

support was mobilised within the student community. The ensuing division in the community derived not from social differentiation arising out of the university social structure but was imported from the wider society. In the next example not only are the lines of division within the student community externally derived but the source of rivalry is also extrinsic to the university.

The Formation of the United Progressive Party.

August, 1971 saw the official formation of the United Progressive Party led by Simon Kapwepwe. It was widely identified as a 'tribal' party drawing support from the Bemba speaking peoples. UNIP, in the Bemba areas particularly, reacted with violence, demonstrations of solidarity with the President and intimidation of suspected UPP supporters. In a first round of detentions in September, over a hundred of the known leaders of the new party were placed in detention. However, Kapwepwe himself remained free. During the first month of its existence UPP leaders had been negotiating with ANC for a possible alliance but this never bore fruit. ANC seemed content to make political capital out of the competition between UNIP and UPP for ANC support.

In July the University of Zambia had been closed by the government and the ten member union executive suspended. When the university reopened at the end of August, there was a political vacuum since the functions of the union executive had been thrust upon an interim caretaker committee composed of the presidents of hall councils. In the uncertain atmosphere of the country at large and on the university campus in particular, students began to campaign amongst themselves for support

for UNIP and UPP. UPP membership cards were being sold on campus and UNIP supporters were collecting posters which they pinned up in their rooms and arranged private meetings amongst themselves. The UPP supporters were almost exclusively drawn from the Bemba speaking group whereas UNIP support was focussed around students from the Eastern Province. A number of factors may account for the heightened partisan activity. First, the leadership vacuum lent itself to competition for political influence amongst the students and party affiliation was an obvious base in canvassing for support. Second there were politicians outside the campus in the ranks of UNIP who were keen to keep the students loyal to the government and would possibly encourage UNIP supporters to form an informal group. Similarly Kapwepwe was probably keen to exploit the oppositional feelings on campus exacerbated by the government's hostile action in closing the university by force of arms. He needed support wherever he could obtain it. More generally the university had suddenly been thrust into political prominence by the government action and for many students this had inevitably led to an intense politicization. There was only one commentary on the re-alignments of sectional groups and that appeared in the 'miscellany' column of UZ.

One observer once said that the University of Zambia is like a barometer: it reacts to outside pressure more often than not. At that time I didn't believe him, but now I do. The aftermath of the National Level politiking has a subtle but significant impact on campus social life. It disentangles the existing relations and re-aligns them in a rather peculiar manner....

UZ set up an extraordinary committee to look into this question, and make available the findings. I was appointed chairman of this committee. We were given a frame of reference which included:

1. The social relationships at the campus before the formation of UPP.
2. The social relationships at the time of the formation of UPP and thereafter.

The first to be interviewed was Laurenti a fourth year student of tribal politics.

Laurenti: "Before UPP we were our old selves with our usual rivalries. The Tonga, the Lozi, on the one hand and the Bemba speakers on the other. The Ngoni-Nyanga were the middlemen and acted as stabilisers. The others either remained neutral or aligned themselves to where they felt safe. The whites especially mixed freely with everybody, but were more at home with refugee students. But lo! When UPP was formed everything changed. The merger talks between ANC and UPP made things worse. ¹²⁵ Those who were rivals were seen patting each other on the shoulders and congratulating themselves on the 'coup'."

The next interviewed was Hachimwene a third year student of alchemy.

Hachimwene: "It beats me, how some people can forget the 'Lozis are to blame' incident and that fateful 1967 Mulungushi. They seem to be good friends now, but I don't know how long it will last. The Lozi-Tonga women are now very free with the Bembas. The Ngoma Nyangas are stubborn now and seem to have influenced their women to be conservative. Their reknowned liberalism has suddenly evaporated."

Then I interviewed Nsombo, a typical Northerner. He is not a UPP member. This is what he had to say:

Nsombo: "We are going to remain in UNIP but shall continue to give moral support to UPP. You know, we want Railways and some development in our area. If we now merged with ANC and formed a government the railway wouldn't be built. You know ANC

views on the railway. ¹²⁶ Also it is good to be stubborn. After the 'Kumosi Kumawa' ¹²⁷ episode, the Government rushed more capital into Eastern Province and development was accelerated, see? The Tonga and Lozi chaps, because of their traditional opposition to the Government and the latter's ambition to woo them to their side, are in a good bargaining position, see? But lo, with all the unopposed seats in our area, Government will always remain assured and [consequently] no real development. But you will see now, Simon has done the works! The remaining Bemba ministers have more bargaining power than at any time before."

After interviewing these students we spent some days observing social reactions. Mixing between the Bembas and Lozi-Tongas had improved considerably while a corresponding deterioration was evident between the two 'old' rivals and the Eastern peoples. Lozi-Tongas could be seen raising

clenched fists¹²⁸ together [with the Bemba], and they usually 'sponsor' each other at the Canteen; this apparent rapprochement was also matched by their female counterparts. Women mixed freely. However, things were slowly changing after the 'merger' talks collapsed. And we couldn't be surprised if old trends were resumed.¹²⁹

Though obviously an over-simplification, this parody on the events reflects a central truth - the extrinsic sources of sectional alignments amongst the students. Perhaps the most significant reaction amongst the student body to the formation of the UPP and the subsequent detention of its leaders was the departure of nine students to fill the senior posts in the party left vacant by the detained leaders. The influence of developments outside the campus in this highly politicized context are unmistakable. Of the nine students who threw in their university career for positions in UPP seven were of Bemba origin. The other two had been prominent members of the Bushe administration of 1970 alongside Cosmos Chola who as President of the suspended 1971 union executive had earlier decided to join UPP. The two non-Bembas (one originated from Southern Province and the other from North Western Province) had been the most vocal and radical students in the Bushe administration and had been incensed by the high-handed action taken against the students as a result of the demonstration outside the French Embassy in July.

Sectionalism as a Basis of Division within the Student Community.

Kinship ties though they provide powerful linkages between the student community and the wider society, do not play any significant role in influencing student behaviour while at university. The social structure of the university does not

recognise kinship roles and kinship affiliations are too diverse for students to use them as an informal basis for interaction. The ideological schism which developed over the question of a party branch on the campus was intrinsic to the university community itself and not directly related to on-going pressures from outside but more to the broader personality, background and general socialisation processes which students undergo before they arrive at university. Divisions based on sectionalism may be both extrinsic and intrinsic to the university community.

In explaining the ease with which politicians seem to cultivate sectional loyalties amongst the villagers Molteno¹³⁰ draws on three variables. The first one relates to communications. He argues that the politician who speaks the language of the villager is more likely to be trusted encouraging politicians to return to their home areas for support. Second, the unfulfilled expectations of the post Independence period has given rise to a resentment towards those responsible for the distribution of the 'fruits of Independence'. The politician is then able to exploit this resentment by suggesting that certain regions have profited more than others and that his own has suffered exploitation at the hands of other sectional groups. Third the structure of the rural society as 'an undifferentiated mass' and the consequential absence of cross pressures ensures the unanimous support of sectional appeals and conduces to the unimpeded consolidation and dispersion of sectional perceptions. Put in another way the appeal of sectionalism is largely dependent on the division of society into separate homogeneous geographical units where the inhabitants speak a single common language and politicians may

appeal for their support unbeknown to the people of other regions. The reasons for the success of sectional appeals in the provinces are precisely the reasons for their failure amongst the students. For a student to publicly make an appeal to a particular sectional group he would immediately incur the opposition of all other sectional groups and lose any support he might have had amongst them. Being drawn from all sections of Zambian society and having English as a common language, the structure of the community far from being an 'undifferentiated mass' develops strong countervailing pressures to prevent the spread of sectional perceptions. Students as students are better placed to judge the extent to which economic backwardness of any province is due to the exploitation of one sectional group by another. They are more likely to indict the national leadership as a whole for the failure to develop the rural areas rather than any one sectional group. If sectional loyalties are to develop then they will do so under conditions similar to those in the rural areas which are conducive to such development; that is in groups of a homogeneous membership from the same 'section' - never publicly in front of the entire student body.

Molteno¹³¹ has also suggested that sectionalism has been a major cleavage in Zambian society because it is the only available form of social differentiation which may be exploited to mobilise support. The absence of consciously perceived differentiation based on class, the underdeveloped divisions based on religion and the irrelevance to aggregating support of racial divisions leaves sectional groupings based on language as the only possible basis of interest group formation. What may be said at the national level may also be said of the

student community to the extent that the university social structure does not itself give rise to alternative bases of recruitment. The absence of any strong intermediary groups, societies, associations and the insignificance of divisions based on subject of study, year of study, sponsorship etc. for interest group formation again only leaves appeals to sectionalism as a major means of mobilising support. In practice this means that the network of recruitment in the pursuit of particular goal is through friends whose loyalty can be depended upon through the threat of the imposition of social sanctions. The 'pay-offs' to the supporters once 'their' man is 'in power' are limited to influence on the decisions he makes and any privileges he can offer them by virtue of his authoritative position. In other words, because there are no 'meaningful' roles emanating from the university social structure, around which support for a goal or a person may be mobilised, a role is borrowed from the social structure of the wider society. There are occasions, however, as in the instance of the formation of UPP, when extrinsic roles achieve salience in their own right. This occurs when the university social system, rather than remaining an isolate, becomes absorbed into the wider social structure as an important object of orientation. Following the confrontation between students and government in July 1971 and the closure of the university, students felt that they had become involved in the wider political system; many had become intensely 'politicized' and thus extrinsic roles assumed a heightened significance. Realignments at the national level caused by the formation of UPP were reflected in parallel developments amongst politically motivated students on campus. In this case, which must

be regarded as exceptional, the extrinsic roles make a prior claim on the commitment of some students, such as the nine who left to join UPP, over and above their commitment to the student role as conceived in the university social structure.

A comparison between Nigerian students in Britain and the Zambian students in Lusaka is illuminating. From the study conducted by Oyeleye Oyieridan¹³² it is clear that 'sectionalism' plays a much more prominent role in the politics of Nigerian students in England. There are two reasons why this may be so. First outgroup hostility towards the Nigerian student community is qualitatively of a different order from that towards the Zambian student community which therefore stresses solidarity and commitment to the student role over and above all other roles. Second the linkages based on 'sectional origin' are much stronger amongst the Nigerian students. Oyieridan notes that in London alone there were at least '42 different unions of Nigerian students based on village, town, divisional or provincial origin' in 1966.¹³³ Many of the students expected to use these unions as a base of support in political careers on returning home. The stress on such 'sectional' roles is also the inevitable consequence of living away from home in a 'strange' country where fellow 'tribesmen' may provide the only source of security and assistance in adjusting to the new environment. This would be particularly true in a disembodied university such as London which provides little campus life or even any strong focus for meeting fellow students. The University of Zambia looks after its students in a far more paternalistic manner hemmed in on one campus with everything that a student may require provided by the institution. The same differences have been noted with respect to town life. Whereas in West Africa voluntary

associations based on village, town, or provincial origin have mushroomed in the cities, in Zambia the existence of a paternalistic heritage of industrial employment has largely pre-empted the formation of any strong mutual aid societies based on provincial or tribal origins. Sectional loyalties are therefore less important to the Zambian student, and therefore unlikely to provide the basis for permanent cleavages in the student community. Nonetheless they do provide a basis of recruitment to informal groups and a means open to student leaders to mobilise support.

DIVISIONS BASED ON RACE AND NATIONALITY.

Differentiation according to race and nationality, as with tribe and sex, is not explicitly recognised by the university social structure. However it is a significant feature of interaction and group relations in the interstices of the social structure. Relations between races and different nationals are perhaps even more governed by extrinsic factors than relations between different 'sectional' groups. There are essentially four groups; the Zambians who comprise the overwhelming majority, the black Africans from other countries mainly Rhodesia and South Africa, the Asians and the Europeans. In 1971 their numbers were as shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18 - ETHNIC ORIGIN OF STUDENTS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA¹³⁴

Ethnic Origin.	Number of Students.	% of Total.	% in Total Population of Zambia*
Zambian	1281	88%	93.0
Rhodesian	64	4%	1.5
South African	17	1%	0.3
European	69	5%	1.1
Asian	31	2%	0.3

*These figures refer to 'ethnic group' except in the case of Rhodesians and South Africans where 'country of birth' was used and this therefore includes a few whites.

Relations at the National Level.

