Dissent and Opposition to One Party System in Zambia: Was it Ideological?

by

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Abstract
Dissent and opposition to the one-party system in Zambia has been given narratives of regional politics and tribalism. This article analysed dissent to the one -party system introduced by the UNIP government in 1973 ideologically and made a determination if differences in perceptions on the country's socio-economic and political arrangements by political opponents were sustainable. The analysis did not only focus on the post- independence opposition parties but also individuals and bodies that helped to illuminate difference in political ideology in the post- independence Zambian society. The discussion was within the broader subject of ideology and politics in Africa which is still a relevant subject to current African politics including Zambia. To establish a case whether dissent and opposition to the one party-state was ideological or not, this article used available literature from published works on post -independence Zambian politics including political manifestos, pronounced political programs and any political positions made by opponents that would assist in deducing ideological leaning. Using content analysis, this article found that opposition and dissent to the one-party system introduced by the UNIP government was ideologically grounded though not sustainable. Opposition political parties, civil society and the student body provided an alternative thinking to socialist ideals of the UNIP government by suggesting pro capitalist, free market and neoliberal views on various government policies and programmes.

Key words: Political ideology, one – party system, dissent, opposition, Zambia.

Introduction

As individuals or collectively as a society, we do express opinions and attitudes towards the social, economic and political organisation of our societies. We make opinions and take positions on government policies and programmes, express attitudes on issues to do with freedom of expression, equal rights, development, how democratic a political system is or not and the role of government in society. These expressions are usually organised as ideological beliefs depending on our orientation, experiences and social conditions.[3] Ideologies are belief systems that guide our thinking, actions, attitudes and opinions on various issues of our societies. Political ideologies have been defined as 'a set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can

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[3] M. Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, (Allen and Unwin, London, 1976).

be achieved'.[4] Ideologies are important for a well -functioning of society especially in the current dispensation of democracy. A politically unknowledgeable and incompetent citizenry will not have the ability to make useful input to policy making processes. Lack of structure in attitudes and positions of citizens equally makes interpretation of demands difficult on part of political representatives.[5] In developed countries, political ideology and the ability of citizens to make definitive ideological preferences of either being liberal, conservative or moderate are important determinants of voting behaviour among the masses.[6] In Africa, generally it is argued that politics are not guided by any differentiated ideology'.[7] Instead, political choices including opposition and any stance made is interpreted to have an ethnicity or regional basis.[8]

Studies in this area have also identified ethnicity and regionalism to be a barrier in consolidating democracy and therefore underscoring the relevance of the subject of ideology and politics in Zambia and Africa in general.[9] Implication of viewing African post -colonial societies with less social differentiation denies the opportunity of deeper analysis of divergent views that existed both before and after independence on the social, economic and political arrangements of their societies. Some studies in Zambia have found little ideological differences among political parties[10] while other scholars have argued that ideological positions have been taken while expressing socio-economic interests of specific regions.[11] For instance, Miles Larmer takes a different view and denounces the understanding that tribalism defined opposition to the UNIP government by the short-lived United Progressive Party (UPP) led by Simon Kapwepwe. Instead, it is argued UPP opposition to the ruling party during its existence in 1971-1972 was based on difference in values over property rights and access to resources.[12] As a way of continuing this debate, we make an argument that it is possible to make ideological positions independent of

[4] J.T. Jost, C.M. Federico and J.L. Napier, 'Political Ideology: Its Structure, Functions and Elective Affinities', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60 (2009), 307-37

[5] E. G. Carmines and N. J. D'amico,*Political Science: Political Ideologies,* (John Wiley & Son, 2015)

[6] S. Treier and D. S. Hillygu, 'The Nature of Political Ideology in the contemporary electorate', *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 73, 4, (2009), 679–70

[7] B.D.G. Folson, 'Ideology and Politics in Africa', *Hutchins Centre for Africa and African American Research*, 43 (1973), 11-19

[8]E.K. Kim, 'Party strategy in multi-dimensional competition in Africa: the example of Zambia', *Comparative Politics* 50, 1 (2017), 21–39

[9] B.J. Phiri, 'From One-Party Participatory Democracy to Multiparty Since 1990: Reality or Illusion', *Southern Journal of Contemporary History*, 46,1 (2021), 113-136

[10] R. Tobolka, 'Political Parties in Contemporary Zambia: A view from within', *Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society*, 1, 1 (2013), 11-39.

[11] C. Hallink and H. Siachiwena, 'Political party ideology in Zambia: comparing the PF and the UPND on social welfare policies', *Modern African Studies*, 61, 3 (2023), 323-342.

[12] M. Larmer, 'A Little Bit Like a Vocalno – The United Progressive Party and Resistance to One – Party Rule in Zambia, 1964 – 1980', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 39,1 (2006), 49-83

ethnic or regional inclination. Further, post -independence studies on ideology and politics in Zambia did not capture ideas from the opposition other than that of civil servants and politicians mostly from the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) government.

