate some of the prob-
lems in an easier way.[87]

The final argument which defended the formation of a UNIP

branch on the university campus appealed to rights of free

association.

The first reason is both legal and democratic:
there is no clause in the national or UNZASU
constitution stipulating that ZANDU, ANC, let
alone UNIP have no right to form branches either
on the two campuses or without...In fact even
other writers from ANC and ZANDU have clearly
given us the green light to go in their most
emotionally directed article Our Chief Nanga, in
which they said in paragraph 4: "I hope it is
now clear to Mr. Chola and his friends that they
are At Liberty to form a branch of UNIP on the
campus PROVIDING THEY DO SO NOT AS UNZASU
EXECUTIVE MEMBERS but as FREE citizens of the
Republic who are dedicated UNIP members."[88]

What distinguished the above arguments from their oppon-

ents' is the overriding concern with principles and ideology

and the absence of the more usual character assassinations and

appeals to narrow student interests. The more 'radical' ele-

ments of the student body had been stirred by the encouragement

given to them by the Vice-President's call apparently welcoming them into the party as 'intellectuals' and students. Hitherto these same elements had been silent because of the prevailing view outside the campus that students and 'intellectuals' must be excluded from the political arena. Though those who led the movement for entering the party system were disproportionately recruited from the hitherto silenced 'intellectuals', the vast majority of followers were probably those which Hanna characterised as compensating for status deprivation, and those which had been active in UNIP off the campus and who were not active in student politics.

Mobilising Opinion Against the UNIP Branch.

The articulate spokesmen for the formation of the UNIP branch stressed the student's 'civic' role as of prior importance to his 'student' role and so rejected the conception of 'student solidarity' as a means to furthering specifically student interests as opposed to national interests.

> I contend that STUDENT SOLIDARITY as conceived
> on this campus is an ill-defined and meaningless
> phrase. It needs redefinition in the light of
> recent historical developments both inside and
> outside the country.[89]

This was made in reply to the official pronouncement of the union executive that student interests would be threatened by the formation of a branch on the campus of any political party.

> Brothers and Sisters,
> After careful scrutiny and analysis of the
> advantages and disadvantages of the formation of
> political branches on the campus, the Unzasu
> Executive has decided to make its position abundantly clear on this burning issue facing us.
> We are clearly and unconditionally Opposed
> to the formation of any political branches on
> this campus, this is because we can clearly foresee an inevitable and unnecessary split in the

hitherto students solidarity and this will be
to our own disadvantage in the short run as well
as the long run.

To this end we strongly warn the entire
student body and our Brothers and Sisters who
are currently playing this dangerous game of the
heavy consequences which will definitely follow
and engulf them.

Yours in the Students Solidarity,
THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY UNZASU EXECUTIVE[90]

The union executive in opposing the formation of an independent

UNIP Branch on the campus was clearly defending its own posi-

tion in the community as well as the interests of the student

body as a whole. The fear was openly expressed by members of

the executive. Once a branch was established on campus exter-

nal relations would be governed by the branch rather than the

union; communications from outside would be channelled through

UNIP rather than the union.

Second the existence of a branch would facilitate access of

national party leaders to the student body, interfering in

student affairs and renting divisions in its midst. Divisions

based on party loyalties which overlap sectional divisions

based on language would be brought out into the open and under-

mine student solidarity. The two most prominent members of the

African National Congress - Lozi speakers - produced the most

provocative of all the circulars in their determination to pre-

vent the emergence of factional politics on campus.

We Zambian Nationals of the African National Congress
studying at the University of Zambia, despite our
numerical superiority on the campus, and our well-
oiled, well-disciplined organising ability, do not,
in the interests of student solidarity and academic
pursuits, intend to open a political branch on the
campus under normal circumstances.