Since Independence, the government of Zambia has pursued a policy of Zambianisation: the replacement of non-Zambians by Zambian nationals.¹³⁵ For the purposes of Zambianisation there are two sorts of 'aliens', namely those who are doing jobs for which there are Zambians available, the vast majority of black Africans employed in Zambia, and those who are hired on a contract basis - 'expatriates' - usually white, to do jobs for which there are none or an insufficient number of Zambians. The division between the two groups, with but very few exceptions parallels the division between races.¹³⁶ Asian businessmen are generally referred to as expatriates. Aliens cannot be promoted in their present jobs and, if they resign from employment, cannot officially gain employment. The mining companies, for example, have pursued a strict Zambianisation policy in this area and have been able to reduce the numbers of aliens employed in the mining industry gradually.¹³⁷ Expatriates are also being Zambianised as qualified Zambians graduate from schools, universities and other institutions, but it is

possible for the expatriate to be promoted within the period of his contract. Conditions in Zambia are more favourable for the 'expatriate' than for the 'alien'; the former is needed the latter is not. Though there have been outbursts of racial hostilities, they have become surprisingly few since the early 'euphoric' years of Independence.¹³⁸ It is possible for the expatriate to feel relatively secure in Zambia, though many feel very insecure and vulnerable to physical violence, on account of a number of isolated ugly incidents which have achieved notoriety out of all proportion to their statistical significance. The alien on the other hand feels hounded and unwanted and discriminatory practices aim to frustrate him in his job. He is much more accessible, dispensable and therefore vulnerable to pressures from the Zambians.¹³⁹

The Zambian government's opposition to the white supremacist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and support for the black liberation movements have involved her in playing host to refugees, mainly black, from these countries. But at the same time as awarding them refugee status Zambia has not given them security of tenure in Zambia. They are often unable to obtain work permits and even resident permits may not be extended. The government of Zambia does not wish to encourage an influx of Africans from South of the Zambezi into its territory where they would present considerable social, economic and political problems. The insecurity of the refugee has affected black lecturers from South Africa on the academic staff of the university.

I still do not believe that the university used its full moral resources in trying to stay the order to quit in the case of Dr. B. Magubane who left in January 1970. It did not try hard to keep Mr. S. Matabhiki from leaving, a man who had put in hard

work in the founding of the School of Social Work. The Registrar might easily and comfortably say we enjoy the full protection of the University when in fact he knows, as the Vice-Chancellor himself knows, that the Department of Immigration has been merciless and come out on top.

Outside the University there are a number of South African teachers who are employed on a month-to-month basis because Immigration will not give them work permits. If the Ministry of Education values the services of these people, why keep them dangling like this? Because, quite obviously Immigration wants it this way. 140

Relations on Campus.

The tension at the national level between aliens and Zambians over competition for jobs is replicated within the student community. But this is only one of the factors, which makes for tension between the two groups. Zambian students have repeatedly expressed resentment towards the relatively large refugee group from South of the Zambezi who are studying at the university apparently unconcerned about the liberation of their own countries while enjoying the comfort and prestige of student status. The following is a characteristic attack on the refugee students.

The O.A.U. states shall be celebrating Africa Freedom Day yearly, playing blood curdling speeches of Nelson Mandela and other hardcore freedom fighters. But how long shall we have patience to listen to these firebrand speeches which are turned to cold ash by young men and women from these countries still suffocated by the yoke of white supremacy. How long does a refugee remain a refugee? How many years should 'exiled' citizens think it is time to return home and carry on the banner to liberate themselves?

These freedom songs, these revolutionary speeches are not turned to good use. Free Africa is losing patience in paying host to indefinite streams of refugees who are not in a hurry to go back and lead revolutionary struggle. It is now fashionable for freedom fighters to declare every year 'that 1969, 70 is the year of action' when they merely mean a period of cowardly inaction, impotence and slovenness.

I suggest to host governments that;

- (a) All aliens from unliberated countries be given no work-permits, because these encourage them to lead élite lives and leave peasant masses without seasoned leaders.
- (b) All student undergraduates be shipped back en masse after completing their studies.
- (c) Conditions of stay be made [so] unglamorous as to make them think of home countries.

My concern here is freedom for all unliberated areas, not comfort for a cowardly élite seeking solace in shebeens and hotels. The freedom fighters have postponed the day of reckoning with white racists that home governments have only to deport our lily-livered brothers.

"Forward with Uhuru" 141

Clearly there are also elements of self interest in making the refugee less comfortable in Zambia, particularly as many of them have been relatively well educated in, until recently, the more advanced educational systems of South Africa and Rhodesia.

In their replies the refugee students could not make reference to 'ulterior motives' but sought to defend themselves by reference to their own efforts in the direction of liberating their territories and the efficient machinery of a police state which makes resistance from within the country a futile engagement.

The enemy should not be overestimated not underestimated. He has all the equipment of suppression and above all the support of the whole imperialist world. Thus, for a meaningful revolution to be carried out, the cadres have to be prepared for any eventuality. 142

To attack the refugee is to question the cause for which he is fighting and those who indulge in such attacks are influenced by 'anti-exile propaganda' put out by 'racist South Africa'. Some have called for compassion in the treatment of refugees arguing that the attitudes of many Zambians were 'unhumanistic'.

Others refer to the UN convention on refugee status which provides for the right to work in the host country: the refugee can make a positive contribution to the development of Zambia. But this is just what the Zambian students wish to avoid.

Much of the resentment levelled at the black Rhodesians and South Africans is expressed in attacks on their habits of social mixing. Just as the Zambian students themselves tend to divide into informal linguistic groups, so too do the other sections of the community. Thus the Indians almost exclusively mix within their own group, which is itself divided into Hindus and Moslems. The Rhodesians interact with their own group and so do the South Africans. But within these latter two groups there are two opposed sections, those who will have nothing to do with whites and those who are regularly seen with whites. Though as many as 69 whites are officially registered as students, one or two do not live on the campus and those who do, apart from five or six, are studying for a post-graduate certificate of education (P.C.E.). The majority of these are married and live on the Ridgeway Campus. The PCE's, as they are referred to, are recent graduates from universities in their home countries (usually England but a few from Germany, Scandinavia and other European or Commonwealth countries) who spend a preparatory year at the university before going into Zambian secondary schools to teach for two years. During their year at the university they take special courses for two terms and a third term is mainly devoted to teaching practice. They tend to mix amongst themselves. At meals, for example, they are usually to be found obtrusively assembled on a single table. When the university was smaller there was more interaction

between them and the black students but as it has increased in size interaction has declined. The PCE's do not share any courses with the undergraduates, though they may help out in running tutorials. An air of mutual indifference towards one another has developed between the blacks and the PCE's and, with a few exceptions few relations are established.

However, it is the exception which proves to be important. Those aliens who consort with whites are as likely as not to do so with the opposite sex. Though there may only be four or five 'mixed' couples on the campus and though their membership is not representative of the ethnic groups to which they belong, nevertheless they are peculiarly conspicuous. During the academic year 1970 there were at least four 'steady' couples composed as follows; a white male PCE with a Zambian girl, a white male PCE with a Rhodesian girl, a black South African male with a white female PCE and a black Rhodesian male with a white female PCE. All these married one another within a few months of the end of the year. There were one or two other friendships between men from Rhodesia and South Africa and white girls which were of a more ephemeral nature. The animosities of Zambian students were focused on the male alien components of these inter-racial relations. The South African or Rhodesian who decided to have open relations with a white girl would be subjected to humiliating expressions of resentment and hostility to the point of total ostracism from the Zambian students. However, he would face even more painful antagonism from his own countrymen who could ill afford such a betrayal of their position in the context of an already hostile Zambian community. The ostracism only drove the man deeper into his relationship with his girl friend which gave

further fuel to the fires of resentment. In general that section of the alien student community which mixed with whites of the same or opposite sex, tended to look down on the Zambian student as being in some way inferior and consorting with whites was in their own eyes perhaps an affirmation of their own superiority. It was precisely this air of superiority (many of them were older than their Zambian colleagues) that gnawed away at Zambian sympathies, compounding other sources of resentment.

The few South Africans and Rhodesians who are seen moving with whites are exploited as typical of their nationality when the Zambian expresses his antipathy towards the group in general. How can you be serious about liberating your country when you 'consort with the daughters of your oppressors'? The Rhodesian or South African who wishes to defend his position will retort either by arguing that to counter racialism with racialism is no answer to oppression, that class oppression rather than racial oppression is fundamental to white supremacist regimes, or possibly that the discriminatory practices of Zambian girls leaves the alien with no alternative but to seek sexual relations with whites.

In principle the student population as a whole seems to be in favour of multi-racial relations between boys and girls as the third opinion poll made clear.

Intimate relations between boys and girls of different races are socially desirable.

76% agreed, 12% were uncertain, 12% disagreed¹⁴³

However, such a complicated issue as sexual relations between black and white cannot conceivably be reduced to such

farcically simple terms.¹⁴⁴ In practice there is much ambivalence and ambiguity amongst Zambians towards the propriety of such relations, and to actually engage in such a relationship is categorically different from the declaration of inclinations or attitudes. Apart from psychological considerations, the social sanctions that are mobilised by the community itself and the wider society require much courage to combat. The non-Zambian Africans, at a distance from their closer kinsmen, are perhaps less subject to the powerful sanctions which would be imposed were they closer to hand. The Zambian who is seen to move with a white of the opposite sex, outside the university is immediately categorised in defamatory terms as a 'prostitute', etc., an expression of the heritage of a white supremacist colonial society. Relations between white and black, in general, exist against a background of stereotypes in which the black is regarded as a renegade and likely to betray his fellow blacks to the white as an informer, pimp, or some such ignoble role. In the wider society both white and black, find it hard to partake in a status equal relationship as required in a friendship or professional team. Changes in the social structure since Independence have not encouraged any rapid erosion of the stereotype. The university student community is exceptional in that it affords relations between black and white students on a status equal basis. Relations between black and white are unlikely to break out into open conflict, so long as the white conforms to the role expectations of the Zambian. When he deviates from the stereotype he is likely to create tension and the community will apply sanctions to pull him back into line. In practice he can articulate the student role through participation in student demonstrations,

sport, etc., while in those situations where externally derived roles are drawn upon then he must also remember he is white and must therefore not interfere, for example, in differences amongst students based on sectionalism, or in 'Zambian' politics. Of course, the distinction between 'student' politics and 'Zambian' politics is never a clear or unambiguous one. Different students would legitimate different levels of involvement depending on their own interests and their general orientation to whites. The white student can easily find himself at the centre of a dispute over the propriety of his activities. The ambiguity of their role is possibly one reason why the majority of whites chose to avoid any intense involvement in undergraduate life.

The Formation of "SMOLISA".

Relations between whites, aliens and Zambians were thrown into relief with the formation of the "Student Movement for the Liberation of Southern Africa" in October 1970. In certain circles of the Zambian student community, feeling over the inactivity of the Rhodesian and South African students and their relations with white students had risen to such a temperature, that a group of Zambians launched a new movement for their Rhodesian and South African colleagues.

SMOLISA is a new revolutionary student movement being launched for channelling both moral and material support to revolutionary liberation movements in Southern Africa. It will cut across any unwarranted sectional political differences. It will work hand in hand with the National Union of Zambia Students (NUZS) for the co-operation of students in Zambia regardless of political affiliations. 145

The first meeting of the new organisation was addressed by a 'freedom fighter' from MPLA (The Revolutionary Movement for

the Liberation of Occupied Angola) who gave a stimulating talk on the progress and obstacles faced by his organisation. The meeting was attended by between fifty and a hundred students. The second meeting convened to discuss the SMOLISA 'charter' and to elect an interim committee. About seventy students appeared at the beginning of this meeting including two whites, one or two coloureds and Indians, a large number of Rhodesians and South Africans and the remainder (about half) were Zambians. The meeting began with speeches from a panel at the front. One of the most prominent and respected student members of ZANU¹⁴⁶ stressed the importance of dedication to the cause of liberation and the necessity to awaken the minds of the Africans for the 'Revolution in Zimbabwe'. The Social and Cultural Secretary of UNZASU spoke of the imperative of unity and complained of the absence of members from ZAPU¹⁴⁷ - the rival liberation group. The UNZASU Publicity Secretary attacked those critics of SMOLISA who claimed that Zambian students should first 'put their own house in order' before waging other "people's battles". He declared that Zambia could never be free until the entire Southern African sub-continent had been liberated. The Secretary General of NUZS broached the issue of membership of the organisation, warning that some means must be found to prevent its "subversion by spies for the racist regimes". He felt that it was only realistic that SMOLISA be protected from whites spying for the racist regimes, "we can only allow the entry of friends [white] if they can prove they are not spies". The Secretary General had now encouraged a great deal of tension to surface. A Zambian student took advantage of the opportunity to demand to know why "white girls were only going after freedom fighters".

The only white girl present, who also happened to mix with black Rhodesians and South Africans, attacked the previous speakers for "identifying whites, and white girls in particular, with Vorster's spies, when in fact there was not a shred of evidence that they had any association with South Africa." Another white girl who came to the meeting towards the end became hysterical at the 'racialism' exuded by those assembled, "racialism is no answer to racialism" and "whites are indispensable to the liberation movement", but she received no sympathy. One black rose to suggest that it was not the white girls who chased the freedom fighters but the freedom fighters who chased the white girls. Then Marshall Bushe, President of UNZASU, himself a refugee and active member of ZANU, declared "we are not preaching racialism but realism and that a movement dedicated to the liberation of Southern Africa could not afford to dilute the frontal assault on racism by admitting a white into its fold". Whereas the Zambians seemed to regard the white as a potential spy, Bushe conceived of the destruction of racism through a black nationalist movement with its declared enemy not the ruling class but all whites, even those sympathetic to black nationalism. Fighting against whites alongside whites was a contradiction which was bound to undermine the unity of purpose amongst black freedom fighters. The Zambians who argued that the whites represented a security threat, avoided any rampant racialism but at the same time left themselves open to the comment made later that "there are black whites as well as white whites." It seemed clear, however, that a large section of the community were for the exclusion of whites from SMOLISA, but none wished to make such a proposal. Eventually the only white male rose to propose a motion that

whites be explicitly excluded from membership of SMOLISA and that it be enshrined in the constitution. In the event four proposals were put to a single vote.