Student movements and unrest has been another popular area of study for scholars seeking to illuminate different political ideas and perceptions existing in post-colonial African societies. Specifically, those seeking to explain root causes of student opposition and dissent to incumbent governments of post-colonial era. The studies have been divided in their explanatory frameworks. Firstly, those inspired by the Dependency frameworks give a broader picture of post-colonial student opposition to western values. A multi country[13] study by Issa Omari and Paschal Mihyo argue that movements of up to 1967 supported governments by staging demonstrations against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism as well as western political, cultural and economic hegemonic interests.[14] Related to these ideas, Ali Mazrui describes an African university as one born as an extension of a metropolitan university whose direction and instructions come from a European country.[15] Second approach takes a middle ground by not exclusively looking to the outside influence in explaining student protests but also possibility of inward existing ideological conflicts. One of such studies is by Michael Burawoy on student protests at the university of Zambia.[16] The study attributes student protest to both internal and external factors. Internally conflicts arise as result of the process of social change that takes place in any growing institution including a university and the effects of its interaction with the wider society. In this case, it is argued that the university of Zambia as the only strong institution in a newly independent and monolithic political system was always clashing with government. Externally, conflicts result from the effect of transplanting an institution from one society to another which in this case university of Zambia was viewed to be influenced by values of Britain, her former colonial master .[17] It is concluded that student protests should not only be understood as the outcome of the interaction of a specific student consciousness[18] but also the role of 'structural' or 'ideological' conflicts between the university and the wider society.[19]

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[13] In Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

[14] I.M. Omari and P. B. Mihyo, 'The Roots of Student Unrest in African Universities', Kenya, Man Graphics Ltd, *Research Report* (1991), 28

[15] A. Mazrui, 'The African University as a Multinational Corporation: Problems of Penetration and Dependency', *Harvard Educational Review, 45,2 (1975), 191-210*

[16] M. Burawoy, 'Consciousness and Contradiction: A Student Protest in Zambia', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 27,1 (1976), 78-98.

[17] Burawoy, 'Consciousness and Contradiction', 82

[18] Which this interaction could also be with the outside values.

[19] Burawoy, 'Consciousness and Contradiction', 78

Other student protest studies in Zambia have attributed conflicts to mere political interference.[20] Clarence Chongo's review of student protests are equally grounded in attributing conflict between students and government to some external forces.[21] Specifically, when reference is made on the exposure of students to Marxist writing and other radical materials by Frantz Fanons and the influence of expatriate academicians within the university. These are said to have influenced the radical policy positions students adopted over the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Ian Smith regime in Zimbabwe. Further the difference in position by the government and students over the recognition of the Angolan MPLA regime. Government was viewed to have taken a weaker and negotiated approach on the UDI policy compared to the students' strong position.[22] These explanations however are still limited in understanding deep seated values of a post- colonial society. The weakness of dependency and other imperial/periphery relationship frameworks is that they focus on the influence of external ideas and this is done with less emphasis on trying to understand naturally existing values in these societies. This is not to say there was no effect on local values as a result of the interaction during the colonial time. Besides in context of student protests as events used to explain opposition to government, there is still need to reinterpret these events using ideological frameworks. The subject of ideology and politics in Zambia is therefore still under researched and political speeches and expressed programmes by the opposition and other groupings of post – independent Zambia provides another angle of understanding the debate of ideology and politics in Zambia.

In this article, it is argued that the Zambian postcolonial society was able to make political attitudes that can be categorised as being social or capitalist and free market related. Specifically, the article attempts to establish if dissent and opposition to the one party- state system in Zambia during UNIP government under Kenneth Kaunda was ideological or not. The argument is a contribution to an old debate of whether politics in Zambia and Africa in general are rooted in any ideological standing. We sketch the framework of our discussion by asking these pertinent questions, namely; i) What are ideologies? ii) Are societies made of identifiable ideologies as a basis of their functioning? iii) How do ideologies get transmitted to guide opinions, actions and

[20] S. Kabwe, 'Effectiveness of Student Unions in Conflict Resolution in Public Universities: A study of the University of Zambia and Copperbelt University from 2015 – 2017', *MA Dissertation*, University of Zambia and Zimbabwe Open University, 2018

[21] C. Chongo, 'Decolonising Southern Africa: A history of Zambia's Role in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle, 1964-1979', *PhD Thesis*, University of Pretoria, 2015.

[22] Chongo, 'Decolonising Southern Africa', 212-220

attitudes? iv) What is the persistence and sustainability of the ideology among the people who hold them?

To establish a case whether dissent and opposition to the one party-state in Zambia was ideological or not, this article used available literature from published works on post-colonial Zambian politics including political manifestos, pronounced political policies and programs and political positions made by opponents that were useful in deducing ideological leaning. Content analysis was used to analyse relevant texts from documents. The analysed texts were further subjected to a political spectrum to position the ideas, actions and opinions as being neoliberal, socialist or moderate. Two assumptions guided this analysis. Firstly, that any elected regime will have defined and differentiated ideological values and that party members will act cohesively. Secondly, that party members have distinctively different preferences across parties but homogenous preferences within parties.[23] Though the post - independence Zambian multiparty politics did not thrive to full potential, it consisted of diverse political parties and space for expression of divergent views upon which a solidified ideological difference could be identified. For instance, Gatian Lungu make reference to the church, the labour movement and the press as having been critical observers of the Zambian One- party state.[24]

Background: Zambia's Socio-Economic and Political Arrangements at Independence

Zambia obtained independence from the British government under the leadership of Dr Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP in 1964. Zambia's economy at that time, a situation which to a certain extent prevails even now, was described as one which heavily relied on the mining sector.[25] Traditional sectors like agriculture, which most Africans relied on, were underdeveloped except for a few along the line of rail. In 1965 the mining sector's contribution to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was about 41%, while the agriculture sector only contributed 11.5%.[26] The mining industry was also not integrated into other sectors of the economy. This meant that apart from the physical labour sourced locally, the mining sector relied on imports of inputs for their operation. This negatively affected the socio-economic development of the country. Many of the social services were underdeveloped at the time of independence. Social services like health, education and roads infrastructure were either underdeveloped or non-existent. Anderson summarises Zambia's colonial legacy in five points:

[23] K. Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics: A theory of US law making*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998)

