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Articles

Nationalism and the Federal State's Agricultural Policies; The Politics of Cassava in Zambia, 1953-1963

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During the Federal era, cassava played an important role in political mobilisation in Luapula Province. Nonetheless, the crop has seldom received attention in the otherwise rich historiography on African nationalism and anti-Federation struggle in present-day Zambia. Drawing on archival sources and oral history, and a reading of secondary sources, this article attempts to contribute to the historiography of cassava in Zambia and its contribution to the nationalist cause. The article examines the position of cassava in political mobilisation by nationalist politicians. It explores the link between the politics of cassava and those of nationalism. This article's key argument is that while nationalist leaders drew on the politics of cassava to garner support from the rural population in their campaign against the state, the dissatisfaction with the administration's approach towards cassava provided the local people in Luapula with a compelling reason to join, and offer support to, the African National Congress (ANC), the party by which the anti-Federation campaign was led.

Key words: Cassava; rural constituents; nationalism; anti-federation; African National Congress.

Introduction

During the Central African Federation which amalgamated Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 1953 to 1963, cassava played an invaluable role in political mobilisation in Luapula. The onset of the Federation engendered changes that affected the position of cassava in Zambia. The state changed its agricultural policies, re-emphasizing the role of maize. Historian Chewe Chabatama observed that "the Federal government's policy was to promote maize production, consumption and marketing, and discourage cassava and sorghum as both staples and cash crops" (Chabatama, 1999: 304). This policy had its foundations in the early colonial period, when the administration paid little attention to agriculture, especially traditional crops grown in rural areas.

The British colonial authorities "neglected the development of the agricultural infrastructure, in Luapula, giving the excuse that the area was remote" (Baylies, 1984: 166). Therefore, agriculture in Luapula remained a concern mainly of the local people.

The colonial government considered agriculture only as a source of food for the mining areas of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, its main interest was the exploitation of mineral resources. In this view, agriculture fulfilled only a subservient supporting role by providing a reliable, but most importantly, cheap supply of food for the urban population of the Copperbelt (Lukanty and Wood, 1990: 9). Colonial authorities "gave little encouragement to crop production" (Baylies, 1984, 166). Moreover, the colonial government's agricultural policy focused primarily on assisting European farmers (Dodge, 1977: 15). The early colonial period, therefore, witnessed a lack of government support for cassava, which was officially regarded as a famine reserve crop for the subsistence of the rural population. Cassava producers were considered as backward and insufficiently productive (von Oppen, 1999: 43). Due to their "cassava-based diet", the people of Luapula were often described as being "weakly and physically inferior."

However, the colonial administration's approach began to change in the 1930s due to threats to food security in the territory, such as droughts and locust invasions. Consequently, the administration began to display less hostility towards cassava and even began to promote the adoption of cassava in areas where it had not previously been grown. For instance, in the 1930s, following the devastation of the millet crop by locust, the colonial administration helped introduce cassava to Northern Province as a famine reserve crop (Moore and Vaughan, 1994: 139).

Another factor of change was the development of the mining industry on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt from the mid-1920s and the increased demand for foodstuffs it brought in its wake. When maize supplies faltered in the 1930s and 1940s, the colonial government and mine owners sought alternative sources of food and the export of cassava meal from Luapula to the Copperbelt increased. In 1935, "the African Lakes Corporation […] was able to export 21,945 lbs of cassava meal by lorries to the Copperbelt." Trapnell (1996: 123) reveals that "in 1938 cassava meal amounting to 910 tons were imported into the Copperbelt".

The onset of World War II resulted into a decline in maize acreage since resources were channelled towards the war effort. The situation was compounded by a great increase in local demand for maize. As a result, in 1942, the government "got trucks from Southern Rhodesia and diverted local vehicles in the Department of Public Works on the Great North Road to transport cassava

from the major producing areas to the Copperbelt in order to avert starvation" (Chipungu, 1988: 62; Tembo, 2015: 206). Moreover, 1947 proved to be another bad year due to a disastrous drought, leading to a sharp drop in maize production. African maize production fell considerably, from "172,000 bags in 1946 to 54,000 bags in 1947" and European maize production tumbled "from 268,000 bags to 190,000 bags in 1947." This, too, resulted in the government's new emphasis on cassava as a possible solution to the food exigencies of the urban population on the Copperbelt. The war and its impact on maize production helps to explain the ambiguous colonial government's approach to cassava.

However, after 1945 the country's financial position greatly improved as the financial demands of the war ended; the price of copper increased, a new royalty agreement with the BSAC was reached, and a more favourable tax with Great Britain was agreed (Phimister, 2011: 751-754). The improved revenue enabled the state to provide loans, subsidies, and technical support to maize farmers, particularly European farmers. As James Pritchett explains, "by the late 1950s, European farmers closer to urban markets, who received cheap land, loans, subsidies, and technical assistance, were able to increase maize production sufficiently to satisfy the mine owners' needs." (Pritchett, 2001: 59-60). The change in the financial position of the country coincided with increased demand for maize on the Copperbelt. Therefore, from the 1950s, the territory witnessed an upsurge in the production of maize. In 1954, colonial officials were able to report that maize production was in fact slightly "in excess of consumption requirements."

Following the increase in maize production between 1950 and 1961, the colonial government reverted to its earlier position of neglecting cassava and fostering "commercial crops", chiefly maize. For instance, both the new Federal Grain Marketing Board (FGMB), which replaced the Maize Control Board in 1957, and the Eastern Province Agricultural Produce Board focused on purchasing maize. Although the FGMB expanded the scope of statutory marketing to include beans, sorghum, and millet in addition to maize and groundnuts, it did not purchase cassava (Shawa and Johnson, 1990). Additionally, agricultural credit and extension advice was primarily directed towards settler farmers (Lukanty and Wood, 1990). The Agricultural Land Bank, established in 1953, only provided financial support to European farmers. Moreover, until 1960, when the Peasant Farming Loan Fund was established, African farmers with no legal title to their land had no access to agricultural credit.

Therefore, for the ten-year period that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was in existence, the African agricultural sector in Northern Rhodesia was neglected (Dodge, 1977: 49).

By 1953 onwards, with the earlier stated surplus maize production realised, "the marginalisation […] of other crops", particularly cassava, resurfaced (Chabatama, 1990: 63). Thus, once again, it became common for colonial officers to remark that "the methods of production of this crop are wasteful and it is preferable that it should be regarded as a subsistence rather than a cash crop." As I have observed, "the Federal state through the lopsided policy it espoused, only provided support to farmers growing 'cash crops', such as maize, and neglected other crops such as cassava" (Chama, 2020: 148). From the early 1950s, the policy aims of directing the meagre resources available for African agricultural assistance to the more favourable areas became a governing factor in the work of the Agriculture Department. Simply put, cassava was relegated to an inferior position and did not receive support from the Federal government. However, the Federal administration's approaches to cassava engendered anti-colonial sentiments, and contributed to political mobilisation in Luapula, a topic which is the focus of this article.

Despite several studies on the rise and growth of African nationalism in Zambia (Rotberg, 1966; Mulford, 1967; Meebelo, 1971; Rasmussen, 1974; Macola, 2010; Larmer, 2011; Sishuwa, 2021), the contribution of cassava to the nationalist cause remains under-explored. Writing on the popular basis of anti-colonial protests, Thomas Rasmussen argued that the scope of African participation in the disturbances, particularly in Northern and Luapula Provinces, demonstrated conclusively that anti-colonial sentiment was not the monopoly of a discontented urban minority but was deeply felt by many rural Africans (Rasmussen, 1974: 34-40). He concluded that local political conflicts over local issues very much affected the course of nationalist politics in rural areas, a fact which can easily be overlooked when the anti-colonial struggle is viewed from the vantage point of the urban political elite (Rasmussen, 1974: 48). Rasmussen's study does not, however, focus on cassava and the role the crop played in engendering anti-colonial sentiments among the rural population. This article focuses on the contribution of cassava to political mobilisation in Luapula during the Federal period.

By using the lens of the politics of cassava, this article demonstrates that the role played by grievances resulting from agrarian changes in inspiring rural constituents to join and offer support for the nationalist cause cannot be overemphasized. Ian Henderson argued that "peasant resistance to agrarian changes provided the raw material for nationalism" (Henderson, 1970: 592). For all its insights, however, the study by Henderson only pays perfunctory attention to the role of cassava. James Scott has argued that cassava played a vital role in Southeast Asia by providing the producer a relative sense of autonomy against

the state. According to Scott, cassava, like many other root crops, has a large impact on the social structure that, in turn, enables its growers to evade the state. A society that cultivates roots and tubers can disperse more widely and cooperate less than grain growers, thereby encouraging a social structure more resistant to incorporation, and perhaps to hierarchy and subordination (Scott, 2009: 207).

Iva Peša has touched upon the importance of cassava in Mwinilunga District, North-Western Zambia. Peša observes that compared to the easily controllable and orderly grain crops, cassava seemed a "rebellious crop," by "preventing hunger and facilitating flight, cassava allowed a relatively independent, flexible and, at times defiant stance towards the state" (Peša, 2012: 178). This article builds upon and extends these insights, as it focuses on Luapula, an area that was more engrossed in the anti-colonial fervor than Mwinilunga. Its overarching argument is that the politics surrounding cassava became closely linked to anti-colonial and nationalist politics. Nationalist leaders drew on the politics of cassava to garner the support of the rural population, while the state's unpopular policies towards cassava provided the local people in Luapula with compelling reasons to side with these leaders. The article shows that cassava was central to strategies through which its producers retained a relative sense of autonomy and agency vis-à-vis the state.

In the section that follow this introduction, the article briefly examines the position of cassava during the Federal period. The second section analyses the nexus between the cassava trade and the politics of nationalism. The final section explores the Federal administration's appraisals of, and approaches to, cassava, and shows how the resultant local grievances were not only appropriated by nationalist leaders to garner the support of constituents in Luapula, but also provided convincing reasons for cassava producers to join and offer support to nationalist parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and then its offshoot the United National Independence Party (UNIP).

Cassava During the Federation (1953 to 1963)

The creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 engendered a shift in the Northern Rhodesian government's appraisals of, and approaches to, cassava. As in the early colonial period, the administration discouraged and disparaged cassava. In spite of its advantages, "cassava was somewhat looked down on by the colonial government […], who preferred and promoted other crops such as rice and maize, denouncing cassava as inferior and lacking nutritional qualities" (Peša, 2009: 1). Indeed, "the ultimate idea", commented

H. T. Bayldon, District Commissioner in Kawambwa in 1953, "is of course to try and wean them on to a better staple crop which will fall into line with a proper rotation."

The government support which cassava had enjoyed during the Great Depression and Second World War drastically reduced and "by 1954 the export market for cassava to the Copperbelt was virtually eliminated" (Baylies, 1984: 166). Colonial reports reverted to emphasizing the ostensible "nutritional deficiency" of cassava. F. J. Smart, Provincial Agricultural Officer for the Northern Province, remarked that "cassava is a lazy crop particularly popular in Luapula where its poor nutritive value is somewhat balanced by consumption with fish." This was to be confirmed in 1961 by the Rural Economic Development Working Party: "[the] nutritional value [of the crop] is low, therefore, further developments of cassava [were] not recommended." Not everybody was convinced, however. For instance, in 1959, G.C. Hyde, District Assistant, Nchelenge, remarked: "the diet of the people consists mainly of cassava and fish, and they keep reasonably healthy on it." Although cassava roots have a negligible protein-content, the crop is not nutritionally deficient, since cassava leaves, commonly eaten as a vegetable, compensate for the low nutrition in the roots.

The administration discouraged cassava cultivation and its consumption due to the acidic nature of certain varieties, and its allegedly "low nutritional value" as well as "lack of proteins in tubers." Besides the "orientalist biases", political motives also influenced the administration's attitude towards cassava (Macola, 2016: 22). Due to its "unobtrusive character", and the fact that it required no significant inputs such as fertilizer and hybrid seeds, cassava proved more difficult for the government to control as compared to grain crops. In this context, cassava posed a challenge for the administration in terms of augmenting its control over the people of Luapula (Scott, 2009: 279). Cassava had played a central role in political centralisation in the pre-colonial period (Miller, 1988: 172; Chama, 2020). Conversely, during the colonial era, compared to the easily controllable and orderly grain crops, cassava provided a relative sense of independence to its producers.

The government sought to discredit cassava and lure the people of Luapula towards the cultivation and consumption of maize, a crop of "higher nutritional and economic value" (Chama, 2020: 148). D.H. Frost, District Commissioner, Fort Rosebery, remarked in 1953 that cassava "is an uneconomic export crop which requires a heavy subsidy to put on the market, and therefore the sooner that the production effort of the people can be directed to a more valuable cash crop, the better it will be for them. This policy has been recommended by the area team." This view was confirmed on 5 February 1957 by the Director of

Co-operatives and African Marketing, who remarked that "cassava meal is on the way out and maize is the food preferred for every reason. No one approves of cassava as a basic food." By disparaging cassava, the administration intended to shift consumption preferences of the people of Luapula to maize. Besides government's control over the marketing of maize, the crop required technical services, significant inputs such as fertilizer, and hybrid seeds. Therefore, it afforded to the state better opportunities to control the means of production and marketing through its marketing boards. In this way, maize permitted the state control over producers (Chama, 2020: 148). Moreover, the government's main objective was meeting the food exigencies of urban dwellers on the Copperbelt, whose consumption preference had shifted to maize. The administration, therefore, embarked on a policy of "encouraging the production, consumption and marketing of maize" (Chabatama, 1999: 304; Chabatama, 1990: 68).

Nonetheless, maize remained a marginal crop in Luapula, grown on a very small scale, while cassava, on the other hand retained its position as the staple food and most extensively cultivated. Luapulans continued to rely on cassava, which offered distinct benefits, such as being drought-resistant and flexible in its labour demands. An informant remembered that "the local people, in fact, were against the cultivation and consumption of maize until the late 1960s." Contrary to maize, cassava, a high-yielding crop, one not prone to damage by locusts, offered a sense of independence to producers both in terms of production and marketing as well as food security. Besides, cassava was also embedded in the culture of the people of Luapula. Gordon noted that, "the Lunda of Kazembe link their preference for cassava to culture and history", making them "proud cultivators and consumers" of the crop (Gordon, 2006: 12). In 1957, P.R. Metcalfe, District Commissioner, Kawambwa, remarked that "the area is entirely dependent upon cassava, with the usual subsidiary crops, for food." A year later, P. K. Mulala, African Administrative Assistant, Kawambwa, reported that "around the Johnston Falls Mission cassava [was] extensively grown and form[ed] the staple food of the area." Cassava was preferred by the people of Luapula since it assured a reliable source of food. Attachment to cassava in Luapula came up against the aforementioned change in government policy towards the crop. Thus, the continuity of "the cultivation of cassava instead of [the] officially propagated maize" demonstrates the degree of independence and resilience in terms of food security that the crop afforded its producers (Peša, 2014: 52). Cassava permitted local communities in Luapula to negotiate with, and contest against, the government from a position of relative strength.

A source of discontent with the state among cassava producers in Luapula was the lack of adequate support during the outbreak of the cassava mosaic

disease in the 1950s. The mosaic disease, referred to as *Chinsansya* in Luapula, led to damage of cassava cultivars and adversely affected crop yields, especially from 1954. As a result of the disease, the area experienced a scarcity of cassava planting materials. In the same year, the District Officer for Kawambwa, P.A. Large, reported that: "this disease appears to be endemic wherever cassava is grown. … There is no known cure; only the careful selection of disease-free cuttings will keep the disease at bay." Similarly, in 1955, G.E.K. Walsh, District Officer for Fort Rosebery, wrote that, "nearly all [the] cassava [was] riddled with mosaic in some gardens." A year later, the situation was unchanged, as another District Officer for Fort Rosebery, A.C. North, explained, "much of the cassava is heavily infected with [the] mosaic disease which must inhibit growth." The mosaic disease caused much damage to cultivars before planting. According to H.T. Bayldon, District Commissioner Kawambwa, the main cause for the "predominance of the mosaic disease in cassava plants was the tendency by people to leave the planting of cassava cuttings until too late in the season." An informant remembered that the local people "interpreted the mosaic disease as one deliberately introduced by the administration as a way of reducing the amount of dependence on cassava because this disease did not attack maize and had never before occurred in the area." This resulted in a change of attitude towards the government and heightened anti-colonial sentiments in Luapula.

In order to control cassava mosaic disease, chiefs set up measures intended to protect cassava from total destruction. For instance, the new Lunda Native Authority agricultural order requiring each householder to plant 600 *mputa* mounds of cassava a year was first applied in 1956. Although the order was being vigorously applied by the Lunda Native Authority and was effective in ensuring "an increase in the cultivation of cassava" at the time of the mosaic disease, it was unpopular, particularly with the "'smart young set', who never believed that anyone would take it seriously." Many youths in Luapula belonged to the Youth Leagues formed by the ANC. Thus, they were encouraged not to heed the calls of chiefs who were considered to be agents of the administration. Moreover, the Lunda Native Authority's support for the Cofédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga (Conakat) party in Katanga, a political organisation to which nationalist parties in Northern Rhodesia were opposed, caused tension and led to division between nationalist sympathisers and the Native Authority in Kawambwa (Baylies, 1984: 173).

Furthermore, chiefs set up native authority cassava nurseries to produce mosaic-resistant cultivars. This bears out Chipungu's generalisation that colonially recognised chiefs, while serving the state, also "championed projects with wider appeal to their rural population", thereby "present[ing] themselves

as agents of social change" among their subjects (Chipungu, 1992: 57). In November 1954, a cassava nursery was started at Chiwashya village, in Chief Lukwesa's area to produce the *Munganga* variety. A year later, another nursery for "the eighteen months-[maturing] and mosaic-resistant cassava variety was established at Kashiba." Additional cassava nurseries were inaugurated at Katuta and Puta. However, due to the high price of the cultivars, native authority cassava nurseries became unpopular. In 1955, P.A. Large, District Officer, Kawambwa, reported that "the price of 1/- [1 Shilling] a bundle [was] considered too high for the majority of the local people." An informant remembered that "local cassava growers interpreted the mosaic disease as a scheme of the colonial administration to force them to buy planting materials from its nurseries." Cassava producers decided not to buy the cultivars that were produced at the native authority nurseries. Due to lack of acceptance by the local people, most of the nurseries were unsuccessful. Local nationalist activists latched on to the tension resulting from the high price for cassava cultivars to mobilise the local people, especially against chiefs, who were perceived to be aligned to the colonial administration.

Besides, the native authorities' cassava nurseries lacked financial support from the colonial administration. In 1956, P.A. Large remarked that "it [was] regrettable that the £40 asked for out of the Provincial Block Grant in 1955 for cassava nursery was not available." The failure by the administration to provide financial support for cassava nurseries was negatively received by both the chiefs and their subjects, and heightened the dissatisfaction with the government. Local nationalist leaders articulated the lack of financial support in political and locally meaning terms. An informant recollected that "local ANC leaders … articulated the administration's failure to fund cassava nurseries in political terms." Nationalist leaders articulated their hopes for the future to sympathetic listeners (Rasmussen, 1974: 40). In this way, chiefs and their subjects were encouraged to join and support ANC in its opposition to the government.

Due to the measures instituted by the chiefs and their subjects, Luapula-based officials were eventually able to report on the improved situation concerning the disease. "Mosaic disease", remarked D. Glendening in 1958, "has been largely eradicated […] and by November 1958 disease-free cuttings of eighteen-months cassava variety will be available for distribution."

Aside from the cassava mosaic disease, increased menace to cassava by wild pigs also resulted into discontent and nationalist sentiments in Luapula. By 1955, following an acute shortage of gunpowder, the menace of wild pigs to cassava heightened. The shortage of gunpowder became a source of grievances

among cassava producers. In October 1955, it was reported that "people everywhere complained of bush pigs and monkeys, saying that although many people had guns, it was not possible to buy gunpowder in either Kawambwa or Fort Rosebery." Similarly, a year later, C.G.C Rawlins, District Commissioner, Fort Rosebery, remarked: "by far the greatest topic of conversation was the damage done to cassava gardens by wild pigs and, in a lesser degree, monkeys. It appears that the problem is basically not one of an increase in the number of pigs, but a complete lack of gunpowder in the stores at the critical time of the year." As a result, in 1956, the administration tried to ease access to gunpowder, to enable local people control the menace of pigs. However, given the anti-Federal political agitations that were very widespread in Luapula at the time, it is perhaps possible that the administration sought deliberately to reduce the supply of gunpowder in the area. Certainly, almost two years later, the situation remained critical. According to H.H. Fisher, who toured the area of Chief Milambo late in 1957, "wild pigs and monkeys continue[d] to menace crops and [were] inevitably blamed for food shortages." Although cassava producers devised other measures including "cultivating cassava fields close to the village, constructing of fences around the fields, and surrounding the fields with trenches," the shortage of gunpowder became a source of dissatisfaction with the state.

The 1950s had not been a particularly blessed decade for cassava growers. And yet, despite the natural, political, and administrative challenges they had faced, the people of Luapula did not suffer from a shortage of food. Cassava had held its ground and due to its already stated advantages as a drought resistant, high-yielding crop that required no artificial inputs, it continued to afford to the peoples of Luapula a sense of independence vis-à-vis the state. Better attuned to African feelings than his predecessors, Simon Kapwepwe, the Minister of African Agriculture (in the ANC-UNIP coalition government that would lead the country to independence) in 1964, remarked in 1962 that "cassava is by far the most widely grown crop in the country […] In spite of shortages of other crops occasioned by flood damage in the Luapula valley […] the full famine reserve potential of this crop was hardly touched." Kapwepwe and local nationalist leaders in Luapula were able to appeal to the cassava producers, who in turn, supported the nationalist parties.

The Trade in Cassava in the Federal and Nationalist Period (1953 to 1963)

During the Federal era, there was a notable shift in government support for the marketing of cassava. As attention was, once again, given to maize, the support

that cassava enjoyed diminished significantly. The increase in maize production during the mid-1950s encouraged the administration to reduce the amount of cassava meal that it purchased. This was confirmed in 1956 by F.J. Smart who remarked that "the policy of regarding cassava as a famine reserve crop and not over-buying for food is becoming more effective as far as consumption in public institutions is concerned; however, its cultivation shows no decrease."

There was indeed "a very marked decrease in the amount of cassava purchased in Fort Rosebery by the Cooperative Marketing Union for local distribution." J.A Allan, the Northern Province's Provincial Agricultural Officer, noted that "Whereas 782.5 tons and 683 tons of cassava meal were purchased in 1951 and 1952, respectively […] the amount drastically reduced to 150 tons and 34.5 tons in 1953 and 1954, respectively." In the same vein, there was a drastic reduction in the amount of cassava purchased by the Kawambwa Marketing Union between 1953 and 1957 (see table 2 below). By 1959, given the increase in maize production, "cassava [was] no longer purchased by official marketing agencies" in much of Luapula. By reducing its purchase of cassava, the Federal administration hoped to lure cassava growers towards the ostensibly "more valuable cash crops", beginning with maize (Chama, 2020: 159). The diminishing official market for cassava heightened anti-colonial sentiments among cassava producers. It is worth noting that cassava trade provided an important source of income in Luapula, especially for the women. Therefore, the government's decision to stop buying cassava was considered as a manoeuvre to impoverish the area. Cassava producers, therefore, began to express their discontent with the administration and offered their support to the nationalist parties.

Year	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Cassava meal -number of bags	571 bags	427 bags	315 bags	90 bags	8 bags
Price per bag	18/- per bag				

Table 2: Kawambwa Marketing Union's Cassava Meal Purchases (1953-1957)

Source: Kawambwa District Annual Report 1957/1958.

There is no doubt that the administration's decision to stop buying cassava had an impact. However, the reduction in the supply of cassava meal to government agents and public institutions was also due to economic considerations. The low fixed price offered for cassava meal by the administration proved unattractive to cultivators. The emergence of anti-Federal struggle in 1953 provided cassava growers with an opportunity to express their lingering

grievances against the administration's low price for cassava meal. Informants remember that "the low official prices for cassava meal became a source of complaints" across Luapula and greatly "contributed to heightened tensions towards the state." E. C. Thomson, District Commissioner, Fort Rosebery, noted:

The price offered for cassava meal was a source of complaints throughout. The villager knows that the price is higher just over the [district] border in Luwingu District, he also realises that people who return from the Copperbelt are willing to pay more. The price of 1/9d per debbie is not acceptable, especially as there has been an annual increase each year for the past three years. It is hard for people to understand the way in which the apparently high price of 33/3d on the Copperbelt permits a purchase of 1/9d only.