Meanwhile, we have a word to those who are completely
bent on wanting to turn the democratic political
system of Zambia into a hereditary instrument for
amassing luxury and artificial power under the um-
brella of the 'ideal' One Party State. The imposition

> of a 'One Party State' through political irration-
> ality, intimidation, and made-to-measure theap
> propaganda is likely to cause political instability,
> economic unrest, and social distress to Zambia.
> This is what we want the Republic to avoid. This
> is our stand. And we are prepared to kick the
> bucket for this noble stand.
>
> We are as Zambian as any other Zambian even though
> we may die pedestrians, and hewers of wood and
> drawers of water, for selfish economic adventurers
> and political schemers. We appreciate dialogue
> and advice. But never will we allow another man
> or woman, boy or girl to think for us
>
> <div align="center">NEVER.[91]</div>

The 'numerical superiority of the ANC' was included to provoke UNIP supporters into retaliatory remarks rather than as an accurate assessment of ANC strength on the campus. For the remainder the writers' views resonated with those of the majority of campus. The one party state was already in the air with President Kaunda's announcement that December 31st[92] was to be the last date for joining UNIP. Students were strongly opposed to the one party state for the reasons given in the circular, as was brought to light in the third opinion poll.

> The time is now ripe for the declaration of a one
> party state.
>
> 11% agreed, 8% were uncertain, 81% disagreed[93]

The third reason for opposing the formation of a UNIP Branch was hinted at in the ANC circular, namely the suggestion that its leaders were opportunists who were to be rewarded for their efforts in establishing UNIP on the campus with comfort-able positions on graduating. Those who led the UNIP movement had 'ulterior motives' for establishing a branch.

> On the 14th November, 1970, the dynamic UNIP Twig's
> so-called Publicity Boss...had been driven to the
> New Campus in a vehicle which bore no flag because
> he is not yet a Cabinet Minister....[94]

Thus the idealism expressed in the pro-branch circulars was just a cover for a crude opportunism which would place its advocates in comfortable posts in the UNIP hierarchy. This view stems more from the image of UNIP than the character of the people concerned. The following is an extract from a circular entitled <u>The Incomplete Works of UNIP Literature</u>

UNIP is wounded
It bleeds, now and again,
A GIANT in agony
A GIANT in decay
Keep Going
With the WOUNDED BUFFALO
Wear Yellow Skipper*

Beware of Yellow Skippers
They may be
From corruption funds!
Or have you inherited...
Birthright?

This is UNIP and
This is its BRIGHT FUTURE
Keep going with UNIP
KEEP GOING
with the WOUNDED BUFFALO!
And share in the spoils
ALLELUIA: AMEN[95]

* The yellow skippers refer to T-Shirts stamped with
"Keep Going With UNIP" worn by party workers and
supporters and distributed free by the party
headquarters. A number were to be seen on the
campus.

It was widely felt that once established, active participation in UNIP on campus would be a channel to high posts in government on graduation.

The fourth reason given by many students was the threat that once introduced onto the campus, party politics and the factionalism which might develop would jeopardise their university careers. The atmosphere would be such as to make serious study difficult and the purpose of coming to university would be defeated.

Perhaps the attitude of those opposed to the formation of the branch is best expressed by the symbolic wearing of a UNIP skipper by members of the executive indicating that one can be a good member of UNIP without supporting the formation of a student branch. Active participation in UNIP **off** the campus is not incompatible with opposition to the creation of a student branch on the campus. Leaders of the 'UNIP movement' labelled such characters as 'sheep in goat's skin', betraying their commitment to the party by awarding precedence to their commitment to the union.

Student Opinion.

The difference between the two groups may be summarised as follows. Those who supported the formation of a UNIP branch tended to argue that a student's civic role must take priority over the university role, while those opposed to the branch argued that commitment to the civic role and to the party is permissible only insofar as it does not infringe on the student role, student interests and student solidarity. In other words the one affirms the student as first a national and then a student while according to the other view he is first a student and then a national. That the majority of students support the second stand is brought out in the opinion poll conducted after the second talk given by the Vice-President.

> In the interests of national development party politics must be brought onto campus
>
> 31% agreed, 9% were uncertain, 60% disagreed.[96]

> A branch of UNIP should be established on campus for UNZA students.
>
> 19% agreed, 9% were uncertain, 72% disagreed.[97]

Students must be represented on the National
Council of UNIP

45% agreed, 18% were uncertain, 37% disagreed.[98]

While 19% favoured a branch of UNIP on campus, 31% felt that
in the national interest party politics should be brought
onto campus, and 45% agreed to student representation on the
National Council. The results suggest that the students'
desire to involve themselves in national politics is directly
related to the likelihood that involvement would disrupt the
'integrity' of the student role and threaten the interests of
the student body.

The Union versus the Party.