[24] G.F. Lungu, 'The Church, Labour and Press in Zambia: The role of critical observers in a one- party state', *African Affairs*, 85,340 (1986), 385-410

[25] O. Saasa, 'Zambia's Policies toward foreign investment: The case of the mining and non-mining sectors', *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*, UPPSALA, Motala Grafiska, *Research Report*, (1987), 79

[26] Saasa, 'Zambia's Policies toward foreign investment', 36

i) 'A technologically advanced mining sector in the economy laid the ground for external dependence.

ii) A marginalised traditional agriculture by taxation and agriculture policies that favoured expatriate farmers and the mining industry.

ii) Economic activity concentrated in the rail line provinces laid ground for regional inequalities after independence.

iii) Wage structures characterised by differentials and income disparities continued to exist.

iv) African education and other social infrastructure neglected.'[27]

The above inherited legacy made the UNIP government to adopt socialism as a broad ideology to guide their socio-economic and political operations. Opting for socialism was a common practice for most independent African countries[28]. To this effect, Dr Kaunda and the UNIP government adopted policies that would not only address inherited inequalities from the colonial government but also reflect sovereignty and nationalism. Important policy pronouncements made after independence reflecting these desires include the Mulungushi Declaration of April 1968 and the Matero Declaration of August 1969. In the Mulungushi reforms, Kaunda and the UNIP government made this declaration on 19 April 1968, 'I have decided that I shall ask the owners of certain firms to invite the government to take at least 51% interest in their enterprises'.[29] This was meant to increase participation of the state in the economy. The Matero reforms enabled the government to take over the ownership of the mining companies[30] expressing the desire of wanting to be in charge of their destiny by being in control of their resources. These broader reforms aimed at implementing nationalisation of privately owned companies, creating parastatal companies to meet the objectives of industrialisation and creation of employment for the local people. Saasa summarises the nature of policies embarked on by the UNIP government after independence as follows: i) import substitution, ii) state control, ownership and management of economic activities, iii) government direction of investment, including that of the private sector; and iv) protection of domestic industry from foreign competition.[31]

Politically, at independence Zambia inherited a multi-party system until 1972, when Dr Kaunda and the UNIP government declared Zambia a one-party state system. In 1973, Dr Kaunda initiated

[27] P. Anderson, A Bigsten and H. Persson, 'Foreign AID, Development and Growth in Zambia', Sweeden, Nordiska Afrkanstituent, , Motala Grafiska, *Research Report*, (2000)

[28] Folson, Ideology in African Politics, 14

[29] K.D. Kaunda, *A Simple guide to President Kaunda's Economic Revolution in Zambia*. Lusaka, Associated Printers Ltd, (1968b),7

[30] Saasa, Zambia's Policies toward foreign investment, 36

[31] O. Saasa, 'Policy Reforms and Structural Adjustment in Zambia', USAID Bureau Africa. *Technical Paper*, 35 (1996), 4

an amendment of the constitution in which a one-party system of government was enshrined. Zambia was ruled under a one-party state from 1973 to October 1991 when Fredrick Chiluba won the elections under the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). During Kaunda's tenure especially during the declaration period of the one- party state, government experienced opposition from various sections of society. The opposition and dissent to the one-party state declaration can be interpreted to have been ideological. In the following section we discuss what ideologies are and the role they play in the functioning of society.

What are Ideologies and how do they Influence Functioning of Society?

Ideologies are belief systems, ideas, attitudes and world views of a particular society or political system that guide opinions, judgements and actions. The concept of ideology has been defined from both psychological and sociological perspectives. Psychologically, ideologies are cognitive and mental constructs. Cognitively, ideologies represent mental objectives such as ideas, thoughts, beliefs, judgements and values.[32] Individuals make ideological expression through attitudes, opinions and choices they make to available social, economic and political options. From the psychological perspective ideologies are made of relational and doctrinal characteristics. The doctrinal component describes and prescribes acceptable attitudes about social relations and norms while the relational component refers to in-group identification and mistrust of the non – adherents to the prescribed norms.[33] Historically, this interpretation of ideologies is what made them to be viewed as false and constructed by the powerful in society.[34] When ideologies become constructs of the powerful, then they may not be historically informed and naturally identified within societies. Members of political parties or any groupings are expected to hold acceptable norms and belief systems with those non- conforming attracting desertion, mistrust and other negative attitudes. Ideological expressions are however not only limited to political parties but also general groupings and individuals who make defined positions or opinions on political and social economic arrangements of society.

On the contrary, for the sociological perspective, people's actions are connected to what they have been socialised to for a long period of time. They are viewed as products of society and are produced and reproduced by members as social actors. They are outgrowths of understanding and perception that permeate and emanate from society.[35] This is what Antonio

[32] T.V. Dijk, 'Discourse Semantics and Ideology', *Discourse and Society*, 16,2 (1995), 243-289

[33] L. Zmigrod, 'A Psychology of Ideology: Unpacking the psychological structure of ideological thinking', *Association for Psychological Science*, (2022), 1-21.

[34] J. Phillips, and F. Cushman, 'Morality constrains the default representation of what is possible', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114,18 (2017), 4649– 4654.

[35] M. Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Gramsci could have referred to as coherent ideas. Those which are 'active, historically informed, consistent and reflect the interest of all,[36] implying that ideologies are not external to society and not constructed by a special group. When ideologies are constructs of society, their influence on behaviour will also include political behaviours. That is expressions made on social, economic and political arrangements of society. They are seen to be related to group interests, conflicts, social power and dominance.[37] Satori makes two broad distinctions of ideology: ideology in knowledge which represent man's knowledge and the extent to which it is true or not and ideology in politics which represent ideological mentality and the extent to which it is functional.[38] These views make reference to the extent to which ideology is useful to society. Where the truth of knowledge is in doubt, it then degenerates into being dogma and false.