The situation remained unchanged in 1954, due to the insistence of the cooperatives and marketing unions on the low fixed prices. Cassava producers stuck to their guns, refusing to supply cassava meal to public institutions and government agents. Moreover, when market opportunities proved unfavourable cassava was simply left in the ground. Cassava left in the ground was either used for consumption needs or sold whenever market opportunities proved favourable. As the aforementioned E.C. Thomson observed, "cassava is a good crop in one respect. It can be stored while continuing to grow and it seems best to leave it in the ground at this juncture as there is no likelihood of the people being willing to sell at a lower price." Cassava, therefore, cushioned its producers against excessive market fluctuations and prevented them from being subjected to the whims of the state and its marketing policies, especially the low fixed price it offered for the crop.

Colonially recognised chiefs supported the position of their subjects concerning the low fixed prices that the administration offered for cassava. "Chiefs" remarked the District Commissioner for Fort Rosebery, D. H. Frost in 1953, "are not necessarily afraid that the 'Bwana' would buy up all their food and leave none for local consumption. The real fact is that the chiefs have been standing out for higher prices for cassava meal and refuse to let their people sell [the cassava] until higher prices are obtained." By clamouring for better cassava prices, chiefs sided with their people in contesting the administration and its unpopular policies. The chiefs forbade their subjects to sell cassava meal to government agencies at low prices, and utilised the politics surrounding cassava, particularly the low official price for cassava meal to mobilise support for political purposes, not least the anti-Federation struggle.

Nonetheless, the fading official market for cassava meal did not prevent the export of, and local trade in, cassava in Luapula. New private market opportunities for cassava emerged among fishermen at fishing camps, itinerant traders as well as bus passengers travelling to and from the Copperbelt, while already existing

ones, such as the Belgian Congo, remained viable. Indeed, a viable local market for the crop continued to exist. "At present", read the 1955 annual report on African Affairs, "the African producer near the main roads has no difficulty in disposing of his produce to traders, bus passengers at a price above the official price which government marketing agencies are prepared to pay." According to the Kawambwa annual report for 1956, "a great deal of cassava meal [was] being sold through other [i.e., unofficial] market channels, especially at the fishing camps [to fishermen and to traders as well as] on the transport routes to bus passengers." The same was true for subsequent years.

Cassava meal served as an important food for fishermen at fishing camps and traders who, therefore, "were quite content to purchase cassava at supra-economic prices of 36/- per bag of cassava meal." By 1959, cassava meal "change[d] hands at as much as 10/- per tin near Lake Mweru and […] was bartered for fish near all the three lakes [Mweru, Mweru Wa ntipa and Bangweulu]." According to the Acting Chief Agricultural Officer, there was a "high demand for cassava meal from Fort Rosebery and Kawambwa, created by the lake dwellers whose crop ha[d] been flooded." The lucrative prices offered for cassava meal by fishermen, itinerant traders, and bus passengers enabled cassava growers to generate income with which they purchased other items from local trading stores, while others ventured into businesses. By selling cassava to itinerant traders, fishermen, and bus passengers, individuals in Luapala earned money with which to meet their fiscal obligations. Yorke put it in the following terms, "African producers were able to meet tax and evade wage labour by sale of grain, cassava and [other produce] to the nearby Katanga mines" (Yorke, 2015: 36).

Given the plethora of available private markets for cassava meal, the people of Luapula could resist the state effectively without necessarily compromising the market for their produce. The administration and public institutions found it difficult to procure cassava meal at the low prices. For instance, in 1955, "only 278 bags of cassava meal [were] exported from Fort Rosebery through the official channels." Present-day informants still hold that "cassava meal was an important source of food for workers at government institutions." Thus, forbidding the sale of cassava meal to government agencies could prove effective in curtailing the smooth operation of public institutions such as school and hospitals, which depended on the crop to feed African workers.

Though on a reduced scale, cassava meal from Luapula continued to be exported to other parts of the territory. In 1956, Fort Rosebery District "exported over 92 tons of cassava meal to other parts of Northern Province." According to the Department of Agriculture, by 1961, "there [was] a local

trade in cassava flour with some exported from Luapula area to the Congo and Copperbelt." This continued in 1962, as Kapwepwe remarked that "although mainly a subsistence crop, small quantities of cassava meal find their way to satisfy demand in urban markets. Total trade in cassava meal and dried roots is probably very considerable but no reliable information is available." Despite the change of tack to support maize after independence, at least during the Federal period, the ANC-UNIP leadership favourably considered cassava and remained opposed to the approach of the Federal state towards the crop, especially since cassava permitted them opportunities to mobilise support for the nationalist cause in Luapula.

Cassava and Nationalist Anti-Federal Politics

Luapula provides an especially clear illustration of the political role of cassava in the first half of the 1950s. In 1953-1954, the province witnessed extensive disturbances during which Luapulans challenged both the Central African Federation and unpopular government policies, particularly the introduction of an extended closed fishing season. Popular defiance included riots, destruction of bridges, burning of schools, churches, and courts, with demonstrations, burning of marriage certificates as well as identity cards (Baylies, 1984: 172). Due to "a sharp decline in Luapula salmon, […] the Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesian administration had decided to improve the conservation measures" in the fishery (Musambachime, 1987: 443). Following a series of meetings in December 1951, the Northern Rhodesian government had "agreed reluctantly to prohibit subsistence and commercial fishing on the Luapula River from Mambilima to Katabulwe from January to March, at least until 1956" (Gordon, 2006: 127). Consequently, on 18 November 1952, new conservation measures, principally the extended closed fishing period, were announced. On 1 January 1953, the fish ban came into effect, with a closed period extended from one to three months. The ban stopped any fishing in the spawning areas of the Luapula River and strictly prohibited the buying and selling of fish, activities on which the population of Luapula depended as a source of livelihood.

Intense popular resentment against the fishing ban was compounded by the fact that while European traders were permitted to fish in restricted areas, "African fishermen found in the same area were arrested, their nets confiscated, and they were prosecuted" (Musambachime, 1987: 445). The fishing ban and the discriminatory manner in which the conservation measures were enforced, provoked a great deal of local anger against the administration and the "enforcement of the new closed season became the watershed between passive

and active protests in Mweru-Luapula" (Musambachime, 1987: 445). Moreover, the prolonged closed fishing ban coincided with the imposition of the Central African Federation, about which the White Fathers missionaries of Kabunda remarked on 15 January 1953: "The idea of creating the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is violently opposed by the local African population. I do not think that the white minorities in the colony and the protectorate expected such an outcry of indignation."

The enforcement of the extended fishing ban in 1953 coupled with the unpopular agricultural regulations provoked chiefs and commoners alike to attack government representatives (Rotberg, 1966: 262). Local defiance continued with fishermen refusing to pay licenses for fish nets and cassava producers stopped suppling cassava meal to government agents as well as public institutions. The "indignation of the villagers and fishers" against the administration was supported by their chiefs, such as Mulundu, Kashiba, and Mwata Kazembe XV, Brown Ngombe (Gordon, 2006: 128). The aforementioned chiefs all instructed their people that "no food [was] to be supplied to the police by sale or gift" during the disturbances (Musambachime, 1987: 448). Furthermore, chiefs encouraged their subjects to shun all official requests from the administration. Cassava, being the staple food in Luapula, served as an important source of food used by the administration and public institutions to feed workers. Therefore, by withholding the supply of cassava meal to administrative centres, schools, and hospitals, cassava growers and their chiefs were able to curtail the smooth running of government institutions. Mission stations and boarding schools that depended on cassava meal – such as, "Lufubu mission, Mabel Shaw girls boarding school, Sakaluba, and Mambilima boarding" – experienced shortages of food—and "sometimes were forced to close" (Chama, 2020: 121).

It is worth noting that a close link existed between the fishing industry and cassava. Present-day informants still hold that "fish and cassava are the most important staple foods and sources of income for Luapulans." While fishing remained a male dominated domain, women who cultivated and processed cassava were able to access fish in exchange for cassava meal. On the one hand, fishermen at the fishing camps depended on cassava meal for their food, on the other hand, female cassava producers needed fish for consumption as well as trade (Gordon, 2006: 101).

Moreover, the fishing industry attracted traders to Luapula, who, in turn, bought cassava meal. Due to the close link between cassava and the fishing industry, any state intervention in the latter, directly affected cassava producers. Therefore, the extended closed fishing ban in 1953 curtailed the lucrative

cassava-fish trade and negatively affected cassava producers. This resulted into intensified anti-colonial sentiments not only among fishermen, but also female cassava producers whose means of access to cash was through the cassava-fish trade. Therefore, female cassava producers were provided with a compelling reason not only to join and offer support to fishermen in their protests, but also to participate in the anti-Federal nationalist struggle. An informant remembered that "as a sign of their resentment against the government's unpopular policies towards cassava, most women in Luapula joined the Women's League that was formed by ANC." Indeed, local nationalist and anti-Federal leaders appropriated the extended fishing ban as well the grievances it engendered among cassava producers to mobilize the people of Luapula for the nationalist cause. One informant recalled, "during political meetings, local nationalist leaders encouraged women to join and support the ANC, which promised a better future for cassava business."

Luapulans were urged to protest against the Federal state, which was seen to perpetuate people's misery through its unpopular agricultural policies towards cassava. An incident occurred in April 1953, when the people of Luapula, especially from Fort Rosebery (Mansa) and Kawambwa participated in the two days of prayer called by the ANC as a national expression of opposition to the federation (Baylies, 1984: 170). One informant recollected that "the protest was mainly attended by women whose market for cassava meal among the fishermen was curtailed by the government regulation against fishing."

Aside from encouraging non-compliance with administrative regulations, local nationalist politicians organised boycotts, led demonstrations, and held political meetings about the state's unpopular agricultural policies. Nationalist politicians, such as Bunda Chisenga, ANC Provincial Organising Secretary for Western Province, urged Luapulans to disregard government calls to shift from cassava to the cultivation of maize (Musambachime, 1987). Similarly, in 1958, S. Chisembele, ANC Provincial Secretary, and A. Shapi, ANC Deputy President for Fort Rosebery, held political meetings in Luapula and instigated intimidations directed against missionaries and the Native Authorities (Baylies, 1984: 171). One informant remembered that "during ANC organised political meetings people were told not to supply cassava meal to the government agents and public institutions," at low prices. Rasmussen notes that "local-level supporters of the major African nationalist parties seemed to play a very important part in crystallising anti-colonial sentiment in the village and translating felt grievances – for instance, over unpopular taxes and agricultural regulations – into anti-colonial action" (Rasmussen, 1974: .47; See also Tordoff and Molteno, 1974: 15).

Mulford comments that "the 'Luapulists' were easily the most volatile,

militant, and independent of ANC's cohorts" (Mulford, 1967: 70-71). The militancy among the Luapulans was, "due mainly to the exceptional importance of the fishing industry in the economy of the area and to the widespread resentment generated by a series of ill-judged colonial attempts to regulate this most anarchic of economic activities, the Luapula Province was characterised by a very early and intense involvement in the anti-colonial movement" (Macola, 2006: 45). Furthermore, the militancy and political consciousness of Luapulans was also influenced by political events in Katanga, Belgian Congo (Baylies, 1984: 173). The export of cassava meal, fish, and labour migrants across the Luapula River from the Northern Rhodesian side into the Belgian Congo, connected the two areas. As a result, the crisis in Congo had economic repercussions for Luapula. Besides, the contribution of their communication with militants on the Copperbelt, the increased militancy of the people of Luapula can be linked to a general economic decline and the "gaining of political independence by their kinsmen in the Congo" (Baylies, 1984: 173).

Colonial officials reported that during the anti-Federal agitations of 1953, the "cultivation of cassava in Luapula was momentarily disrupted, as cassava growers did little planting of cassava and engaged in protest. This had some delayed effects, on which Luapula-based officials would report throughout the following years." Similarly, in 1955, it was noted that "Fort Rosebery's usual export surplus finally disappeared partly due to demand at high prices on the islands of Bangweulu and the delayed reaction from the troubles of 1953 when very little planting was done." F.J. Smart, Provincial Agricultural Officer, remarked a year later that "in Fort Rosebery District, cassava sales were affected by lower planting in the 1953 unrest and disturbances." C. G. C. Rawlins, the District Commissioner for Fort Rosebery, thought along the same lines:

> *there were many reports, particularly at the schools, of food shortages and the case was generally put down to pigs and poor rainfall in the past years. In fact, however, I believe, and I am supported here by the chiefs and others, that the shortage of the staple food, cassava, can be attributed to the neglect of cultivation which took place in the troubled season of 1953/54 when far fewer gardens were made, and from which the consequently smaller harvest is now being reaped.*

However, this account probably overstates the situation of the food shortage in Luapula since during the same period, adequate cassava meal was being supplied to fishermen and itinerant traders at increased demand. Present-

day informants still hold that "the people of Luapula never abandoned the cultivation of cassava."[1] To be sure, the reduction in the supply of cassava meal to administrative centres and schools was due to the earlier stated economic considerations, low fixed price for cassava meal, and the local people's dissatisfaction with the government's agricultural policies.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the politics surrounding cassava played an important role in political mobilisation during anti-Federal agitations. Government policies towards cassava led chiefs and their subjects to join and support the nationalist cause. The unpopular government policies towards cassava provided the local people with compelling reasons to join and offer support to the country's first nationalist party, the ANC, which led the anti-Federation campaign. However, the relationship between nationalist anti-Federal leaders and their rural constituents worked both ways. Seizing on local people's dissatisfaction with the administration's approach to cassava, nationalist politicians were able to garner the support of local people against the state.

In sum, cassava played an important role in the anti-Federal agitation of 1953 to 1963 in colonial Zambia. The politics surrounding cassava provided the local people in Luapula province with a compelling reason to join and offer support to the African National Congress and, therefore, contributed to political mobilisation by nationalist politicians. The politics surrounding the crop were exploited by nationalist politicians to garner the support of rural people against the colonial state and its unpopular policies. Since cassava could both be traded on markets that were not controlled by the government, and provide a reliable source of food, the crop granted producers a relative sense of autonomy – one which enabled them to effectively engage the state. Although the government sought to replace cassava with maize the former remained the staple food and most popular crop in Luapula. After independence the United National Independence Party government, like its colonial predecessor, adopted an agricultural policy that promoted maize and marginalised cassava. Despite this, in the 1960s to the late 1970s cassava continued to be an invaluable staple food in Luapula.

Endnotes

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The Role of Kenneth Kaunda's Humanism in Fostering Higher Education for Social Responsibility in Post-colonial Zambia (1964-1991)

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Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's first president from 1964 to 1991, advanced a Pan-African social-political ideology of humanism as a moral code to guide all human activities in the nation's political, economic, and social spheres. Within education, humanism envisaged producing socially responsible and public good-oriented graduates equipped with humane values and capable of driving the national development agenda. This paper critically examines the nexus between Kaunda's humanism and education by focussing on its role in fostering higher education for social responsibility in post-colonial Zambia. In addressing this, it focusses on the University of Zambia as a case study by drawing on secondary data sources through a systematic desktop review of related literature. It examines how the university endeavoured to produce socially responsible graduates in line with the national ideology of Zambian humanism. Situated within a post-colonial theoretical paradigm, the paper advances that Kaunda's social-political thoughts on humanism offer an alternative framework for examining the role of higher education in fostering students' social responsibility outcomes. In so doing, it contributes to the scholarship on human development and decoloniality in education.

Keywords: Kenneth Kaunda, humanism, decoloniality, higher education, social responsibility, public good, human development, Zambia

1.0 Introduction

Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's first president (1964 - 1991), advanced a Pan-African ideology of humanism as a moral code to guide all human activities in the nation's political, economic, and social spheres. Officially adopted in April 1967, humanism endeavoured to depart from a capitalist inherited colonial society by promoting an African identity within the newly independent nation. It aimed at

producing an egalitarian society in Zambia, which according to Kaunda (1967; 1974), risked being distorted by the western-oriented capitalist ideologies.

In most independent African countries, education was considered an apparatus for realising the new values, principles, and ideas introduced by nationalist leaders to symbolise a break from the yoke of colonialism and the aspirations to have a desirable society. In this context, Kaunda's philosophy of humanism "represents a specific recognition that Zambian society required orienting away from the casually imbibed standards of a colonial regime" (Small, 1978:536). Thus, within education, humanism envisioned producing socially responsible, public good graduates equipped with humane values and capable of driving the national development agenda. Despite its wider popularisation by the government and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Kaunda's philosophy of humanism is under-studied in relation to higher education in Zambia.

Several studies on Pan-African ideologies and higher education have focussed on Ghana and Tanzania, where nationalist ideologies introduced by the founding presidents, namely Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere, shaped post-independence higher education policy formulation. Despite several studies on humanism in Zambia, the link between humanism and education and how the former fostered or thwarted higher education for social responsibility remains under explored. Lungwangwa (1980), for instance, drew attention to the influence of humanism on the general education system. He demonstrated the central role that humanism played in shaping the development of the Zambian educational system and policies during the post-independence years. Similarly, Bwalya (1983) acknowledged humanism's significance in promoting self-reliance education by introducing agricultural production units in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. While these studies shed light on how the doctrine of humanism shaped educational policy during the UNIP era, they do not focus on university education.

This paper examines the nexus between Kaunda's humanism and education by focussing on its practical contribution to fostering higher education for social responsibility in post-colonial Zambia from 1964 to 1991. It further tries to place humanism in the context of the broader Pan-African intellectual history that aimed at decolonising various facets of African society, including higher education. The paper focusses on the University of Zambia as a case study institution by examining how it endeavoured to produce socially responsible graduates in line with the national philosophy of Zambian humanism. As far as this paper is concerned, higher education for social responsibility implies a university model anchored in its territory and aims to meet society's economic, social, environmental, and political needs by actively producing knowledge

as a public good (Vallaeys, 2013). Thus, higher education for the public good focusses on the social impact of universities (Botman, 2012). The paper draws on secondary data sources through a systematic desktop review of related literature on humanism, higher education, and social responsibility. Located within the post-colonial theoretical paradigm and public good discourse, it advances that Kaunda's social-political thoughts on Zambian humanism offer an alternative framework in examining the role of higher education and, in so doing, contribute to the scholarship on human development and decoloniality in education.

2.0 Kenneth Kaunda's early life and Zambian humanism

To understand the context of Zambian Humanism, one must consider Kaunda's early life experiences that ultimately shaped the evolution of his ideology. The youngest of eight children, Kenneth David Kaunda was born on 28 April 1924 to Malawian parents, David Julizya Kaunda and Helen Nyirenda Kaunda at Lubwa, in Chinsali District of northern Zambia. Kaunda was named Buchizya, meaning "the unexpected one", because his birth occurred in the twentieth year of his parent's marriage (Kaunda, 1962). His parents were Christian missionaries within the Church of Scotland in Malawi. Kaunda's father was sent to northern Zambia in 1904 by the Church for evangelistic purposes, and by 1913 his parents, together with Reverend McMinn, had established a permanent missionary station at Lubwa.

Unfortunately for Kaunda, his father died in 1932 when he was nine, leaving his mother responsible for caring for him. Despite the hardships faced when growing up, Kaunda went up to Form II at Munali Secondary School, but he was recalled to teach at Lubwa mission in 1943 due to the shortage of teachers (Kaunda, 1962). After four years of teaching at Lubwa, Kaunda left for the Copperbelt, searching for a job in the mines. There, he was exposed to the harsh realities of racial segregation in colonial Zambia. As a result, Kaunda became involved in nationalist activities. He joined the local branch of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress.

Kaunda's experiences with colonialism and other injustices during his early life would later influence his political views and ideology as president of the newly independent Zambia. For instance, the free education policy aimed at uplifting human dignity was influenced by Kaunda's childhood experience that almost forced him to drop out of school after his father's death. Recalling this event in his autobiography, *Zambia Shall be Free*, Kaunda wrote:

> *There was no free universal education at that time, and every parent had to find a crown a year. Just before my father died, I had been ill with influenza and so unable to attend the opening of the school. When I did at last present myself at school, the teacher asked for my two and sixpence, and when I told him that I had no money, he sent me back to my mother to get the necessary half-crown. I ran sobbing to her, but she had no money in the house, and she wept with me. Fortunately, a kind neighbour came to our aid* (Kaunda, 1962:9).

Kaunda was exposed to the challenges that confronted many black Africans regarding access to education during the colonial period. The neighbour's intervention exemplifies the values of a genuinely human-centred society anchored on inter-dependence and African indigenous socialism among community members, which Kaunda later sought to promote through humanism. In documenting the *Main Currents of Humanist Thought*, Henry Meebelo explained that the principles of Zambian humanism were "derived from the social values and norms of African traditional society, as well as the aspirations and conditions of Modern Zambia" (Meebelo, 1973:1). Apart from African values, the philosophy of Zambian humanism was influenced in part by elements of Socialism, Christianity, and existential humanism that collectively shaped Kaunda's personal beliefs and experiences (Meebelo, 1973; Mwanakatwe, 1994; Mwangala, 2009).

3.0 Principles of Zambian humanism and its implementation

Despite Kaunda having developed his humanist thoughts before Zambia's independence, the ideology of humanism was only adopted as a national philosophy on 27 April 1967 at the UNIP national council meeting held in Matero, Lusaka (Meebelo, 1973). At the heart of Zambian humanism was the aspiration to build a human society driven by "positive forces of love, truth, social justice, and fair play, rather than anything artificial, such as ethnic considerations, gender, colour or class lines (Kaunda, 1992:840). In a newspaper article entitled *Zambian Humanism, 40 Years Later*, eight fundamental principles were identified as the basis for humanism. The following were the basic principles of Zambian humanism as identified by Kaunda (2007:iv):

i. The human person at the centre - the human person is not defined according to his colour, nation, religion, creed, political leanings, material contribution or any matter.

ii. The dignity of the human person - Humanism teaches us to be considerate to our fellow human beings in all we say and do.

iii. Non-exploitation of Man by Man - Humanism abhors every form of exploitation of human beings.

iv. Equal opportunities for all - Humanism seeks to create an egalitarian society, that is, a society in which there is equal opportunity for self-development for all.

v. Hard work and self-reliance - Humanism declares that a willingness to work hard is of prime importance; without it nothing can be done anywhere.

vi. Working together - The national productivity drive must involve a communal approach to all development programmes. This calls for community and team spirit.

vii. The extended family - under the extended family system no old person is thrown to the dogs or to the institutions like old people's homes.

viii. Loyalty and patriotism - only in dedication and loyalty can unity subsist.

Since humanism was a national philosophy, its implementation was spearheaded by the government. To achieve this, the Ministry of National Guidance was created in April 1969. A series of seminars, workshops, and conferences were conducted to teach the public the principles of humanism (Mwanakatwe, 1994). The Ministry of National Guidance also carried out campaigns on the values of humanism through the national radio, television and newspapers. In addition, the President's Citizenship College was established to orient government workers, party officials and trade unionists on the doctrine of humanism.

Furthermore, to promote the practical aspect of the philosophy of humanism, the week before Independence Day commemoration on 24 October was annually designated as Humanism Week. Among the many activities during this week were the following; all public institutions undertook charitable works to help the vulnerable in society; students in all learning institutions were engaged in communal works, and traditional cultural activities were performed to celebrate the country's cultural diversity. Humanism Week was vital in bringing Zambians together under the banner of "One Zambia, One Nation". On the part of learning institutions, including universities, Humanism Week constituted service-learning avenues to foster social responsibility among students. In this regard, humanism was instrumental in inculcating Ubuntu values among students. It

was also compulsory for secondary school leavers to attend military, agriculture and culture training programmes under the Zambia National Service (ZNS). Humanism was also taught in all learning institutions and institutionalised in all spheres of Zambian society, such as trade unions, politics, civil service, industries and cooperatives (Kaunda, 1973).

4.0 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses humanism as a framework for reconstructing higher education in post-colonial Zambia as the site for decolonisation and fostering public good values among students. Particular attention is devoted to Kaunda's humanism within the larger context of the decolonial framework and the public good role of higher education.

4.1 Zambian humanism as a decolonial paradigm

Zambian humanism emerged at the cusp of African independence movements. Following political independence on 24 October 1964, President Kaunda ushered in sweeping changes in the new state to signify a departure from the inherited colonial system. Hence, the new government adopted humanism as a national ideology to rationalise its actions (Idoye, 1988). Literature is replete with calls to situate Kaunda's philosophy of humanism within the post-colonial approaches that had emerged on the continent to break the colonial past by creating an African worldview (Idoye, 1981; Mwangala, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021). Humanism drew from African culture and history to construct a post-colonial nationalist agenda as a departure from colonialism's paradigm of difference and capitalism's naturalisation of exploitation.(Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021). Kaunda acknowledged that Zambian humanism evolved from pre-colonial African indigenous socialism that was almost destroyed during colonialism, so his ideology aimed at salvaging those pre-colonial values deemed significant in building a new state (Kaunda, 1967).