Given the desire to enter the national political arena,
there are essentially two strategies which could be adopted.
The first is that already outlined of working through the party
- the reformist approach. The second was not considered in
the debate over affiliation to UNIP but would have provided a
logical counter-ideology to those who urged the establishment
of a branch. Students could have argued that their contribu-
tion to national politics and national development should come
from outside the party where their role would be independent
of the party and their distance would permit an objective
assessment of the issues. Once absorbed into the party his
influence would be restricted, his autonomy limited, energies
for change would be stifled and the bureaucratic pressures
frustrating. The university and its student community could
only be a vehicle for change so long as it retained its
autonomy and freedom of action and thought.

No one brought up the argument of 'working outside the system' for a number of reasons. First the party would never tolerate an autonomous politically influential group of students who openly criticised the party. Second, the student body as a whole would be unlikely to be as sympathetic to that view as towards the one which saw the student interest as paramount. Third, most of the students who were intent on making an impact on the national political arena had backed the formation of a party branch on campus and there was no sizable section remaining which could argue for independent student action outside the party.

The debate therefore followed the classical division between party and union which so concerned the revolutionary theory of Lenin before the Russian Revolution and which was to permeate the politics of USSR for many decades after the revolution.[99] The union pursues its own sectional interests at the expense of the national interest and must be nullified by incorporation into a party where its demands may be restraining and its behaviour regulated. In such circumstances the union becomes a 'transmission belt' for the dictates of the central party leadership rather than a pressure group for the pursuit of the workers' interests, i.e. it is transformed from an 'input' to an 'output' structure.[100] The union will often resist attempts to incorporate it into the wider party structure where sectional interests will be stifled and dissolved into the wider collectivity embraced by the party. To the extent that the union represents a membership which is privileged in relation to the interests already represented in the party, so the union will stand to lose and therefore resist incorporation into the party.

In some cases the union will be successful in resisting incorporation into the party and retaining its functional autonomy, in others it will be unsuccessful. After a prolonged struggle the Russian trade unions were subjected, under an increasingly coercive apparatus, to party control.[101] Whereas the German National Socialists were able to smash the trade union organisations in a much shorter time,[102] UNIP attempts to gain control of the mineworkers' trade union have failed because of the organisational strength and bargaining power of the mineworkers as the producers of 95% of the country's export earnings.[103] The students, as has been suggested, have been equally determined to maintain their independence of the party and they too have been successful, so far, but for reasons that differ radically from the mineworkers.

Support from Outside for the Formation of a UNIP Branch on Campus.

Undaunted by opposition from the union executive, which itself included two and possibly three advocates for a party branch, and by the revelations of the opinion poll, the leaders of the UNIP movement continued their attempts to establish a branch. Nearly two hundred students signed up as prospective members - a figure which corresponded to the predictions of the opinion poll. In the meantime, the executive's public decision to oppose the formation of political branches on the campus had been an issue of controversy in the capital. The executive had meetings with different national leaders and party officials in Lusaka. Some seemed in favour of the formation of the branch and some against it. The dilemma for the party was an old one, outlined in the Times of Zambia.

> So when UNIP calls upon the students to form a
> branch on the campus it must be clear to the
> leaders that they will have to contend with the
> demands of the students. By letting them organ-
> ise party politics a provision has to be made to
> allow them to occupy high positions in the party.
>
> Some students have already declared that the
> whole party hierarchy needs to be scrutinised.
> They feel that unless some of the unsuitable
> people who still cling to various top posts are
> dropped, there will be great diversity of
> opinion between them and the energetic, revolu-
> tionary and radical youth....
>
> The question now is whether the students will
> choose to stay out of party politics or not. On
> the other hand the leaders are now aware that by
> establishing a UNIP Branch on the campus they
> will be calling on the revolutionary, radical
> and emotional youth who understands nothing but
> change.[104]

In chapter two it was suggested that the tendency for the

party to be dominated by poorly educated party supporters, led

to the exclusion of the students from the party hierarchy. In

conversations with those leaders of the UNIP movement on the

campus, one minister, whose background suggested he was sympa-

thetic to the students, was reported to have said that some

party leaders feared the entry of students into the political

arena. In the eventuality the deputation which went to the

regional secretary with the two hundred signatures was refused

permission to register a university branch of UNIP. Through-

out the controversy, which made a prominent appearance in the

newspapers, no junior or senior minister, let alone the

President, made any comment on the growing enthusiasm for a

university branch of UNIP. At a meeting between the student

executive and a number of other leading students at State

House, towards the end of November, the President refused to

comment on the issue of affiliation claiming that 'he and his

colleagues were working on the matter'. Clearly this was as

delicate a matter within the party as it was amongst the students. These events were taking place in the month preceding the end of the academic year and the campaign for a UNIP branch on campus fizzled out not to be continued the following year.