On the whole, those holding ideologies have to make an impression through their attitudes, opinions and choices they make about options. For beliefs to influence action, there must be a link between the social structure of interaction and the beliefs themselves. This relationship is what has been referred to as 'sociology of knowledge', in which an individual gets socialised in their community.[39] Sociology of knowledge would then be the basis of the content of belief system groups make reference to for action. Beliefs on social, economic and political arrangements of society would be informed by the elements of this social knowledge. Studies have shown how ideologies have guided policy making and political choices. Nationalist ideologies have been found to guide foreign policy making.[40] This influence can also be applied to ideology related opinions and attitudes made towards left or right leaning policy programmes during opposition to the one-party state system. Those holding right leaning or reformed ideologies are expected to have choices of limited public expenditures and free market economies while those making left leaning choices expanded public expenditure and state control of the economy. Consistency in ideology is an important attribute for it to sustain competition but also for measuring its own plausibility.[41]

The above discussion was an attempt to clarify what ideologies are and to answer the question of whether societies are made of identifiable ideologies which act as basis of their functioning and how they get transmitted to guide action. It is generally agreed that there is a

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[36] A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Note Books* (London, Electric Book Company, 1999), 704
[37] Dijk, 'Discourse Semantics and Ideology', 245
[38] G. Sartori, 'Politics, Ideology and Belief systems', *The American Political Science Review,* 63, 2 (1969),398 – 411.
[39] J.L. Martin, 'Power, Authority and the Construct of Belief Systems', *American Sociology*, 10,4 (2002), 861-904
[40] K.J Gani, Explaining and Understanding US-Syrian Relations: Conflict and Cooperation, the Role of ideology. *PhD Thesis*, (2011).
[41] Folson, Ideology in African Politics, 15-16

relationship between belief systems, perception and decision-making.[42] Political beliefs in socialism, neoliberalism, nationalism or social democracy would be linked to belief systems of society.

Types of Political Ideologies

Liberalism

Liberalism was the earliest secular ideology to be embraced, and it advocated for individual economic freedom, protection of property rights and against any political abuses by those in power.[43] At that time, the exclusion of the majority of the population from both political and economic power led to societal inequalities, which became one of the forces that led to the development of Marxism (Socialism and Communism) and its variants like social democracy.[44] One key characteristic of liberalism of the post-war recovery program was the interventionist role of the state in the economy. Broadly, the categorisation was between free market economies and controlled economies. Politically, the left versus right wing categorisation has been used to differentiate between countries inclined to a welfare state and those arranged on free market basis.[45] Most post-independent African states embraced socio-economic and political arrangements that ranged from pure socialism to mixed economies under the political brand of social democracy. This entailed state-led development with regulation of the economy and promotion of a social welfare state.

Neo-Liberalism

Neo-liberalism, as an offshoot of liberalisation ideology, espouses political economic practices that suggest that human well-being is best attained by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills. This can be achieved within institutional frameworks characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.[46] Such a system is associated with a democratic political system practicing plurality of political parties, safeguarding human rights and reducing government intervention in the economy.

Socialism

The opposite of neo-liberalism ideology is socialism, in which the state owns the means of production, and the system advocates for fairness and equitable distribution of resources in

[42] O.R. Holsti, 'The Belief System and National Image: A case study', *Conflict Resolution*, 6,3 (1969), 244-252.

[43] E. Voegelin, M. Algozim, and K. Algzim, 'Liberalism and its History', *The Review of Politics*, 36, 4, (1974) 504 – 520.

[44] F. Fukuyama, 'The Future of History: Can the Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?', *Foreign Affairs*,91, 1 (2012), 53-61

[45] S. Berman and M. Snegovaya, 'Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy', *Journal of Democracy*, 30,3 (2019), 1-16

[46] D. Harvey, A Brief History of Neo-liberalism, (United States of America, Oxford University Press, 2007)

society.[47] Socialism is defined as a system of resource allocation in which exploitation has been eliminated.[48] Key characteristic of socialism is a collective ownership of resources, a society of equals, a single political party system, and state ownership of the major means of production and distribution.[49] Related to socialism is the ideology of Communism, which is linked to the 1848 'Communist Manifesto' by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, in which they argued that at each point in history, society was made up of two classes, the exploiters (the bourgeois) and the exploited (proletariats). These are always involved in a struggle over resources and the solution is a revolutionary takeover of the means of production by the proletariats on behalf of the rest of society.[50] The system advocates for a planned economy controlled by a single party acting supposedly in the interests of all, presiding over a society of equals in which deep divisions of class conflicts have been removed by collective ownership of resources.

In the early 19th century, socialism took two pathways: social democracy and scientific socialism. Social democracy as an ideology was embraced by Western countries after the Second World War and is characterised by a mixed economy in which the state owns a considerable proportion of productive resources and the rest is owned by the private sector. Social democracy represents a modified capitalism in which the state puts safeguards through redistribution policies to address the evils of capitalism.[51] Scientific socialism, as advocated by Karl Marx, represented a total rejection of capitalism. Most African countries inherited state arrangements with strong capitalist characteristics and had to counter the capitalist and free market ideology by subscribing to leftist socialist ideologies. However, this did not wipe away the capitalist ideas within their societies.