Some historians have contended that Zambian humanism was part of the broader pan-African nationalistic theorising that emerged during the continent's early days of political independence. A Zimbabwean historian and leading decolonial scholar, Sabello Ndlovu-Gatsheni, in his tribute to Kaunda entitled *The African idea of Africa*, commented that Kaunda's humanism philosophy belonged to the intellectual-cum-ideological revolution aimed at making Africa from a Black and African vantage point by redefining 'Africanness' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021). Here, Africanness entailed the restoration of the dignity of Africans

dissipated in the throes of oppression during the days of European colonialism. In the endeavours to reclaim the dignity of Africans, Kaunda's humanism aimed at crafting an African identity through the creation of 'Zambianess' among the Zambian citizens (Small, 1978). In his essay on *Humanism and Apartheid*, Kaunda remarked that "the African has never really been allowed by non-Africans to be Africans in both thought and deed" (Kaunda, 1992:835). Thus, humanism as a decolonial discourse countered western hegemonic thoughts and deeds, which crushed the African values of humanness.

Like President Kaunda, several of Africa's founding presidents also introduced Pan-African ideologies in their "struggles to *retain* existing African sovereignties, *reform* colonialism, *remove* colonialism, and *recreate* independence" (Zeleza 2009:160). For example, in West Africa, the Senegalese President, Léopold Sédar Senghor, advocated for African socialism premised on Marxism and Négritude ideals of black consciousness across Africa and its diaspora. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana adopted Scientific Socialism as a national ideology to forge a new African character through consciencism by drawing on African, Islamic and Euro-Christian traditions (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021; Poe, 2003). In East Africa, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya explicated the ideology of Harambee, a Kiswahili word meaning 'pulling together', to champion self-help amongst Kenyans. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere adopted Ujamaa, a form of African socialism rooted in the values of African family-hood (Mbogoma, 2018; Mulenga, 2001; Otunnu, 2015). The introduction of Ujamaa by Nyerere following the Arusha Declaration of 1967 had some influence on Kaunda's adoption of Zambian humanism in the same year because of their close friendship (Roberts, 1976).

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2021), all the Pan-African ideologies of nationalism emerged from the battlefields of history and struggles for human dignity after centuries of being subjected to colonial technologies of dismemberment and dehumanisation. Therefore, a common agenda among them was the furtherance of the freedom and dignity of Africans, given the decades of inhuman treatment experienced during colonial rule. Intellectual Historian Paul Tiyambe Zeleza posits that "African nationalism was a project that sought to achieve five historical and humanistic tasks: decolonisation, nation-building, development, democracy, and regional integration"(Zeleza, 2009:160). Indeed, through humanism, Kaunda attempted to undertake all these five tasks, as it "set out to create a society that places the human person at the centre of` all activity, social, economic and political" (Ikechukwu, 2014:376).

Zambian humanism can be interpreted as a blueprint project of decolonisation and nation-building to forge a national identity of "One Zambia, One Nation", in which all citizens would become equal, irrespective of race or

tribe. Humanism significantly defused tribal divisions in the newly independent state by steering nation-building. To advance national unity, humanism aimed at moving "away from the artificial unity based on a precarious uniformity and move towards a real unity based on a frank and positive acceptance of the diversity of its peoples" (Kaunda, 1974:40). Economically, Zambian humanism was a driving force in steering national development through self-reliance projects and the nationalisation of state industries. Kaunda believed that humanism in Africa could be fully achieved internationally if all countries were liberated from colonial bondage (Kaunda, 1992). Accordingly, Kaunda rejected colonialism and abhorred racial discrimination, evidenced by his active role in the liberation struggles across Southern Africa, where Zambia assumed a leading role as a Front Line State. The principles of interdependence espoused in Zambian humanism were further extended to promote regional integration. For instance, as part of the efforts to stimulate regional economic integration among countries in Southern and Eastern Africa, Zambia was among the founding members of the Preferential Trade Area(PTA) established in 1981, with the headquarters based in Lusaka.

Central to the decolonisation agenda in Africa has been the need to "decolonise the intellectual landscape of the country in question, and, ultimately, decolonise the mind of the formerly colonised"(Oelofsen, 2015:125). Here, the term "intellectual landscape" refers to a country's educational system. For most founding presidents in Africa, widening access to education was important to uplift the standards of the citizens, steer development, and promote nationalist ideologies among the masses. This paper argues that Kaunda's efforts to enhance human dignity and welfare through expanded educational opportunities should be situated within the broader efforts instituted by African nationalists to decolonise education. One of the principles of Zambian humanism was the affirmation of the dignity of the human person. The expansion of education aimed at widening educational opportunities and promoting "equality of being" by eliminating all forms of colour bar that hindered the aspirations of Africans. According to Assié-Lumumba (2011:181), in post-colonial Africa, "access to a public university was not considered as a privilege but a right towards the highest and most desirable educational achievement and as a prerequisite for social-economic attainment". Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) confirms that the most significant accomplishment achieved by African nationalists in decolonising education during the aftermath of independence was increasing education opportunities for Africans through the establishment of learning institutions.

4.2 Zambian Humanism and higher education as a public good

In the previous section, I discussed Kaunda's philosophy of humanism as part of the decolonial paradigm. However, apart from its contribution to Pan-African thought, the significance of Zambian humanism in higher education can further be situated within the public good discourse. From this perspective, higher education is seen as a public good through which individual participation accrues benefits for the larger society, such as economic growth, better health, political participation, and the development of sustainable livelihoods (Boni & Walker, 2016; Ndofirepi & Cross, 2017). Situating higher education as a public good expands the potential roles of higher education to address broader social and political issues in society. This is in sync with the values of Zambian humanism which called for the relevance of education beyond individual benefits. Humanism advocated for an education model that would impact students' lives and enable them to contribute meaningfully to the broader society.

Kaunda was antithetical to a fundamentally capitalist-oriented society imposed on Africa by the colonisers, as can be deduced in his two-part treatise on *Zambian Humanism* and *a Guide to its Implementation* (Kaunda, 1967, 1974). Thus, his humanism philosophy intended to promote an egalitarian society by taking several measures through educational reforms to address the inadequacies of capitalism in society. It was reaffirmed in the National Educational Reforms document adopted in 1977. The policy document reflected Zambia's post-independence aspirations, formulated on the cornerstone of humanism. According to the document, education in Zambia was aimed at:

> *cultivating the values of humanism and better preparation for citizenship; encouraging pride in Zambia's cultural heritage; bringing education into close contact with production and the world of work; the observance and practice of participatory democracy through internal structures and meaningful links between each educational institution and the community it serves and/or where it is located* (Ministry of Education (MOE), 1977:5).

The above provides insight into how Zambian humanism attempted to align education with the social context. While Kaunda recognised the significance of the human capital outcomes of education in addressing the critical shortage of human resource needs, educational aims were also strongly linked to social and political development issues that would lead to a humanist society. Hence, as per the doctrine of humanism, education was seen as a vehicle for social change

through the moulding and inculcation of appropriate attitudes, values, and skills among the students to advance a humanist society in Zambia (Hoppers, 1989).

5.0 The state of higher education at independence

On the cusp of Zambian independence, the inherited education system was modelled on the policy of racial discrimination(Carmody, 2020; Kelly, 1999; Mwanakatwe, 1974). The country had also inherited a neglected education system manifested through the underdeveloped secondary education system and the lack of a university. For instance, out of the 3.5 million people in the country at the time of independence, there were only about a hundred university graduates and only 1200 school-certificate holders (Achola, 1990; Kelly, 1999). The university graduates were all trained in foreign countries. The poor state of higher education and human resource challenges that plagued the newly independent state were further highlighted in *The 1966 Manpower Report*. According to this report, at independence in 1965, more than 3,600 non-African graduates held various jobs in the country's economy and only about 150 Zambian graduates (Tembo, 1973). Given this scenario, scholars have argued that Zambia had the least developed educational system during the colonial periods compared to the other British colonies on the continent (Achola, 1990; Musambachime, 1990).

Equally, President Kaunda also bemoaned the state of underdevelopment in education in the country by lamenting that: "As far as education is concerned, Britain's colonial record is more criminal. This country has been left by her as the most uneducated and most unprepared of Britain's dependencies on the African continent" (Tembo, 1973:227). Kaunda, therefore, stressed the influential role of education in steering national development and realising the needs of the Zambians, whose educational aspirations were curtailed during British colonial rule. He further recognised the value of education as a non-violent way of liberating Africans (Ikechukwu, 2014; Nyimbiri, 2021). As in many other newly independent states, education was considered an engine to steer economic development in Zambia. In particular, higher education was central in training a cadre of dedicated and responsible graduates to contribute to the development and progress of the nation. While African universities still hold a central role in national development, this was more crucial in the 1960s and 1970s when most newly independent countries depended heavily on foreign expatriates, mainly from the former colonial countries.

In light of the above challenges, the Kaunda-led government enacted legislation that banned all forms of racial discrimination and took over the

primary responsibility of educational provision. To this end, the government prioritised access to education by constructing learning institutions across the country and introducing free access to education to provide equal opportunities for all. The higher education sector was rapidly expanded by establishing several teaching, nursing, and agriculture colleges in line with its developmental plan. The government also enacted the University of Zambia Act of 1965, establishing the University of Zambia in 1966 as the first public university. The massive expansion of education that followed the years after independence has been categorised as a period of prosperity by some scholars(Carmody, 2020; Kelly, 1991).

Although the massive educational investment in Zambia was aimed at addressing human resource needs, the ideological principles of humanism played a significant role in shaping education matters because of its centrality in the national activities (Hamujompa, 1981; Lungwangwa, 1980). The post-independence educational development can be interpreted as having been influenced by the need to promote human dignity, which was at the apex of the principles of Zambian Humanism (Lungwangwa, 1980). For instance, Kaunda pronounced that "the ideological principle of service to man in Zambian humanism was reflected in free provision of education from primary to university level in Zambia" (Ministry of Education, 1970:13). In line with this humanist orientation, higher education provision in the country was strictly in the hands of the government until the early 1990s, when Zambia adopted a liberal policy in social service provision that paved the way for the emergence of the private higher education sector in the country.

6.0 Humanism and higher education in Post-Colonial Zambia

This section of the paper focusses on higher education practices in the country, particularly how the University of Zambia, as the only university until 1989, aligned its practices with the national philosophy. The arguments presented are premised on the belief that "higher education is not neutral. It is highly political" (Botman, 2012:xiv). As advanced by Lungwangwa (1980), the African post-independence education system could not be separated from the political-ideological principles of the society.

Established at the dawn of independence, the University of Zambia epitomised a nationalist triumph, sovereignty, and pride. It, therefore, carried the high hopes of the newly independent state in charting its developmental pathway. The significance and hope attached to the establishment of the university were visible in the speech made by President Kenneth Kaunda, on

his installation as the Chancellor on 12 July 1966. As quoted by Ajayi, Goma, and Johnson, in *The African Experience with Higher Education*, Kaunda remarked:

> *We in Zambia are immensely proud of our university. The pride is not simply that this is our first and only university. It is also because the University of Zambia is our own university in a very real sense…. Humble folk in every corner of our nation – illiterate villagers, barefooted school children, prison inmates and even lepers – gave freely and willingly everything they could, often in the form of fish, or maize or chicken. The reason for this extraordinary response was that our people see in the university the hope of a better and fuller life for their children and grandchildren* (Addresses at the Installation, University of Zambia, 1966, cited in Ajayi et al., 1996:1).

These sentiments demonstrate a sense of national patriotism coupled with the unbounded expectation of establishing a national university. Kaunda described the university as a public-good institution born out of the peoples' collective aspirations to have a university that would serve societal needs. The university as a public good was expected to add value to society by educating its people and creating socially responsible graduates. The university also signified early triumph in "increasing access to higher education for an African people who had been deliberately starved of higher education by colonial regimes" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017:55). The local or national universities were expected to occupy a central place in addressing human resource needs and furthering society's ideals. Hence, nationalist leaders on the continent placed the responsibility upon these universities to drive the national developmental agendas by producing productive and responsible graduates in line with the ideological principles of society. To this end, Kenneth Kaunda maintained that "the University of Zambia is part and parcel of our society and, therefore, to have any meaningful existence, it must continue to be involved in that society"(cited by Wandira, 1977). Similarly, former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah challenged African universities to establish goals and embrace the responsibilities crucial to sustaining the progressive and dynamic nature of African society (Nkrumah, 1979). Therefore, universities were challenged to produce students with the capabilities to understand the aspirations of the less educated people in communities, fight against tribalism and racialism, and promote national consciousness in society (Mwanakatwe, 1974).

Vallaeys (2013:92) notes that "responsible universities ask what kind of professionals and citizens they are shaping and also reflect on the proper organisation of education that ensures socially responsible students". By so doing, universities may contribute to societal development and resolve its fundamental problems (Vallaeys, 2013). Indeed, this was underscored by Prof. Lameck Goma, the first Zambian Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zambia, in a paper entitled *The Role of the University in National Development*, presented at the inaugural National Education Conference. Goma submitted that:

> *The needs of Zambia demand that those who come out of the university should be men and women of integrity, competent and capable of facing new problems thoughtfully and objectively…..The University must attempt to educate the whole man. It is not enough to give graduates a sound academic or professional training if, at the same time, they do not acquire sound moral values; if they are not imbued with a sense of social responsibility; if they do not possess an inner conviction that the knowledge they have acquired should be put at service of their fellow-men, of their fellow country, indeed of the whole humanity* (Goma, 1969:45).

The above views reflect a humanist-oriented higher education, instrumental in fostering people's welfare, and addressing society's needs. Like every learning institution in Zambia at the time, the University of Zambia played a significant role in implementing the philosophy of humanism, even though its efforts have been under-documented.

There are three ways in which the university attempted to align itself with the humanism ideology: by establishing the Rural Development Studies Bureau; by using open theatre initiatives as instruments of mass education; and through student participation in national youth service programmes.

6.1 The Rural Development Studies Bureau

Through humanism, Kaunda was committed to steering rural development in Zambia through agricultural growth. The post-independence agricultural policies centred on "the improvement of the standard of living of the rural population; and the creation of a self-reliant and progressive rural Zambia" (Ncube, 1983:13). To achieve these objectives, higher education institutions occupied a central role in equipping graduates with practical capabilities for fostering rural development. This entailed that the university needed to move beyond the ivory tower by

servicing the citizens outside the realms of teaching, research, and propagation of higher learning, by being accountable and responsive to the vast majority of the rural population (Yesufu, 1973). For this reason, the research priorities were to be oriented towards meeting local problems, improving rural life and that of ordinary people (Yesufu, 1973). President Kaunda had earlier emphasised this in his opening speech at the National Education Conference in 1969, where he stated that:

> *The type of education Zambia needs, like any other developing country, is "Education for Development". It is education to meet the special needs of our people. It must be geared to equip the student with techniques to solve such problems as he or she may encounter in future. Let us seek for education which gives our people not romantic satisfaction but practical utility* (Ministry of Education, 1970:12).

Undoubtedly, the above is premised on the assumption that education must meet the community's needs. In rural development, the African university was tasked to "contribute to the development of the rural areas by providing study and training programmes that [could] produce graduates able to apply their knowledge to the rural situation"(Goma cited in Tembo, 1984:5). Therefore, the Rural Development Studies Bureau, established in the School of Agriculture at the University of Zambia in September 1972, can be seen as a response to the challenges of rural developments in the country as per the UNIP manifesto. In his proposal to establish the bureau in 1969, the then Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Goma, acknowledged that the bureau was part of the university's responses to complement the government's efforts in accelerating development in rural areas, which accounted for more than two-thirds of the national population at the time (Mwanakatwe, 1974). The bureau promoted policy-oriented research on aspects of rural development through which the students in the School of Agriculture were made aware of the developmental challenges confronting rural Zambia.

A vivid example of how the University achieved its social responsibility goals in line with humanism was through the *Operation UNZA* programme of 1972, where more than a hundred students participated in various rural development programmes across the country (Tembo, 1973). The students were mainly involved in:

> *The registration of villages under the Village Registration and Development Act, 1971; guidance of villagers in the formation and effective running of village productivity committees; guidance of villagers in the implementation of the 1972/4 programme in the field of rural economic and social construction; and explanation to villagers of the provision of the Second National Development Plan, and how it can be implemented* (Tembo, 1973:233).

In this context, some studies have noted that the University of Zambia played a significant role in realising the country's post-independence nationalistic agenda of humanism (Idoye, 1981; Mwanakatwe, 1974; Mwangala, 2009). The following section discusses the activities of the university theatre as another programme that was used to promote values of humanism.

6.2 The open theatre "Chikwakwa" initiative

Kaunda's humanism argued that African culture raised national consciousness among Zambians. Kaunda, therefore, criticised the utilitarian nature of university education that emphasised the training of graduates in taking up technical, professional and scientific roles, without paying much attention to courses such as arts that were central in fostering nation-building (Kaunda, 1966). Under the banner of humanism, he called for the renaissance of Zambian culture by rejecting foreign art, music, and lifestyle, which he termed inferior (Kaunda, 1974). It is, therefore, not surprising that in 1970, a drama course in African literature was introduced at the University of Zambia in the School of Education. Subsequently, the introduction of this drama course led to the development of the open theatre initiatives known locally as "Chikwakwa", as a response to the call by Zambian humanism to counter the Euro-centric theatre practices in the country (Chifunyise, 1977; Idoye, 1981, 1988). The lecturers coordinated the activities of the Chikwakwa theatre group in the faculty of education. However, its membership was open to all the students in the university. The group had a national audience, as it conducted open theatre performances throughout the country and performed in local languages to connect with the broader communities. The relationship between the university theatre and humanism has been discussed in detail by Idoye (1988:74), who concluded that

> *the Chikwakwa theatre is to be seen, in essence, as part of the government's wider plans for national unity and the dissemination of knowledge about the national philosophy of Humanism.*

In a study on *Patronage, the State, and Ideology in Zambian Theatre*, philologist Stewart Crehan (1990:290) established that "theatre and performance are not only art, but they are also vehicles of ideas". In this regard, the Chikwakwa open theatre befits the status of a "vehicle of ideas". Idoye argued that the theatre served as a tool for mass education, entertainment, and protest, on the part of university students. In so doing, the students helped address local needs through plays and songs that propagated self-dignity, national unity, and self-reliance. In buttressing these claims, Idoye provides examples of two plays that the Chikwakwa theatre performed according to Humanism principles. In 1977, the play *Blood* was performed in all provinces as part of the health education campaigns initiated by the students in line with the principles of Zambian Humanism. The play reflected the significance of indigenous medical practices in a modern state. Another play, *The District Governor*, a form of political satire, also exposed Zambian Humanism's weakness by highlighting corruption in the civil service.

By using popular theatre to reach out to the broader communities, the students exercised their collective agency as instruments of social change. They assumed the responsibility of raising the consciousness of the masses on political and social issues affecting their society. Through this process of knowledge sharing, the students also gained critical thinking skills and affiliation with the communities in which they performed. This responsiveness on the part of the university through theatre activities should be seen in the context of positioning itself in meeting the needs of society and fostering public good values among its students. As Goma (1969) pointed out, the university must be cognisant that development is not merely an economic process but broadly encompasses cultural and political dimensions. In so doing, he advocated for the value of higher education beyond the essentialist approaches.

6.3 Students' participation in the Zambia National Service (ZNS) programme

The University of Zambia dictum of "service and excellence" was translated into practice during the training period under the national service (Mwanakatwe, 1974; Small, 1978). Tasked with inculcating humanism values, the national service was significant in training young people in matters of citizenship and life skills, and fostering affiliation between students and their communities. At first, the national youth service targeted secondary school students but was later revised in 1971 to include students in all higher learning institutions. The

Zambia National Service Act 35 of 1971 provided compulsory minimum national service for college and university students. Initially, compulsory conscription was met with resistance from the university students through protests.

Notwithstanding the initial resistance, the one-year-long national service programmes exposed students to basic military training, cultural welfare, and farming activities. These programmes were deemed appropriate for the students to appreciate fully the realities of rural livelihood, and broadened their experience of life. The compulsory service provided a window for personal growth among secondary school leavers before entering college or university. Furthermore, the basic military training that students underwent was critical in fostering discipline, leadership, loyalty, patriotism, hard work, critical thinking, and resilience (Mwanakatwe, 1974; Small, 1978). In fostering the ideology of "one Zambia, one Nation," the compulsory youth service also aimed at achieving the national unity espoused under humanism. It encouraged young Zambians to participate in the nation's life and promoted cohesion among youths from different ethnic groups. For instance, trainees were taken to service camps outside their provinces, such that those from Southern Province would be taken for training in North-Western Province and vice-versa.

During the first two decades of independence in Africa, most higher education systems were highly elitist and paid little or no emphasis to the social value of higher education (Ajayi et al., 1996; Mwanakatwe, 1994; Sawyerr, 2004; Yesufu, 1973). In many African countries, "the universities were regarded as ivory towers occupied by an elite minority and maintained at the expense of the vast majority of the population" (Yesufu,1973:39). Therefore, during the 1970s, various efforts were made to connect university students to their local communities. For instance, both Julius Nyerere in Tanzania (Ivaska, 2005; Mbogoma, 2018) and Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia (Idoye, 1981; Mwanakatwe, 1974; Mwangala, 2009; Small, 1978) considered students' participation in the national youth service as a necessary undertaking in avoiding the common trap of producing graduates alienated from their culture and communities. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:11) observes, "African children or youth begin their journey of alienation from their African context the very moment they step into the school, church, and university door". The perils of higher education in alienating young graduates in Africa during the post-independence period are best portrayed in Chinua Achebe's (1960) novel *No Longer at Ease*. In the novel, Obi Okonkwo, a young civil servant, returned to Nigeria after completing his studies in England; however, he was alienated from his African culture by adopting a western lifestyle. To sustain the newly adopted foreign lifestyle, Okonkwo quickly succumbed to corruption that characterised the post-independence Nigerian civil service. The

events in the novel reflect the challenges that confronted young graduates in many African countries during the post-independence years. Indeed, as with nationalist leaders across Africa, Kaunda was also alive to the dangers that elitist university education could pose to the new graduates. Therefore, his efforts to instil humanism values through the national youth service training was a form of education for social responsibility that would help youths reintegrate into society.

7.0 The challenge of implementing humanism in higher education

The implementation of humanism in the country was marred by several challenges. To start with, although African leaders championed the Africanisation of universities and urged African intellectuals to take an active role in implementing state-driven development agendas, in many cases, they disregarded the African intelligentsia by engaging foreigners as their close mentors (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017). As Mkandawire (2000) revealed, African nationalists depended heavily on foreign advisers for intellectual mentorship. For instance, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere surrounded himself with foreign 'Fabian socialists' at the expense of local intellectuals. At the same time, Kaunda engaged John Hatch as a close intellectual mentor, becoming the first director of the Institute for Humanism. Also, in Ghana, President Nkrumah surrounded himself with foreign pan-Africanists such as Trinidadian-born George Padmore, and William E.B. Dubois of America. Among most African intellectuals, the ideologies propagated by nationalist leaders appeared to be idiosyncratic without any theoretical base (Mkandawire, 2000). Consequently, African academicians failed to buy into these nationalist ideologies. For instance, the Zambian academics and intellectuals' reluctance to embrace Kaunda's philosophy of humanism was attributed to "the problem of intellectualism" (Molteno, 1973:449). Some critics charged that Zambian humanism was neither an academic philosophy nor an ideology, and lacked the theoretical base by which the world could be analysed and from which action could be taken (Molteno, 1973; Sekwat, 2000). Consequently, few Zambian intellectuals embraced humanism, and it was widely left open for analysis by foreign analysts (Molteno, 1973).

Secondly, by propounding ideological doctrines, most African nationalist leaders regarded themselves as 'philosophical kings' who wanted to acquire intellectual hegemony (Mkandawire, 2000). Consequently, conflicts often arose between the nationalist leaders and African intellectuals in universities because the former sought control of the affairs of universities in their countries whilst the latter stood for academic freedom. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017:64–5) points out,

"the nationalist leaders often used the argument of Africanisation as a strategy to interfere and impose their views on the universities". He argues that both Nkrumah of Ghana and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria interfered with the autonomy and academic freedom of the universities in their respective countries to instil nationalist ideologies. In Zambia, too, by taking advantage of his positions as both Republican President and University Chancellor, Kaunda tried in both overt and subtle ways to have the University of Zambia align its practices with the doctrines of humanism. For instance,in 1967, President Kaunda called for the establishment of the Department of Human Relationships at the University of Zambia. He stated that:

> *We have held and still hold that Africa's gift to world culture must be in the field of human relations. It might be mentioned in passing; therefore, that to this extent, we have talked of establishing a Chair of Human Relations as against just relations at the University of Zambia. Human relations is a subject much wider in coverage than the latter* (Kaunda, 1967:5).