"Membership to be open to all regardless of race or creed"	- 9 votes
"Membership to be open to all black students"	- 17 votes
"Membership to be open to all regardless of political affiliation"	- 15 votes
"Membership to be open to any student indigenous to Africa"	- 3 votes

Thus the racial clause won the day though it only claimed 40% of the votes cast. At this juncture a number of students left the meeting, notably the white girl who had spoken earlier, the coloured and Indian students, black female students who moved with white males and a number of Zambian students who would have nothing to do with an organisation which discriminated on the basis of race.

The clause limiting membership to black¹⁴⁸ students received greatest support from the Rhodesians and South Africans, many of whom recognised the futility of having whites in any liberation organisation. Others simply because they hated whites and saw them only as part of an all pervasive oppressive machinery. It is also possible that some were partly motivated by a desire to forge a bond of unity between themselves and the Zambian students based on racial identity. When the South African lecturer and writer, Mphahlele, defended himself against accusations from some Zambian students that he was being too arrogant in his demands for security of tenure, he appealed to a common racial identity. As a black South African he expected to be accorded privileges which were

not granted to the white expatriate. The real enemy was the white expatriate and not the black African who had suffered and was still suffering from the yoke of white oppression.

It will never be known how my heart bleeds to see university education in Zambia, after an unfortunate beginning under a Vice-Chancellor who did not have a jot of human blood in him, continue to be in the hands of a clique of white expatriates who are not interested in planning with Zambians but for them. The result? - the pathetic programmes we have in the humanities which are not intended to build up a student's self-reliance nor prepare him for a degree that will take him confidently on to higher studies. Else why should a fleet of external examiners have to come here every year? But this is Zambia's own business. I tried very hard to make it mine also these last 21 months. I failed. Because we Africans are a pitiable minority. The Board of Humanities (which is where the rot lies) will continue to make vital decisions, pass notes under tables, without any obstruction whatsoever. I could have waited for a larger contingent of black lecturers, but the threat from Immigration has meant that I had no secure base to function from. 149

Such attempts to unite separate African nationalities in opposition to whites will gain support in some Zambian circles and be opposed in others. Racial animosities are not as well developed amongst Zambian students as perhaps they are amongst refugees from Rhodesia and South Africa, as the third opinion poll suggested.

Zambianisation is being sabotaged by expatriates

49% agreed, 24% were uncertain, 27% disagreed¹⁵⁰

In the second opinion poll opinion was sought over the issue of membership of SMOLISA.

Membership of SMOLISA should be open only to black students

31% agreed, 16% were uncertain, 53% disagreed¹⁵¹

Yet at the same time students did approve of the aims of SMOLISA

and considered the liberation of Southern Africa as a goal which Zambians must strive towards.

There is no need for an UNZA student organisation with the aims of SMCLISA

42% agreed, 14% were uncertain, 44% disagreed¹⁵²

Zambians must involve themselves in the struggle to liberate Southern Africa

49% agreed, 15% were uncertain, 36% disagreed¹⁵³

Zambia will not be free until the rest of Southern Africa is liberated

53% agreed, 12% were uncertain, 35% disagreed¹⁵⁴

The opinion polls indicate that while the Zambian student may regard the white as deliberately working against the interests of the Zambians, only a minority of Zambian students are prepared to endorse 'racialism' within the student community. While the student community gives general support to the idea of student involvement in the liberation of Southern Africa, it expects the Rhodesians and South Africans to spearhead the movement. It would be opposed to their assumption of prominent positions in the Zambian community where their stake in the status quo would lead them into competition with Zambians rather than towards the liberation of their own countries from white supremacy.

Cultural Separation and Black Power.

Once the 'no white' membership clause had been enshrined in the SMCLISA 'charter', the organisation became a rallying centre for a handful of cultural purists, who wished to develop their own 'black culture' untainted by the interference of

whites. It was the SMOLISA group who invited Jomo Logan, an American Negro, known for his propagation of an extreme version of 'black power' and 'black cultural purity'. The first meeting was open to both black and white students. The following day the anonymous group calling itself The New Direction delivered an attack on Logan's racial chauvinism.

You [Mr. Logan] say that you follow Kwame Nkrumah, we therefore suggest to you that you read his book "Class Struggle in Africa". In that book and in many others written about Africa's PAST you will see how Africans (black people) were exploiting and oppressing Africans (black people) BEFORE the white man came along. If you look around you a bit closer at Africa's PRESENT you will see that still black people are exploiting black people. We are AGAINST oppression - ALL OPPRESSION. We do not wish to abolish the white master only for the black master, we seek to abolish that mentality which needs masters. We seek to abolish masterhood. 155

The second meeting, convened to discuss the possibility of establishing a centre for the development of black culture, was given relatively little publicity and was intended for blacks only. The one white who made an appearance was asked to leave at the request of Logan himself, but not without some objections from other members of the gathering. New Direction brought out another circular a few days later.

On Wednesday Mr. Jomo Logan came here and committed an atrocity and in this he was aided and abetted by the people attending the SMOLISA meeting. How can one excuse the behaviour of the people at that meeting? One cannot. Mr. Jomo Logan came to Zambia the invited guest of the President of this country. He came and flaunted the principles which the President of this country upholds. What is the meaning of this? Is Mr. Logan now more powerful than the President? The meeting on Wednesday night was to discuss the "International Black Power Revolt". The poster announcing the meeting did not declare - BLACKS ONLY. Maybe that would have reminded other people too much of a certain other brand of filth. However this principle was put into practice. The only white person present was asked to leave. Indians were allowed

the dubious privilege of staying. We hope they enjoyed basking in the light, or should one say darkness of their new found identity. Of course 'Black' people were safe. There was no question or doubt as to which breed of humanity they did not belong to. Smugly they wallowed in their Blackness. It is a pity that 60% of their 'Black' women are toning their skin and wearing synthetic hair. Do we imagine that just because we are safely within the borders of Zambia no evil forces can get at us. Imperialism is confusion----is manipulation----is indoctrination----is conquest of the mind... Imperialism is the sacrifice of men, women, children; imperialism is the sacrifice of MAN. Brother Login is part of all this. 156

Though the majority of students are opposed to racialism, they would be unlikely to adopt the above class analysis which treats colour as an epiphenomenon of a more fundamental division of societies into oppressors and oppressed. The implications of the class analysis pursued to their logical conclusion, as The New Direction pamphlet does, lead to a frontal assault on the aspirations and orientation of students to wider society. Because they openly identify with a socialist cause and condemn their fellow students for elitism and materialism, the authors of The New Direction were forced into anonymity.

The disagreement between the majority of students and those who propagate cultural separatism is similar to the debate between advocates of black power and black assimilation amongst negro students in America.¹⁵⁷ The Zambian student is not concerned to show himself superior to the white race. On the contrary he does not claim to be any different from whites, but expects to be treated as their equal. He does not reject whites or white culture but only those whites who consider him inferior and those elements of white ideology that assert black inferiority. The Zambian student aspires to be as "good

as" the white man, not different from or "better" than the white man. It is for these reasons that the majority reject racialism. At the same time the discussion as to why the majority reject racialism should not hide the fact that a substantial minority (31%) endorse racialism, though only very few would express their racial antipathies in public. The meritocratic ethos of the university and the tendency for opinion leaders and community influentials not to be racially motivated do not encourage any overt expression of racialism. With respect to the disparate origins of its membership, the student community is an integrative institution.

Relations between Zambian students and white students on the one hand and Rhodesian and South African black students on the other are very much influenced by role expectations derived from the heritage of colonialism and the wider social structure. Thus the white student must combine his white role and his student role and manage any tension that may arise between them. Similarly the refugee student must also satisfy expectations corresponding to both his refugee and student roles.

THE STUDENT ELECTIONS.

Student elections and the basis of the support for different candidates can provide a gauge as to the importance of the extrinsic roles discussed in previous sections of this chapter relative to intrinsic roles derived from the university social structure. Elections to the UNZASU Executive take place in two stages, first for the President and then for the remaining eleven member executive. For the purposes of analysis it is convenient to confine attention to the first stage alone.

Campaigning takes place in a period of approximately two weeks before polling day, normally held about a month after the beginning of the academic year.

The Election of 1970.

There were three candidates for the Presidential election of 1970; Bushe, Phiri and Tembo. Bushe, a medical student had been very active in student politics at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as it was then called, before being forced to leave Salisbury. Phiri and Tembo both from the Eastern Province of Zambia had no previous experience in student union executives. But Phiri, in addition to being very popular amongst students, had the support of many prominent student leaders who were actively campaigning on his behalf. Most students were confident that Phiri would be returned as President. Bushe was practically unknown on the main campus, confining his campaign to fellow medical students at the Ridgeway Campus where he resided.

As is customary in UNZASU elections, the three candidates presented their manifestos before a student audience on the eve of the elections. They are then, each in turn, subjected to a critical assault from the 'convention' participants assembled to listen to them. On this occasion the students were clearly disturbed at what they considered to be the poor quality of the candidates' performances. The meeting was interrupted a number of times with demands for the elections to be restarted with new contestants. The two Zambians failed to articulate a coherent outlook on student government and the problems with which it was beset. Their failure to come up with anything original or to show signs of leadership stimulate

abusive responses from the floor. Bushe was the only candidate who gave the impression that he knew what student government was about or who exhibited any signs of forcefulness and resolution. However, he had become the subject of a smear campaign that morning, questioning his legitimacy as a candidate because of his alien status. In the election the following day the voting was as follows.¹⁵⁸

Bushe - 235 votes	}	Total votes cast - 563 Poll - 48%
Tembo - 137 votes		
Phiri - 191 votes		

The low poll reflects the perception of the candidates as low calibre and the general cynicism with which student government has come to be viewed as a result of the perennial resignation or dismissal. Bushe's victory was reported in UZ as follows.

It is widely believed that had the Sunday [election eve] meeting not taken place Phiri would have won. Bushe's oratory had rallied the flesh support Phiri had behind him and left only the latter with skeleton support.¹⁵⁹

The attendance at the election eve meeting must have amounted to between two and three hundred students, many of whom would have come to the meeting to genuinely make up their mind as to whom to vote for. It is they, either through voting or through influencing others, who swung the vote in favour of Bushe. The support that Bushe received from the Ridgeway Campus where about 120 medical students were residing could not have accounted for his victory.

A certain fixed vote for each candidate will necessarily come from those mobilised through a friendship network emanating from the candidate himself. Phiri's network was extensive, while Bushe's was clearly very restricted outside the Ridgeway

campus and his fellow Rhodesians. Yet Bushe won the greater number of votes suggesting that friendship or sectional loyalties do not play the most significant role in amassing votes, but rather of greater significance is the contestant's potential for leading a community of students. Both Tembo and Phiri failed to exhibit much leadership potential or an ability to defend student interests. In an article devoted to the suggestion that 'aliens be banned from standing in presidential elections' one commentator on student government wrote,

One of the reasons given for this move is that aliens cannot sincerely deal with some of the more delicate issues involving students and the government for fear of being deported. But just who are these people kidding? Some of these same people have been known to visit Freedom House, for no reason than that of familiarisation and paving the way for the future. We know such people will not spare a thing to try and achieve their cause, even if it means betraying student causes. Are they therefore any better than aliens. I would rather be led by a student who is dedicated to the student cause, irrespective of his country of origin. 160

These views are probably representative of the majority of students active in student politics, allowing aliens to stage successful election campaigns. The importance of the student interest and student 'solidarity' over and above sectional differences when electing leaders to the UNZASU executive is underlined by the outcome of the 1971 student elections.

The Election of 1971.

There were five candidates for the 1971 elections and the distribution of votes is shown in Table 19. Support for each of the candidates will be considered in the light of his background, programme, campaign and performance at the pre-election convention.

TABLE 19 - PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN THE 1971 STUDENT ELECTIONS¹⁶¹

	CHOLA.	CHIRALA.	WALLA.	MUMBA.	CHISHALA.
Year	Third	Fourth	Third	Second	Second
School	Medicine	Humanities	Law	Law	Humanities
Sectional Group	Bamba speaking	Southern Province	India	Lala by Tribe Bamba speaking	Bamba speaking
Background	Vice-President of UNZASU, 1970.	Active in student politics, journalism and dramatics.	Active in sport and dramatics. Previously in Punjab student union executive.	Well placed civil servant from Kitwe.	Ex UNIP militant, editor of banned youth paper <u>Vanguard</u> .
Campaign	Support from outgoing UNZASU Executive	Suffered a smear campaign insinuating political partisanship and opposition to bursary increases.		Affluent campaign with parties and printed posters.	Positive manifesto.
Convention Performance	Commanding	Poor	Good	Poor	Poor
<u>Votes</u>					
Number	471	362	116	76	30
%	44	34	11	7	3

Percentage Poll - 66%

Chishala.