The student body as a whole had been against the formation of a branch and even had a branch been formed it would seem that deliberate attempts would have been made to undermine its effectiveness. Its activities could easily have been sabotaged by the majority of students unless it had a great deal of support from outside, which is is unlikely to have secured. The difference between the miners and the students lay in the threat that the former posed so long as they were organised outside the influence of the party, in contrast to the threat the latter might pose from within the party organisation.

SECTIONAL CLEAVAGES AND PARTY LOYALTIES.

Whereas kinship ties bond students to the wider society, they do not have any impact on student behaviour on the campus. Sectional loyalties, mainly to linguistic groups, while normally not so import as links to the wider society have a significant impact on student behaviour within the university.

In terms of province of origin students represent the total population of Zambia fairly well, as shown in Table 16.

One of the problems which will be encountered in assessing the significance of sectional loyalties is the almost one to one correspondence between linguistic groups and affiliation to political party. It thus becomes difficult to isolate

the two variables, sectional loyalty and party affiliation, as distinct determinants of student behaviour. Thus students from Western and Southern Provinces are associated in the minds of the other students as being supporters of the African National Congress even though this may not be true of all of them. In the same way students of Northern, Luapula, Copperbelt and Eastern Provinces are linked with UNIP, though again not every such student may support UNIP.

TABLE 16 - DISTRIBUTION OF ZAMBIAN STUDENTS BY PROVINCE[105]

Province	% Students Born in Province	% Students Resident in Province	% Population Resident in Province
Eastern	20.8	16.5	12.6
Northern	14.0	10.3	13.4
Central	12.5	27.4	17.6
Luapula	5.0	6.5	8.3
Western	10.3	6.9	10.1
North Western	0.9	1.2	5.7
Southern	17.1	13.7	12.2
Copperbelt	15.6	15.9	20.1

TABLE 17 - DISTRIBUTION OF ZAMBIAN STUDENTS BY TOWN OR VILLAGE[106]

Town	% Students Born in Town/Village	% Students Resident in Town/Village	% Population Resident in Town/Village
Lusaka, Ndola, Kitwe, Living-stone.	10.6	28.0	15.0
Mining Town	8.8	8.5	10.2
Other Town and Village	80.6	63.5	74.8

Informal Sociable Groupings.

Linguistic affiliations play their most influential and obvious role in the formation of friendship groups. At meal times in the dining room, students will gather together in linguistic groups: only a small minority will converse in English. Since students are not generally fluent in more than one major Zambian vernacular, they tend therefore to group according to their mother tongues. The four major language groups are Cibemba spoken by the majority of those who come from Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt Provinces, Nyanja spoken by those from Central and Eastern Provinces, Lozi spoken by those from Western Province and the Ila-Tonga speaking group from Southern Province. Within each major linguistic group there are small groups based again on common language such as the Tumbuka speakers from Eastern Province. Students from North Western Province form another category which does not easily fall into a major language group.

Students in their first year are more likely to gravitate to narrow language groups particularly when they first arrive, partly because they are not confident when conversing in English. Thus the older student and the 'mature student', who has been engaged in jobs, such as teaching, which require a certain facility in English, is more likely to mix in heterogeneous groups. As the student progresses through the university, one might anticipate the emergence of inter-linguistic friendship groupings whose lingua franca is English, but, in practice, very few of these are to be found. There are, rather a few individuals who have no fixed clique to which they belong but who float from group to group conversing now in vernacular

and now in English. Within the language category there is still considerable room for choice of friends on the basis of common interests, subject of study, year of study etc.

Earlier reference was made to the criticism levelled at the girls for moving in 'tribal groups' and the fact that this pattern persists both amongst the men and the women. While such groupings are based on common interest, common language, common background etc., relations between sexes is based on physical attraction which does not normally recognise racial, linguistic or tribal boundaries. It is here that tension must inevitably arise between recruitment of friends based on language and recruitment based on physical appearance or other 'universal' characteristics.