The creation of the Human Relations Chair at the university was done at the behest of President Kenneth Kaunda(Tembo, 1984), despite opposition from academicians and students (Macmillan, 2014). Kaunda even facilitated the appointment of his close associate, Lord John Hatch, a British pro-nationalist advocate, for the Human Relations Chair. This intervention from President Kaunda to appoint John Hatch for an academic position usurped the university's freedom to hire its own staff. Despite resistance from the broader university community, Hatch was inaugurated in 1976 when the government had closed down the university in response to students' protests. According to Jack Simons, a university lecturer at the time (cited in Macmillan, 2014), the inauguration ceremony was confined to the elites, without student or lecturer participation, contrary to the humanist human relations principles of open engagement and dialogue.

While humanism advocated for one-party participatory democracy in Zambia, it constrained the citizens' political affiliation and deliberation capabilities because opposition political parties were outlawed. Equally, opposition to humanism by students mainly resulted in punitive measures against them. For instance, most students who participated in the March 1982 protests against the Institute of Human Relations were expelled or suspended from the university (Shaw, 1982). This further fuelled students' discontent with the status quo under the banner of humanism. In particular, the students had

become critical of Kaunda's increasingly repressive regime, so the propagation of humanism was seen as a hypocritical means to hide the failures of the UNIP government (Burawoy, 1976). The lecturers accused of radicalising students were either arrested, or deported in the case of foreigners. For instance, Michael Etherton and Andy Horn, the founders of the Chikwakwa Theatre and pioneers of theatre for development in Zambia, were deported (Idoye, 1981; Macmillan, 2014).

Apart from the imposition of constraints on political deliberative spaces, the implementation of Zambian humanism was based on a top-down approach. It was not, therefore, owned by the majority of Zambians. In profiling the legacy of Kaunda, in a biography entitled *The End of the Kaunda Era*, Mwanakatwe concluded that Zambian humanism failed to achieve its intended purposes because it was highly centred on the personality of Kaunda and not the wider society. "Kaunda's ideology was never strongly rooted in the Zambian community, even among government officials who paid mere lip-service, but without deep and genuine conviction that it was useful in nation building efforts" (Mwanakatwe, 1994:127). For example, even though humanism encouraged self-reliance through production units in all learning institutions, a study on its implementation in secondary schools and teachers' training colleges revealed that UNIP officials shunned such projects (Bwalya, 1983). Indeed, even Kaunda's close political allies, such as Sikota Wina, failed to buy into his ideology of humanism. In advocating for the multi-party democracy in 1990, Wina described humanism "as a meaningless slogan flouted to mask Kaunda's dictatorship and the economic mismanagement" (Mwanakatwe, 1994:196). Additionally, among the Christian groups, the linkage of Zambian humanism to Scientific Socialism in the late 1970s and early 1980s made it more controversial.

Furthermore, UNIP's initially progressive social programmes, underpinned by humanism, were hindered by other factors such as the oil crisis of the 1970s, and the subsequent drop in copper prices that reduced the government's resources for service provision, including education. Initially, the government was hesitant to abandon the humanist ideologies for Western-oriented capitalist models, which were repudiated by Zambian humanism. However, by the mid-1980s, these economic challenges "forced the government to retract most humanist-based reform measures in favour of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) induced reforms within the framework of structural adjustment and economic liberalisation" (Sekwat, 2000:521). As a result of these challenges, public funding for higher education was reduced, and cost-sharing measures were introduced in 1986 (Achola, 1990; Kelly, 1991; Musambachime, 1990). Additionally, the government abandoned its plans to

establish a rural university campus specialising in agriculture, which jeopardised its agenda of enhancing rural development in the framework of humanism.

Notwithstanding the above limitations, Zambian humanism epitomises Pan-African thought that aims at making higher education more relevant to society's social, cultural, and economic needs. Its legacy and role in promoting equality of opportunities in education, and fostering social responsibility outcomes remain relevant in countering economic approaches by conceptualising higher education as a source for producing public good graduates. Through its emphasis on Ubuntu values such as the dignity of human beings, equality of opportunities, and non-exploitation at the centre of education, Zambian humanism can provide an ideological basis for decolonising knowledge practices and for action in enhancing the role of higher education in human development.

8.0 Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that Kaunda's philosophy of humanism shaped education policy and development in post-independence Zambia. As a case study, the University of Zambia sheds light on how Pan-African ideologies permeated higher education practices in Africa. The study has established that the university aligned itself with Zambian humanism's calls for higher education for social responsibility by establishing the Rural Development Studies Bureau; by using open theatre initiatives as instruments of mass education; and through student participation in national youth service programmes. Although some challenges hindered the implementation of humanism in higher education, the post-independence education system in Africa could not be separated from the ideological principles of the society (Lungwangwa, 1980). Therefore, my study has argued for the conceptualisation of Kaunda's philosophy of humanism as an alternative perspective in assessing the value of higher education in contributing to the well-being of individuals and the broader society in post-colonial Zambia. As a pan-African philosophy, humanism can be reappropriated as an indigenous knowledge system in higher education practices that can enable universities to respond to the economic, social, and cultural needs of Zambian society and Africa at large.

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The Late President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's Influence on Wildlife Conservation and Tourism in South Luangwa National Park of Zambia

Chikondi Banda-Thole, Thomas Kweku Taylor and Thor Larsen

Wildlife in Zambia's Luangwa Valley has fascinated tourists from the pre-colonial era to date. Writings on the prolific beauty of the region describe the abundance of species and beautiful scenery of the valley. The late President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda declared South Luangwa a National Park in 1971. He further facilitated the Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRDP) funded by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) to support the management of the Park and engage local communities in conservation efforts and livelihood development. The South Luangwa National Park and adjacent Game Management Areas were Dr. Kaunda's preferred destination for work and holidays. Dr. Kaunda was enthusiastic about wildlife conservation, National Park management, and the sustainable use of natural resources to improve local livelihoods.

This paper reviews Dr. Kaunda's significant role in promoting tourism and wildlife conservation in the South Luangwa National Park. Attention was focused on reviewing his words and influence on the Park's sustainable development and growth. The methodology used included interview findings from ten (10) key informants associated with the Park's development during the period of Dr. Kaunda's presidency. The paper demonstrates that Dr. Kaunda's love for South Luangwa National Park contributed to its present reputation and international recognition as a premier tourist destination.

Key Words*:* Kenneth Kaunda, wildlife conservation, tourism, South Luangwa National Park, Zambia

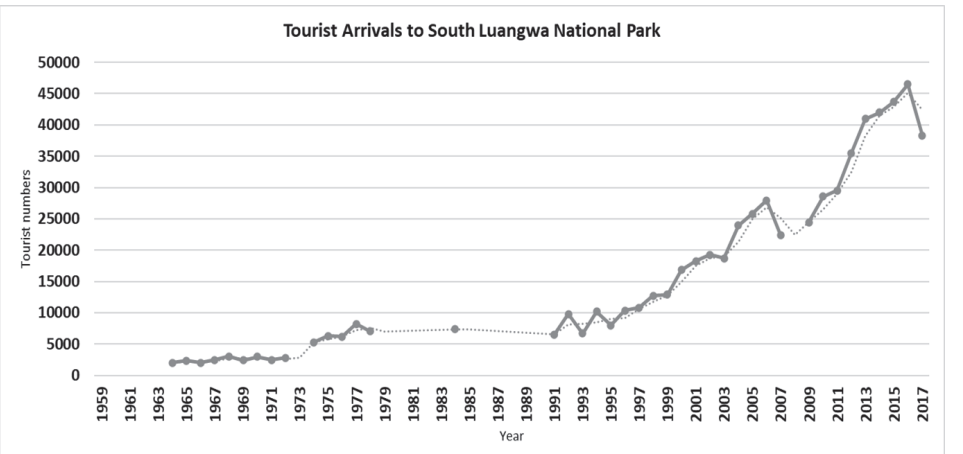
Introduction

The South Luangwa National Park is Zambia's iconic wildlife tourist destination renowned internationally for its walking safaris and excellent leopard sighting. Its international popularity as a tourism destination relates to Mfuwe International Airport which facilitates local and regional air travel to and from the destination. No other national park in Zambia has an international airport dedicated solely to the transportation of its tourists. The local popularity of South Luangwa National

Park as a tourist destination is reflected in the Zambia Wildlife Authority General Management Plan for the Park (ZAWA, 2021) which emphasises that its tourist appeal centres on the Park's biodiversity, high concentration of hippopotamus and frequency of elephant, lion and leopard sightings per game activity. It is also identified as Zambia's flagship park, attracting the second-highest number of visitors after Mosi-oa-Tunya National Park which is located in Zambia's tourist Capital, Livingstone (Ministry of Tourism and Arts, 2018). Stone (2019) on National Geographic online resource, states that animal lovers would find the national park attractive on account of its spectacular walking safaris. *Lonely Planet* (2022) states that South Luangwa is the best national park in Zambia and one of the most majestic in Africa in the aspects of scenery, variety and density of animals.

South Luangwa National Park's exceptional wildlife, tourism and management has been recognized by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 2019). In view of this recognition, it was the first National Park in the world to be awarded the title of 'International Park for Sustainable Tourism Development' by UNWTO in 2017. The award was with reference to South Luangwa's wildlife tourism product, and the notable role that tour operators from the Park made in improving the well-being of communities residing adjacent to the National Park (UNWTO 2019). Tourist arrivals to the park have risen over the years since its establishment in 1972 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Tourist Arrivals to South Luangwa National Park 1963-2017



Source: compiled during research (2022)

The rising popularity of South Luangwa National Park as a tourist destination can be associated with (among many other factors) the role of the late President Dr Kenneth Kaunda who had a special interest in the promotion of wildlife conservation and tourism development. South Luangwa National Park was his preferred tourist destination. Therefore, during his tenure as president from 1964 to 1991, conservation and tourism in the national park greatly profited from his interest.

Dr. Kaunda's zeal for wildlife conservation has been discussed and illustrated in the writings of Gibson (1995, 1999, 2000). Gibson's publications of 1999 and 2000 used the lens of new institutionalism, particularly its distributive view in studying Dr. Kaunda's dominant role in wildlife conservation politics in Zambia, and the various attempts that the head of state made to secure Zambia's wildlife resources from poaching and excess tourism development. Gibson's three publications for the years 1995, 1999 and 2000 refer to Dr. Kaunda's actions to substantiate arguments for the significance of politics to wildlife in Zambia.

This paper refers to some of the illustrations from Gibson's 1999 and 2000 publications but interprets them as expressions of Dr. Kaunda's passion for wildlife conservation. The paper also interprets Gibson's (1999) narrative of the Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRDP) process as an illustration of Dr. Kaunda's love for South Luangwa National Park. The LIRDP was a programme funded and initiated by the Norweigian government to manage wildlife resources in South Luangwa and its adjacent Lupande Game Management Area where communities reside and trophy hunting takes place. The programme took a leading role in the management of wildlife resources and community engagement projects, with the government agency National Parks and Wildlife Services taking a backstage role (see Clayton and Child, 2003). Gibson's two publications in the years 1999 and 2000 talk about politics, yet this paper unveils Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's heart in politics.

Whitworth (2015) alludes to how the Zambian government under the leadership of Dr. Kaunda took a strong role in tourism development in Zambia's diversification plans. Government-run tourism establishments established linkages with East African countries for its tourists during political tensions with its neighbours in the South in 1965, and promoted domestic tourism. Various writers (Astle, 1999; Clayton & Child, 2003; Mwenda, 2018) highlight Dr. Kaunda's affection for South Luangwa National Park. Astle (1999) notes how Mushroom Lodge, initially built to house the warden of South and North Luangwa National Parks, was converted to a Presidential House in 1965 for Dr. Kaunda's working holidays. Clayton and Child (2003) note that despite the

NPWS policy of prohibiting the building of new permanent structures in South Luangwa National Park, Chichele Presidential Lodge was constructed in the late 1970s as Dr. Kaunda's private retreat. Writings based on interviews with Dr. Kaunda also reveal his passion for South Luangwa National Park. In 2015, Dr. Kaunda described his retreats to the National Park in the Mfuwe Area as "an important time to rest, think, reflect and make decisions" (*Lusaka Times*, 8th February 2015). Chanda (2015) writing on Dr. Kaunda's walking safari activities, disclosed that, "A special wildlife scout (i.e., a marksman with long experience), would accompany him in case of an encounter with a wounded buffalo or rogue elephant". Mwenda (2018) also confirmed Dr. Kaunda's affinity for the National Park stating that: "the late President would take his family to South Luangwa National Park on various occasions of his working holiday visits. He enjoyed breakfast with his family in the morning as they enjoyed the spectacular view of wildlife from the veranda of Chichele Lodge." In Carr (2018), Dr. Kaunda described South Luangwa National Park as "his 'spiritual home' that he frequently visited over the decades."

The above quoted writings provide insights into Dr. Kaunda's preferences, yet have never been merged into a concrete argument for his role in promoting South Luangwa National Park as a tourism destination. They point to the evidence of Dr. Kaunda's role in South Luangwa's present success. In addition, the LIRDP is an illustration of how conservation, tourism and Dr. Kaunda's' preferences worked together to favour South Luangwa National Park. Dr. Kaunda's self-appointment as Patron of the Project, and his facilitatory actions for the same gave it an advantage over other institutions working in the national park.

This paper draws insight on Dr. Kaunda's actions from the writings of others on aspects of conservation, tourism, and South Luangwa National Park. Historical government documents from ministries responsible for tourism and conservation also provide useful information. These sources of information are supported by findings from interviews conducted among people with work experience in the promotion of wildlife tourism or conservation in South Luangwa National Park during the presidential regime of Dr. Kaunda.

Methodology

Primary and secondary sources of information show that South Luangwa's popularity as a tourist destination and the notable efforts to conserve its wildlife resources can be traced to the late President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's love for conservation, tourism and the national park.

Primary sources of data included interviews with ten (10) participants, identified through snowball sampling methods. Interviews were conducted between 2017 and 2019 as part of a research investigating the factors that have influenced the tourism performance of South Luangwa National Park. Twenty-two (22) participants were identified from snowball sampling methods, and the focal group were mid to senior level managers in the public sector, private sector, and non-governmental organizations involved in Zambia's tourism sector. This non-probability sampling technique was identified as appropriate for the study. Snowballing is often used in hidden populations that are difficult for researchers to access (Sharma, 2017; Mweshi & Sakyi, 2020). The participants recruited had different work experiences between 1964 and 2020. However, the selected ten (10) participants were those that worked between the years 1964 to 1990. Analysis focused on excerpts from the interviews that allude to Dr. Kaunda's promotion of tourism in Zambia and wildlife tourism and conservation in South Luangwa National Park. Comments on participants' experiences and observations of the LIRDP are also highlighted and analysed.

Secondary data consisted of the writings of others on Dr. Kaunda's life and actions in wildlife conservation, tourism and LIRDP project in South Luangwa National Park. The information obtained from others substantiates the arguments put forth in this paper.

This paper is among the few writings that highlight the significance of a head of state in setting the base and trajectory of an economic sector - specifically tourism. It is an applied contribution to historical reviews of Zambia's economic sectors, using the case of tourism in South Luangwa National Park. Findings provide valuable lessons to institutional structures promoting tourism at particular destinations, and demonstrates how personal preferences of influential political figures can be used to harness the tourism potentials of destinations.

Dr. Kaunda and Wildlife Conservation

Gibson (2000) provides illustrations of how Dr. Kaunda used his position to forward an agenda of aggressive wildlife conservation as follows:

1. When members of UNIP and the government participated in the wildlife market, Dr. Kaunda talked about it in the Central Committee meetings and made a "blanket stop" to all hunting.
2. He issued circulars in 1978 threatening to dismiss anyone in the civil service or UNIP caught poaching. Although many politicians thought this was unconstitutional, none initiated a legal challenge.

3. His increasing dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of National Parks and Wildlife Services (NPWS) led him to seek various ways to circumvent the agency. He publicly supported the efforts of *Save the Rhino Trust,* which promoted intensive anti-poaching operations in National Parks, and he facilitated international donors and conservation NGOs in conservation projects.
4. Dr, Kaunda had an open-door policy on conservation, which enabled certain conservationists to urge him to support a policy that would establish a new government agency designed to investigate wildlife-related offences specifically. This agency was to be answerable only to the president.
5. He used his authority over Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) a state-owned industry to bypass NPWS and instructed it to get into the business of tourism and wildlife because they were effective at getting things done.
6. He did not ignore government bureaucracies and he leaned on the law to enforce his agenda. He appointed individuals with legal experience to head the critical Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources in the early 1980s.
7. During Zambia's economic stagnation and challenges after 1973, Dr. Kaunda pursued further strategies to curb the poaching crisis (Gibson, 1999:52). A press article during Dr Kaunda's presidential tenure highlights his response to reports of poaching. In 1985, Dr. Kaunda shut down all four (4) landing airstrips in South Luangwa Game Reserve [National Park] *'to tighten control on the movement of private planes suspected to be used in trafficking government trophy especially elephant tusks and rhino horns'* (*Daily Mail*, 16 September 1985). He spoke to reporters about this matter during his ten-day holiday in the National Park, highlighting that private planes wishing to land in the Park would have to use the main Mfuwe Airport, and that workers would have to enter South Luangwa National Park by road through checkpoints (ibid).

The following interview excerpts from five (5) participants confirm how Dr. Kaunda's strong affinity for wildlife conservation benefited their work in South Luangwa National Park.

i. It was very difficult; but we tried hard; but we had a lot of political protection. Kaunda was no nonsense man when it came to wildlife! He gave

no one a chance and he gave us all the money we wanted- aircraft etc. It was very good…They [government] *were very interested in conservation* [Senior government official, National Parks and Wildlife Services, 1974-1990, 1 March 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *I think the main interest of the UNIP government was not so much what they could earn from that natural resource. In my opinion, I think they were more interested in conservation of the reserve, not so much what they could make as a government; for one thing, the then President was a vegetarian; he didn't go to Mfuwe to eat game, he went there to watch them, to watch animals and there were more interested investors like the one you have mentioned* [Founding member of the Revolving Fund Board South Luangwa National Park 1980s; Senior government official in National Parks and Wildlife Department 1990s, 6th March 2019 - Lusaka].

iii. *He* [President Kaunda] *was genuinely interested in the LIRDP concept, because he said to me the first time I met him, "this has been my dream my whole life. Power to the people, to live in harmony with nature etc". He didn't talk about money at all! He said he would like the Norwegian government to support the project but didn't mention anything about the money* [Former bilateral development aid partner senior official, South Luangwa National Park 1980s, 20 May 2017, Norway].

iv. *During the Kaunda Era, there was support. In fact during the UNIP era of course, there was really support… In fact in the late 80's we established the revolving fund under Dr. Kaunda. He authorised us to form the revolving fund and I remember at that time (early 1990s and late 1980s), we were generating over $2million. That money we were retaining as a revolving fund established under that public finance management. So we had that money to ourselves and we also had a board;…. We used that money to manage wildlife and also give part of the money to the communities. Now there was effective management of wildlife. There was no scrounging around. So when there was any report that poachers have entered this Park we would dispatch scouts to the place to combat the poaching wherever that was… and people were committed. Now these days, I hear scouts are involved in poaching and conniving with poachers. How can you do that?* [Founding member of the Revolving Fund Board South Luangwa National Park 1980s; Senior government official in National Parks and Wildlife Department in 1990s, 6 March 2019 - Lusaka].

v. *So, Kenneth Kaunda was not a meat eater. He made himself chairman* [of the LIRDP] *… the idea was to integrate development with the people who lived there. We had problems with poaching and things were just going downwards you know in terms of management; so they* [NORAD] *wanted*

> *some integrated approach to how to manage the natural resources and they spent a lot of money* [Former bilateral development aid partner senior official, South Luangwa National Park, 1980s, 20 May 2017, Norway].

Dr. Kaunda's stern stance on party members involved in illegal poaching reinforced national efforts to promote conservation. He did not shy away from assigning other agencies responsibilities in promoting conservation in national parks, if they had demonstrated the ability to work efficiently in other related matters. National Parks therefore enjoyed support from agencies with monetary and managerial advantage over the government's NPWS agency in conserving their resources. Dr. Kaunda employed available opportunities to channel resources to the conservation of wildlife in national parks. International agencies recognized this opportunity and made use of his open door policy on matters related to conservation to engage in discussions over partnerships in managing Zambia's protected areas. The LIRDP to be discussed in detail later in the paper is one notable example of the ease with which foreign agencies could work with Dr. Kaunda when it came to wildlife conservation. Selecting individuals with good reputations for law enforcement widened his influence on the implementation of the conservation agenda. President Kaunda placed a high priority on conservation; this favoured enforcement effort in both favourable and challenging times of the Zambian economy. He was proactive in his response to reports of poaching in South Luangwa National Park. He considered poaching a serious crime requiring immediate and serious intervention. South Luangwa National Park therefore benefited from his actions and efforts for conservation.

Dr. Kaunda's Support for Tourism

In describing Zambia's economic prospects after independence, Whitworth (2015) reviewed Zambia's economic policy from independence to the mid-1970s in the government's quest to diversify from the dominating mining sector to industrialisation, production and agricultural development in the far-flung rural areas. In the area of tourism, Whitworth (2015) noted the following actions:

1. Game reserves and the Victoria Falls were recognized for their considerable potential in addition to the mineral wealth.
2. The role of the government was dominant at this stage and it ran many of the public enterprises such as electricity, transportation, agricultural

development and rural financing (Whitworth, 2015). The construction of two international hotels, Pamodzi and Intercontinental, in Lusaka during the 1970s are noteworthy direct investments in the tourism sector. The nationalisation evidenced in the implementation of the Mulungushi reforms considerably expanded the role of the government (Whitworth, 2015). The government took over the management of Nsefu Camp from Robin Pope Safaris and Lion Camp from Luangwa Safaris in 1966. The Zambia National Tourist Bureau took over Mfuwe Lodge and Chibembe Camp Management in 1966 and 1968, respectively (Astle, 1999).

3. After the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), the government sought measures to loosen the bonds tying Zambia's trade and transportation through Zimbabwe. It focused on a north bound corridor to Tanzania to make use of the Dar-es-Salaam port. In his address to the National Council of the United National Independence Party at Mulungushi Hall in 1973, President Kaunda stated that:

> *Zambia will continue to welcome visitors. Our doors are open. We hope other tourists will continue to enjoy the beauty of our country and the friendliness. But the border with rebel Rhodesia is closed, and our visitors should know this fact* (Kaunda, 1973).

4. Zambia Information Service annual report for 1979 highlighted that the growth of tourism in Zambia relied on its domestic market from the income-generating Copperbelt Province and collaboration with its East African neighbours.
5. After Dr. Kaunda's exit from the presidency in 1991, Chichele lodge fell under private sector management, firstly by Star of Africa and later by Sanctuary Retreats (an international tourism operator). At the re-opening ceremony of Chichele Lodge under the new management of Sanctuary Retreats, Dr. Kaunda highlighted that:

> *The tourism industry directly impacts poverty in rural communities by providing job opportunities, unlike mining. He further urged Sanctuary Retreats to promote Zambian tourism through their global tourism network* (*Lusaka Times,* 14 April 2011).

The Dr. Kaunda led government recognized tourism's potential for economic growth. Schauer (2018:520) lists Dr. Kaunda as among the post-independence

leaders who viewed wildlife conservation as important for economic development and aesthetics, and in its implications for sovereignty. Schauer (2018:531) noted how Dr. Kaunda associated post-independence conservation with the viability of his new state (Zambia), and how he was "prepared to act on the potential of tourism in a much more systematic fashion than had the colonial state".

Dr. Kaunda recognized wildlife as a key tourism product for Zambia, in addition to the Victoria Falls which was and still remains Zambia's unique tourism asset. He considered wildlife as the main resource for harnessing the tourism sectors' potential, particularly in rural areas. The late president had a positive outlook on the role of tourism for the country's economy and refused to relent even in times of political tensions with Zimbabwe during the UDI. Dr. Kaunda recognized that, despite historic reliance on tourists originating from the Southern African countries of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia, tourism in Zambia could still survive and thrive from its domestic tourists, largely from the line of rail, and tourists originating from East Africa. Extending the nationalisation agenda to the tourism establishments was a bold move given that historically the private sector had a dominant role in driving tourism (Astle, 1999). However, the actions revealed Kaunda's desire for Zambian owned and managed establishments which have minimal leakages and retain capital. Interview excerpts below confirm Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's recognition of the tourism sector's potential.