Chishala produced the most provocative manifesto - what he referred to as a 'socio-revolutionary programme' based on 'seven strategic steps to revolution'. First, appealing to the pecuniary instincts of the electorate, he proclaimed the most burning issue facing the university student to be the inadequacy of bursaries.

....if certain people in authority deem it their right to refuse to live below the bread-line, so it is for the university student to refuse to live below lines rejected by others. For, I contend, bursaries are not a privilege but an undeniable right for every genius and mentally equipped healthy man and woman of this country.162

As a group whose privileges rest on merit, the students cannot allow their standard of living to fall to the level of the mass of the population so long as those who control the country's welfare - the political élite - are not themselves prepared to make any sacrifices. Yet, paradoxically, his second point calls for identification with the cause of the UNZA staff association.

The point I am trying to make here is not intended to widen the gap between the two peasant organisations but to deliberately liberate (call it decolonization) our minds from mythical thinking that workers and student interests are drastically different. We can only decolonise our minds if we all resolve that their enemy is our enemy too. They and we struggle for betterment against a common authority. That's why I feel strongly that antagonism between ourselves should come to an end by the establishment of a common platform of communication.163

In advocating support and co-operation with the workers on the campus Chishala was violating what the majority of students saw to be the student interest, and his more equalitarian orientation must have lost him a number of votes. The remaining items were strictly in accord with student interest. He

advocated the removal of the "quota system" and a reconsideration of the system of "redirections" (the Zambian euphemism for failures). The quota system, Chishala argued, leads to students studying subjects in which they are not interested, thus increasing the number of redirections with the consequent waste of taxpayers' money. He proposes that grants to UNZASU affiliated clubs and societies be more substantial and that A-Level certificates be awarded to students who successfully pass first year courses but who have to leave for various reasons. His sixth point deals with the contentious requirement for B.A.'s entering the civil service to undergo a further year's training at the National Institute for Public Administration after graduation from the University of Zambia. Students view the move as an attempt to keep them away from positions where they may threaten present incumbents in the civil service. Chishala also attacks the thinking behind the government's declared, but never implemented policy, that 'all University graduates will in future be asked to serve in the rural areas'.¹⁶⁴

[That] is a policy aimed at initiating graduates into village environment. This might sound revolutionary to those brought up in Ridgeway, causeway, highfieldsway residences. But with more than 75% of our community coming from rural areas this move might sound unrealistic. It is criminal and unpardonable for one to refuse to accept the hard fact that most of us have already undergone "rural initiation" because we don't come from towns but villages. Therefore making a policy of rural initiation cannot be a correct one since we have already been initiated village-wise.¹⁶⁵

Lastly he advocates a 'shake up for UNZASU' by assigning specific duties to the officers in the executive.

Chishala's manifesto is an attempt to marry the more

'radical' and broader views of Zambian society of its author with the vote-catching narrower student interest. His background has a considerable bearing on his outlook. Chishala had been very active in national politics off the campus during his first year when he was associated with a militant wing of UNIP which had assumed the role of 'criticism from within'. He had also been on the editorial board of Vanguard the paper produced by UNIP Youth until it was banned following veiled criticism of the national leadership. During his first year he had been very quiet as a student, though he did come out very strongly in favour of a UNIP branch on the campus. Amongst the student electorate Chishala was known for his association with UNIP and for this reason alone his chances of winning support must have been slight from the outset. Outlining his programme at the election convention he created an uproar by opening with a reference to students as 'fellow peasants'. He never recovered from this initial tactical blunder. Attacked for his connection with UNIP as being a potential threat to the student community, he declared he would never introduce any UNIP doctrine without the support of the electorate. However, few were convinced.

His poor performance in front of an aggressive audience, failing to attune himself to the student political culture, his association with UNIP, his expressed sympathies for the working classes and his failure to make a mark amongst students as a student in his first year account for the little support he attracted.

Mumba.

Mumba was another second year student known more for his

off-campus activities than for his contributions to the student community. His manifesto was typical of those produced by other candidates expressing the belief in student identity and integrity, student solidarity, students' rightful and proper place in society, eradication of student apathy and improved relations between male and female students.¹⁶⁶ The manifesto did little to amplify these terms or concretise his programme. Mumba's election campaign reflected the affluent life he was able to lead as a civil servant in Kitwe, on a scholarship from the City Council. Before the new academic year, Mumba held a party for students working on the Copperbelt where he let it be known that he was standing for the post of President. However, some students present resented the way he arranged the party in order to canvas for support. He staged another party on the campus and this time was accused of only inviting Bemba-speaking students. Mumba was also exceptional in that he had posters printed with a prominent portrait on each. All other candidates relied on hand written posters. Many of Mumba's posters were disfigured with scrawlings as the campaign progressed. At the pre-election convention, though articulate in English, he was very softly spoken and had difficulty in raising his voice above the hubbub. He was questioned about the guests to the parties he had thrown "had they been confined to Bembas?". Mumba replied that since he was not a Bemba himself, but a Lala, the accusation must be groundless.

Mumba's failure to attract many votes may be accounted for in a number of ways. First, he was little known for campus activities (he turned up, far from sober, to disrupt an UNZASU General Meeting the previous year). He had failed to

impress the electorate at the convention before the election where he had been attacked for his apparent sectionalism. His position in the civil service worked to his disadvantage in two ways. First, a position in the civil service leaves him vulnerable to pressure from government to betray student interests. Second his campaign and way of life suggested to some that he was more concerned to promote his own social status in the wider community than about student interests and problems.

Walia.

Walia, a third year law student, had had considerable experience in student government at his previous university in India. Unlike the previous two candidates and unlike the vast majority of the other Asians on campus, Walia had been very active in student affairs. Apart from playing prominent roles in student dramatics, tennis and table tennis, he was noted for the articulate manner in which he presented his views and proposals at student meetings. In his manifesto he promised greater participation by students in the decisions of the UNZASU Executive, improved student-administration relations and more social life in the halls of residence.¹⁶⁷ Despite his status as an 'alien' he was able to command some 11% of the votes cast - more than Chishala and Mumba together. He must have attracted considerable support from students outside his own Asian student community. His known interest and previous participation in UNZA affairs enhanced his legitimacy as a prospective President. His leadership potential, clarity and forcefulness in speech all lent further credibility to his candidature. Though his Indian background might make him less

vulnerable to a betrayal to government and susceptible to closer control from the student body, nevertheless this same attribute was seen as a handicap when handling relations with outside bodies and in appreciating and representing African student interests.

Chibala.

When the candidates were first announced it was presumed by most that the real contest was to be between Chibala and Chola. Chibala, a fourth year student, had not previously held any office in student government but had been extremely active in student journalism (he was senior editor of UZ), the student dramatic society (he had taken a leading role in UNZADRAM's very successful production of Che Guevara) and in student debating. In his manifesto he called for a student community with 'revolutionary purpose', student involvement in campus and national affairs on the basis of student power, student solidarity and interaction with fellow students around the world, to uphold the UNZASU constitution, 'to persuade the Government through all channels, including the latest techniques of student action to raise grants and bursaries' and 'to render moral and material support to, and embrace the cause of, all progressive peoples revolutionary cadres and dedicated fighters committed to total freedom and independence through sacrifice and military action'.¹⁶⁸

Chibala was vulnerable to detraction on two counts. The first relates to his sectional and political loyalties. Though he himself never gave any overt suggestions of sectionalism - he was one of the few students who tended to use English as a language of communication and whose friends came from different

parts of Zambia - or party affiliation, nonetheless his name linked him to Southern Province and therefore to ANC. His campaign supporters included the two most prominent members of ANC on the campus which laid him open to accusations of campaigning on a sectional basis. However, that his close supporters were ANC does not imply that he was ANC, but simply that others might think he was. An ardent Chola supporter exploited Chibala's implicit association with ANC by openly accusing Chibala of accepting ANC sponsorship. This must have cost him a large number of votes in view of the antipathy towards leaders with strong affiliations to external organisations in particular political parties. The second detraction arose out of an article Chibala had written the previous year in the Times of Zambia arguing the case against an increase in student bursaries. Chibala's election rivals distributed a circular, This Double Dealer, in which the newspaper article was reproduced. Chibala's reply in another circular was weak.

This was purely an academic exercise. And one's convictions cannot fairly be measured in terms of what one says in a debate. ...It was some form of silent debate. In other words, my friend who wrote in favour of the increase of the bursary funds could be likened to a 'proposer'. I wrote against the motion; so I was an 'opposer'. 169

For many this was an unforgivable betrayal of the student interest which called into question his credibility as a student leader and again must have cost him considerable support.

Chibala introduced his convention speech with a rhetoric which he had customarily exhibited in the columns of UZ but which was out of place in a contest for President of the students' union.

The time for a legitimate revolution is ripe. The sort of revolution which blends progressive theory with practice, for the benefit of mankind. And mankind includes even the die-hard reactionaries who turn a deaf ear to our ideas, contribution, grievances and the like. An awful lot of these revisionists hibernate in UNZA offices, lofty mansions and on illegal farms which by right, belong to helpless peasants: the poor innocent victims. The masses! Some of professional conservatives, tricksters, and opportunists shamelessly indulge in frivolous luxury; the sort of luxury which one can only experience when using 'other people's money.' We will not continue to be hoodwinked. We are vigilant.

On a much more serious note now. Sporadic and disorganised outbursts regarding our grievances will not penetrate the solid wall of the powers-that-be.

We know this. We have, time and again, experienced it through demonstrations and the like. We must do something. We are capable of doing something. We have sufficient necessary materials: heads, eyes, ears, hands, legs. But comrades, I think, one thing, at least, lacks in us as a student body. We seriously lack initiative. The whole student body, through UNZASU, needs a drastic overhaul. Once this is achieved, the voice of the student body will be recognised and accommodated even if it is a bitter pill to swallow. 170

Such a speech to an aggressive, cynical audience fell on resistant ears and Chibala's performance was a bitter disappointment to his supporters. He failed to capture the student attention despite the support he had behind him. His poor performance combined with insinuations of partisan political affiliations and of a willingness to betray the narrower student interest lost him the election to Chola.

Chola.

Chola was the only one of the five contestants who had previously served on an UNZASU or NUZS Executive. In the outgoing executive Chola had been Vice-President and the legitimacy, reknown and even popularity accorded to him in this capacity was to be the basis of his support. Before the

candidates had officially announced that they were contesting for the post of President, a commentator wrote in UZ,

It is rumoured that the outgoing executive is sponsoring one of their own colleagues for whom they will be throwing their full effort. While this is in itself not against the constitution, it must be borne in mind that there is a danger of perpetuating the same dynasty in the sense that it can lead to a dictatorial executive, due to a greater feel of power after being elected again.¹⁷¹

Since the Bushe administration had been the first student government to remain intact for its entire year of office, it commanded some respect from the electorate. As Vice-President, Chola had not committed any major blunders and had proved himself to be a very able assistant to the President. Both these factors must have contributed in large measure to Chola's successful candidature for the Presidential post.

At the same time the members of the Bushe administration had a vested interest in promoting Chola's candidacy. They were unwilling to see their influence over student affairs reduced to that of the mass of students and securing the election of their own candidate was one way of retaining influence. It is also possible, as was rumoured when revelations of the 'corruption' of the Bushe administration were released, that the outgoing executive had a vested interest in concealing records of its activities and what better way than through creating a President from their own midst.

Meanwhile strong rumours are circulating that the President-elect, will try to sit on any investigation that might be carried out to fish out UNZASU "thieves." One student said that this may be confirmed by the unanimous support Mr. Chola received from his fellow officials.¹⁷²

But the 'corruption' charges were only levelled against the Bushe administration after the election of Chola to President,

and none of the contestants exploited the support Chola received from the 1970 executive.

Apart from student politics, Chola was heavily committed to the Student Christian Association in which he had been one of the leading members. As a candidate with religious inclinations, he was again unusual, but in consonance with the student political culture he made no mention of his attachment to Christianity. He did not produce any concrete manifestos but instead distributed large lettered, hand-stencilled circulars on which were inscribed the catchwords of his programme incorporating 'heightened vigilance' and 'functional dynamism' in the spirit of 'power to the people'. Chola never attempted to explain any of this political jingoism, and no one took it seriously. It had its functions however. Not only did the circulars attract attention to Chola - they were easily distinguishable from the typewritten circulars and manifesto of the other contestants - but they also gave him a label of identification. Chola equals 'functional dynamism'. In his pre-election convention address he emerged the strongest contestant. His position in the previous executive clearly gave him the necessary experience and confidence to handle the aggressive audience. He did not make the mistake of being specific in his proposals but confined himself to his collection of catch phrases. The UZ commentator wrote of his convention performance:

"Dynamic" Chola seemed to have revived past memories when he was swept to the Vice-Presidency in the last general elections. He was unmoved as regards the progress made by the outgoing executive and pledged to build and learn from their mistakes. From the overall reaction from the audience it was clear that he had come prepared. His supporters could be heard from every corner of the theatre. However, it cannot be ignored that some people are still bitter

against what seems to be a perpetuation of the present executive if he is elected. He definitely made use of his experience and questioners failed to pin him down. If the audience's reaction is anything to go by, he is very much in the race.¹⁷³

Though there were feeble attempts to attack him along lines similar to those which Matakala was to use, he was able to authoritatively brush them aside. Chola, thus presented himself as the strongest, most experienced candidate who on the basis of his record had shown his concern for student interests and who had behind him the support of a strong body of influentials in the student community.