Humanism

Zambia subscribed to socialism immediately after her independence, and this was being chanted through the ideology of humanism. Socialism as a post-colonial ideology was not only in Zambia but also in other African countries as a reaction to the discriminatory and undignified experiences of colonialism. For example, in Tanzania, Julius Nyerere adopted Ujamaa, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana called it 'Scientific Socialism'. Humanism, in Dr Kaunda's words,

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[47] E. Bernstein, 'Evolutionary Socialism: Criticism and Affirmation', *Independent Labour Party* (1907)

[48] J.E. Roemer, 'Socialism Vs Democracy as Income: Equalising Institutions', *Eastern Economic Journal,* 34,1, (2008),14 – 26.

[49] J. Schwarzmantel, Ideology and Politics, (London, *Sage publications Ltd*, 2008)

[50] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx/Engels selected works*, (Moscow, Progress publishers, 1848), 98-137

[51] Fukuyama, 'The Future of History'

'centres on the importance of man in which its origin is linked to the traditional African society.'[52] In his speech on 23 October 1967, Dr Kaunda argues that 'man was the culmination of God's creation and this high valuation of man and respect for human dignity which is a legacy of our Zambian traditions, must not be lost in the face of rapid development.'[53] For Dr Kaunda, it was important to state that 'it is impossible to be a Humanist without first of all being a socialist. Socialism is the gateway to Humanism – the final stage of man's development.'[54] From this understanding, Dr Kaunda expounded Humanism ideology as having these principles: egalitarian society, man at the centre of all activities, respect for human dignity, inclusiveness, generosity and hospitality, hard work and self-reliance.[55] The Humanism ideology was formally launched two years after independence in April 1967. Dr Kaunda advances Humanism ideology through communal ownership of resources. According to him, 'communalism is a system of political, economic, social, cultural and security organisation in which power over resources and public affairs is diffused, collectivised and used on a communal basis by all the people.'[56] As indicated earlier policies and programmes pursued under the leadership of UNIP and Dr Kaunda reflected these socialist values through programmes of expanded social services, nationalisation of privately owned companies and state involvement in the economy.

Nationalism

In Africa, nationalism was embraced as a post–colonial value for self-determination. After gaining political independence, self-determination, which later led to national identity, was an important pursuit of newly independent Africa, Zambia included. For Cabral national liberation is based on the right of every people to 'freely control its own destiny'.[57] Nationalism ideology is associated with attitudes and ideas of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, autonomy and national self-determination. The post-independent Zambian society consisted of divergent ideologies that can be identified and in the following section, we trace these values and later determine their influence in politics.

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[52] K.D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its implementation Part 1*, (Lusaka, Zambia Information Services, 1968 a), 5
[53] Kaunda, 'State of The Nation', 40
[54] K.D. Kaunda, *A Path of Revolution*, *Twelfth General Conference of UNIP*, (UNIP, 1978), 72
[55] Kaunda, 'Humanism in Zambia', 1-4
[56] K.D. Kaunda, *State of The Nation: Politics and Government*, (Lusaka, Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, The Government Printer,1988), 61
[57] A. Cabral, The Weapon of Theory. *Address delivered to the first Tricontinental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in in Havana in January, (1966)*, 8

Was the Zambian Society made of Identifiable Ideology and how did it Influence Politics?

Zambian values and beliefs are traced both from the pre-colonial era and its experiences during the colonial period. During the colonial period, Zambian society was defined on basis of racial discrimination, minority rule and an economy benefiting few whites and foreign companies. R. Molteno[58] notes that one of the circumstances under which humanism developed was the need to formalise the pre-colonial values of a classless, egalitarian, communalism and inclusive society. Dr Kaunda once argued that humanism was an original concept.[59] Its conception is supposedly to have been out of the reality of Zambian life, and it described the values and beliefs of pre-colonial Zambia.

The above ideals however had to co-exist with externally induced ideals of individualism and capitalist values through the coming of white settlers in the then Northern Rhodesia in the late 19th century. The discovery of copper mining attracted white settlers and by independence, Zambia had about 70,000 Europeans.[60] This resulted in having a predominantly white legislature till the Nineth Legislative Council of 1948 to 1953, when four African legislatures out of a total of 41 legislatures were incorporated[61]. Despite the UNIP government having the majority seats (UNIP 55; UFP 10 and ANC 10)[62], at independence, the civil service largely consisted of Europeans as Zambia had to rely on their skills. Free market values permeated into policy formulation and general Zambian political life creating an ideological diversity within the Zambian society.

Contrary to the argument advanced in this article, studies done a decade after independence found strong nationalism and humanism sentiments among Zambian politicians and elites. Scarritt investigating values of nationalism, democracy, African socialism and development, equality, traditionalism and change found that values of nationalism were deeply held among African elites (politicians and civil servants).[63] T. M. Shaw[64] made similar observations when he argued in his article that humanism ideology influenced Zambia's foreign policy. He deduced such a conclusion by using Kaunda's personality and a few high-ranking politicians' speeches and declarations. In the finding, it is argued that Zambia's foreign policy

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[58] R. Molterno, 'The Zambian Humanism: The way ahead', *Sabinet African Journal*, (1973), 541-557

[59] Kaunda, 'State of The Nation', 40

[60] J.R. Scarritt, 'The Decline of Political Legitimacy in Zambia: An Explanation Based on Incomplete Data. *African Studies Review*, 22,2 (1979) 13–38.

[61] National Assembly of Zambia, An Insight into the Evolution of the Zambian Parliament.

[62] G. Erdmann and N. Simutanyi, 'Transition in Zambia: The Hybridisation of the Third Republic', *Institute of African Affairs*, Konvad-Adenaner-Stiftung (2003).