Three participants highlighted Dr. Kaunda's government's significant role in promoting domestic tourism in Zambia. The following remarks reflect this:

i. *We* [government] *were encouraging our employees to go to these tourist destinations. At that time, our labour force was about 60,000 with an average dependence rate of 8 people below 60 years. And so we were encouraging them to take holidays and go to Kasaba Bay and Ndole Bay. Yes! And we used to organise fishing competitions around March every year just to encourage people to go and see the beautiful places. Even the beauty of Lake Tanganyika and the animal populations* [Chairman for Circuit Safaris, Key advisor to President Kenneth Kaunda, and manager of Zambian economy. 27 February 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *There was actually a radio programme by my friend called, "take a holiday at home"…there was a bus from Lusaka to Livingstone. It left at 17 hours on Fridays, it drives you to Livingstone and at 22 hours you are checking in*

the hotels where you have booked yourself. But there were not even many hotels the way they are now in Livingstone. And Sunday morning they [the buses] *would come back* [to Lusaka]. [On] *Saturday they would take you around. Domestic tourism was promoted…in the 80s. And government also encouraged people* [Senior management, Zambia National Tourism Bureau 1970s; Management Staff, Museums (Ministry of Tourism) 1990s. 12 February 2019, Kitwe].

iii. *You know tourism has gone through so many stages. When it was a bureau* [Zambia Tourist Bureau] *domestic tourism was very high because of the government under the UNIP era. Government was running all those things! Then domestic tourism was very high like in Kafue* [National Park] *where there was a coach which was going there every weekend. There was a coach going to South Luangwa* [National Park]. *Everything! All those things were being facilitated… So that time when it was a bureau, there were buses; … domestic tourism was flourishing!* [Senior management, Zambia National Tourism Bureau 1980s; Policy Implementation, Zambia Wildlife Authority 1990s; Senior government official Ministry of Tourism Environment and Natural Resources 2000s; Tourism Consultant. 3 March 2019, Lusaka].

Dr. Kaunda's recognition of the tourism sector was also highlighted by two participants as follows:

i. *That's why when you look at our leaders - Dr. Kenneth Kaunda promoted tourism. He was always in the South Luangwa National Park and Kasaba Bay. A head of state must be there to promote the product* [Native of Mfuwe area (adjacent to South Luangwa National Park), Senior staff, Zambia Tourist Bureau 1960s; Senior government official in National Parks and Wildlife Department 1980s. 15 November 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *When the tourism ministry was created in 1979, I was a young civil servant within the ministry. There were no departments - except for Zambia National Tourism Board.…I remember Dr. Kaunda saying: "this Ministry is now an economic ministry. Therefore it should not merely be a Department of Tourism". This was an upgrade for the tourism sector.…Government I think, laid the basic infrastructure from the beginning… Kaunda tried to have government first in all the parts of tourism* [Senior management,

Zambia National Tourism Bureau 1970s; Management staff, Museums (Ministry of Tourism) 1990s. 12 February 2019, Kitwe].

Interviews confirm Dr. Kaunda's strong role in promoting local tourism. The interviewees emphasised how his efforts stood out compared to Zambia's successive presidents. The remarks also highlight how Dr. Kaunda's love for tourism transcended economic necessity and included strong values that he held such as patriotism, and national unity.

Dr Kaunda's Love for South Luangwa National Park

Various writers describe Dr. Kaunda's love for South Luangwa National Park. The Park was among his preferred destinations during and after his presidency. The following notable actions and interview excerpts with Dr. Kenneth Kaunda reveal his affection for South Luangwa National Park.

1. Two (2) presidential lodges (Mushroom and Chichele) were established for his working holidays and retreats. The lodges have gained international recognition and world leaders such as Queen Elizabeth II and Chairman Mao have lodged at Chichele, and experienced South Luangwa's beauty and wildlife (Pfeiffer, 2015).
2. In 1966, Zambia Airways commenced scheduled flights to Mfuwe Airport at the South Reserve.
3. In 1972, the Luangwa (Mfuwe) Road Bridge was completed which opened South Luangwa National Park to tourist's access even in the rainy season. This increased tourism in the area throughout the year (Ministry of Lands Natural Resources and Tourism, 1977:4).
4. In an interview with Carr (2018) Dr. Kaunda described South Luangwa National Park as his "spiritual home" and stated that: "the various investments made under his government contributed to this precious asset of eco-diversity" (Carr, 2018). Astle (1999) also highlighted how Dr. Kaunda alluded to how he, in league with his friend Norman Carr, an early conservationist writer and pioneer of walking safaris in the Luangwa Valley, contributed tremendously to laying the foundation for the growth of the Luangwa Valley.
5. Dr Kaunda hosted international meetings in South Luangwa National Park. Mushroom Lodge was the venue for a secret meeting chaired by

Dr. Kaunda between the African National Congress' (ANC) Oliver Tambo and South Africa's white business leaders (African National Congress, 1985). President Kaunda facilitated the meeting as he recognised the important role of the business community in dismantling apartheid (*Times of Zambia*, 14 September 1985). The meeting was also seen as a breakthrough for the ANC, portrayed as a terrorist organisation by South Africa's prevailing regime in Pretoria (ibid).

The above points highlight how Dr. Kaunda popularised his preferred destination and establishments. Mushroom and Chichele Lodges still market themselves based on how Dr. Kaunda enjoyed the special services offered (Chiawa Safaris, 2020). Mfuwe airport not only eased the president's travel to his favourite wildlife tourism destination, but also opened up the area to international tourists. The other tourist infrastructure such as the bridge built in 1972 eased the presidents' access to the Park in addition to that of his invited delegates. Dr. Kaunda felt grounded and at peace in South Luangwa National Park.

Four of the participants interviewed highlighted Dr. Kaunda's love for South Luangwa National Park's development.

i. *If we are to summarise some of the reasons why South Luangwa was so successful… I think it was Kaunda's interest and affection for the area…. various other factor came into play the success of the Luangwa. Tourism business was largely down to two people the first president Kenneth Kaunda and then Norman Carr* [Former lodge owner- South Luangwa National Park 1990s; Board member for International Tour Operators, South Luangwa National. 15 November 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *He* [President Kaunda] *was always in the National Park* [South Luangwa] [Native of Mfuwe area (adjacent to South Luangwa National Park), Senior staff, Zambia Tourist Bureau 1960s; Senior government official in National Parks and Wildlife Department 1980s. 15th November 2019, Lusaka.

iii. *Specifically, Kaunda was really a wildlife guy. All his holidays were done in Mfuwe and he had a home there. Anytime there was a big problem for him he'd retire to Mfuwe. Every year Kaunda was in Mfuwe for his holidays* [Senior government official, National Parks and Wildlife Services, 1974-1990. 1 March 2019, Lusaka]

iv. *I don't know whether he did that deliberately but each time he went I usually went with him. He liked going there; he loved Mfuwe* [Chairman for Circuit Safaris, Key advisor to President Kenneth Kaunda, and manager of Zambian economy, 27 February 2019, Lusaka].

Five (5) participants alluded to Dr. Kaunda's promotion of South Luangwa National Park as follows:

i. *…It was what he* [Dr Kaunda] *did through the Second National Development Plan. It is how he devised the plan to build some infrastructure investment in the form of electricity supply from Lusiwasi Power Station which was crossing the Luangwa Valley west to east. Number two was the establishment of the big airport in Masumba which later became. an international airport established in custom and immigration. It was originally a normal airport without so much development. The third thing was the bridge over the Luangwa and the upgrading of an all-weather system of roads. So there was massive investment through international support* [Former lodge owner, South Luangwa National Park, 1990s; Board member for International Tour Operators, South Luangwa National Park. 15 November 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *But I think the focus was brought by our first president who decided to go there for his holidays you know then there were two (2) very big lodges, the Mfuwe lodge and the Chichele lodge. Therefore, because President Kaunda and other important people were going there, others (tourists) started visiting South Luangwa. Interest grew for the area and they started developing tourist facilities* [Former Zambian Minister of Tourism, scholar of tourism development, cultural tourism consultant].

iii. *Kaunda had a lot to do with the development of Mfuwe and South Luangwa at large. There were no roads, there were no bridges. The road from Chipata to Mfuwe was just a dusty one; only land rovers could pass there and go into the Park. You had to cross the Luangwa River on a pontoon. But during that time there was a programme for upgrading the roads. The government constructed bridges and roads. Some of the lodges like Chichele were built by the government through the tourism department. Chichele Lodge was a fantastic place. We had a lot of VIPs even the Queen of England came to South Luangwa with her husband; they spent a weekend there* [Senior government official, National Parks and Wildlife Services, 1974-1990. 1 March 2019, Lusaka].

iv. *…but in Mfuwe the government initiated development, unrelated to tourism but to politics), to help the ANC struggle in South Africa; government arranged to invite the chief executives of rich companies in South Africa to come and meet Kenneth Kaunda at Mfuwe. I was there, and quite a number of planes came and landed at that airport; it was not just a landing pad. Invited delegates- I remember even an Assistant Secretary of State from the United States coming to land at that Mfuwe airport, i.e., the Mfuwe one. Maybe that is why the Luangwa* [National Park] *is more developed* [Chairman for Circuit Safaris, Key advisor to President Kenneth Kaunda, and manager of Zambian economy. 27 February 2019, Lusaka].

v. *Efforts were made to open up the national parks in terms of roads development. In fact, in that example I gave, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which started in the late 60's up to somewhere in the early 70's saw the construction of Mfuwe Airport and the bridge. That was really a commendable job during Dr. Kaunda's era* [Founding member of the Revolving Fund Board South Luangwa National Park, 1980s; Senior government official in National Parks and Wildlife Department, 1990s. 6 March 2019, Lusaka].

Dr. Kaunda's affection for South Luangwa National Park influenced his choices to promote the Park and develop it. It is evident that Dr. Kaunda did not want to be the only person enjoying the beauty and wildlife of the national park, but also desired that it be appreciated by all Zambians and foreign tourists.

The Case of the Norwegian Government Funded Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP)

The Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP) initiated by Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and heavily supported by Dr. Kaunda, was a clear demonstration of his affection and desire for conservation, tourism and the National Park. The Project aimed at promoting conservation of wildlife resources in South Luangwa National Park and its adjacent Lupande Game Management Area by actively engaging communities in wildlife management, and placing a high value on the benefits that communities can accrue from sustainable use of wildlife. Preliminary investigations and conceptual development began after 1983 to respond to a crisis report on heavy poaching activity in the National Park and Luangwa Valley. The LIRDP was funded by the Norwegian government. It is arguably the longest and most

significant project that has taken place in South Luangwa National Park. Astle (1999), Gibson (1999), and Clayton and Child (2003) provide details of the project's establishment and operations in Lupande Game Management Area and South Luangwa National Park. It was renamed as the South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) in 1999 and currently, stands as an advisory and support unit to the Department of National Parks and Wildlife who oversee the management of South Luangwa National Park. Up until Dr. Kaunda departed from the Presidential Office in 1991, the Project was a notable illustration of Dr. Kaunda's involvement in wildlife conservation matters.

The ideas that initiated the LIRDP were voiced in 1983 after participants at a workshop in Eastern Province expressed concern about the conservation problems present in Lupande Game Management Area adjacent to South Luangwa National Park (Gibson, 1999). All participants present agreed that there was a need to change the approach to wildlife conservation in the area. Two camps arose from discussions. One group advocated funding and supporting the National Parks and Wildlife Services (NPWS) , whilst the other opted to create a system that independently managed South Luangwa National Park, and facilitated community engagement in its adjacent Lupande Game Management Area (ADMADE PROGRAMME). On 14th September 1985, key members of the LIRDP were summoned by Dr. Kaunda after his Eastern Province political secretary alluded to the LIRDP initial planning activities in Chipata, during a routine briefing to the President (Clayton and Child, 2003:58). Dr. Kaunda, who was on holiday in the South Luangwa National Park, decided to meet Fidelis Lungu, Thor S. Larsen and Barry Clayton to get more details on their proposed project. He became very interested in LIRDP's main concept to increase local communities' roles, rights and stewardship of wildlife in the National Park and adjacent Game Management Areas (GMAs) through different activities. After the meeting, Dr. Kaunda wrote to the Norwegian Prime Minister expressing his support for LIRDP, and thereafter the Norwegian government financed the LIRDP as a stand-alone project outside the institutional structures of the National Park and Wildlife Service (NPWS) (Astle, 1999).

Clayton and Child (2003) and Gibson (1999) noted that Dr. Kaunda took a keen interest in the LIRDP on account of his passion for wildlife conservation and lack of confidence in the ability of the NPWS to effectively curb the poaching activities facing the Luangwa Valley. Clayton and Child (2003:23) termed this 'the Kaunda factor' in describing the project's success. They stated that:

> *Without the intervention of Dr Kaunda, it is unlikely that LIRDP would ever have been financed and initiated. The President's direct involvement allowed the original Co-Directors to wield enormous power, allowing them to get some things done in an otherwise stultified system, but also isolating them from the need to build relationships*.

Lungu (1990) described how Dr. Kaunda appointed himself patron of the project and oversaw its administrative organization. He interviewed two project co-directors, Dr. Richard Bell a renowned expatriate ecologist and Fidelis Lungu a natural resource economist, with NPWS (Lungu, 1990), and appointed them soon after. Clayton and Child (2003) described how Dr. Kaunda formally initiated the LIRDP on 7th May 1986 in a letter to the Minister of Finance, with headline media coverage. His foreword in the 1987 LIRDP Phase 2 programme document states:

> *I look upon this Project as a trial of the application of our national policies of decentralisation, diversification and humanism within the framework of our National Conservation Strategy. Zambia possesses many remote rural areas with important non-agricultural resources for which this Project may provide a model for rural development. I also believe that the approaches being developed may be relevant to rural areas in other parts of Africa. For these reasons, the Project is accorded high priority in our national development programme* (Clayton and Child, 2003:59).

South Luangwa National Park and its adjacent Lupande Game Management Area greatly benefited from the LIRDP. Unlike the prior management under the NPWS, the LIRDP had a revolving fund for all fees collected, such as game license fees, safari license fees, National Park entrance fees and revenues from the sale of confiscated trophies (Gibson, 1999). This gave it the authority to allocate resources according to the needs of the people on the ground, thereby incentivizing law enforcement officers. Jachmann and Billiouw (1997:243) stated that: *"this was an important factor contributing to elephant conservation in the central Luangwa Valley since the mid-1980s".* Clayton and Child (2003:23) also noted that the LIRDP's effective organisation began to embarrass NPWS, while the empowering of communities through livelihood opportunities from the benefits of the wildlife economy threatened the status quo of conservation practice in Zambia. The LIRDP initiated community projects such as vegetable

gardening, farming credit, a community bus and transportation, programmes for women, some food relief after the area experienced a poor harvest in 1987, road upgrading and maintenance, and socio-economic surveys (ibid). Conservation related programmes included aerial surveys of rhinos and elephants in South Luangwa National Park and the Game Management Area. The Project also undertook anthrax control and reintroduced safari hunting in the game management areas and environmental education through theatre to local communities (Clayton and Child, 2003). It established Malambo Safaris, Malambo Trails, and Malambo transport as commercial ventures, which also promoted both consumptive (hunting) and non-consumptive (photographic) wildlife tourism (Clayton and Child, 2003).

The LIRDP owed much of its success to the significant and powerful role that Dr. Kaunda took in facilitating its operations. The support from Zambia's most powerful politician gave it leeway to initiate activities amongst the local communities with little resistance. Dr. Kaunda's open door policy on conservation matters enabled the LIRDP proponents to engage with him, whilst his love for tourism and South Luangwa National Park in particular established the project in its early development stages. The participants had different opinions on the outcomes of Dr. Kaunda's strong involvement in the LIRDP. Out of the four participants alluded to the LIRDP, two highlighted the positive outcomes of the project on wildlife management:

i. *One of the biggest inputs was by the Norwegians…They made one significant contribution which was the development of management approach, that I believe is the most effective approach in managing wildlife and infrastructure development* [Founding member of the Revolving Fund Board South Luangwa National Park, 1980s; Senior Government Official in National Parks and Wildlife Department, 1990s. 6 March 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *The Norwegians gave us a full package. The LIRDP was very well done. Because roads and all those things were done! yeah. So everything important to the Lupande community was addressed. This was good. We* [NPWS] *didn't have a problem with South Luangwa* [Senior management, Zambia National Tourism Bureau, 1980s; Policy Implementation, Zambia Wildlife Authority, 1990s; Senior government official Ministry of Tourism Environment and Natural Resources, 2000s; Tourism consultant. 3 March 2019, Lusaka].

The other two participants alluded to negative outcomes of the Project's inability to efficiently harness the tourism potential of South Luangwa and its surrounding GMAs**,** and the its inability to work within national institutional structures mandated to oversee conservation and tourism. Marks (1999:24) described how donor driven community-based wildlife programmes were typically top-down in thinking and behaviour, and were more concerned about wildlife than the human communities. Conservation programmes failed to appreciate the social significance of local hunting, and therefore, attempted to change individual's behaviour from wildlife consumption to conservation by offering goods that mimic public goods (Gibson and Marks 1995).

i. *By 1985, we* [National Parks and Wildlife Services] *were moving to actually running tourism, yet we diverted and went to community projects. These were the deceptions. They* [ADMADE and LIRDP] *were deceiving programs. They appeared to be nice but they were really drawing us out of the line. We were now looking at appeasing people, and how communities should work together to stop poaching. But madam, my view is that, if we had gone full blast in tourism, people would not have been killing the animals. They would look at animals as precious and valuable. We instead went appeasing people. Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) even fisheries were failing, forestry was failing. I call them deceptions or distractions. If we had continued with the Zambia National Tourist Bureau programme, people would have seen that there was money* [It was profitable] [Native of Mfuwe area (adjacent to South Luangwa National Park); Senior staff Zambia Tourist Bureau, 1960s; Senior government official in National Parks and Wildlife Department, 1980s. 15 November 2019, Lusaka].

ii. *Dr Kaunda just put the National Parks and Wildlife Services aside and said: "we* [LIRDP] *will do everything"; which kind of created a lot of stress in the Zambian bureaucracy. It understandably failed and we learnt the painful lesson that you can never create a state within a state.*

Although the LIRDP began in the 1980s, the support from the Norwegian government continued after Dr. Kaunda's presidency under the renamed South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU). No other National Park in Zambia has received similar levels of support from a donor agency. The project is a demonstration of Dr. Kaunda's involvement in promoting tourism in South Luangwa National Park.

Shortcomings in Dr. Kaunda's Involvement in Wildlife Conservation and Tourism

Although Dr. Kaunda pursued strong wildlife conservation measures in Zambia, the politics related to wildlife conservation and tourism frustrated his high ambitions for the sector's growth and development. Dr. Kaunda was unable to harness adequate and strong local support for his wildlife conservation agenda in Zambia's national parks. The following are some of the challenges and frustrations Dr. Kaunda experienced in his conservation efforts:

1. *Strong Opposition from Parliament*
   The backbenchers walked out of Parliament during the debate over the 1982 Amendment to the National Parks and Wildlife Act which aimed at stiffening penalties against poachers. As elected representatives of the communities and the people of Zambia, Members of Parliament chose to side with the electorate even though Dr. Kaunda was a strong political figure in the One-Party state era of Zambia's political history (Gibson, 1995).

2. *Poor Enforcement of Punitive Measures*
   The poor enforcement of punitive measures weakened Dr. Kaunda's fight against poaching. For instance, his circulars advancing dismissal of public servants involved in illegal wildlife dealings only succeeded in the dismissal of two civil servants. Ministers, senior police officers, and party officials successfully evaded the proposed independent wildlife investigative agency. Military support for anti-poaching operations was intermittent, and surrounded by suspicions that soldiers notified their poaching friends before sweeps began. Furthermore, the Director of Public Prosecutions dropped ivory cases against 'top leaders' (Gibson, 1999).

3. *Lack of Support from Local Communities Living Adjacent to National Parks*
   Punitive and exclusionary measures were associated with the forms of wildlife governance implemented by Zambia's British colonial administration prior to Independence (Gibson, 1999). Marks (2001) describes the trauma that the Bisa people of the Luangwa valley experienced on account of the restrictions and barriers to their hunting.

The shift from a resource system with control (lineage husbandry) to a variety of resource use and conservation modalities in the late 1970s and 1980s, and later on the imposed resource regimes in the ADMADE programme in the years 1987-1990, had implications on their confidence and trust in the government of the day. Musambachime (1992) describes how the British colonial administration always perceived Zambian hunters as villains, and how communities experienced hardships on account of imposed restrictions to their use of wildlife. Before 1890, hunters' guilds had flourished in many parts of Zambia which signified the importance of hunting to society. However, during the 1890s the growing anxiety over African animal resources among British colonial circles, led to the introduction of game reserves (such as the Luangwa Game reserve established in 1899) to protect wildlife from local Zambian hunters. Laws were introduced that disarmed local hunters, and restricted hunting. These actions led to an increase in game, which in turn became a nuisance to communities due to the subsequent rise in human-wildlife conflict, and presence of tsetse flies (Musambachime, 1992:14). Although the communities made continual appeals to kill the problematic animals, their appeals were turned down by the British administrators for fear that if allowed the situation would lead to a further decimation of game by the hunters (Musambachime, 1992:16)

Therefore, Dr. Kaunda's strict conservation measures were not perceived favourably by the rural communities residing near the Park, as they had hopes of more lenient measures after Zambia's Independence, which granted the access and co-management of protected areas (Lungu 1990).

4. Decline of the Zambian Economy

Another challenge that Dr. Kaunda encountered was Zambia's economic decline from 1975 and subsequent challenges up to the time of his exit from the office of President (Gondwe & Pamu, 2014; Whitworth, 2014). The decline in the Zambian economy from 1975 onwards weakened incentives for effective wildlife conservation in Zambia. This period occurred concurrently with a rise of a shadow black market in wildlife where several international forces combined to foster thriving trade in wildlife products (Gibson, 1999). The economic decline from 1975 onwards was due to the fall in copper prices. The economic decline was also responsible for the proliferation of illegal hunting as it led to the

budget cuts for the National Parks and Wildlife Services from government, subsequently hampering management of national parks. Gibson (1999) adds that domestic demand for game meat and strong international demand for wildlife especially elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn, put extra pressure on the management of national parks and protected areas.

5. *Weak and Absent Indigenous Wildlife Management Institutions*

Various tribes reside in the Luangwa Valley where the South and North Luangwa national parks are located. An ethnographic study amongst the Bisa tribe by Stuart highlighted their discontent with government initiatives that penalized their use and consumption of wildlife resources. Marks (2001) highlights how the transition experienced in the change from tribal control and management of wildlife offtakes, to the introduction of young unsupervised men (government officials) did not sit well with the cultural practices of the Bisa tribe (who lived in the Luangwa river valley). Haller (2013) describes how Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's postcolonial government took control of common pool resources such as wildlife reserves, introducing new demands and management requirements that destabilized the social livelihoods and community structures of people that lived adjacent to the national parks. The shift from group-specific common goods based on common property regimes, to a state level public good under the state regimes, gave the new users [government initiated institutions] as much claim to access rights as the local users, yet have even more power than the locals (Haller, 2013:5). Marks (2001) notes that ignoring traditional resource management of knowledge and systems of local communities (illustrated from the case of the Bisa tribe) led to government's underestimation of the rates of wildlife depletion in the Luangwa valley. Wildlife counts undertaken by the local village communities revealed higher levels of depletion compared to those tabulated by the government agencies. Subsequent increases in local poaching and destructive hunting practices is a result of disrupted indigenous and local wildlife management institutions in favor of the national parks and wildlife initiated ADMADE programme (ibid). Haller (2013) highlights how the economic crisis in Zambia during the 1970 and 1980s made the state and its institutions weak, while local institutions (which were previously dismantled by the postcolonial government) also remained weak because local people lost their sense of ownership. This made access to the resources easy,

cheap and attractive (ibid). Therefore, Dr. Kaunda's zeal to dismantle prevailing local institutions in favor of the conservation ideals espoused by the fortress approaches prevalent at the time, did not yield desired results. Conservation was therefore not effective on account of the weak and absent local wildlife management institutions, combined with the unfavorable disposition that communities had towards government.