> ....One fresher who refused to disclose his name
> said, "When I came here the first thing that
> struck me most apart from the impressive buildings
> was the marked tribal divisions. I could not get
> a girl who came from Southern or Western Provinces.
> The girl might be willing but all the time there
> is this tribal bouncer lurking around. ....This
> fresher's mother-tongue-interfered accent told me
> he was a Northerner.[107]

Here is a blatant accusation against the exclusiveness of two sections of the student community for 'keeping their own girls to themselves'. The reply from the Southerners and Westerners may come as follows in half mocking tones.

> We in Southern and Western Provinces are conserva-
> tives. This is true of any farming or property
> owning community. We are not like Northerners or
> Easterners. These people have nothing to lose so
> they are careless with their lives. We can't
> allow our girls to mix anyhow or else our property
> would be disinherited. We have strong chiefly
> ties which bind us to our community. We allow our
> men to mix as they wish, because this won't affect
> our inherited land and property. Apart from that,
> people from the North are so arrogant and they al-
> ways assume they are leaders wherever they go. We
> can't allow domination if that is what you mean by
> social mixing.[108]

The Joking Relationship.

The appearance of the above in the columns of UZ reflects the joking relations existing between the different 'tribes' or 'linguistic groups' within the student community. Joking relationships may govern interactions between members of groups that were either in the past or are at present outside the university in some form of tension. Thus football matches are regularly arranged between different provinces.

> This coming Sunday will see the football match of
> the year, when students from the Western Province
> meet Easterners. The match will be played on the
> campus grounds at 4 p.m....The Lozis and the
> Ngonis will clash in the Kuomboka Cup Final...
> Commenting on the match Mr. M....[Easterner] said
> that the Chipata side will clobber the Lozis.[109]

The realisation of the sociological significance of the joking relationship has been attributed to anthropologists, and it is in anthropological material that it has made its most frequent appearance.[110]

> The joking relationship is a peculiar combination
> of friendliness and antagonism. The behaviour is
> such that in any other social context it would
> express and arouse hostility; but it is not meant
> seriously and must not be taken seriously. There
> is a pretence of hostility and real friendliness.
> To put it another way, the relationship is one of
> permitted disrespect.[111]

The joking relationship represents a dual role relationship in which one role relationship expresses solidarity while the other expresses conflict. The joking relationship reflects the recognition of the conflict inherent in one of the roles, while at the same time expressing an understood agreement between the actors that the 'solidarity role' should be given prior importance over the 'conflict role'. The common understanding over the relative importance of the two roles arises

partly out of the context in which the interaction takes place
and partly out of the institutionalised role expectations of
one actor for another. Thus in the case of the football match,
though the Ngonis and Lozis are 'traditional' enemies in the
national political arena the one lending support to UNIP and
the other to ANC, nonetheless these differences are dissolved
on the campus where the student role is paramount. The joking
relationship enjoins two groups of actors who are enemies in
one context, but allies in another. In this way the joking
relationship promotes cohesion in the community by dissolving
'irrelevant' differences.

However, when for some reason the 'conflict role' assumes
greater importance, the joking relationship is a disruptive
rather than a cohesive social mechanism exacerbating rather
than reconciling hostilities. In such circumstances the joking
relationship will be used only mistakenly. When the United
Progressive Party was formed in August 1971 it was associated
with the Bemba speaking people who had broken away from UNIP
because, it was said, their leaders had been squeezed out of
cabinet office. Political animosities broke out between the
Easterners and the Bemba speakers at the national level. On
the campus it was clear that the UPP had some support from
the Bemba students and the Eastern Province students, affected
by the national political scene, regarded the Bembas with some
hostility. It now became difficult to use the joking relation-
ship between the two groups to assuage the conflict which was
apparent at the national level. Thus, for example, the Ngonis
from Eastern Province though they played the Lozis at football
never played the Bembas.

In other words alliances and coalitions between linguistic

groups at the national level affect relations between students on the campus.