[63] Scarritt, The Decline of Political Legitimacy

[64] T.M. Shawa, 'Foreign Policy of Zambia: Ideology and Interests'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 14, 1 (1976), 79 – 105

reflected the intent of the Zambian elite values to exert control over their society and resources. These findings may not be surprising as the target were those who could have been sympathisers of socialist and humanism values. The assumption of these studies is that Zambian political life has been homogenous. To the contrary, this article argues that the Zambian society embraced alternative ideologies apart from the commonly held socialist and humanistic related values.

This is not the first time such conclusions are made when analysing Zambian post - independence politics. Miles Larmer makes similar observations when it is argued that the Zambian political life was by no means hegemonic before and after declaration of the one -party state in December 1972.[65] Erdmann and Simuntanyi[66] for instance showed that humanism was not necessarily a uniform value in the Zambian society. Later studies by Scarrit (1979) also reviewed that Zambia's values appreciated by most elites after independence included democracy, freedom of expression and formation of alternative political parties or at least a one-party democracy.[67] Equally Gatian Lungu though his analysis is purely on political opposition and not ideological differences, describes a vibrant and critical civil society to the one-party state government in the post - independence era.[68] Bizeck Phiri has discussed the role of society in the demise of autocracy in Zambia and mentions how the press like Times of Zambia opposed the UNIP government's approach in dealing with the opposition which could have been believed to be dictatorial in nature.[69] The Times of Zambia of between 1964 and 1972 was described as one of the critical observers of the Zambian government by Gatian Lungu.[70] These ideas are underdeveloped in the Zambian research community and have been overshadowed by interpretation of divergent views as being based on regional politics, tribalism and mere opposition to the government of the day. This has prevented the advancement of the idea that within Zambian society, political alternative views existed as way back as post-independence era.

Ideological basis of dissent and opposition to the one - party state.

Much as the ideology of humanism appeared glamorous and presented as a natural value, not all sections of the Zambian society believed in the UNIP government's ideology of humanism and its offshoot of socialism. Existence of different ideological beliefs can be illuminated both

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[65] M. Larmer, 'A Little Bit Like a Volcano – The United Progressive Party and Resistance to One-Party Rule in Zambia, 1964- 1980', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 39,1 (2006), 49-83
[66] Erdmann and Simutanyi, Transition in Zambia.
[67] J.R. Scarritt, 'Elite Values, Ideology and Power in Post -Independence Zambia', *African Studies Review,* 14,1(1971) 31-54.
[68] Lungu, 'The Church, Labour and Press in Zambia'
[69] B.J. Phiri, 'Colonial Legacy and the Role of Society in Creation and Demise of Autocracy in Zambia', *Nordic Journal of African Studies,* 10,2 (2001) 224 -244
[70] Lungu, 'The Church, Labour and Press in Zambia', 398

among political and non-political groupings of post - independent Zambia. Having inherited a multiparty political system, Zambia had a developed (though sometimes suppressed due to dictatorial tendencies by the ruling UNIP government) political culture in which members with divergent views could express themselves. Table 1 below shows political parties for both pre- and post-independence periods.

Table 1: Summary of Pre- and Post-Independence Political Parties and their Supposed Ideologies

S/N	Name of political party	Date established	Date banned	Presumed ideology	Number of seats in parliament at independence	Political leader
1	UNIP	1959	Still in existence	Socialist-leftist	55	Dr Kaunda
2	ANC	*1951*	1972	Capitalist-rightist	10	Harry Nkumbula
3	UFP	*1924*		Capitalist-rightist	10	John Roberts
4	UP	*1966*	1967	Capitalist-rightist		Nalumino Mundia
5	UPP	*1967*	August 1968	Socialist-leftist		Simon Kapwepwe

Source: Compiled by author using various materials

Opposition by Civil Society and Ideological Difference between Kaunda and Nkumbula

Opposition to the one party-state and its ideology was expressed by opposition political parties, civil society and student bodies. The civil society like the church expressed discontent at the proposal of introducing scientific socialism in the education system by the UNIP government.[71] Further, the authoritarian government never managed to completely crush other civil society organisations like trade Unions, the Law Association of Zambia and the Economic Association of Zambia.[72] Scientific Socialism is a total rejection of a capitalist system and the agitation by the civil society was an indication of the existence alternative thinking apart from what was available under the UNIP government. The dissension became uglier when Dr Kaunda and the UNIP government declared Zambia a one-party state through the Choma Declaration in 1973. This was reflected in defections from UNIP, and formation of new political parties, and long-standing confrontations between the UNIP government and the University of Zambia Student Union (UNZASU) body.

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[71] Lungu, 'The Church, Labour and the Press', 398
[72] Erdmann and Simutanyi, Transition in Zambia.

At independence, Zambia had two strong opposition parties to UNIP.[73] The United Federal Party (UFP) which was the colonial and rightist party, and the African National Congress (ANC) led by Harry Nkumbula. ANC shared some common ground with the colonial party. For example, in the October 1962 general elections and just two years before independence, ANC was described by the colonial party as a 'moderate' nationalist party.[74] Although Kaunda was once a right-hand man for Nkumbula before the birth of UNIP, the two men had different beliefs. Nkumbula believed in capitalism and freedom of expression. Nkumbula's ideological difference was reflected when UFP and UNIP were jostling for a coalition with ANC during the aftermath of the 1962 general elections. Nkumbula bluntly expressed the difference in values between him and the UNIP leader when he stated that he would not form a partnership with Kaunda's party because of being associated with Communism: 'I shall not consider a coalition with UNIP unless Kaunda denounces Communism'.[75] However, often times, Kaunda denied being a Communist both in response to these accusations and also during his expounding of the humanism philosophy. Kaunda vehemently replied to Nkumbula's accusations, 'I am not a Communist and never have been'.[76]

Further exposure to different ideological standing between UNIP and ANC was in 1966 during a lecture presentation at the University of Zambia. Nkumbula again articulated his beliefs as he opposed Kaunda's tendencies of wanting to form a one-party state. He equated the one-party state to dictatorship, fascism, tyranny and corruption. According to Nkumbula, 'the moment right to oppose the government is taken away from the subjects of the state, misery and terror will follow, rule of law can be ruled out'.[77] These counteractions by the opposition ANC leader are evidence that UNIP and ANC were standing on different ideological grounds, at least in the moment of these conversations. How consistent and sustainable Nkumbula's position was is another question.