6. *Inefficiencies of the Public Sector*
The UNIP government was not as effective as the private sector in driving wildlife conservation and the growth and development of tourism in Zambia (Whitworth, 2015). The privatization of tourism establishments and gradual exit of government from running the tourism development businesses spurred the private sector to take a leading role (Whitworth, 2015). South Luangwa National Park experienced a notable breakthrough in tourist arrivals after 1991 when the Movement for Multiparty Democracy Party came into power with the election of Frederick Chiluba as president (refer to Figure 1). The Zambian government after 1991 has since promoted strong involvement of the private sector to drive the tourism sector (Ministry of Tourism, 1999); increased stakeholder collaboration among all government agencies to facilitate private sector involvement (Ministry of Tourism and Arts 2015) and strong partnerships between the private sector and local communities (Ministry of Tourism and Arts, 2019).

Conclusion

This paper draws out the key factors that surround its argument over the role that Zambia's late President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda played in promoting tourism development in South Luangwa National Park. Evidence of his passion for wildlife conservation, love for the tourism sector and preference for South Luangwa all highlight the important role that an influential figure can play in harnessing the tourism potential of a destination. His facilitative role in promoting domestic tourism provided stability to the tourism sector in difficult times when international arrivals were low. His frequent travels to the Park for working holidays and his ability to host influential international delegates in South Luangwa promoted this destination locally and internationally. The President's determination to preserve wildlife resources influenced his decisions to involve external donor support to curb poaching problems in the Luangwa Valley outside the bureaucracies of his government. The LIRDP had a positive effect on wildlife

management and community engagement near the South Luangwa National Park and continued to support the operations of government agencies even after 1991 in its subsequent phases and change of name to South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) in 2003. However, the shortcomings and challenges that Dr. Kaunda experienced in his advocacy for heightened conservation reflect the potential pitfalls that can befall powerful political figures who attempt to drive their agendas' without public support. Dr. Kaunda underestimated the significant role that political party members, government officials, and the general population of Zambians (particularly those living adjacent to national parks) have in promoting wildlife conservation and tourism. His associations with the financially powerful donor agencies and conservation NGOs could not override the notable resistance from these three groups.

Dr. Kaunda was ahead of his time in his zeal for conservation. The climate change agenda being promoted globally is tied to ecosystem conservation and curbing land cover changes caused by infrastructure development, deforestation and other land use. Sustainable Development Goals 13 (Calling for Climate Action) and 15 (Advocating for Life on Land) are embraced in the main objective and concept of National Parks. National Parks protect ecological processes and their complementary species and ecosystems (IUCN 2020). Dr. Kaunda's conservation agenda recognised the larger role National Parks play in global well-being and global aspirations on sustainable development. He also laid a foundation for promoting sustainable tourism development in the creation and promotion of Zambia's National Parks. Dr. Kaunda's legacy in wildlife tourism and conservation is reflected in the beauty, ecological diversity and tourism performance of South Luangwa National Park - the World's first International Park for Sustainable Tourism Development.

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A Zambian Requiem: Kenneth Kaunda in Collective Memory

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Memorialisation can hide the "true past." Most of the past that is memorialised has political and sentimental significance. This paper attempts to reconstruct Kenneth Kaunda's historical significance from remembrances about KK. We conceptualise the memorialisation and commemoration of KK using a Zambian mourning process and highlight how remembrances about KK produce a hagiographic narrative. The paper demonstrates that KK's role in creating a Zambian collective memory based on his Humanism created a knowledge vacuum in Zambian historical memory. Furthermore, the monumentalising of KK seems to encourage forgetfulness but mausoleums also serve a mnemonic function to Zambian collective memory and history. Finally, we argue that the unresolved different remembrances about KK and other dead Zambian presidents has turned Embassy Park into Zambia's dissonant heritage site.

Key Words: Commemoration, Collective Memory, Humanism, Memorialisation, Monumentalising, Dissonant Heritage.

It is not your memories which haunt you.
It is not what you have written down.
It is what you have forgotten, what you must forget

...*Grief must have its terms? Guilt too, then.*
And it seems there is no limit to the resourcefulness of recollection.

... *It is not what they say*
It is what they do not say
James Fenton, A German Requiem

Introduction

The death of Kenneth Kaunda (KK) on 17th June, 2021 reminded us of Fenton's requiem. KK's death exacted different reactions from people, and clearly there

was much that needed saying or sweeping under the carpet. Forgetting and choosing are part of the historian's craft. Just like Fenton's requiem, forgetting and choosing what to remember about KK filled the mourning period. One Zambian adage says that *uulelila tabamucheba ku kanwa* which means: do not pay attention to the mourners' words. This gives mourners the freedom to say what they want or 'cry' how they want and it is understood that much of what is said can be intentional or not, true or not. Reality kicks in after the funeral. This paper discusses historical issues dealing with collective memory and commemoration. It focuses on KK's ideology of Humanism to discuss the commemoration of a humanist to illuminate the historical value of ideas and resultant actions. Using a Zambian traditional mourning process as our conceptual framework, the paper discusses how the remembrance of Kaunda the Humanist proves that history, memory and commemoration are not contiguous.

A brief survey of relevant literature reveals that there are studies that focus on politics and death or the politicisation of death in Zambia. For example, Kalusa (2011: 112) discusses how nationalists fighting colonial rule 'transformed death into a terrain for thinking as well as their pan-ethnic relationships.' He further argues that African nationalists 'appropriated Copperbelt funerals and quite directly exploit[ed] their emotional and political potential' (Kalusa and Vaughan, 2013: xx). Chipande also writes on how thousands of mourners lined the 30 kilometre road from the airport to Independence Stadium to pay their respects to the Zambian National Team footballers and crew who had perished in the Gabon Air Crash on 27th April 1993 (Chipande, 2015). The link between this national disaster and politics becomes clear when Chipande (2015: 266) argued that President Chiluba shrewdly appealed for national unity because 'The government was terrified that their political opponents might blame Chiluba and his MMD party for the plane crash and then possibly use it as a rallying cry to dislodge them from power in the 1996 general elections.' After the burial, eventually the Gabon air crash report was turned into a tool for political campaigns (Chipande, 2015: 268). The political function of death was also referred to by Kalusa (2017) in 'Politics of the Corpse' in which he shows how both the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) and opposition Patriotic Front (PF) parties tried to use the death of President Mwanawasa as political leverage.

> *To secure political support for the leader who would succeed Mwanawasa, each of the two rival factions that emerged in the MMD government appropriated his corpse and legacy. They also organised a grand funeral, through which they invited the*

> *citizenry to rally behind the ruling party in the name of values that rival factions in the MMD infused into the corpse of the president. But Mwanawasa's remains were too precious to be monopolised by MMD officials alone. Aware that the president posthumously became a popular political symbol, thanks to the funeral discourses of the governing elites and their subjects, Michael Sata, too, attempted to employ the body and legacy of the dead president to campaign for him and the PF. To this end, the opposition leader appropriated the competing discourses through which the elites and ordinary men and women interpreted the death, the leadership and the achievements of Levy Mwanawasa* (Kalusa, 2017: 1155).

Kalusa's arguments were echoed by Geoffrey Mwanza in his comments about the ruling Patriotic Front (PF) and the opposition United Party for National Development (UPND) 'usurping the corpse and legacy of President Michael Chilufya Sata to mobilise political support in the 2015 presidential bye-elections' (2018: 1).

These studies on the politicisation of death are informative but are not the focus of this paper. Here we do not consider whether the grand parades and mourning, people crowding the streets to glimpse KK's coffin in all the ten Zambian provinces, and the speeches were genuine or politicised. Rather it considers the memorialisation of KK and the etching of those memories into Zambia's heritage. We focus on the fact that the memorialisation process by definition is selective, involving forgetting and remembering, resulting in dissonant heritage.

Although the study is conceptualised within a Zambian traditional framework, no extensive oral information was utilised. Apart from the interviews with those that provided information on the mourning process, we did not carry out oral interviews to include affective aspects on KK's death. We sampled views on KK but did not interview individuals that benefited or were victimised by KK. In this paper, therefore, we first conceptualise the memorialisation and commemoration of KK using a Zambian mourning process; this is followed by a section in which we highlight remembrances about KK and argue that the dominant narrative about KK is hagiographic. The section on KK's place in Zambian collective memory demonstrates that historical reconstruction is selective and that KK's role in creating a Zambian collective memory based on his Humanism created a knowledge vacuum. It is further demonstrated that historical memory is static while collective memory is diachronic. The section on the monumentalising

of KK discusses the mnemonic function of mausoleums to Zambian collective memory even when they encourage forgetfulness. Then finally, we argue that the unresolved different remembrances about KK and other dead Zambian presidents has turned Embassy Park into Zambia's dissonant heritage site.

Conceptualising Zambian Memorialisation

In the Eastern province of Zambia, the mourning process involves three stages. The selection of the Eastern province is already problematic because Kaunda said that his mother tongue was Bemba (Kaunda, 1962: 6). It is a well-known fact that KK's parents came from Malawi but he was born and grew up among the Bemba. The debate as to whether that makes KK a Malawian or Zambian, easterner or northerner seems to have been settled by his death. Euphemistically, we can say that KK became Zambian by death because the same political process that made him a foreigner and therefore ineligible to participate in Zambian elections, is the same process that acknowledged his 'Zambian-ness' by mourning him for 21 days, according him a State funeral and declaring his birth date a holiday. Similarities in the Bantu mourning processes led us to select one process from among the Nsenga of Petauke District in Eastern Province to discuss problems of collective memory and commemoration in history. This is not to imply that KK is from Malawi which is akin to the Eastern Province of Zambia.

The three stages of the mourning process that we use in this paper are followed when an *Induna* or a respected elder dies. People gather at the funeral house and a special group of 'cultured' women is selected to do *Kaliyale* (funeral rhymes). *Kaliyale* is when words are spoken with a rhythm or tune as if they were being sung. These are parting words spoken as if the living and the dead were saying their goodbyes. Since not everyone participates in saying these rhymes and the selected women take turns throughout the night, (each with her tune), these women are even assigned their own 'pot', that is, people to prepare food for them. Then, before the burial of the deceased, one person is chosen to inherit the dead person's 'name- *ukupyanika*. This stage is different from inheriting the dead person's estate and spouse. The person who inherits the name usually must be a good person. After smearing the chosen person's head with white powder, the person is covered in a *chitenge* (cloth) and taken into the funeral house where the dead body would be lying in state ready for burial. There, the chosen one is instructed to relate with others like the dead person used to. After this brief instruction, he or she is then brought out of the house and revealed to the mourners as the chosen person. The mourners are then told to relate with the chosen person just as they did with the dead. After this announcement, the

dead body is taken out for burial. The essence of this second stage is to ensure the name of the deceased does not die because the legacy of the dead person must live on.

About a week after burial, and sometimes even longer because of family matters, the final act of *Kusuzula* and *Kumeta* takes place to mark the end of the funeral. At the stage of *Kusuzula*- people meet and handle the dead person's estate and if the person was married, then the widow/widower is also released. Sometimes, even another spouse was chosen for the widowed at this stage. This stage was then followed by *kumeta*. *Kumeta*- the chief mourners (*anyamalila*), clan 'cousins'(*banungwe*) and some chosen relatives meet and shave their heads and throw the hair at a dumping site. This signifies the end of a funeral. But for those who are involved in the shaving (*kumeta*), mourning only ends when their hair grows back.

This Zambian conceptualisation of memorialisation emphasises the basic conception of humans in Bantu ontology which recognises that 'true humanity is a relationship with others. The dead in Bantu philosophy are not alive, but they do exist' (Mbaegbu, 2015: 224). This is a practice that reconciles the contradictions of life and death by fixing one's past existence into living memory. In other words, by creating a pointer to a life that once was, the true and false or good and bad memories about the dead become etched onto the life of those that continue to live. The contradictions in such remembrances do not negate the past. In this context, the different remembrances about Kaunda, his actions and achievements and failures remain part of Zambian collective memory.

***Kaliyale*: A Humanist Remembered**?

As a humanist, Kaunda put his faith in 'MAN' and believed that man was the centre of all activity (Mwanakatwe, 1994: 49; Manchishi, 2007: 121). Kenneth Kaunda argued that Humanism was based on 'traditional African society values which abhor[ed] ostracising its members whatever their circumstances in life' (Mwanakatwe, 1994: 49). Like other African forms of Humanism, Zambian Humanism espoused respect for humanity, 'traditional values of hospitality and other characteristic features of the communalistic life of an African' (Eleojo, 2014: 297). Humanism was not just a political ideology but also an ideology that defined every aspect of human existence. It tried to reconcile the duality of man as a means and man as an end (Zulu, 1978: 6-7; Kaunda, 1974: 4). Like other forms of African Humanism, it emphasised the need to cultivate the good in man and encouraged "the best in the evolution of society and the treatment of mankind and in the exploitation or use of his natural environment" (Eleojo, 2014: 298).

KK always desired to have a country (Zambia) in which the 'national cake' would be shared equally and where citizens would have the basic needs of life. Molteno adds that the birth of Zambian Humanism encouraged fighting exploitation, encouraging egalitarianism, inclusiveness and self-reliance which were to be balanced by mutual aid, hospitality, politeness and respect (Molteno, 1973: 540). Kaunda wrote and spoke passionately about Zambian Humanism with the hope of educating leaders to set an example to live simply to serve the community. In his meetings and discussions with cabinet he emphasised a developmental framework that would help the poor and the weak. Hatch and Mwanakatwe have highlighted Kaunda's desire to destroy the division between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' that had developed in Zambian society (Hatch, 1976: 85-87; Mwanakatwe, 1994: ; Kandeke, 1975: 12).
Humanism was intended to promote unity in Zambia. Kanduza argues that:

> *In the 1970s, national unity in Zambia was a high priority for Kaunda. Unity in diversity was the main menu for nation building. This was in line with Humanism which saw unique values in African cultural and historical experiences and how these shaped contemporary African life. Kaunda rejected division of people along racial or ethnic lines. He stood up against tribalism* (Kanduza, 2011:83-86).

In his favourite political song, *Tiyende Pamodzi ndi mtima Umo,* Kaunda called on all Zambians to rally together in promoting solidarity and to struggle for national unity in Zambia (Kanduza, 2011: 82). This is a song that has continued to be used by many Zambians to call for unity and peace in the country. It is a song that no Zambian government has ever ignored. The county's history is based on the continuation of peace and unity that successive governments have endeavoured to honour.

The provision of free education was an important aspect of Humanism (Sekwat, 2000: 524). As in most African countries, from the early days African leaders viewed education as a powerful tool, often the most powerful vehicle for social transformation (Carmody, 2004: 24). Thus, in the immediate short-term after Independence, schools were desegregated while tuition and boarding fees were abolished. Education also helped to reduce dependence on expatriates. Zambians have always commended KK and his government for initiating rapid expansion of school facilities and integrating the racially segregated school system into one that was relevant to Zambia. Primary and secondary schools

and colleges were built. It is worth noting that the education system required everyone who went through it to learn about Humanism.

Zambian Humanism also endeavoured to translate the idea of equal opportunities and participation in development between the sexes into actual practice. But while Kaunda's relationship with women has been described as cordial, scholars have demonstrated that women continued to play a subordinate, supportive role in Kaunda's reign (Phiri, 2001: 259). Bertha Osei- Hwedie notes that 'the Women's League which was formed in 1975, was created by the male leadership of UNIP to primarily mobilize the women to support male politicians without challenging the predominance of males in decision-making structures of the party and government. The women continued to play a key role in mobilizing and organizing the party at the grassroots (Osei-Hwedie, 1998).

As a humanist, KK strongly believed that national productivity must involve a communal approach to all development programmes, and thus called for teamwork. Cooperatives were seen as a strategic way of bringing more Africans into industry, commerce, and non-subsistence farming; (Lombard, 1972: 294-299). The government of Zambia made many pledges to develop the rural areas as a means of establishing an egalitarian society. However, all remained rhetoric. Very little development took place because agriculture, though a mainstay of rural life, only received a small fraction of investment (Mapulanga, 2018: 43) From the point of view of the ordinary villager, this had little impact (Molteno, 1973: 555). Overall indeed, the agricultural record was disappointing. Increasing productivity through improved techniques was rather limited: 'The government had certainly spent enormous sums on agricultural development, but these had largely been wasted. Schemes to help villagers produce for the market had been impaired by over-reliance on complex machinery, such as tractors; inadequate technical training; inefficient marketing; and the gross mismanagement of credit facilities, consequently people left the land for urban areas' (Roberts, 1976: 233; Meebelo, 1987: 300). In developing its programme of 'co-operativisation,' Zambian Humanism drew on cultural values and norms of traditional Zambian society.

Humanism was seen to be compatible and complementary to religion. Zambian Humanism attempted to bridge the gaps between religions. Kaunda embraced all the religions and invited them to harness the power inherent in their faith for socially desirable ends. Zambian Humanism recognised the evolutionary development of man from creation, primitive society, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and Humanism which was the highest stage of perfection in this life (Dillon-Malone, 1990: 29). In this sense, its conception of history had an end, which was the attainment of a perfect human society.

Kaunda's Humanism was part of an ideological current in African philosophy born out of the African colonial experience and its aftermath (Bell, 2002: 43; Mazrui, 1999:. 667).

On the international stage, Kaunda was seen as a revolutionary who gave sanctuary to liberation movements from Southern Africa. KK's passionate hatred for racialism and his diplomatic deftness under enormous international pressure; his sacrifice to support broader Southern African independence, at considerable cost to himself and Zambia has always been mentioned (Storella, 2021; Roberts, 1981; Chongo, 2015). He is described as a mid-twentieth century nationalist leader who won his fight against colonisation, 'Son of Africa', and a father of Africa who never favoured any children. He is also referred to as the Gandhi of Africa (Kanduza, 2011:82). John Hatch adds that Kaunda is classified as a philosopher and has been judged more significantly as a statesman (Hatch, 1976: i).

Mixed Recollections

The death of KK united the people at national, regional and international level. Some Zambians applauded the Zambian government for the declaration of the 21-day mourning period for KK. It was wise because it enabled everyone to reflect on the country's peace which was a hallmark for the first president of Zambia (ZNBC TV, 6 July 2021). The unity was shown by various media houses and social platforms throughout the mourning period. Most media platforms showed how KK sacrificed for Zambia's independence, his achievements after independence and his political activism embracing issues far beyond those affecting Zambia (Mantula, 2021). Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) conducted special programmes in remembrance of KK. This involved interviews with politicians, freedom fighters, chiefs, the clergy, academicians and many civilians (ZNBC TV, 18 July 2021). They all recounted how KK sacrificed for Zambia's independence. Traditional leaders challenged political leaders to emulate the sacrifices that KK had made for the country. They said that KK was not self-centred but focused on improving the lives of Zambians.

Newspaper articles argued that KK was 'an inspirational man, a true patriot and pan Africanist who never tolerated any sectionalism, but believed in living up to the One Zambia, One Nation motto in its true sense.' (*Times of Zambia,* 21 June 2021). He was Africa's Che Guevara and Zambia was to be grateful to KK. KK's son Panji said 'his father was a democrat who allowed his children

and Zambians to pursue their wishes without imposing his will on them' (*Times of Zambia,* 22 June 2021). While not all recollections in the newspapers can be highlighted in this section, we can say that from the time of KK's death , 17 June 2021 to his burial, 7 July 2022 and even some days after the official mourning period, mostly the good about KK was remembered. And most of what was remembered showed a progressive peace campaigner, liberator and hero of not only Zambia but all of Southern Africa. The messages of condolences truly captured Kaunda's humanist aspirations.

On his burial day a state funeral was held and many eulogies were spoken and everyone was supposedly mourning. The chosen eulogists were also supposedly speaking for all or at least saying what was generally true about KK. Speaking for the African Union its chairperson, Moussa Faki Mahamat, spoke of Kaunda's willingness 'to sacrifice for the benefit of the African continent' (Mahamat, 2021). Kaunda was remembered as a Pan-Africanist, the liberator of Southern Africa and a hero of the African independence struggle from colonialism and apartheid:

> *President Kaunda, a unifier who had the unique ability to rally us all behind the cause of Pan Africanism… .Today, the Southern African region is a thriving region on the continent, a region Zambia paid a heavy price to liberate… I am here today to honour, with you, this giant among men, a baobab, the last of the Founding Fathers who delivered independence to more than just his own land. Had it not been for the selfless efforts of his generation, I would not be before you today, as the African Union would not exist* (Mahamat, 2021).

These remarks about Kaunda being a liberator and unifier were supported by the South African President Cyril Ramaphosa who reminded mourners to build on what was started by Kaunda. Ramaphosa said:

> *Dr Kenneth David Buchizya Kaunda was a loyal friend of the South African people. He stood by us during our long struggle for liberation. Today is the passing of an era. He has left us, but we know that what he stood for, the standard of leadership he set, and his progressive ideals, live on. As a President he led with humility and selflessness. He refused to surround himself with the trappings of power and influence. He was a man of extraordinary empathy. He was often moved to tears of compassion against injustice. He was an elder statesman who even after leaving office played an*

> *important role in national life, advocating for important causes like HIV/Aids, peace and conflict resolution. He was a lifelong pan-Africanist who worked to advance African unity and integration. He loved young people. He was a champion of African self-reliance. He has left a Zambia proud and free. He has left an Africa united and strong. In taking forward his legacy, let it be that Dr Kaunda's teachings on compassion, empathy and dignity are Africa's gift to humankind* (Ramaphosa 2021).

Another eulogist, the Commonwealth Secretary General Patricia Scotland, noted that 'we are unable to capture the life of this Pan-Africanist titan'. She called Kaunda a man of faith who stood against the intransigent UDI Southern Rhodesian government; a man who emphasised that humans needed weapons of peace and that Kaunda was crucial in reshaping the Commonwealth trajectory, as evidenced by his role in the Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth principles and the Lusaka Declaration (Scotland, 2021).

As if all were obeying one clergyman who, at the funeral, suggested that when talking about the dead, people were not supposed to talk about their weaknesses but what they stood for; even the British Minister for Africa (James Duddridge) claimed that Kaunda had *earned* his place in history. Noting that there were disagreements in *our* complex history (we believe he meant the past of Northern Rhodesia vis-a-vis the British as colonisers; Kenneth Kaunda as freedom fighter against the British; and the past of Kaunda's Zambia and its relationship with Britain), the British Minister eulogised Kaunda's fight against apartheid and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), and also how Kaunda helped negotiate the release of a British nurse from Iraq in 1990 (Duddridge, 2021).

However, since what people can remember is never the same, some people felt what these eulogists were saying was not *true*. This prompted some like Bradley Chingobe to argue that: 'when somebody dies, let's not just highlight the good they did. We must also mention the atrocities they committed. History should never be told in a segregated manner' (Ntomba, 2021). There was need to be true to the past if we were to learn from Kaunda's past instead of falling into the trappings of African forgetfulness, which was assumed to be probably a deliberate disease. Kapya Kaoma called all these eulogies selective and in essence misrepresenting Kaunda's life. Kaoma accused these eulogists of being under the curse of 'Afro-amnesia' (Kaoma, 2021). Kaoma argued that:

> *KK was a deadly dictator and his death should not force us to rewrite history. The violence that characterizes our politics today, the empowering of cadres, the misuse of the police, and unaccountability of the president are some of the blessings of the KK regime…. Sadly the use of force on political opponents is something all Zambian presidents have inherited from the KK regime…. The Post-1991 KK was a great man. This is not the arrogant Kaunda, who ruled Zambia for 27 years, but the former president who dedicated his life to serve humanity… I admire his Pan Africanist philosophy, it is mere words. Nonetheless his reading of the times and willingness to put Zambia first in 1991, and more still his post-presidential actions were humane and inspirational – he used his name and personality to help us talk and do things to address HIV across the world* (Kaoma 2021).

Even when people acknowledge the wrongs KK committed, they can still argue that KK was a president who meant well for Zambia, Africa and all mankind (*Times of Zambia*, 18 June 2021). What is clear about remembrances of KK is that the dominant narrative is hagiographic. This made Brutus Mulilo Simakole caution that KK's 'auto/biography does not give any sense of Kenneth Kaunda's own political weaknesses and presents him as some form of moral colossus' (Simakole, 2012: 40-47).

Collective Memory of KK in History

The various statements made after the death of KK and comments about his past actions set the creation of a collective memory about KK on the commemorative and memorialisation path. Such a process is not completely based on historical facts, but also on futuristic aspirations of the eulogists and other commentators. Remembrance of KK became centred on his public life which is rightly in the realm of collective memory. Private or personal memories (that is, memories only known by the individual) fade into an unknown past and therefore from history. Collective memory is not private but it is not entirely historical. This forces us to wonder about which Kaunda to remember and what remembrances are historical. Although only one Kaunda existed, his public life made our collective remembrance complex. Historians can only reconstruct Kaunda's memories by the records they select.