> ....the patterns of 'tribal-alliances' on the campus clearly reflects those at the National level. It is observed that the Bemba-speaking students are at perpetual rivalry with those of Tonga-Lozi. The Nyanga-Luvale speaking students and the rest act as self appointed mediators in the battle of Giants.[112]

There are a number of possible reasons why relations between linguistic groups at the national level should be reflected in similar relations in the student community. First, the existence of informal groupings along linguistic lines and the exclusiveness of some of these groups engenders a sectional consciousness, a sectional loyalty, and an identification with the fortunes and interests of the sectional groups at the national level. This same sectional consciousness and loyalty then translates itself back from the national level to the student community. The same sectional loyalty and consciousness promotes an interest in the affairs of the group outside the university out of self interest as a member of that group. Thus the fact that his kinsmen and many of his friends all come from his home province means that the construction of a car factory or a road in that area is of major concern to him. Then it is possible that politicians from his own sectional group will influence the student to support the interests of his particular 'section' in the context of the struggle for power and wealth at the national level. Thirdly identification with one's linguistic or tribal group would be promoted by the possibility of patronage from those of the same section who are well placed in government, industry etc. For different students each factor will be more important according to the

context, the particular sectional group and the contact he
might have with those in influential positions who can offer
patronage. In the following sections two cases of sectional
cleavage will be examined. In the first influence from out-
side appears to be relatively insignificant in generating the
split, whereas in the second the influence appears to be
direct.

Conflict between NUZS and UNZASU.

The National Union of Zambia Students (NUZS) held its
first national congress in 1964 two years before the university
opened. It then represented all the existing institutions of
higher education together with secondary school students. In
the early years of Independence, therefore, NUZS was the only
organisation which represented the interests of the students
in the country. When the university opened its doors, the
University of Zambia Students Union (UNZASU) was established,
though in its early years it was less prestigious to be a
member of its executive committee than NUZS. Gradually, as
the university expanded, membership of the UNZASU executive
grew in importance and prestige amongst university students.
In the more recent years students who have failed in the con-
test for position on the UNZASU Executive have found positions
on the NUZS Executive, which continues to be dominated[113] by
students from the University of Zambia. UNZASU's pre-eminence
in the political arena during 1970 and 1971 has eclipsed NUZS
as the leading national organisation though the former is
still a member of the latter. Indeed UNZASU provided until
1971 the major source of funds for the operations of NUZS.
The other institutions of higher education affiliated to NUZS

contributed when their financial circumstances permitted, which tended to make their support somewhat erratic.

The mother body NUZS, as with other trade union mother bodies, seemed to provide nothing substantial in return for the 30 ngwee subscriptions per member of UNZASU. There were yearly national congresses at which an impressive list of resolutions were passed but little headway was ever made in implementing them. In the early years the NUZS Executive might take it upon itself to speak out on behalf of the students of Zambia on both national and international issues and also attend conferences abroad. Other branches of NUZS might profit by the contact that was established with the executive through the occasional visits made by the latter to the out-lying areas. Union officials would assist branch executives in fighting cases on behalf of certain of its members who might be threatened with expulsion. NUZS had been fighting for sometime for the re-affiliation of secondary school students, but the Minister of Education was adamant in resisting the intrusion of NUZS into secondary schools. The President of NUZS himself had appeared on television and had made one of his themes a more tolerant approach to pregnant female students. In general, however, NUZS offered very little to UNZASU in return for its contribution of several hundred kwacha and it is not surprising that, when in 1971 NUZS demanded the payment of K1.00 per member, over three times the original sum, UNZASU decided to suspend its contribution altogether.[114] There followed an acrimonious exchange of circulars between the Bemba-speaking President of UNZASU, Cosmos Chola, and the Lozi-speaking President of NUZS, Mundia Matakala. The first circular announcing the withdrawal of UNZASU spoke of the

failure of NUZS to fulfil any meaningful role.

> To all intents and purposes, the University of
> Zambia Students Union unequivocally questions the
> existence of the National Union of Zambian Stud-
> ents. We view it as a shame at a [time] when
> members of the wider community are directing all
> their energies in constructing and reconstructing
> the Nation, for NUZS to be undergoing "retro-
> gressive metamorphosis".

> Are students not supposed to be the most en-
> lightened among the youth and as such are
> naturally the most vocal and most demonstrative?
> We wish to remind those that are leaders in NUZS
> that student status is a temporary state. If its
> opportunities are missed it becomes difficult to
> make up in later life. Students usually find
> themselves in a stronger position to take a de-
> tached and objective view of things.