Ideological Based Defections and Formations of New Political Parties

Defections and formations of new parties equally reflected differences in values among early Zambian political leaders. Around 1966, more parties were formed due to defections from both UNIP and ANC. Differences in ideologies and also discontentment with the advancement of socialism among the political elites of post-independence were already reflected within two years

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[73] Erdmann and Simutanyi, *Transition in Zambia*.

[74] Hall, R, *Kaunda Founder of Zambia*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1965)

[75] Hall, 'Kaunda Founder of Zambia'*, 59*

[76] Hall, 'Kaunda Founder of Zambia'*, 60*

[77] M. Larmer and G. Macola, 'The Origins, Contexts and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion Against the Zambian One – Party State', *International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 40, 3 (2007), 471 – 496.

after independence when some prominent UNIP members broke away from the party. In 1966, Mr Mufaya Mumbuna defected from the African National Congress (ANC) and formed the United Party (UP). The party later managed to attract high-profile UNIP members who felt their regions of Barotseland and North Western provinces were not having the same share of development. Among the key defectors included Nalumino Mundia from the western region of the country, who relinquished a ministerial position to become UP National President, and Adamson Mushala from the North-Western region, and UNIP's deputy education secretary. [78] Mushala later became a long-time dissident to Kaunda and UNIP's leadership both through UP and as an individual. Despite these defections having initial justification of regional inequality in development, the defectors were able to make ideological articulation that were different from the socialist UNIP government.

Even though Adamson Mushala was viewed as a terrorist and gang leader of a group planning to overthrow the legitimate UNIP government,[79] he also expressed ideological differences with Kaunda and his party. From the outset, Mushala having been trained in China, detested Communism, and this surfaced at the formation of the UP party in which he became the deputy national secretary. UP pledged a reformist agenda of defending democracy against UNIP's authoritarian temptations. M. Larmer and G. Macola captures some semi-coherent ideas by Mushala as an individual, which he expounded during a meeting with Chief Kanongesha in 1971. According to the meeting's excerpt, Mushala wished to form a;

> 'Government with a federal multi- democracy, the United States of Zambia with 16 states and each one headed by a paramount chief. A considerable amount of power was to be placed in the hands of traditional leaders, and power would be dispersed among different persons such that no one person could make dictatorial laws and impose them on others. Further, fundamental human rights would be observed, independent press would be permitted, and free enterprise and economic competition would be allowed. State-owned mines, banks and other institutions were to be privatised and farming with concession of the right to buy and sell land'.[80]

These ideals were different from that of Kaunda and the UNIP government. They were intending to promote free market economy where private ownership of properties would be encouraged and where people have freedom to express themselves. This was contrary to the ideology advanced by the leftist socialist regime of state ownership and a culture of stiffening freedom of expression which was understood to be in existence. Unfortunately, UP was banned by Dr Kaunda in August

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[78] Larmer and Macola, 'The Origins, Contexts and Political Significance', 14

[79] P.M.Wele, *Zambia's Most Famous Dissidents: From Mushala to Luchembe*, (Zimbabwe, Commercial Printers and Originators, 1995), 6

[80] Larmer and Macola, 'The Origins, Contexts and Political Significance', 29

1968, four months before the general elections of December 1968[81]. Despite the banning of the party, the above ideals did not go into extinction as members of UP later regrouped with ANC, a close ally in their belief and boosted its number of parliamentary seats in the 1968 general elections. ANC gained eight out of the 11 Barotse seats in the December 1968 general elections.[82]

Ideological Differences between UNZA Students and UNIP Government

Student movements of higher learning institutions, especially the University of Zambia, is another way through which ideology within Zambian society could be illuminated. Stand-offs between the UNIP government and the University of Zambia Student Union (UNZASU) body was a reflection of the existence of different perceptions on social economic and political matters within the Zambian society and beyond. To start with, the creation of the University of Zambia a year after independence meant relying on foreigners for the teaching staff. Over 80% of the lecturers were non-Zambians.[83] This was viewed as the genesis of confrontations the UNIP government had to go through with the students, and some of these were ideological in nature. Two ideological disagreements stand out between the UNIP government and the student union.

The first one was when the Zambian government took a position on Angola of not recognising a Communist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) party after it won the independence elections on 11 November 1975. This was done in preference to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi and viewed by the Zambian government as more of a nationalist party. On the contrary, students supported MPLA and demonstrated against the government's stance which led to the university closure on 10 February 1976 and in the process five foreign lecturers were deported.[84] There was a clear ideological difference between government and the students. MPLA supported by students was viewed to be pro Marxists - Leninist party while UNITA supported by government appealed to more of nationalist ideals.