Kaunda's existence was infused with that of Zambians because being Zambian presupposes the ability to experience things that happened to 'Zambia'. As Zerubavel argues about collective memory, 'being social presupposes the ability to experience things that happened to the groups to which we belong long before we even joined them as if they were part of our own personal past' (Zerubavel, 2003: 3). In this way, memories of Kaunda although not experienced by all Zambians are embedded in his ideas and actions which form part of a Zambian collective memory. It is that 'Zambian memory' from which recollections can be made. In this sense, Kaunda's idea of Humanism was dubbed 'Zambian' Humanism and actions based on that idea became embedded into the Zambian memory. Kaunda's Humanism idea was put into action after independence and it became the Zambian government's ideology until Zambia's Third Republic (Mwanakatwe, 1994: Phiri, 2001: 225). Kaunda was not just part of a Zambian collective memory but also played an active role in its creation. His role in that creative process is observable from his declaration of Humanism and also in its implementation.

Any remembrance of Zambian Humanism is not a simple process because the past has multiple facets. That is, KK and Zambian Humanism are part of a Zambian memory which is a sum of recollections or remembrances about Zambia. KK and Humanism were even seen as killing or modifying Zambian history because the version of the Zambian freedom struggle and post-colonial politics which they promoted, for example, were designed to make Zambians forget some of their past. In arguing that 'the UNIP-dominated historiography impoverished our understanding of the conflicts that marked the freedom struggle in Zambia and politics after independence,' Kalusa and Phiri (2014: 3) were contending that the resulting history was a distorted picture of Zambian history. In this sense then, Kaunda forged a Zambian memory through Humanism and the different recollections about KK and his time resulted from different experiences of that period. The implication of the commemorative process is that it will perpetuate the distortion of knowledge that KK's Humanism created by promoting the view of the past from the 'centre.' This is because the obscure past of 'how ordinary Zambian citizens influenced the formulation of postcolonial policies and how the policies themselves impacted on the people' (Kalusa and Phiri, 2014:3) will not be commemorated.

However, the implication of collective memory being 'a remembrance or series of remembrances' lived or experienced which 'invokes a common past' that all Zambians seem to recall about KK is that it will change (Lavabre 2009:

364 and Zerubavel, 2003). Just as KK played an important role in creating conditions for a Zambian memory, part of the remembrances about KK and his idea of Humanism will evolve into historical memory while commemoration and memorialisation of KK will make some of those remembrances historically inaccurate.

Simply put, the retention of remembrances of KK in its time or period provides a resource for historical reconstruction while finding and attaching meaning in the present makes those collective remembrances commemorative or memorable and not historical. Historical time is not continuous and commemoration and memorialisation which rely on present values or meaning change collective memory. Commemoration and memorialisation attach sentimental value or meaning to collective memory. The statements made after the death of Kaunda clearly illustrate this point: when statements were made about KK's positive contribution to humanity or negatively that Zambian presidents inherited bad practices from KK, such statements shifted KK remembrances from historical memory and time. Maurice Halbwachs argued that some memories lose 'the form and appearance they once had', so remembrances about KK's story lose their historical value when meaning or relevance is found in another time, that is, the present (Halbwachs, 1992: 47). That collective memory acquires some new relevance but loses its historical accuracy. Jeffrey K. Olick puts it:

> *Historical memory is memory that reaches us only through historical records. History is the remembered past to which we no longer have an "organic" relation — the past that is no longer an important part of our lives —whereas collective memory is the active past that forms our identities* (Olick 2007, p. 20).

This argument about historical and collective memory supports the perception that historical memory 'represents the past only in a condensed and schematic way' (Halbwachs, 1992: 78). There is a discontinuity which fixes KK in Zambian historical memory. The death of KK has fixed our remembrances, for example, to colonial, the First, Second and Third Republics of Zambian historical memory. Any theme, topic or category that will discuss KK in Zambian history will still be fixed in time. Historical memory is perforated or punctuated by time while our collective remembrances about KK will continuously be preserved in the present. That is, historical memory is static while collective memory is diachronic.

Kupyanika: Monumentalising KK

The death of KK was not Zambia's first experience of losing a former president. So it was expected on his death that his burial place would be Embassy Park – a place that has been transformed into a memorial park for deceased presidents. This expectation was challenged by some family members led by one of KK's children, Kaweche, who argued before the courts that KK's wish was to be buried next to his wife Mrs Betty Kaunda. In dismissing Kaweche's application and allowing the burial to proceed as planned by the government, Judge W. G. K. Muma ruled that:

> *There [was] no empirical evidence adduced in relation to the wish of the first president of this country. A state funeral in my firm understanding is a public funeral ceremony, observing the strict rules of protocol, held to honour people of national significance…A state funeral must stand as such from beginning to end, and I do verily believe that even if I were told that it was a personal wish of the deceased, this in my view is one case which must demonstrate that public interest overrides personal interest. The late Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was not an ordinary person* (The People v. The Secretary to the Cabinet Ex Parte Kaweche Kaunda, 2021).

Embassy Park where KK was later buried is a transformed landscape of mausoleums, a quiet and very majestic place for a Zambian graveyard. At this park, mostly one learns about the successes of the presidents and not their failures or disdain for one another. This reconstructed landscape tells a narrative of dead presidents from the designs of the mausoleums and etches an official story into the Zambian memory. Although the narratives are selective, they are no less factual.

Zambia first experienced the death of a president when President Levy Mwanawasa died on 19 August 2008. He was the sitting president, hence the design of the mausoleum which is like a traditional African stool. The steps leading into the mausoleum tell of his years in office and the remaining years on his last incomplete term of office; his fight against corruption and his legal background are all told by the guides as they try to draw meaning from the catacomb.

President Fredrick T. Chiluba's mausoleum also keeps alive some memories about Chiluba's successes. There is a cross on top of the mausoleum which gives the entire building a church-like appearance. This design explains Chiluba's declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation; the small village hut-like structure signifies his housing empowerment initiative; the ten finger-like pillars stand for his 10 years in office and his drive to hold the region together through his regional peace endeavours. The entrance has no steps but a tie which symbolises his love for fashion or elegant dressing.

At the time of writing this paper, the last mausoleum that had been built was for the late President Michael Chilufya Sata. The front steps leading to the upper deck represent the districts he created when he came into power, while the coin bearing his face represents Sata's rebasing of the Kwacha. Inside the Mausoleum are the ten pillars for Zambia's ten provinces with the tenth pillar representing Muchinga province having a brighter shine because it was created by Sata. Above the ten pillars are the Ten Commandments written in both English and Hebrew to remind one about Sata's declaration of ruling by the Ten Commandments!

KK's mausoleum is yet to be constructed. But just like other mausoleums KK's mausoleum will demonstrate how the past can keep some memories alive, thereby keeping the dead alive. The message on KK's tombstone tries to summarise what is remembered about him: a torch bearer of peace, founding father of the Republic of Zambia, a hero of Africa and a Christian.

After visiting Embassy Park, it becomes clear that the Zambian presidential mausoleums and their landscape tell an incomplete story. However, their contribution in shaping Zambia's collective memory cannot be overlooked. These embodiments of Zambian memory validate a version of the past and will serve different functions over time as that collective memory continues to be recreated. These mausoleums serve a mnemonic function to Zambian collective memory while creating a silence over the undesired or unusable past (Low, 2013: 84; Halbwachs, 1992: 50; Olick, 2007: 30). The inscriptions on KK's tombstone will contribute to Zambian collective memory selectively, because although they are a summary of KK's past, they will serve a 'practical purpose' in telling an incomplete story (Low, 2013:73). In this regard, these built memorials do not just remind but also encourage forgetfulness.

For the historian, the silence produced by memorialisation is good for their craft. The silence does not kill the past but buries it and allows historians to dig up a true past. Silence 'provides historians with a space in which to speak' (Hedrick, 2000: 151). This gift of memorial silence enables history to provide the 'restoration of what has been effaced from appearance' (Hedrick, 2000: 151).

History is not only revelatory and restorative but it also refers to a real past, to what actually happened. When historians are challenged to say something new or make relevant contributions to their field, the expectations are that they will dig up some true past and reduce the silence or portion of the buried past. Most narratives about KK today may be trying to say something 'new' and will be revelatory, restorative or commemorative, but the fact is there is nothing truly new because historical objectivity requires that reference is made to what really was.

The memorialisation of KK, commemoration of Kaunda Day are ahistorical processes that nevertheless serve a historical purpose as historians try to locate Kaunda in Zambian historical memory. What makes memorialisation and commemoration ahistorical processes is the linking of the historical past to its present use. In other words, these are processes that keep the dead past alive under the guise of a ghost called legacy. Memorials and commemorations are symbolic or representative of a real past (historical past), provide linkages to that past and they are endorsed collectively to create a collective memory.

What is revealing about the process of memorialisation or monumentalising of KK is that materials used in "the production of the meanings of Kenneth Kaunda's life" creates silences and contestations as demonstrated by Brutus Mulilo Simakole's discussion of the creation of KK's Chilenje and Kabompo House National Monuments (Simakole, 2012:40-70). Simakole argued that:

> *an extraordinary wide range of unpublished party documents and personal papers of actors in the events recorded "may not have been sufficient of and by itself because these materials may have harboured their own silences." It is how these archives were utilized in the production of the meanings of Kenneth Kaunda's life that is of perhaps more paramount importance* (2012: 40).

In monumentalising KK, the different views about his life and contestations about his burial site illustrate the dissonant aspect of heritage. Dissonance in heritage 'involves a discordance or lack of agreement and consistency' (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 20). Disagreements about KK will remain unresolved. For example, on 29^{h} June 2021 the *Times of Zambia* eulogised the late Newstead Zimba who had just been put to rest as a brave unionist who stood against the dictates of KK's One Party state which had impoverished workers. But in the same paper an article eulogised KK as God's gift to Zambia sent to resolve Zambia's problems! Another way in which KK's monumentalising created dissonant heritage was in 'disinheriting' Kaweche and others by not

following their choice. Following Kaweche's choice most likely could have been seen also as disinheriting the majority of Zambians. Dissonance does not only involve KK but all the presidents buried at Embassy Park. Different scholars will always contest the meanings and past of these former presidents, making Embassy Park a contested landscape whose contested interpretations makes it a dissonant heritage site (Kisić, 2016: 50).

Dissonance in monumentalising KK seems to arise because heritage creation involves selectivity and choices are related to time and actors involved in the creation process. Selectivity, therefore, becomes a common factor for history and heritage but time (past and present + future respectively) creates a divide. The past evidence that history gives to the present can actually be rejected by the present in creating its heritage (Battilani et al., 2018: 5). This assertion is clearly put by Tunbridge and Ashworth thus:

> *History is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on. The distinction is only that in heritage current and future uses are paramount, the resources more varied, including much that historians would regard as ahistorical, and the interpretation is more obviously and centrally the product that is consumed* (1996:6).

Kumeta: **Conclusion**

As exemplified in our selected Zambian traditional mourning concept, in order to bury the dead, one needs to separate the past from the present. For historians, this means acknowledging that locating KK in Zambia's historical past requires guarding against the selectivity of memorialisation which can produce a romantic glorification of KK. Selectivity in memorialisation is usually deliberate forgetfulness because the essence of KK's memorial (just like other Mausoleums for Zambian presidents at Embassy Park) will be to glorify KK's achievements. The tranquil environment created by the modified landscape of Embassy Park buries the hostilities these presidents may have had for each other and their failures, thereby creating a silence over some Zambian past. This is the silence which historians work at. In this sense historical remembering involves reconstructing from historical memory or 'past historical experience' (Lotman and Tamm, 2019: 6-7). But as Sumit Guha writes, 'The historical past must refer to a unique location in time and space' (Guha, 2019: 10).

Hence, the different stories told by the mausoleums demonstrate that each era bears its burdens and successes, that there is a beginning and end of an era. But how is it that the past 'weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living?' (Zerubavel, 2003:38). In the present, the past seems to bear the burdens of the present and the inadequacies of living actors are moved to the past.

Locating KK in Zambia's historical past entails marking out KK's past time which starts with his death. Anything after KK is outside KK's historical time. As in the symbolic custom of *kumeta*, KK's historical existence ended with his death but his existence in the Zambian collective memory continues. *Kumeta* does not deny the past but recognises the beginning of a past whilst attaching responsibility to historical actors.

Selectivity and presentism are key in the creation of heritage. The present valuation of some of the remembrances of KK will be key in enshrining KK in Zambia's heritage. In this sense heritage is diachronic and the different memories and arguments about KK will create a contested heritage. Set apart from the three mausoleums, KK's mausoleum will overshadow the other three mausoleums because, after all, 'we are the fruit of generations past, we are also the fruit of their mistakes, their passions, their errors, and even their crimes' (Lavabre, 367). The extent of the impact that the Zambian Humanist foundation has had on Zambian peace and political stability is hard to measure but the presidential memorial park is important in the formulation of a national identity and collective memory. If Humanism was a 'post-colonial discourse whose aim was to break with the colonial past and create an African identity' (Mwangala, 2009: 2), then KK's memorial and commemoration serving as conduits of a selected Zambian memory across generations may serve to build that identity. This is because contextualising the past as peaceful, serene, and progressive may lay the foundation for a post KK discourse about the Zambian identity. But scholars must remember:

... *It is not just what they say*
It is also what they do not say.

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Times of Zambia. 22 June 2021

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A Close Look at Kenneth Kaunda's Life: Interviews with those who knew him personally

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Introduction

Duncan Money

Victoria Phiri Chitungu and her team conducted a remarkable series of interviews with people personally close to Kenneth Kaunda, along with Kaunda himself, and together these offer a different, more personal perspective on Kaunda's life. The articles in this special issue primarily focus on Kaunda as a public and political figure and Kaunda as a real-life human being can sometimes disappear in this perspective. He was a symbol for many people, alternately revered and reviled. Chitungu's interviews are different. Here, we glimpse into Kaunda's personal life: the food he ate, the songs he sang, how he slept, and his family relationships. The lack of a biography or autobiography of Kaunda make the personal and intimate histories in these interviews an important source.

Chitungu was part of a team commissioned in 2017 by Zambia's Cabinet Office to document the life histories of Zambia's presidents as a contribution to creating and shaping a national history. Kaunda was then one of the only former presidents still alive, having outlived most of his successors. The team originally sought direct interviews with former presidents but with Kaunda the team encountered great reluctance. Instead, Kaunda suggested they speak to those who had been close to him, specifically those people who knew him "simply as a human who needs to eat, who pines for human company, who lacks and who grieves. Not as 'His Excellency' the President" (Kaunda, 28 January 2017).

These interviews are the result of that apposite suggestion. Sadly, many of the people Kaunda suggested had already died as he outlived not only his political generation but most of the people who knew him personally, including his wife Betty and his seven siblings, of whom he was the youngest. Nevertheless, Chitungu and her team did manage to track down several people across Eastern, Muchinga and Northern Provinces. Later, through interactions with Kaunda and interviews with him at his home, they came to know other people who had a close and personal relationship with him. Some of these were interviewed only after Kaunda's death in 2021.

All of these interviews were with people suggested by Kaunda or with those to whom he raised no objection to being interviewed. This inevitably shapes these interviews as a source as those selected are people with long and positive memories of Kaunda, though Maxwell Mucheleka, Kaunda's chief, relates controversies and criticism towards him from the Bemba Royal Establishment. This element of selection can be seen as a conscious strategy by Kaunda to narrate his life history. Yet there is a great value in this collection of interviews of people who knew Kaunda personally, outside his public and political life. These are people who saw and knew much beyond the public eye. The interviews included here are:

- Watson Lombe N'gandu, who knew Kaunda in Lubwa and sang with him at Lubwa Mission Church, and for many years after.
- Maxwell Mucheleka, who became Senior Chief Nkula IX of Chinsali. Kaunda's Fufu village falls under his jurisdiction, making Kaunda his subject.
- Franklin Ndlovu, Zambia's first official photographer from 1964 to 1976.
- Stephen Chanda, Kaunda's chef at State House from 1979 to 1991.
- Kennedy Lusanso, Kaunda's chef from 2017 to 2021.
- Benjamin Kachingwe, Kaunda's barber and bedroom attendant from 1998 to 2021.

Some of these were friends, others employees but all had an unusual degree of intimacy with Kaunda away from the public eye. Yet, while these interviews offer a different and more personal perspective, there is no sense of a separation between Kaunda as a public and as a private figure. One thing apparent from these interviews are the ways that his personal life was shaped by deep-seated political convictions.

Kaunda's diet, relatively unusual for someone of his generation, is a good example of this. In 1954, he vowed never to eat meat again after African women led a boycott of European-owned butcheries that had a policy of selling only leftover cuts of meat to Africans, and he kept rigorously to this for the following 70 years. He insisted too that his chefs cooked only locally grown food bought from local markets. This may have been a personal culinary preference, but it's not hard to see how this could be related to his political stance about the indigenisation of Zambia's economy.

Kaunda's suggestion that Chitungu and her team speak to those who knew him "simply as a human" was not a straightforward one. His advanced age and position as a former president complicated this. Most of his close associates had already died, for one. The other complicating factor is that several others who were close to him were employees and were, or had been, dependent on that personal relationship for continued employment. Their reflections are inevitably shaped by their professional relationship, although their work brought them into close contact with Kaunda over many years. Finding someone who knew Kaunda as an equal is a challenging and perhaps now an impossible task. Among these interviews, it is really only Watson Lombe N'gandu who could be seen in this way and even he was significantly younger than Kaunda.

This does not diminish the importance of these interviews and we hope readers will find many valuable insights into Kaunda's life among the extracts below. This is Kaunda's life through the eyes of those who knew him.

Watson Lombe N'gandu: Kaunda's lifetime friend and singing companion

> *…perhaps the only person alive that knows who Kenneth David Kaunda is when you remove all his titles bestowed on him*
> Kabili nali kasuli. Lombe emunyinane fye epela *[I was the youngest child. Lombe is my only brother]*
> (Kaunda, March 2017)

Watson Lombe N'gandu was interviewed in Muchinga Province on 8th March 2017. He was a close friend, family member and confidant of Kenneth Kaunda before he became president, all the way through his presidential life and after.

N'gandu was 12 years younger than Kenneth Kaunda, and knew Kaunda from the time he was a child. He was a grandson of Chief Nkula IV, Bwalya Changala, the chief that welcomed Kaunda's parents (David and Helen) to Chinsali when they arrived as missionaries in 1905. N'gandu explains that at the invitation of Chief Nkula IV, David and Helen stayed at his palace for over a year as they waited to have their own house and granary *(Ubutala)* ready. This arrangement has been related to him by his mother Helen Chitembo N'gandu, who was a daughter of Kafolo, a brother to Senior Chief Nkula IV.

Kafolo died when Chitembo was a young girl; therefore, she was brought up by her uncle, Chief Nkula IV, at his palace. She was living at the palace when David and Helen Kaunda stayed there. Helen Kaunda was so attached to the

young orphaned girl to the extent that she christened her after herself with the name Helen. Thus, N'gandu's mother was called Helen Chitembo N'gandu. This attachment meant that Helen Chitembo N'gandu spent most of her childhood at Helen Kaunda's home. When N'gandu was growing up, he too was a frequent visitor to the Kaunda family home because of his mother's connection. N'gandu says about the Kaunda family:

> *I was regarded as a 'grandchild' in the Kaunda family. In this way, I came to know the Kaunda family and Kenneth Kaunda from an early age and on a very personal level. …*
>
> *My earliest memory of the Kaunda family is a family headed by Ba[1] Helen, the Mother to Ba Kaunda, since Ba David, the father to Ba Kaunda had long passed away. I remember Ba Helen as a very protective mother who loved Ba Kaunda as* 'Kasuli' *(the last born child) so dearly.*
>
> *Much that I know of the background of the Kaunda family I heard from my mother, Helen Chitembo. For example she told me that Ba Kaunda was the reason why Ba Helen (his mother), chose to stay on at Lubwa after her husband's death because she felt he was too young, at the age of 8 years old when his father died, to go on such a long and tedious journey on foot to Nyasaland.*

Another source of information about the Kaunda family was the stories, from the palace where N'gandu says he spent much of his time as a child:

> *From the Palace stories I learnt about the close friendship that my grandfather Senior Chief Nkula IV shared with Ba Kaunda's father Ba David and how the Chief took over the responsibility of taking care of Ba Helen and her children after Ba David Kaunda's death. At some point when Ba Helen was failing to pay for Kaunda's school fees, my grandfather Senior Chief Nkula IV took it upon himself to be responsible for all Kaunda's welfare transforming Kaunda from being just his friend's son, to something equivalent to his own adopted son. This is important to me because history was repeating itself here: Just like my orphaned mother had been to Ba David and Ba Helen Kaunda, so their son Ba Kaunda became to my Grandfather, the official guardian of my mother.*

The relationship dated back many decades and he was familiar with Kaunda's background and circumstances before he entered politics:

> *I remember during the colonial times, when I was working in the Tax Office at Chinsali District, Kenneth Kaunda used to pay his tax under Fufu village as a subject of that village.*

All the same, N'gandu explains that his friendship with Kaunda was not based so much on this relationship, but was anchored on their love for music that dates back to the time they were both young.

> *We may have started off as relatives but we ended up to be very close friends. I remember Kaunda as a boy who had very few friends, enjoyed spending his time alone playing a homemade guitar. I too loved music and each time I was sent on an errand to the Kaunda house, I would take long to come back because I always sneaked to Kaunda to play some music with him, something that we both enjoyed. I can confidently say that this is how our friendship developed and grew despite our age differences.*

By the time N'gandu was about 10 years old, Kaunda encouraged him to join the church choir at Lubwa mission where he was the choirmaster.

> *By this time Ba Kaunda had become a teacher and I remember that at this same time Ba Kaunda had also formed a Band with his fellow teachers, where he [Kaunda] played the bass lead guitar. I was never able to attend these school concerts because I was not a pupil at Lubwa mission, but I had the rare privilege of being allowed to attend the groups' practice sessions at Ba Kaunda's house. His bandmates included Alick Nkata and John Sokoni… One of the most popular songs that he [Kaunda] composed and he played with his band was titled* "Ba Kaunda nga bafwa, mwikalila, *(When Kaunda dies, do not weep)."*

As a young boy, N'gandu would stay with the Kaunda family whenever he could because the family used to sing around their kitchen fire in the evenings:

> *Music came naturally to Ba Kaunda because it runs in his family. Ba Kaunda with his mother Helen, his sisters Ba Kate, Ba Joan and Ba Belita and their brother Ba Robert loved to sing together at*

> *home. I later learnt from my mother that Ba Helen used to teach her children the hymns that her husband composed for the Lubwa Mission Church when he was a missionary there. It was her way of keeping the memory of their father alive.*

According to N'gandu, Kaunda treasured these songs and these moments such that he could not give them up for anything. Kaunda almost always found time to spend his Christmas holidays at Shambalakale, the old farm where his mother Helen settled after his father died and where Kaunda built his holiday home:

> *This is the reason why when he became president he had to find time to recreate the old home set up of his mother's time where the family gathered together to sing the old Lubwa hymns in the tunes that his father composed.*
>
> *At Shambalakale, he and his family met with his siblings and their children, where they would gather and sing the old Lubwa mission songs. During such times, Ba Kaunda would sometimes call for me as family as well as music companion, to come all the way from Kitwe where I was working to join the Kaunda family in singing the old hymns as we did during Ba Helen's time.*

Although N'gandu never visited Kaunda at State House, Kaunda made it a point to visit N'gandu in his two-bedroom village house, where he would be so relaxed and even play music on N'gandu's keyboard whenever he visited Chinsali. The two would play both the old hymns such as "Rock of Ages' and the old concert songs such as *'Ba Kaunda nga bafwa'*.

N'gandu believes that Kaunda preferred this arrangement, to meet his old friend in the village set up that they grew up in, away from the hustle and bustle of State House and state functions.

> *I believe that Ba Kaunda wanted to keep his childhood memories and experiences alive with me since I was part of that life, although we have never discussed it. On my side, I regarded Lusaka, his new home as a place of work. You do not meet up with your friends to play at the place of work. You meet at home and home for both of us was at Lubwa. This arrangement suited me too. I did not want to be with him at a place where there would be too many competitors for his attention.*

N'gandu says Kaunda regarded him not only as a friend but as a close family member, even more so after Kaunda's last sibling died in 2000:

> *We became even closer than before, and Kaunda started avoiding to sing some of the old concert songs such as* 'Ba Kaunda nga bafwa', *because he said they sounded too sad for his liking….*
> *He entrusted me with the role of recording the death dates in the old and first Lubwa Mission Baptism Roll, each time any of his siblings and relatives died.*
>
> *One could tell how important our friendship is to him from the way he looked after his visits. I think that the music rejuvenated him and the old songs were especially important to him because they reconnected him to things that mattered the most in his life – his family, his village and his childhood. At the end of every visit Kaunda looked happier, relaxed and younger than at the beginning of the visit….*

The old Lubwa Mission Baptism Roll[2] that dates back to 1907 with Kate, Kaunda's elder sister, as the first baby to be baptised at the mission by their father David, has been in disuse for a long time, such that only a few people like N'gandu know about its existence and where to find it in the old Lubwa Mission Church archives.[3] After this interview, we visited the Lubwa Mission Church and asked to see the Baptism Roll that N'gandu had mentioned. No one seemed to know about it, but N'gandu insisted that it was there. After a thorough check, we finally found it in the archival space of the mission offices. The records were as N'gandu had indicated.