Politics of Consensus.

Though there can be little doubt that both Chola and Chibala drew on a reservoir of sectional support mobilised through friendship networks, equally such a network was insufficient to win the election. Sectionalism cannot be regarded as the most prominent feature of student politics. The distribution of the student population amongst the four major language groups is such that no candidate can be successful without support from at least two groups which automatically precludes reliance on sectional recruitment. The very existence of three candidates drawing on Bemba-speaking support suggests that there was no sectional collusion in the nomination of candidates. In the election of the other members of the executive, where many of the candidates are unknown to the electorate sectional identification may conceivably be more important. This was certainly the view of one of the contestants for an executive post who scrubbed out his 'surname' written on the polling box in favour of one of his other names

which made his sectional origin clearer. In other cases students found themselves subject to the cross-pressures of friendship affiliation and sectional affiliation. Thus the friends of Chibala who nominated him for candidacy were often not of his linguistic group, indeed one was to be found amongst the nominators of another candidate from his own sectional group.

No other externally derived roles can be used to mobilise any measure of support. Internally the social structure of the university though it divides the student community into subjects of study, year of study, and residence halls; any decision made by the student government any policy pursued by its executive would affect all students equally. Nonetheless, internal cleavages, particularly on the basis of faculty, do provide a network for canvassing for support. But again votes accumulated in this way only provide a small percentage of the number necessary to win an election.

The only ideological cleavage to appear on the campus concerned the formation of a branch of UNIP. But the students who favoured a branch and a wider conception of the student role only represented a 20% minority insufficient to win an election.

Chola did not win the election of 1971, nor Bushe the election of 1970 because he represented the interests of any one section of the student community. Both won the election contest for President because the electorate judged them as the candidates most likely to promote and defend the student interest. The student community is relatively homogeneous and undifferentiated and there exists a considerable unanimity on what constitutes the student interest. The election of leaders

in the community reflects the processes of consensus politics. Under such circumstances the personal characteristics of the contestant are the most important features in determining his success at the poll. Any attempt to appeal to the interests of a particular group are doomed to failure so long as that group represents a minority. So long as there are so few differentiated sets of interests a coalition between groups in the promotion of presidential candidates is not feasible.

Apart from the aforementioned absence of any interest differentiation which may be derived from the university social structure, at least four other reasons help to account for the value consensus over what constitutes the student interest. First the small size and geographical concentration of the community results in a closely knit network of relations which is conducive to conformity to a common set of values. Sanctions are easily mobilised to bring deviants back into line. Thus accusations of 'tribalism' or 'political partisanship' are effective forms of social control in the same way as 'withcraft' accusations operate in rural societies.¹⁷⁴ Such mechanisms of social control, found in relatively homogeneous communities where a value consensus already prevails, also assists in the maintenance of that value consensus. Second the development of cleavages based on linguistic groups - the most important 'source' of informal interaction - is offset by cross cutting associations based on subject of study, year of study, hall of residence, participation in social, intellectual and sporting activities, etc.

Equally important in the promotion of value consensus is the perception of out-group hostility. The existence of a powerful outside force imposing severe constraints on

acceptable behaviour means that there are few policy options open to the student leadership. Where there is little to no room to manoeuvre debate over decisions to be made or action to be taken is a redundant and futile exercise. For this reason alone there is little likelihood of cleavages and value dissensus developing.

The feeling prevalent amongst students of a hostile outside society has given rise to 'student solidarity' and the formulation of an ideology of 'meritocratic élitism' corresponding to their bonds of identification. Any group which either is or perceives itself to be under pressure from outside will strive to promote unity within its ranks through a coherent ideology which identifies itself as different from and superior to the 'enemy'. The resurrection of religion and tribalism and the doctrines of racial purity are typical responses to out-group hostility.¹⁷⁵ For the Zambian student community superiority through the "enlightenment" of university education performs the same function. But where the 'beleaguered' group does not possess the power to enforce compliance with the precepts and implications of the ideology upon the hostile out-group, conflict is exacerbated by the perpetration of an exclusivist ideology. Indeed what becomes an instrument and rationalisation of in-group interests becomes a justification for enhanced out-group hostility. Thus the formulation of 'meritocratic élitism' provides the party and government with ready made excuses to use coercion in stemming student opposition. It becomes less legitimate to oppress a student community which conscientiously proclaims and acts in accordance with the very value system which those outside espouse but blatantly violate. This is more the position of

the students in the West, for example those who were active in the civil rights movement and the American campus 'revolts'.

ROLE CONTINUITIES AND TENSION CONTROL.

This chapter has been devoted to a consideration of the roles of the student apart from his student role. These roles, derived from the wider social structure, do in some cases provide linkages between students and the society outside the university. Thus kinship ties play an important part in binding the student to particular groups in society in a system of mutual obligations and responsibilities.

In certain situations other extrinsic roles can become important in linking students to the wider society. Thus in confrontations with 'enemy' nations students, government and all other sections of society are bound together through their common role as Zambian nationals, or as members of the black race. Sectional affiliations can become important when in the wider society there are open cleavages between different groups as when the predominantly Bemba supported UPP was formed.

Except in the unusual circumstances of the university being absorbed into the political arena of the nation, externally derived roles are only activated insofar as they do not conflict with the student role. Where they do conflict the community imposes heavy penalties on those who continue to disregard the obligations attendant on the student role. Where the role conflict is irreconcilable, as in the case of the departure of nine students to join the UPP, the student is forced to decide which role relation to sever.¹⁷⁷ In practice, those linkages with the society outside which are strong are

also the ones which were least likely to conflict with the student role and the interests of the student community, and least likely to rend divisions within the community.

Nevertheless the various sections on the chapter have also shown that externally derived roles do affect student behaviour in the university community. They do so by direct interference through ties with outside groups, and through identification with outside interests. But more importantly extrinsic roles are used by participants in the political and social processes of the community. Thus in mobilising support election candidates will inevitably draw upon friends and fellow members from their linguistic groups. In the conflict between NUZS and UNZASU representatives of each side made use of the political loyalties of students in canvassing for support. Equally extrinsic roles may be manipulated to enforce the norms current in the student community and to confront deviants with powerful sanctions. Those who appear to deviate from acceptable behaviour are accused of being 'tribalists' (only rarely since this may lead to further disunity) or 'stooges of government' or where aliens or whites are concerned it is sufficient to draw attention to their colour or nationality. Just as whites are potential 'spies for Vorster', subversive elements, or supporters of black oppression, so the aliens are 'freedom fighters cohabiting with the daughters of their oppressors', 'self interested cowards', etc. As with witchcraft, the accusation resonates the prejudices of the community, while its very nature precludes the accused from being able to disprove the accusation. To defend himself the accused can only recant his supposed "sins" and reaffirm the community values, or keep silent. To do otherwise often leads

to a greater conviction within the community of his guilt.

The purpose of this chapter was to examine those members of the set of multiple roles which were likely to offset the tension which existed between the student community and the wider society in particular the party and government. Though role continuities do play a part in student life they are immediately dissolved in favour of the discontinuous student role when the community is threatened from outside, or when forces emerge which threaten to divide the community. Divisions intrinsic to the student community are very weak and so the rejection of roles extrinsic to the student community leads to the reinstatement of cohesion and solidarity. In conclusion, the tension revolving around the student role is not in any significant way minimised by the existence of other roles cross cutting the tension. The student role assumes paramount significance at those times when it is most threatened by the tension with the society outside. If the system of multiple roles fails to mitigate, and in some cases exacerbates the structural tension between students and society, what social mechanisms ensure the persistence of relative peace?

NOTES.

1. Mannheim, K., Ideology and Utopia (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p.137.
2. Ibid., p.139.
3. Ibid., p.140.
4. Ibid., p.140.
5. Address by President Kaunda at the occasion of the first graduation ceremony of the University of Zambia, 17 May 1969.
6. Michels, R., Political Parties (New York: Free Press, 1968), p.300.
7. Aron, R., The Elusive Revolution (London: Pall Mall Press, 1969), p.70.
8. Nee, V., The Cultural Revolution at Peking University (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1971), pp.32-6.
9. See Djilas, M., The New Class (New York, Praeger Paperback, 1963).
10. The survey of undergraduates was completed by examining the records of registered students at the University of Zambia. Subramaniam, V., The Social Background of Zambia's Higher Civil Servants and Undergraduates (Paper presented to the University Social Science Conference, Nairobi, December, 1969.) The survey of graduates was conducted by the writer. See Appendix II, Graduate Survey.
11. Figures for students from Makerere and Ghana come from Goldthorpe, J. E., An African Elite (Nairobi: East African Institute of Social Research, Oxford University Press, 1965), p.40. The study of Ghanaian students was conducted by Jahoda in 1953 and that of Makerere students in 1958-9. Figures for Zambian undergraduates come from Subramaniam, op.cit., Table 3, and Graduate Survey, Social Origins of UNZA Graduates.
12. For reasons delineated in Appendix II the survey of graduates is likely to be misleading and much less accurate than the survey of undergraduates.
13. See Subramaniam, op.cit., Table 3.
14. Since the survey was of postal questionnaire type and there are no statistics which would help to ascertain how representative the response was, one cannot conclude that it was in any way representative.
15. Students are reluctant to talk about their background and it would have been exceedingly difficult to conduct a survey amongst students to reveal their social origins.
16. See Mwanakatwe, J., The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.1-35.
17. Figures for father's occupation come from Graduate Survey as do those of close kinsmen. (Number of close kinsmen involved was 275). Figures for working population came from Government of Zambia, Statistical Year Book 1970 (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 1971), Table 4.19, p.60.
18. Figures are from the Graduate Survey, Social Origins of UNZA Graduates and Republic of Zambia, Census of Population and Housing 1969, First Report (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 1970), Table 27, p.B43.
19. Ibid.

20. Graduate Survey, Social Origins of UNZA Graduates.
21. A reference to this was made by the Vice-Chancellor in his address on the occasion of the second graduation ceremony of the University of Zambia, 6 June 1970.
22. Opinion Poll Three, Question 4.
23. Graduate Survey, Question 13.
24. Computed from Graduate Survey, Question 14 and Social Origins of UNZA Students.
25. Graduate Survey, Question 14.
26. Graduate Survey, Question 14.
27. See, for example, Watson, W., Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).
28. UZ, 15 June 1970.
29. Muntemba, M., "The Mask," The Jewel of Africa, Vol. 3, No. 1 & 2, 1970, pp.2-5. (The passage quoted constitutes the last three stanzas.)
30. Ashby, E., African Universities and Western Tradition (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.102.
31. Molteno, R., Problems Brought to Light by the Present Crisis, and Suggestions for Tackling Them. (University of Zambia, roneod, 26 August 1971), p.2.
32. Southall, A. W., "Introductory Summary," in Southall, A. W. (ed.), Social Change in Modern Africa (London: International African Institute, Oxford University Press, 1961), p.19.
33. One has only to look at the African literature of Ekwensi, Ngugi, Achebe, Soyinka and others to see how obsessed is the African intellectual with what he perceives to be a conflict between tradition and modernity.
34. See Shils, E., "The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation," Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement I, 1961, Chapter V, pp.59-87.
35. Opinion Poll One, Question 20.
36. Opinion Poll One, Question 16.
37. Ibid.
38. In 1970 18% of students were female in 1971 the figure rose to 22%. Figures supplied by the Computer Centre of the University of Zambia.
39. UZ, 14 June 1971.
40. Opinion Poll Three, Question 11.
41. Opinion Poll Three, Question 13.
42. Opinion Poll Three, Question 12.
43. While 61% of 'B.A.' students disapproved of wigs, the figure for 'B.Sc.' students was 46%. While 40% of 'B.A.' students disapproved of mini-skirts, the figures for 'B.Sc.' students was 31%. As regards skin lighteners, 50% of 'B.A.'s' disapproved while 51% of 'B.Sc.'s' disapproved. Opinion Poll Three, Questions 11, 12, 13.
44. Many, of course, argued that the male students behaved in an identical fashion. They too used skin lighteners, wore flared trousers etc.
45. UZ, 21 June 1971.
46. UZ, 15 June 1970.
47. Among other things the female students were accused of choosing boy friends off the campus who were well placed in society with much money to spend on them.
48. UZ, 23 March 1970.
49. UZ, 26 April 1971.