The second ideological clash between the government and the students was in 1982 when the government decided to establish an Institute of Human Relations. Students with their Marxist orientation accused the government of deliberately wanting to paralyse workers and peasants with such dogma. The students issued a circular in the *Vanguard*, their media magazine asking if it was necessary to establish such an Institute which was aimed at putting the workers and peasants to sleep. With Marxists values, expectation is that workers are supposed to be

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[81] Wele, 'Zambia's Most Famous Dissidents', 6
[82] Larmer and Macola, 'The Origins, Contexts and Political Significance', 15
[83] N.J. Small, Zambia, 'Trouble on Campus'. *Sage Journal*, (1976), 8-14
[84] Small, 'Trouble on Campus', 10

antagonistic and revolutionary as they fight for their rights and also against capitalism. At the same juncture, students also made derogatory remarks about humanism ideology, "Is it not edifying enough that UNIP is flogging a dead horse by trying to revitalise decayed 'Humanism' which continues to exist but in inertia."[85] These confrontations also led to the closure of the university on 21 April 1982, which also resulted in two Danish lecturers getting fired and two others deported.

The university was described as a battleground for ideological influence by different interests. A deported lecturer from the University of Zambia (UNZA) in 1976, on his arrival in London, accused many academicians at the University of Zambia of working as agents for the American government. The government had a similar description about the ideological struggles within the university. For example, a UNIP governor for Luashya, Alex Kamalondo, in advancing these thoughts once urged secondary school boys not to mix with UNZA students. According to him, their 'big boys' might have been 'poisoned' with foreign ideologies. [86] In the same vein, Dr Kaunda, at one point, accused the university professors and lecturers of being misguided by Marxist ideology.[87] In his reaction to these insinuations, he once stated, 'I will not allow foreigners to come and dictate to me. My employers are UNIP and the people of Zambia.'[88] These misgivings about foreign lecturers and their suspected role in instigating ideological consciousness among the student body culminated in the closures of the university, dentations and deportations of foreign lecturers. Most importantly, they uncovered the differences in beliefs of the Zambian society, which was mostly camouflaged in the humanism ideology.

Persistence and Sustainability of Ideologies among those who hold them

Ideologies are said to be outgrowths of society and passed on to members through socialisation.[89] With this understanding, expectation is that they will also be consistent and sustainable. For an ideology to be persistent and consistent, they should be considered to be part of society and widely accepted by members of society. Early conception of ideologies also had the connotation of being false as they were viewed to be constructed by the powerful in society like the state and the church.[90] From our review, to what extent did the opposition hold the ideological stance they expressed? The description of Nkumbula by Europeans in the early days of ANC is in contrast with the ideological stance he had in the early 1960s. That is a 'tireless

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[85] Wele, 'Zambia's Most Famous Dissidents', 66
[86] Wele, 'Zambia's Most Famous Dissidents', 59
[87] Small, 'Trouble on Campus', 12
[88] Wele, 'Zambia's Most Famous Dissidents', 59-60
[89] M. Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory*: *A Conceptual Approach.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
[90] Phillips and Cushman, 'Morality constrains'

nationalist, accused by Europeans of being a 'revolutionary', a 'near–Communist'.[91] In the early 1960s, Nkumbula was a self-professed capitalist, who advocated for freedom of speech and citizen rights to oppose government. At this point it could be argued that ideologies may not be held consistently and shifts may be experienced especially when there is need for political coalitions. We see this when ANC and UFP identify near common ground with ANC distancing themselves from ideologies of nationalism which they once stood for in the early 1950s. Similarly, both ANC and UP find themselves taking similar ideological positions as they unite against UNIP during the December 1968 elections. ANC would talk about freedom of expression and anti-dictatorial tendencies and UP would talk about privatisation and removing of restrictions in trade, especially with South Africa.[92] These are values which themselves were also against when struggle for freedom was at its peak.

With the Zambian politics, Michael Sata, the former Patriotic Front (PF) president could be described to have held the socialist ideology consistently. Sata, had served in both UNIP and MMD governments before leaving MMD to form his own party in 2006. He later became president and ruled from 2011 until his demise in 2014. Despite his presidency being during the flourishing of neo-liberalism or reformist ideology, his policy options shocked those who thought he was defiling neo-liberalism requirements and re-introducing socialism. Sata sought to revive the first and second republic nationalisation policies by establishing the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) and, through its government, attempted to take over some mining companies like Mopani and Nkokola. He also started the idea of re-establishing the national airline, which was also closely related to the first republic and socialist policies of the UNIP government.

Conclusion

This article was an attempt to contribute to the debate on ideology and politics in Zambia and Africa in general. It is provoking the understanding that politics in Africa is not rooted in any differentiated ideological ground. This article has established that dissent and opposition to the UNIP one- party state government was based on ideology. The opposition political parties articulated alternative ideology to that advanced by the UNIP government. UP and ANC articulated capitalist and free market ideologies during political speeches and presentation of proposed political programmes. The student body equally made clear ideological stance which were in contradiction with the ideology of UNIP. The students opposed governments stance to support the Angolan UNITA party which was believed to have been a nationalist party. The

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[91] Hall, 'Kaunda Founder of Zambia', 20
[92] Larmer and Macola, 'The Origins, Contexts and Political Significance'

students preferred MPLA party which was taken to be a communist, an ideology the students sympathised with. The civil society organisations like the church made similar opposition to some of UNIP policy suggestions in the education sector. However, it was also reviewed that consistence and sustainability of these ideological positions was absent. ANC leader, Mr Harry Nkumbula did not remain with the socialist and nationalist ideology of the early 1950s. Just before independence in the 1960s, he believed in neo liberal ideology of free market, democracy and freedom of speech. Consistency in ideology and its benefit in politics is an area that can be pursued for future research.

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