> In the light of all these therefore, the execu-
> tive finds it fit to halt our subscriptions till
> such time that this National Student Movement
> shall rise up to the challenge of this Nation in
> the spirit of youthful conscience that is sensi-
> tive. In future, we resolve that we shall always
> analyse issues and situations, study various
> viewpoints and then define our stand and role
> thereafter on our own.[115]

The reply from Matakala was couched in various idioms. He

spoke of what NUZS stood for,

> This union is inspired by a tradition of victory;
> victory against oppression, suppression and re-
> pression; victory against propensities to dic-
> tatorship in the political system. The primary
> objective is to defend the free conscience of all
> of us, so that we may live [as] free men and
> women dedicated to the Solemn objectives of this
> nation.[116]

Matakala then proceeds to assassinate the character and legiti-

macy of Chola as President of UNZASU,

> It is unfortunate that from such a 'big' man we
> should have so little sense...If he thinks he can
> dictate the withdrawal of over one thousand six
> hundred students from NUZS it is obvious he will
> go to the limbo of all naive autocrats. He says
> NUZS has not been vocal, yet he himself has been
> vocal only in delivering such 'famous' speeches
> as "Your Excellency, we are eating on their
> behalf" at State House banquets in an atmosphere
> of champagne and wine...The reason why Chola
> wants to quit NUZS is because he was humiliated

after an electoral defeat at the Seventh Annual
Congress of the Union last year.[117]

Finally Matakala introduces Chola's supposed affiliation to
UNIP and the belief held amongst some that he wished to see a
UNIP branch established on campus.

> He wants to quit because in November last year
> he failed to drag students into his political
> party, and therefore failed to impress his pol-
> itical overlords.[118]

Chola, from a position of strength, was able to counter by ig-
noring the personal attacks and persisting with the rationale
of leaving NUZS because it failed to make any use of UNZASU
contributions except to finance 'receptions and dances during
the NUZS Congress'.[119] NUZS has no defined policy on national
projects as regards health, road services and general living
standards in towns and villages. As a national union NUZS has
failed to comment 'on the activities of some officials, govern-
ment or otherwise, who may be retarding national progress',[120]
and failed to take the necessary action arising out of resolu-
tions made at the various national congresses. On the inter-
national front NUZS is virtually unknown, and NUZS has made no
attempt to establish student exchange programs with other
countries etc. Chola made no reference to the political party
with which Matakala had come to be associated, but spoke as
President of UNZASU in the student interest. He desisted from
any character assassination of Matakala. The latter replied
further in a defensive vein arguing that the UNZASU Constitution
stipulated that UNZASU be affiliated to NUZS, that Chola is
manipulating 'the student movement to the ends of his political
party',[121] that NUZS is not responsible for road building,
hospitals and night schools or for the low standards of living,

illiteracy, disease etc. and that any weaknesses in NUZS are as much the fault of UNZASU as they are of NUZS. Clearly Chola and the UNZASU Executive were the stronger party in the confrontation since they decide what to do with the union funds NUZS is in effect powerless to resist UNZASU's suspension of contributions.

While Chola spoke in the vein of a unionist concerned to promote the interests of its membership, Matakala accuses him of being a traitor to those very same interests in his affiliations with politicians off the campus. It was precisely this idiom which had set the scene for an earlier battle just prior to the movement for the creation of a UNIP branch on campus. At that time (October-November 1970) Chola was Vice-President of UNZASU and Matakala President of NUZS. Matakala had been interviewed on television about student representation on the National Council of UNIP, and in his capacity as President of NUZS had said that although students may attend the National Convention they cannot do so as representatives of student bodies; they must go as independent persons. The statement had aroused considerable hostility amongst a number of politicians and the Lusaka District Governor rushed around to Matakala's room on campus demanding the retraction of the statement. Matakala refused and the District Governor rushed to the other campus to seek out the UNZASU President, Marshall Bushe, who said that since his union was affiliated to NUZS he could not make any comment without first consulting his own executive. On Monday 2nd November, Chola - the Vice-President of UNZASU - was reported in the press as follows[122]

In a strongly worded statement, vice-president of the University of Zambia Students Union, Mr. Cosmos Chola, said: 'It is our firm conviction that students must be represented at the forthcoming historic UNIP national convention.'....