50. Opinion Poll One, Question 10.
51. Opinion Poll One, Question 11.
52. Wilson, G., An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia Part II (Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 6, 1942.)
53. Mitchell, J. C., The Kalela Dance (Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 27, Manchester University Press, 1956).
54. Ibid., pp.11-18.
55. The end of 1968 and beginning 1969, witnessed the most outspoken attacks on mini skirts. Mini skirted women in Lusaka and other towns were reported as being molested. Since then there has been another revival of the debate between the 'traditionalists' and 'modernists' in July 1970. Valentine Musakanya, then a Cabinet Minister, was given a popular reception at the campus when he was invited by the University Sociological Association to talk on "The Dangers of Cultural Conservatism," 14 July 1970.
56. An analogy with caste mobility is illuminating, since this too is pre-eminently a form of group rather than individual mobility. Thus the process of 'sanskritization' is similar to the Africans adoption of the artifacts of Western life. In both cases the style of life of an upper caste or upper class is adopted in the process of upward mobility. See for example Srinivas, M. N., "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization," in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.), Class Status and Power (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), pp.552-60. Also Rudolph, L. I. and Rudolph, S. H., "The Modernity of Tradition: The Democratic Incarnation of Caste in India," American Political Science Review, Vol. 59, December 1965, pp.975-89; and Bailey, F. G., Caste and the Economic Frontier (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
57. Merton, R. K., Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp.319-25.
58. UZ, 22 July 1970.
59. At a meeting between the Minister of Education and the students after three leaders of the teacher's union were detained, students attacked the Minister repeatedly and bitterly for action taken and his failure to sympathise with poor conditions in the teaching service. It should be noted that a number of students had been teachers before they entered the university.
60. Voice of UNZA, 10 July 1970.
61. Image of UNZASU (Part of Mid Year General Report of UNZASU, 1 October, 1970).
62. UZ, 20 July 1970.
63. See for example, Gott, R., Guerrilla Movements in Latin America (London: Thomas Nelson, 1970), p.9.
64. See Altbach, P. G., Student Politics in Bombay (London: Asia Publishing House, 1968).
65. See Lipset, S. M. and Altbach, P. G., "Student Politics and Higher Education in the United States," in Lipset, S. M. (ed.), Student Politics (New York and London: Basic Books, 1967), pp.213-14.
66. Ibid. Hoggart refers to the problems which beset 'the scholarship boy' from the working classes which throws light on the insecurity-security syndrome of students from poorer backgrounds. See Hoggart, R., The Uses of Literacy (Penguin Books, 1957), Chapter 10, pp.291-304.

67. See Lipset, S. M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1966), p.41. Typically the writers only refer to white Americans, for which the percentage given was 20%. This translates into a figure greater than 15% when black Americans are included.
68. See many of the writings of students and academics of 'left wing' political orientation. For example Lipset, S. M. and Wolin, S. S. (eds.), The Berkeley Student Revolt (New York: Anchor Books, 1965), Chapter IV, pp.201-225..
69. Hanna, W. J., "Students," in Coleman, J. S. and Rosberg, C. G. (eds.), Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964), Table 1, p.419.
70. Spencer, M., "Professional, Scientific, and Intellectual Students in India," in Lipset (1967), op.cit., pp.357-71.
71. Goldthorpe, op.cit.
72. Jahoda, G., "The Social Background of a West African Student Population," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 5, pp.355-65 and Vol. 6, pp.71-9.
73. Finlay, D. J., "Students and Politics in Ghana," Daedalus, Winter, 1968, p.61.
74. Hanna, op.cit., Table 1, p.419.
75. Hanna, op.cit., p.441.
76. The writer has not come across one such case.
77. Kapwepwe, S., Students and the Party (An address to the Sociological Association, 21 October 1970). From a tape recording.
78. Ibid. Answer to questions. Tape recording.
79. Times of Zambia, 2 November 1970.
80. A Citizen of Africa (Circular distributed 18 November 1970).
81. Men and Women of Intelligence Listen! (Circular distributed 6 November 1970).
82. To Those who are still Reasoning (Circular distributed 4 November 1970).
83. Men and Women of Intelligence Listen! op.cit.
84. A Citizen of Africa, op.cit.
85. Ibid.
86. Men and Women of Intelligence Listen! op.cit.
87. To Those who are still Reasoning, op.cit.
88. Ibid.
89. A Citizen of Africa, op.cit.
90. The UNZASU Executive Stand on the Formation of Political Parties on the Campus (Circular distributed 4 November 1970).
91. Never (Circular distributed 6 November 1970).
92. This announcement was widely interpreted as signifying the inception of the one party state. Talks with the leader of the opposition never came to anything and the declaration was postponed.
93. Opinion Poll Three, Question 26.
94. Do You Know? (Circular distributed 7 December 1970).
95. Incomplete Works of UNIP Literature (Circular distributed 24 November 1970).
96. Opinion Poll Two, Question 12.
97. Opinion Poll Two, Question 13.
98. Opinion Poll Two, Question 16.

99. See for example Carr, E. J., The Bolshevik Revolution Vol. 1 (Penguin Books, 1969) and Deutsche, I., Soviet Trade Unions (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950).
100. For an analysis of such a transformation as it affected the Zambian mineworkers, see Bates, R., Unions, Parties and Political Development (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971).
101. See Deutsche, op.cit.
102. See Neumann, F., Behemoth (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1966), particularly pp.337-48 and pp.400-58.
103. See Bates, op.cit., Chapter 7, pp.126-165.
104. Times of Zambia, 5 November 1970. The decision was as subsequent events made clear not a choice for the students as it was for UNIP.
105. Figures on students are from Subramaniam, op.cit., Table 1. Figures for population of Zambia are computed from Statistical Year Book 1970, op.cit., Table 1.2(a), p.3.
106. Subramaniam, op.cit., Table 1, and Statistical Year Book 1970, op.cit., Table 1.2(b), p.4.
107. UZ, 1 June 1971.
108. Ibid.
109. UZ, 14 September 1971.
110. See Frankenburg, R., Communities in Britain (Penguin Books, 1966), pp.63-5 for a short discussion of the joking relationship and its sociological significance.
111. Cited from Radcliffe-Brown in Frankenburg, op.cit., p.63.
112. UZ, 28 June 1971.
113. Every President of NUZS has been a student from the University of Zambia. In the executive elected in October, 1971, of nine officers, five were from the University of Zambia. None of the three committee members were from UNZA.
114. The announcement of the proposed increase was made at a meeting addressed by the NUZS President to the University of Zambia students on 21st August, 1970.
115. UNZASU and NUZS (I) (Circular distributed 26 May 1971).
116. National Union of Zambia Students (I) (Circular distributed 28 May 1971).
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. UNZASU and NUZS (II) (Circular distributed 28 May 1971).
120. Ibid.
121. National Union of Zambia Students (II) (Circular distributed 1 June 1971).
122. Though Bushe was President of UNZASU on sensitive matters related to specifically Zambian politics the executive preferred that he, for his own sake, left statements of this nature to his Vice-President.
123. Times of Zambia, 2 November 1970.
124. Our Chief Nanga (Circular distributed 3 November 1970).
125. These merger talks came to nothing but were exploited politically by both ANC and UPP. The Lozis in ANC had defected from UNIP because they had not received what they considered a fair share of the fruits of independence including representation in Cabinet.

126. ANC who pursued a policy of rapprochement with South Africa akin to President Banda of Malawi saw no need for the Tan-Zam railway being built by the Chinese, to facilitate the transport of goods to Tanzania and lessen dependence on supply routes to the South.
127. The 'Kumosi Kumawa' (1968) - 'Unity in the East' movement - was partly a response to the Bemba victories at the Mulungushi Conference of 1967, which diminished the strength of leaders from Eastern Province in the UNIP Central Committee.
128. The clenched fist is not only the symbol of black power but in Zambia the symbol of student power and Kapwepwe adopted it as the symbol for his own United Progressive Party.
129. UZ, 18 October 1971.
130. Molteno, R., Cleavage and Conflict in Zambian Politics: A Study in Sectionalism (MS to be published in a forthcoming book on Zambian Politics), pp.30-43.
131. Ibid., pp.20-6.
132. Oyeridan, O., "The Role of Ethnicity and Partisanship in the Politics of Nigerian Students," ODU, University of Ife Journal of African Studies, January 1968, pp.3-29.
133. Ibid., p.27.
134. Figures provided by the Office of the Registrar for 1971. Figures for the Zambian population as a whole Tables 1.4 and 1.5, are from Statistical Year Book 1970, op.cit., Table 1.4 and 1.5, p.6.
135. Apart from the large number of whites in all the important positions prior to independence, Asians dominated many sections of trading and business, while black Rhodesians, Malawians, Tanzanians, Angolans and South Africans were prominent as clerks and supervisors.
136. There are some black expatriates, for example, at the University but often they are not accorded the prestige of white expatriates.
137. In 1967, 18.3% of workers on local conditions of service were 'aliens'. (Figures from the Copper Industries Service Bureau.) Since labour turnover on the mines is very low at around 6%, the displacement of aliens has had to be a very gradual process.
138. The number of racial incidents in the years immediately after independence were relatively numerous because of the persistence of colonial-racial attitudes and the vigilance of UNIP. Since then UNIP activity has declined.
139. Fanon refers to the tendency for the native bourgeoisie to develop chauvinistic and finally racialist animosities towards "aliens" as tensions in the nation exacerbate. Fanon, F., The Wretched of the Earth (Penguin Books, 1967), pp.125-7.
140. UZ, 11 May 1970.
141. UZ, 15 June 1970.
142. UZ, 22 June 1970.
143. Opinion Poll Three, Question 28.
144. One interesting psycho-analytic analysis is offered by Fanon. Fanon, F., Black Skin White Masks (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), Chapters Two and Three, pp.41-82. The entirety of the book is relevant to the discussion of racial divisions in the student community and has probably more to contribute in this area than a sociological analysis.

145. SMOLISA (Circular distributed 7 October 1970).
146. ZANU is the Zimbabwe African National Union led by the restricted leader, Ndabaningi Sithole. ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union) is the other African nationalist party, led by Joshua Nkomo. Both parties are now banned in Rhodesia.
147. ZAPU is the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union led by the restricted leader Joshua Nkomo. Both ZANU and ZAPU are now banned in Rhodesia.
148. Article 3, of the Charter of the Students Movement for the Liberation of Southern Africa says,
FULL MEMBERSHIP shall be open to any black student who subscribes to the purposes and aims of SMOLISA regardless of party affiliations: Definition of BLACK - ANYONE WHO IS NOT WHITE e.g. Africans, ASIANS, and mixed RACES (Coloureds).
149. UZ, 11 May 1970.
150. Opinion Poll Three, Question 22.
151. Opinion Poll Two, Question 20.
152. Opinion Poll Two, Question 19.
153. Opinion Poll Two, Question 17.
154. Opinion Poll Two, Question 18.
155. For Internal Publication in UNZA - New Direction Publication 1 (Circular distributed May 1971).
156. A New Direction Publication (Pamphlet distributed 28 May 1971).
157. See, for example, Wallerstein, I. and Starr, P., The Liberal University under Attack (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), Part IV, pp.293-391.
158. UZ, 20 April 1970.
159. Ibid.
160. UZ, 19 April 1971.
161. Data was collected from manifestos, observations, discussions with candidates, and Electoral Commission, Presidential Elections Results (Circular distributed 13 May 1971).
162. Chishala, G., The Seven Strategic Steps to a Revolution - A Presidential Election Manifesto (Distributed May 1971), p.1.
163. Ibid., p.2.
164. See Kaunda, K. D., Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1967), p.44.
165. Chishala, op.cit., p.3.
166. Mumba, S., Election Manifesto (Distributed May 1971).
167. Walia, G., Election Manifesto (Distributed May 1971).
168. Chibala, M., Election Manifesto (Distributed May 1971).
169. Chibala, M., Bursary Issue (Distributed May 1971).
170. Chibala, M., Press Conference Speech, 9 May 1971.
171. UZ, 3 May 1971.
172. UZ, 17 May 1971.
173. UZ, 11 May 1971.
174. See, for example, Evans-Pritchard, E. E., Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963). For a review of this book and an extension of the principles underlying Evans-Pritchard's work see Gluckman, M., "The Logic of African Science and Witchcraft: An appreciation of Evans-Pritchard's, 'Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic amongst the Azande' of the Sudan," Rhodes Livingstone Institute Journal, No. 1, June 1944, pp.61-71.

175. For an interesting case of 'retribalisation' through the resurrection of religion see, Cohen, A., Custom and Politics in Urban Africa (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969).
176. See, for example, Lipset and Wolin, op.cit., and Wallerstein and Starr, op.cit.
177. For an analysis of role conflict and the social mechanisms available for articulating a set of role relations even though they tend to make incompatible demands on the role incumbent see Merton, op.cit., pp.424-34.

CHAPTER FIVE

TENSION MANAGEMENT:

MAINTENANCE AND DISRUPTION OF EQUILIBRIUM.

In the previous chapter the set of role continuities linking the student to the wider social structure were found to be inadequate as mechanisms for conflict resolution. This chapter will return to concentrate on the role discontinuities arising out of the discrepant student roles in the university and wider social structures. The student role in the university structure will be referred to as his university role and his role in the wider society as his civic role. Given the structural tensions revolving around the student, the role discontinuity may be looked upon as the social mechanism which prevents the outbreak of conflict. However if the role discontinuity is violated by the activation of roles appropriate to one social structure within the boundaries of the other, then, as this chapter will seek to show, either certain individuals are compelled to dissociate themselves from one of the roles or an open confrontation becomes inevitable. The following sections will be divided into the various ways in which the role discontinuity may be violated first within the wider social system and second within the university system.

ARTICULATION OF THE UNIVERSITY ROLE IN THE WIDER SOCIAL STRUCTURE - I

Whenever the student articulates his university role in the wider political arena outside the university he simultaneously violates the role discontinuity. However, there are occasions, as when the university and civic roles overlap, when this violation does not, of itself, lead to a confrontation but on the contrary becomes a symbolic expression of solidarity with Zambians throughout society. No more clear an

example of this is the student demonstration in support of government policy, which has become an annual student event.

Ritual Protest at the Intersection
of Civic and University Roles.

The demonstrations staged by the Zambian student are distinguished from those in Western countries and indeed in countries the world over by their tendency to support rather than oppose government, despite the prevailing oppositional attitudes. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the government will not tolerate opposition, and any blatant form of demonstration opposing the government can be easily suppressed, so long as the student population is relatively small. This was the case in the two protests that have been made by students about the conduct of national affairs, to be discussed in following sections. Second, demonstrations on behalf of oppressed sections of the Zambian community are unlikely to have much appeal to the students. Their future role as members of a ruling class preclude many demonstrations which might be staged in other countries where the supply of graduates is plentiful and therefore career prospects relatively bleak. Then there is simply a question of the value of openly expressing disloyalty and opposition to government in a situation which requires unity. A demonstration of students against the government is very easily exploited by the white supremacist regimes south of the Zambezi as illustrations of the incompetence of African rulers. Fourth, there can be little doubt that students feel a bitter resentment towards the British, in particular, and the "rich world" in general for their blatant hypocrisy in purporting to be friends of Zambia while aiding and abetting her enemies to the South. That

explains the tendency for students to stage demonstrations outside Western foreign embassies.

A final reason relates to the latent function of the demonstration as the permissible articulation of the student's university role in the wider society. It can be regarded as a ritual response to the tension which exists between the student and the society outside. Students have almost annually demonstrated in solidarity with the government's policy over Southern Africa because of, rather than despite, the oppositionalism and tension between the two.¹ Not only is the demonstration an affirmation of solidarity with the government, but it is an affirmation of student solidarity itself. This is what the President of the Union said of the 1970 demonstration against the British High Commission protesting against the resumption of sales of arms to South Africa.

This sent Mr. Apathy to his perpetual place of rest. But that was not the significance of the occasion. First we wanted to show how deeply concerned we were with the satanic alliance between Heath and Vorster and their arms deal. Our opinions and feelings towards this alliance were recorded here in our own country, neighbouring countries and overseas. Telegrams and private letters to this effect poured into the UNZASU offices, a filmed interview between myself and the British Panorama rocked the British Televisions, equally so on our local TV. Britain even sent some small man to come and interview me on the same issue and I maintained our stand not only with threats but with deep conviction. "Come what may, what the hell does the Commonwealth serve us," I used to tell them, "You are rich because Zambia is poor."

Comrades, I wish I had telepathed Comrade Burnham's quotation, "It is better to die on your feet than beg on your knees," and this should be our guiding principle.

Letters even poured to the State House about our demonstration and some of the students know it. Of course there were [some] from misguided individuals in Britain and I was called on to [go] to the State House to look at some of these letters. I have shown a copy of one of these to some students here.

Where is our contribution and impact not felt?
Who says UNZASU is non-existent?

Where now lies apathy - in the grave yard of course. But you have heard of people dying and resurrecting, apathy seems to belong to the same category. We need to shoot at him relentlessly, probably apathy never dies but only hibernates and springs to action again when adverse conditions are over.²

The demonstration therefore enjoins students together be they white or black, Zambian or non-Zambian and enjoins the students to the government in opposition to outside enemies.

Thus of the six demonstrations which have taken place between 1965 and 1970 five were in support of government policy towards Southern Africa. In November 1965 students demonstrated outside the British High Commission following the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in Rhodesia. In April 1966 students again protested outside the British High Commission over the shooting of seven 'African freedom fighters' of the Zimbabwe African National Union. At this demonstration students hurled stones through the windows of the High Commission. (As was widely commented at the time the High Commission was only a stone's throw away from the Ridgeway Campus where the students resided.) There was a confrontation with the police and eighty eight students were arrested and herded into cells. Police animosity towards the students rose to such heights that a tear gas cannister was exploded in one of the cells and students had to break windows for fresh air. Two students were injured and taken to hospital and others cut and bruised.³ However, all students were released the same day and proceedings were dropped. In November there was another demonstration - this time peaceful - outside the High Commission in protest against the first

anniversary of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. October, 1967 witnessed the first protest against the government - the "Chanda Affair" - and soon afterwards there was another peaceful protest over the British Government's handling of the Rhodesian situation. In the years 1968 and 1969, perhaps as a reaction to the government reprisals during the Chanda episode, there was a lull in student protest. But, in July 1970 virtually all the eleven hundred students resident on the two campuses crossed the fields to protest outside the British High Commission where a violent demonstration was staged in protest against the British Government's intention to resume arms' sales to South Africa. Five students were badly beaten, arrested and later released. On the campus, the protest was widely hailed as a victory for student solidarity.

Two moves to stage demonstrations against United States presence in South East Asia, one in 1970 and another in 1971, proved abortive because of lack of support from the student body. Clearly "US Imperialism" is of much less significance and relevance than "South African Imperialism." Equally, one may attribute the students' reluctance to demonstrate over "Vietnam" or "Cambodia" to the failure of the Zambian government itself to make a clear stand over these issues. Such a demonstration against the American government would not have the same ritual significance as one against the British High Commission.

Interestingly the demonstration is not only a ritual for students but also for the police. The articulation of the university role in the wider political system, even though it is not incompatible with the student's civic role, is

nevertheless an occasion when the police are licenced to express their resentment towards the students in physical combat.⁴ At other times the police must conform to the norms of discipline associated with their role in society as custodians of law and order. But at the time of the student demonstration they may legitimately attack the students and renounce their passive role.

Thus at the intersection of the university and civic roles, both the student and police partake in what is normally proscribed behaviour but which in the ritual context becomes acceptable to the Zambian society as a whole. In so doing as Gluckman has written,

....this particular ritual, by allowing people to behave in normally prohibited ways, gave expression, in a reversed form, to the normal rightness of a particular kind of social order.⁵

Thus the demonstration not only affirms the social order through enjoining students and the rest of society in a common expression of solidarity vis-à-vis a hostile outgroup, but it also affirms the social order through the implicit acknowledgment that it is only at the intersection of the two student roles that political action in the national arena is permissible. The purpose of the ritual of protest "is to unite people who do not or cannot query their social roles".⁶ Thus quite clearly not all demonstrations are manifestations of ritual protest and indeed only those which do not violate the role discontinuity can conceivably be so regarded. Where the participants question the social order and violate the discontinuity between civic and university roles by acting in the public sphere in accordance with norms derived from the university system then the protest is no longer 'legitimate'.

Vice-Chancellor make a full inquiry into the affair.

As Chancellor of the University I must apologise to all those humble men and women in the old villages of Zambia who contributed to the building of the University. I am convinced this is not the type of student these humble men and women wanted the University to produce...These are the men and women who fought for independence and as a result of gaining that independence, the University was built. These young people do not seem to appreciate that. They not only insult the common man, but they insult me as President of Zambia, elected by the people. They say that the people have elected the wrong person, who appoints Ministers who do not know what they are doing. I take this very seriously indeed.¹²

The same day the UNZASU executive with the exception of Henry Chanda apologised to Milner for the insulting letter sent to him by their President. The Vice-President was reported as saying

The executive was not consulted about the writing of that letter. We apologise for the embarrassment that has been caused. This letter was written without consideration of the national interest.¹³

While President Kaunda was making his statement, and the student executive, apart from Chanda, were making their apology, there were demonstrations of hostility towards the students from UNIP supporters on the Copperbelt. The Times of Zambia reported the following day.

In Chingola hundreds of chanting men and women marched along the streets demanding the immediate expulsion of Mr. Henry Chanda and all students who took part in the demonstration and writing of the letter.

All Copperbelt UNIP regions resolved to send delegates to present the demands to President Kaunda. The delegates from Kitwe, Chingola, Bancroft, Chibuluma and other regions left yesterday afternoon for Lusaka. They were expected to meet the President later in the evening.

Other resolutions included: the Government

should rule that those students who are expelled are not accepted for employment anywhere in Zambia.

The Kitwe meeting said some of the students had foreign backing and that to stop them from going out of the country travel documents should not be issued to them.

Mr. Katakwe [UNIP youth regional secretary] said he would be carrying a spear to symbolise his intention to fight foreign intrigues among students. "We died for this freedom and we are not going to let small stupid students spoil it," he said.

Mr. Paul Chapuswike, the Kitwe regional secretary, said that it was "nonsense" for the students to talk about "expatriate-written speeches because we still need expatriates in various forms." Even the university depended on expatriates, he said. 14

In Lusaka UNIP supporters had threatened to march on the campus and in Ndola the regional secretary for UNIP spoke of Chanda and 'his fellow malcontents' as being 'puffed by the Chinese diplomats.'¹⁵ A few days later the Vice-Chancellor announced the expulsion of Henry Chanda from the University and the Times of Zambia published an extract from a letter of apology written by Chanda to President Kaunda.

The Context of the Chanda Affair.

As is characteristic of most sections of the more privileged strata of Zambian society, the students are very sensitive to public criticism particularly where it concerns their moral and sexual lives. The letter which appears to have precipitated the clash with government attacked the students for ignorance, laziness, unwillingness, inability to run their own affairs without the assistance of expatriate lecturers, and also the following paragraph,

Immorality at the campus is on the increase. There is a scramble for girls and there have often been fist fights as a result. There

is no sense of academic realisation and most students think that the university is a holiday resort where they have freedom to drink excessively and attend dances every night.¹⁶

In view of the students' 'rejection' of their social background and their assumption of a Western life style any criticism which remotely suggests that they have not yet 'graduated from village life' is particularly humiliating. African sexual habits and attitudes at the cultural level tend to be very different from the cultural prescriptions, though not necessarily practices, of the Western world as portrayed in films imported into Zambia.¹⁷ Not surprisingly, students may be sensitive to criticisms which suggest they fall short of Western norms of respectability.

The second feature of the students of 1967 relates to their emergence as a political community. In 1967 the enrolment at the University of Zambia was some five hundred students and a community with definite political interests was beginning to emerge. Many of the students then enrolled had been very active in the struggle for independence and were unwilling to fall in line with the government's policy of 'student depoliticisation'. Chanda himself it must be noted was, at twenty six, older than the average student and had been active in the political movement in Northern Province in 1961 known as the 'cha cha cha'. He had been expelled from school as a consequence of his involvement.¹⁸ He too, together with his brethren now in the ministerial ranks of government, expected a share of power and the 'fruits' of independence, but he, like every other student, was told to get on with his studies. Another factor contributing to the intense politicisation of Henry Chanda is his family background. One of his uncles

(paternal) is Simon Kapwepwe then Vice-President of Zambia. Safeli Chileahi^e, an eminent politician and community leader in Zambia, the first Zambian mayor of Lusaka and holding many honorary public positions is his mother's brother.¹⁹ For more than one reason then Henry Chanda suffered from feelings of intense political deprivation. His leadership of the demonstration and the writing of the letter must be accounted for partially in terms of his feeling of alienation and frustration as President of the Students' Union. His action echoed in exaggerated form many of the sentiments of the students as a whole.

Chanda's response to alienation from the political arena was to thrust his university role onto the wider society and in this way violate the established norms which constitute the role discontinuity. An alternative response would have been to import his civic role into the university system and subvert the role discontinuity "from within." This was precisely the response of the previous President, also a Zambian - thirty one year old, ex school teacher - Enoch Chikamba. His affiliations with government were close and therefore suspect amongst the students until eventually after nearly foisting a national service on unwilling students through supposedly behind door dealings, he was removed from his post together with the rest of his executive. Chanda and Chikamba responded in diametrically opposed ways to the same problem, namely their isolation and exclusion from the national political arena and the overt hostility and tension between students and the rest of society. The problems faced by Chanda, Chikamba and any other Zambian President of UNZASU are not experienced by the non Zambian. The chances of a

Rhodesian or South African of upholding the norms of behaviour prescribed by the university and civic roles in their respective systems of action are greater than for the Zambian, subject to a conflicting set of pressures.