The students of the university would like to remind the government and party through their union that attention should not be paid to statements made by "students who are in the pockets of small political parties," he said. Mr. Chola added that the statement issued by Mr. Matakala did not have the blessing of the entire NUZS Executive.

"Therefore the statement was dictated to him by outside elements who are working day and night to destroy our Zambia," concluded Mr. Chola.[123]

Chola therefore quite openly defined the confrontation with Matakala in terms of party affiliations, suggesting that Matakala had, independently of the rest of the NUZS executive, decided to send no representatives to the UNIP National Convention because he was linked to the African National Congress. A circular distributed the following day defined the confrontation in similar terms.

Comrade Chola's article alleges that Mr. Matakala does not want students to be represented in UNIP's National (Convention) Council ...Mr. Matakala has never at any time suggested anything of this nature. What he said, and what he will say should the need arise, was that NUZS could not join as a bloc. I do not have to remind Nanga* that NUZS is non-partisan. It embraces all Zambian students be they UNIP, ANC, ZANDU, One Party State and Security Council, and even the mysterious National Revolutionary Council. I cannot think of a worse situation that would arise than if NUZS were to join the National Councils of all these parties. Neither can I think of any reasonable course other than that taken by Comrade Matakala. Students can participate in the activities of any party, so long as they do not do so in the name of any student organisation which is non-partisan. I cannot over-emphasize that not every student is a member of UNIP....

Mr. Matakala is further accused of being an agent of small political parties. I wonder is it not possible that it is he, Mr. Chola, who is in the pocket of some big political party?[124]

* Chief Nanga was the ruthless government minister in Achebe's Man of the People.

At an ideological level the conflict may be reduced to whether the student union should express solidarity with the incumbent government and ruling party or whether it should remain faithful to the diverse interests of its membership. According to their own specific interests, different groups would support either view. It so happened that the President of NUZS was associated with ANC and he therefore argued for the independence of the student movement, while on the other hand there were no supporters of ANC in the UNZASU executive and they felt it correct to express solidarity with the government. Each leader strove to use the organisation to which he was attached as a means of mobilising opinion in his favour, claiming his union as carrying greater authority. The principles he enunciated in support of his stance were purer than those of the opponent who 'was in the hands of some party'.

However, the actual source of support inevitably came from those whose interests were congruent with the particular view. Thus those from the Southern and Western Provinces who supported ANC rallied behind Matakala whereas those who supported UNIP rallied behind Chola. That the leading protagonists came from two different organisations was of only minor significance. Given this background, the clash between NUZS and UNZASU over the contribution of funds to NUZS cannot be seen simply in the light of an institutional conflict between the affiliated member and the mother body, but must also be seen as a reflection of a rivalry between political or sectional groups. Certainly membership of a particular linguistic group or political party provided a sound basis for the recruitment of support.

Though support may be mobilised through affiliation to a

sectional, in this case linguistic group, neither party is prepared to openly accuse the other of 'tribalism'. There are a number of reasons why students may refrain from such accusations. Unless the accuser can produce uncontravertible evidence to the effect that his rival is recruiting from sectional rather than political support, he is vulnerable to counter-accusations of deliberately creating divisions within the student community. *By defining the debate in terms of* sectional loyalties, the protagonists necessarily involve many more students who would otherwise have remained outside the debate. Thus, for example, if Chola had identified Matakala as a 'tribalist', he would have galvanised all those Lozis, including those who did not support ANC or even Matakala, into a group united in opposition to himself while at the same time incurring the resentment of many UNIP supporters, who were not from his own sectional group. The third factor of significance is the student attitude towards those who make 'tribal accusations'. 'Tribalism' has associations of backwardness in the minds of many students and he who makes 'tribal accusations' is likely to have a very low credibility and to incur the wrath of many students who resent such 'African' factors entering the debate. In defining a conflict in terms of sectional loyalties a student is likely to automatically lose support.

The source of the rivalry between NUZS and UNZASU, personified by Matakala and Chola respectively, was largely intrinsic to the university revolving around relationship between the affiliated member union and the mother body and the propriety of union support to a party organisation. It was at the same time cast in the idiom of roles derived from the social structure of the wider society, and it was through these roles that