Reaction to Chanda's Defiance of Government.

In the wider society the move by the students against Milner and then the Zambia Mail offices was given a very hostile reception. They had quite clearly moved well outside the area where civic and university roles intersect to the extent that UNIP officials were attacking students for their anti-expatriate slogans. (The same officials who would, two years later, be demonstrating against Chief Justice Skinner, and claiming that the only 'good white man was the dead one'.²⁰) The reaction of the public was predictable, but the response of the students was less so. In the eventuality, their sally forth into 'forbidden territory' was followed by an equally hasty retreat onto "home ground." On October 3rd the demonstration was held and on October 4th Chanda handed his letter into the Times of Zambia. On October 5th the remainder of the executive apologised to Milner for the actions consummated so far, while dissociating themselves from the letter sent and signed by their President. Chanda did not have the support of his executive when he needed it most, and the student body though it may have sympathised with the sentiments expressed in the letter was not prepared to openly back their President. While Chanda persisted in violating prescribed student behaviour in the national political arena, his base of support - the student body - had reaffirmed its willingness to conform to established norms and were already recanting their

'indiscretion'. Chanda was removed and the event served to sharply delineate and re-enforce the boundaries between civic and university roles. This is borne out in the events of the following two years which were characterised by relative peace with students rarely making public statements or partaking in demonstrations. Student politics were turned inwards and focused on the frailties and 'corruption' of succeeding executives led by non-Zambian Presidents. Only in 1970 were students to emerge out of their silence and inactivity under the leadership of Marshall Bushe. However, it is to the following year, 1971, when again a Zambian President was elected together with an all Zambian executive, that the chapter next turns.

ARTICULATION OF THE UNIVERSITY ROLE IN THE WIDER SOCIAL STRUCTURE - II.

The ostensible precipitating factor of the student demonstration outside the French Embassy on July 7th, 1971 was the decision by the French government to permit the manufacture of Mirage jet fighters on South African soil. The July 7th demonstration had a curtain raiser on July 2nd, when a handful of students studying French handed in a protest note to the embassy officials. As was normal when mass demonstrations were to be staged, the announcement was not made until late in the evening of the previous day. In response to the Secretary General's demonstration proclamation over a megaphone, the following light-hearted conversation was recorded outside one of the halls of residence at 10 p.m. on July 6th.

- A: "What's this noise?"
 B: "Demonstration"
 A: "For what?"
 B: "Against the French Embassy."
 A: "What have they done?" [Jokingly]
 B: "I don't know."
 A: "Better a demonstration against the misappropriation of funds. We want to buy more arms but they've [UNZASU Executive] stolen our money."
 B: "Where are the freedom fighters?" [Reference to Rhodesian students]
 A: "I'd hand them over to Smith."

Such was the banter between students on the eve of the demonstration. The jovial atmosphere persisted the following morning when students assembled to begin their march to the French Embassy. But many students were genuinely incensed by the latest French act of aggression, in view of the promises of President Pompidou to President Kaunda, after Kaunda, in his capacity as Chairman of O.A.U., had been snubbed by both Nixon and Heath.

July 7th. A short time before the demonstration moved off the President and Vice-President of the students' union set out to obtain a permit for the march from the Officer Commanding, Lusaka Division of Police, Mr. Magai. They had assumed that the granting of the permit would be a mere formality but in the event Magai refused to grant the permit before the two students had received prior approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²¹ In the technical sense the demonstration which took place was illegal.

Over a thousand students marched along the Great East Road into town, towards the French Embassy, which, unlike the British High Commission, is situated in the centre of Lusaka. The UNIP Regional Secretary was to be found shuttling students to and fro from one end of the column to the other, mingling

with the crowd and complaining that had he been informed beforehand, he would have brought out UNIP supporters to swell the ranks of the demonstrators.²² When the advanced sections of the crowd arrived in town, the pace accelerated to a brisk march and as they turned into the road of the embassy the leaders were unable to hold back the surging zealous students. There was a string of some ten or fifteen police officers at the end of the road, who were, as far as the students were concerned, not to be trifled with. The few who had brought stones with them unleashed them at the Embassy building - already evacuated - and then rapidly fled back down the road up which they had come. Recouping courage they staged another assault on the Embassy; this time they were greeted with a series of tear gas cannisters shot into their midst but this did not halt a further avalanche of stones, hurled through the largely glass building in which the Embassy was situated. The French flag was ripped down from the flagstaff while the police, clearly unprepared for the onslaught, were too few to offer any effective resistance. The events that followed have been described as a 'running battle between student and police'. For almost four hours the police pursued the demonstrators around the town, firing tear gas cannisters indiscriminately at anything which looked remotely like a group of students, other cannisters being fired aimlessly into the air, and even into the public market. Many shoppers and passers by were overcome by tear gas fumes invading all corners of the town near to and distant from the scene of the original demonstration. Fifty six people were arrested, of which five were not students. A number of students were badly beaten up by baton-wielding police and

one student was shot in the thigh. This was the shock revelation of the day; the commanding officer, Magai, had used a pistol in circumstances where it appeared that neither himself nor any of his men were in danger. It was after this event that students began to take a particularly belligerent attitude towards the police, who responded with renewed zeal. The police became increasingly uncompromising even when the Registrar and Pro-Vice-Chancellor came to the scene with the promise that the students would withdraw if they were given the opportunity to hand in the petition to the French Embassy. While negotiations continued between officers and the two representatives of the university, the police continued to prosecute provocative action in the neighbourhood. Exploding tear gas cannisters forced the rapid withdrawal of the Registrar and Pro-Vice-Chancellor.²³ The exchanges between police and students fizzled out in the early afternoon. In the evening the fifty six arrested during the day were released on police bond by the Vice-Chancellor, Mumba, the student who had been shot, was being operated on in hospital. A medical student witnessed the removal of the bullet lodged in Mumba's buttocks.

A number of peculiar features explain the behaviour of the police. First the demonstration was illegal, a fact which the press until very much later conveniently omitted to mention. Whatever the reasons the students had not been given a permit. Second the police were quite clearly unprepared for the demonstration. They had not alerted sufficient numbers of men to form a cordon around the Embassy to ensure that the demonstration did not erupt into a violent riot. When the students arrived at the Embassy it was to all intents and

purposes undefended. Third, the police trained under a colonial administration to enforce 'law and order' were unsure of their role in the case of a student demonstration in support of government. Before independence they had only been confronted with demonstrations opposed to the colonial government and their role in such instances was clear. Their role in a pro-government student demonstration becomes even more ambiguous when private property is being seriously damaged, since officially the government is supposed to offer protection through its police force to all foreign embassies. Fourthly demonstrations, apart from those organised by UNIP, do not occur frequently and the police, unaccustomed to dealing with student demonstrations, have not learnt how to deal with them effectively. Finally, and this may explain some of the excesses perpetrated against the students, there is the resentment which exists between the police and the students. As a Sunday Times correspondent wrote,

In previous demonstrations notably the "high court case" which resulted in the resignation of the then Chief Justice, James Skinner, the police acted with remarkable restraint. That the demonstration at the high court was by members of the Zambia Youth Service seems irrelevant.

But on a higher level, the difference is worth considering. Is it possible that the attitude of the police towards the student is psychologically that of an ill-educated man towards the so-called "high-brow?" Is it not possible that the police even unconsciously, act against the students because they (the police) never had a chance to go to university?²⁴

The action taken by the Zambian police against the Zambian students is typical of that of police action towards students the world over and therefore the generalised resentment amongst the population for students everywhere has greater explanatory powers than the reasons specific to the Zambian situation.

July 8th. The national press could have hardly given a more propitious tribute to the students and hostile reception to the police action. The front page headlines in the Times of Zambia read "Battle of Lusaka: Students Storm Embassy"²⁵ with photographs of police firing tear gas cannisters. The editorial, while agreeing that the use of tear gas was 'the accepted and traditional antidote to any such demonstration', saw the use of firearms and the presence of 'rifle wielding policemen' as a dangerous and unwarranted development. The editorial ends by bending over backwards in support of the students.

We believe that their show of indignation at the French action is shared not only by the Cabinet, but by many citizens of this country. It seems, therefore, that our policemen are either uninformed about Government political thinking on the internal front - or that they don't really care about the aspirations of the Government and people.

For had they acted in accordance with Government sentiments, we would not have witnessed the shameful clash yesterday, which we can only describe as "a police riot."

In retrospect, it appears to us that whenever students in Zambia express their feelings over certain issues, the police make it well-nigh impossible for them even to hand over a petition to the authorities concerned.

Politically and physically our policemen need some re-education in the best way to handle an innocent demonstration by unarmed students.²⁶

The Daily Mail, more often than not belligerent towards the students, led their front page with "Student Shot in Jets Protest", pictures of angry policemen arguing, others aggressively manhandling defenceless students with batons raised, and a picture of Mumba lying out prostrate.²⁷ In the first half of its editorial, the Mail concentrates on the imperialistic and aggressive policies of the French government. The second half, agreed with the Times in concluding that much of the

violence perpetrated by the police was unnecessary and 'the whole performance of the police from the beginning up to the end left much to be desired'.²⁸

The Regional Secretary of UNIP for Lusaka region announced that UNIP would conduct its own demonstration. UNIP's Lusaka office attacked the police action as "un-Zambian, un-UNIP, un-Humanistic and very unlike the way the police should protect people." The Party also announced that it fully supported the student's demand for the sacking of Magai whom the Regional Secretary accused of acting "like a personal representative of Pompidou in Zambia".²⁹

Jubilation at their moral victory hung over the university campus. Lectures were cancelled as students prepared to stage a demonstration of sympathy for the fifty one students arrested the previous day and due to be charged in Lusaka Magistrates Court. However, the arrested students never reached the court; when they arrived at the police station they underwent what amounted to an identification parade and seven had their bonds renewed for their appearance before the magistrate the following week. When the assembled crowd outside the Magistrates Court heard the news, some turned to go home but a small group barred their colleagues from entering the buses and urged them to march to the Government Secretariat half a mile away to demand a public audience with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Lewis Changufu. The idea received an enthusiastic endorsement and about eight hundred students moved into the grounds outside the Secretariat. There they patiently waited the outcome of negotiations for the appearance of the Minister. Unbeknown to most students lorry loads of police armed in riot kit were lying in wait behind the Secretariat.

But the protest was peaceful and relaxed. After approximately an hour the Vice-Chancellor himself made an appearance and he was cheered as he moved through the crowd onto the roof of a landrover which had been turned into a speaker's platform. It seemed as though he had been called by some one in government to remove 'his students' from the Secretariat. He told the gathering that he had been assured that they were only going to attend the proceedings at the law courts and was surprised to find them at the Secretariat, clamouring for the Minister of Home Affairs. He suggested that they consider carefully before they take any action and that action taken on impulse was not always in their best interests. He further urged them to draw up a petition, to work through their executive, and to return to campus for lunch. The students began shouting at him to stand down which he was eventually forced to do and an annoyed student - Mundia Sikatana - rose to address the students. He thanked Professor Goma for obtaining the release of the detained students the previous evening (great applause) and also for his advice.

We all understand your position and recognise that you as our Vice-Chancellor have earned your position through merit. But this is a very serious issue which cannot be left unresolved. At the same time we must pledge to Professor Goma that we are here on peaceful grounds that this is a non-violent meeting. We must also thank the press; the Times because it always reports the truth, the Mail because as a government paper its condemnation of its own police suggests how brutal they must have been. We must all stick around here until someone comes out and is prepared to talk to us. We have been preparing a petition on your behalf....³⁰

The petition, after condemning the violence perpetrated by the police the previous day, particularly the use of a firearm, included the following points: that the government make

crystal clear its stand on arms sales to South Africa, that the Officer Commanding Lusaka police, Chadwick Magai, be removed from his position, that the whole police force be disciplined and the students on police bond be released unconditionally. Changufu received the petition but said he could not comment until he had received a report from the police and the hospital superintendent concerning the injured student. With this the meeting had reached an anti-climax, but the students had made their position clear and returned to the campus. The demonstration chant had moved on from "Pompidou down" to "Hang Magai High".

July 9th. Headlines in the Times read "Students turn wrath on police" in the Mail, "Police Action under Fire". The Mail editorial again reviewed the police behaviour on the Wednesday and welcomed the proposed investigation into the incident. It reiterated its support for the students,

....we hope something will also be done by the Ministry of Home Affairs to give the police political education so that they know who are the friends of Zambia and who are not. ...If the actions of a stupid government in Europe threaten their future security in Zambia, the people of Zambia including the police should congratulate these youngsters when they take action which exposes the evil intentions of such a stupid government. They should not instead be treated like common criminals. They should be treated like responsible future leaders of this nation.³¹

At this stage, adulation from press, from politicians (even those who might normally resent the students), from commentators on radio such as Vernon Mwaanga (Zambia's representative at the United Nations) had reached its peak. Only the President remained silent.