Kaunda himself described music as his lifelong comforter and that it spiritually lifted him up. Presented with what N'gandu had said about him, Kaunda could not agree more. He said music kept him sane during the most difficult times of his life, whether it was when he was cycling alone during the long bush trips during his party mobilisation days; or in solitude in prison during the freedom struggle; or during the liberation struggle of Southern Africa and the country's economic crisis that came with it; or indeed during his lonely times after he lost the 1991 elections and when he lost his wife Betty in 2012. "Music kept me going and never failed to uplift my spirits" (Kaunda, March 2017).

Kenneth Kaunda's Chief: Maxwell Mucheleka, Senior Chief Nkula IX

> *In Zambia every one is a subject of a* chief *and I am a subject of Chief Nkula… If there is anything to tell about my background, he should know* (Kaunda, March 2017).

Maxwell Mucheleka, Senior Chief Nkula IX, was interviewed in Muchinga Province on 10 March 2017.

Kenneth Kaunda's experiences with his chief make a special reading since his parents migrated from Malawi. Born and raised in Chief Nkula's Chiefdom, Kaunda identified with Senior Chief Nkula rather than with his parent's chiefs in Malawi. Mucheleka, also acknowledged Kaunda as a subject of his chiefdom:

> *When Kaunda's father David came to Chinsali in 1904, Chief Nkula IV, Bwalya Changala welcomed him to the chiefdom and the two became very close friends and confidants. The chief allocated David to Fonkofonko Village as his subject.*

Bwalya Changala wanted David to settle permanently in his Chiefdom and raise his family there:

> *This is because in David, Bwalya Changala had found not only a friend but an advisor, one who was educated and knew both the way of life of the Africans and Europeans and so he did not want to lose him. He wanted to own him as part of his chiefdom so he made sure that David felt welcome in the chiefdom. This is why, when David and his wife first came to Nkula's area they were hosted by the Chief at his palace for a year until they built a house of their own.*
>
> *After David's death, when Helen was removed from the mission house, rendering the family homeless, Bwalya Changala took them in again at his palace until he allocated them land at Fufu Village, where Shambalakale Farm is located today. He also assigned the Kaunda family to the clan of* Bena Bowa *(the mushroom clan). According to the chief's reasoning, mushrooms can grow anywhere and everywhere, just like the Kaunda's who having come from another land still managed to thrive in the new foreign land that they now called their home.*

When Bwalya Changala died around 1938, his successor, Kafula Musungu, inherited Bwalya Changala's position as Chief Nkula V. In 1945, he became Chief Chitimukulu Kafula Musungu:

> *Inheritance does not only mean inheriting the position, but includes all the obligations of your predecessor. It is for this reason that Kafula Musungu as Senior Chief Nkula V automatically took over Chief Nkula IV's obligation towards Helen Kaunda and her children, especially towards Kaunda the youngest of the children….*
>
> *In short, this is how Kenneth Kaunda became a kind of 'adopted' child of Chitimukulu's palace and part of the Bemba royal family.*

Kaunda remained very close to the royal family and like his father before him, provided the royal family with advice whenever they needed it. Traditional rulers often found it difficult to balance between the political demands of their subjects and that of the colonial administration:

> *It was in such matters that Kaunda's advice was heavily relied on due to his education, exposure to the territory's politics, the missionaries and colonial administration. For example, in 1953, on his strong advice and assurance, Paramount Chief Chitimukulu travelled to London as part of the Africa National Congress (ANC) delegation that was sent to try and dissuade the British Government from supporting the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.*

Kaunda himself benefitted from his position with the Bemba Royal establishment:

> *his relationship and influence on the Bemba Royal family, apart from his party mobilisation skills, made [Harry Mwaanga] Nkumbula bring Kaunda close to him, because Nkumbula valued the support of the traditional leaders in his quest to fight the Federation and colonialism in Northern Rhodesia.*

However, it was not always easy to have Kaunda as a subject of the chiefdom:

> *When Kaunda became president he was too powerful to be an ordinary subject. It was okay as long as Musungu remained Chitimukulu because Kaunda respected Musungu whom he regarded*

> *as his father. But unfortunately, Musungu died in 1965. As president, Kaunda influenced and supported the candidature of Lackment Mutale N'gandu whom he had known while growing up in Chinsali and being part of Chief Nkula's palace. Lackment N'gandu became Chitimukulu Chitapankwa II. Kaunda even made him Member of the Central Committee (MCC) for the United National Independence Party.*

Some in the Bemba Royal establishment resented Kaunda's influence and insisted he was a foreigner as his parents were from Malawi:

> *This fact was well known. It is for this reason that Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, Lackment N'gandu, who was very close to Kaunda, advised him to denounce his Malawian citizenship even though he never lived there…*
>
> *It was after Lackment (Chitimukulu Chitapankwa III) advised him that Kaunda reluctantly renounced his connections to Malawi. I believe he was reluctant because he did not see any reason to do so. But anyway he denounced his Malawian citizenship in 1972 by writing to the Malawian Government to legally free himself from this attachment… .*
>
> *It was Chitimukulu Lackment N'gandu's timely advice that saved Kaunda from deportation [in 1996], as the High Court found that Kaunda had relinquished his Malawian citizenship in 1972.*

According to Mucheleka, one prominent member of the royal family who did not accept Kaunda's position as a subject of Nkula's chiefdom was Dickson Mutale Chitabanta who grew up with Kaunda at Nkula's palace and became Senior Chief Nkula in the 1970s:

> *The main source of their difference was Chitabanta's insistence that Kaunda was a foreigner from Malawi, despite growing up together. This hurt Kaunda deeply. Kaunda had two extremes, when he loved, he loved deeply and when he was angry, he simply lost it. I think Chitabanta's stance stung Kaunda badly because Chitabanta was someone whom he considered as kin.*

By 1975, the differences between Chitabanta as Senior Chief Nkula and Kaunda grew to such an extent that Kaunda used his power as president to suspend Chitabanta with a view to removing him from his throne:

> *This move by Kaunda divided the Chiefdom and the family. These differences had to be resolved amicably. Kaunda was made to see that his presidential power could not remove Chitabanta from his throne. Even if he was president, he was still just a subject to a chief like any other citizen in the country.* "Imfumu ni mfumu."

Kaunda gave in and Chitabanta was reinstated and ruled until his death in 1983. After that Kaunda lived relatively well with the chiefs of Nkula Chiefdom as a subject just like any other subject, and paid due respects to successive chiefs. At the same time, he was accorded respect as a son of the palace and a former president:

> *For instance in 2012, when his wife Betty died, as Senior Chief Nkula, I was ready to accord her the burial that she deserved in my chiefdom as a member of the family by virtue of her marriage to Kaunda. When this was not possible due to Kaunda's health, out of respect of the Nkula seat, Kaunda sent his eldest son to come and present himself before me on his behalf and apologize in person for not having Betty's burial in the Chiefdom. I accepted the apology from my subject and also my son.*

Kaunda described his relationship with the Bemba Royal Establishment as "a son and father relationship and me being the son". He said he was humbled to be honoured by the title of Kachele Wa Lubemba.

> *I feel humbled because I owe a lot to my village and my chief. I must say that if I was not embraced into the Nkula household, I doubt I would have developed the leadership skills that I have. I know I owe a lot to my missionary upbringing, but on the practical side of leadership I learnt a lot from the palace and my interaction with traditional leadership. During the struggle (for independence), I was far ahead of my colleagues because I brought on the table my missionary upbringing, my teacher education and above all my exposure to traditional leadership skills. I also know that my connection to the palace was a privilege in itself……You see in those days, chiefs' children had certain privileges that ordinary children did not have. I had both the privilege of being a missionary's son and a chief's son. I owe it to them* (Kaunda, 26 March 2017).

Franklin Ndlovu, Government Photographer, 1964 to 1974

> *the man who taught me how to smile for the camera*
> (Kaunda, 28 January 2017)

Franklin Ndlovu was mentioned briefly by Kaunda while going through his early presidential photos, and the team initially did not consider him as a potential interviewee. It was only after Kaunda's death that with the help of Yezi Arts, a film production company that had been documenting Kenneth Kaunda's life, we were able to track and find Ndlovu living on his farm in Shibuyunji, 163km from Lusaka. He was interviewed there on 12 August 2021.

Ndlovu came to Lusaka in the 1950s from his village in Southern Province to look for employment. He first joined a laundry company as a delivery man before joining the Northern Rhodesian Government as an assistant photographer in 1953:

> *After the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a number of senior officers that included the photographer were transferred to the Federal headquarters in Zimbabwe [then Southern Rhodesia]. That is how I was appointed to the position of photographer.*

However, it was as a result of his work as a laundry delivery man, and not his skills as a photographer that made him gain access to the most powerful office in the Federation, that of Roy Welensky, then Federal Prime Minister:

> *While working for the laundry I acquired a number of suits through unclaimed deliveries, therefore I used to wear suits every day for work. I was dubbed the smartest African in the department. This was because very few Africans at the time could afford to buy suits. Because of my smart appearance I was assigned to be covering the office of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Roy Welensky.*[6]

He first photographed Kaunda before independence, though in a very different capacity to his later role:

> *I was occasionally assigned to accompany the Police Special Branch Unit that was sent to cover African political party rallies, under*

> *the Public Order Act that required that all rallies be recorded and photographed as evidence in court in case the rallies were conducted in a manner that was deemed to be disorderly to the public. So I was familiar with Kaunda and his colleagues and their ideals… .I secretly became a card carrying UNIP member.*
>
> *In Lusaka, the famous meeting place for UNIP rallies was in Kamwala at the Thatcher Hopson's buses Bus Stop, popularly known as 'Sacha'[7] Bus Stop. It was located just before where the Kamwala Hindu Hall is located today. The buses parking space used to provide a good open space to hold such meetings and the high stands for loading buses [which carried luggage on their roofs] used to provide a good platform for addressing a big gathering because of their height.*

After independence, Ndlovu continued with the same job, this time assigned to cover President Kenneth Kaunda, becoming one of Kaunda's first official photographers:

> *My first official assignment was to capture the historical events of 24th October 1964, when Zambia gained its independence. My greatest moment was to see the British flag pulled down and replaced by the Zambian flag. The moment seemed to take forever as I was anxious to capture the new Zambian flag flying high on the mast, that I ignored all other activities with my focus on the mast.*
>
> *To me this scenario was the very confirmation that freedom for the Africans had finally come, and on my way home from the hoisting of the Zambian flag ceremony, I threw away my UNIP membership. I felt that with freedom, there was no need to keep the card.*

One of Ndlovu's first jobs was to produce Kaunda's first official portrait.

> *An appointment was made for the President to come to my studio for the portrait to be taken. When Kaunda arrived, he was surround by a horde of security and other government officials. I had a hard time explaining to them that it was going to be difficult if done in the presence of all of them. I asked them to leave the room and allow me working time, alone with the President. There was hesitation from the security personnel, but Kaunda was quick to understand my request and politely asked them to wait outside the door…. It was at this point that I realized how important my work was and how powerful I was as a photographer… .*

> *Subsequent photo shoots followed the same routine – no one, except Kaunda and myself, were allowed in the room during portrait photo takings – it was our private session, just the two of us*

The time alone with Kaunda gave Ndlovu confidence and he proceeded to tell him what to do in order to produce a good image, but Kaunda's facial features were difficult to photograph:

> *To begin with, his forehead, when captured at a certain angle cast a shadow on his face. It took a lot of practice to get the right angle of the picture without this shadow.*

The second hurdle was "Kaunda's shiny face". It affected the way the picture would come out.

> *To avoid this, I treated his face to a dab of powder to tone the shine down. The first time Kaunda was not comfortable to have his face powdered, because in those days it was uncommon for men, especially African men to powder their faces. I had to explain to him why he needed that technical touch.*
>
> *I instructed him to give the camera his broadest smile and it turned out perfect – giving birth to Kaunda's official portrait posture, which he always maintained throughout his presidency.*

With Kaunda's smiling face, as advised by Ndlovu, the Zambian public was treated to Kaunda's first portrait that was to hang in all public and government offices.

However, Ndlovu noticed that something had changed with Kaunda's features.

> *This was not the first time that I was photographing Kaunda, as I used to photograph him when he was the leader of UNIP during colonial times. I was very familiar with Kaunda's facial features. I noticed that Kaunda's teeth looked whiter and straighter than before.*

The team checked photographs of Kaunda in the Livingstone Museum from the 1950s to confirm this observation.

Ndlovu's portraits of Kaunda appeared on the new Zambian Kwacha bank notes, and he also photographed the eagle on it:

> *I was tasked by my supervisor, Gabriel Ellison, to take a photograph of a sitting eagle for the Kwacha notes. I was sent to Luangwa and Kafue National Parks, but I came back empty handed as all the eagles I came across were in flight, a sitting eagle was nowhere to be seen. Then I went to Ndola, at the Ndola Animal Sanctuary where I found an eagle perched on a branch as if waiting for me to photograph it. I was happy to bring the image to Ellison who went ahead to put it on one end of the note while the other end had Kaunda's smiling face.*

Ndlovu observed that Kaunda took interest in all the staff that worked for him regardless of their ranks:

> *I recall that on one international trip to Russia, the Kaunda delegation was invited to a state dinner. On arrival to the venue, I noted that the sitting arrangement which had name tags did not include my name. Being a photographer I took it for granted that the host excluded me since as a photographer I was expected to be working while the others were at the dinner table.*

Ndlovu proceeded to take his equipment and positioned himself to work. However, when Kaunda came to take his seat, he quickly noticed that Ndlovu was not included on the dinner table:

> *Kaunda asked 'why is Franklin not sitting at the table?' He insisted that I be part of the dinner as I was part of the delegation. The host quickly made arrangements to create a space for me and I joined the dinner table.*

Although Kaunda never mentioned to Ndlovu how much he appreciated his work, Ndlovu thinks he did and he suspects he could have mentioned it to his superiors:

> *because when I wanted to go on early retirement in 1973, my letter of resignation was rejected by the then Prime Minister, Mainza Chona who was shocked by my request and said* "Ndiyomwambila nzi

> Kaunda? Ulatujaya" *[What will I tell Kaunda? he is going to kill us] in reaction to my resignation letter.*

However, he wanted to go into business and the following year he tendered his resignation and it was reluctantly accepted.

Unfortunately for Ndlovu, though he captured many memorable images of Kaunda as president, none of them bear his name since they belong to the government. He can personally identify the photos that he took as he remembers the occasions when they were taken:

> *It is me who took the photographs of Kaunda's first state visit to China. I remember the thunderous welcome that Kaunda received from the Chinese people. On arrival security lost him in the uncontrollable crowd that wanted to have a glimpse of him. I am also responsible for the first portraits of Betty Kaunda as first lady in the first 10 years after Zambia's independence as well as the first 'First' family portraits.*

Stephen Chanda, Kaunda's Chef from 1979 to 1991

> *As my chef he was one of the very few people at the height of my presidency who knew the private side of me because he fed me… no one knows you so well as the person that feeds you* (Kaunda, 28 March 2017).

Stephen Chanda was interviewed in Chipata, Eastern Province, where he is now running a restaurant and guest house, on 2 February 2017. He was the senior catering officer at State House from 1979 to 1997, so was also the chef of Chiluba, before he was deployed to the Hostels Board of Zambia in Chipata, where he retired in 2000.

Stephen Chanda was working for the Northern Technical College in Ndola as a chef when he received a letter from the government informing him that he had been transferred to State House:

> *This letter changed my life forever - working for the president and the first family of the country!*
>
> *As a senior catering officer, my job entailed preparing the State House daily menu, selecting, purchasing and preparing of the food.*

> *My job also meant providing a travelling kitchen for the president when he travelled… .*
>
> *Having worked at a college where the work routine was relaxed, the State House routine was so strict and precise that I felt like I was working in the army and not the kitchen. The timing had to be precise and the menu was to be followed to the letter, with the ingredients accurately measured and followed. Food temperatures were to be maintained as exactly as how they were needed when serving. There was no room for mistakes, or misjudgment as order, precision and perfection was expected at all times.*

However, Chanda soon found out that cooking for Kaunda was relatively an easy job because Kaunda was not a fussy eater:

> *Kaunda did not care so much about the taste of his food, but there was only one strict rule to follow – the food was supposed to be nutritious and filling. He cared so much about the nutritious value of every food or drink that he took such that his food was like medicine. He personally cared a lot for his health that he watched what he ate. Being a vegetarian, his food was simple but was carefully selected and combined to ensure that it was packed with high nutritional value at each serving.*

Kenneth Kaunda became a vegetarian in 1954 as a pledge of solidarity to the African women's protests against the colonial system of selling only left-over pieces of meat to Africans, while reserving the best cuts for Europeans. In 1980, he stopped eating fish and eggs too.

Chanda explains that Kaunda was also a disciplined eater:

> *He ate at strictly particular times and observed particular routines. He had a warm water therapy every morning when he woke up between 04:30 and 06:30 hrs. Breakfast was at 07:00 hours, if he was working, and a tea break at 10:00rs. Breakfast almost always included an egg, (this was removed from 1980 onwards), his favorite carrot drink and homemade peanut butter, ichipondwa or fried groundnuts. He did not drink tea or coffee. Lunch was at 13:00 hours and dinner was never after 19:00hrs. He ate no food after 20:00hrs. This routine was strictly followed whether he was travelling or not.*

As a Christian he had routine fasting throughout the year, but whenever he was faced with difficulties he also fasted:

> *When Masuzyo[8] became very sick, Kaunda fasted for a continuous 40 days from sunrise to sunset every day. When Masuzyo died he wanted to continue fasting during the period of mourning but he was discouraged for the sake of his health.*

Kaunda's favorite food was beans, mushrooms, garden egg (*impwa*), *chikanda* and carrot. He also enjoyed *lumanda*, a local vegetable, especially when prepared by his wife Betty:

> *Betty used to occasionally take over the kitchen to cook for her husband. Sometimes she would cook with her daughters, Cheswa and Musata as a way of teaching them how to cook.*

Kaunda liked to snack on roasted groundnuts and wild fruits in season such as *Masuku*, *Mfungo* and *Masawu.*:

> *Before he became a vegan, he ensured that he got his protein from protein packed insect foods such as flying termites (inswa) and also fish. After 1980, anything meaty was completely removed from his diet and he depended on soya and beans for his proteins. He ate only nshima prepared from millet flour.*

Chanda's duties at State House included purchasing the required food and ingredients and Kaunda insisted on locally grown foods from local markets:

> *I used to purchase most of the food required by the Kaunda family from local markets, especially Kamwala and Chilenje markets. My purchasing trips were done incognito and the traders from whom I bought the food had no idea who I was and for whom I was purchasing the food. I supplemented these supplies with fresh vegetables from Mama Betty's organic vegetable garden which supplied the State House kitchen with fresh vegetables on a daily basis. Mama Betty personally tendered this garden.*

Kaunda was also teetotal. Ndlovu recalled Kaunda telling him that while being vegetarian on international trips was no problem:

> *The problem was with alcohol. Quite often he found himself being asked to have some alcohol by some of his hosts, and he always found ways of turning the offers down. He often did that with an appropriate joke.*

Kennedy Lusanso, Kaunda's Chef from 2017 to 2021

Kennedy Lusanso was interviewed on 18 April 2022.

Kennedy Lusanso joined the Kenneth Kaunda office after being recommended by the Hostels Board of Zambia where he had worked since 2010. He was one of the two chefs that cooked for Kaunda in his final years, along with Alex Ngulube:

> *Two of us with my colleague Alex Ngulube were recommended by the Hostels Board after the Kenneth Kaunda office requested for a chef. We were interviewed by Ba Shikulu*[9] *himself after going through the normal interviews. The idea was that only one chef was to be picked. But after Shikulu interviewed us, he decided to take both of us and that's how we found ourselves working for the Kaunda house. We worked in shifts, one during the day and one during the evening.*
>
> *When we joined the household, Shikulu was no longer president but he was still very much respected and we knew that our tasks were special. He loved food, he did not waste any food. Actually food wastage annoyed him. He ate almost everything that he was served, so we were careful not to serve too much for his fill.. But most interestingly, he gave a report at the end of each meal; mentioning what he liked about that particular meal, what he did not like, how he felt after the meal or what was missing in the meal.*

Lusanso also observed Kaunda's preference for local foods:

> *His most favorite meal was* nshima *with* ichipondwa *[homemade salted peanut butter] mixed with a little water. He loved it crunchy and he could eat this meal for a week continuously. We used to make* ichipondwa *for him. His favorite fruits were watermelon and bananas. He ate at least three bananas everyday*

> *Unlike in the days of Mr. Chanda who got his provisions from Kamwala market, we got them mainly from Soweto market due to the variety of traditional foods that the market offers.*

On the list of food was *umba* and *lumanda* (a wild vegetable), cassava (both fresh and dry), groundnuts and seasonal foods such as *intoyo* (monkey nuts), *inyangu* (cowpeas), *chimpapila* (bean leaves) and *kacheshya* (cowpeas leaves).

> Shikulu*, preferred food that came from places that he had some attachment to. For instance he preferred the local markets like Soweto and Kamwala because they were attached to the people of Zambia, then he got most of his millet meal supply from Malambo, his mother in-law's home village. He also liked to get organic vegetables and honey from Sinda Misale, Panji's*[10] *farm, then he also used to get some of his honey from Chief Kanongesha's area (Mwinilunga) because of the purity of the honey from these areas. When Chief Kanongesha paid him a visit in 2020, he personally brought him honey and* Shikulu *was very happy with this gift.*

Even though he loved local foods he also ate international foods especially fresh fruits like lychees, Kiwi, apples and strawberries and vegetables like broccoli which used to be bought from the South African retail shop Food Lovers Market. Lusanso says Kaunda always ate homemade soup for dinner, made from sweet potatoes, mushrooms or pumpkins.

Kaunda is said to have been a slow eater. He ate very slowly, relishing every bite he took:

> *He even used to pause midway his meals and continue eating afterwards. If you mistakenly take his break as the end and you ask him if he is done, he would answer* "Iyo mune ndetusha" *(No my friend I am resting).*

Kaunda also had a sweet tooth:

> *He loved honey and ice-cream. Especially vanilla ice-cream and he never refused a second helping. Each time he finished his ice-cream and you asked him,* "Shikulu mulefyaya naimbi" *[Grandfather, do you want another helping], he would answer with a laugh* "Bikamo" *[Put some more]…*

> *One time after I had just started working for him, I served him his meal and I forgot the honey. He called me back and said* "Mune ndefyaya akabwakwa kandi" *[my friend I want my beer]. I was confused because I was told he did not drink beer. Seeing the confusion on my face, he laughed and said* "leta ubuchi bwandi" *[bring my honey]. He also called eggplant as* "akanama kamulumendo" *[meat for the young man],* Umulumndo *[the young man] in this case he was referring to himself. He loved eggplants. He also loved to snack on sweets and he always had sweets in his pockets. Cheswa*[11] *kept a constant supply of a variety of sweets for him and he loved to receive them. He also loved to share them with us. At the end of each shift he would give you sweets to take home.* "uye upele Banakulu, utwishikulu twandi, naiwewine" *[Go and give your wife, my grandchildren and yourself]*

Kaunda always prayed before eating and sometimes asked the chef to pray for his food before eating it. At the end of the shifts he always prayed for the chefs as they left.

> *The prayer was always the same: "May God Bless you in all what you do and all what you say, all the way Amen". But as he was getting older, he would forget the words. I remember one time as he was praying for me at the end of my shift he forgot the words "all the way" and he was stuck as he could not conclude the prayer. Hesitantly I chipped in and said "all the way' after which he concluded the prayer with Amen. I could see he was visibly relieved that I helped him to remember the words of his prayer.*

Lusanso further notes that Kaunda did not like to eat alone. The years after Betty's death were obviously lonely ones for Kaunda:

> Shikulu *always wanted company at his table. He used to eat with his bodyguards Boniface Nkhoma and Humphrey Kalumbi and his barber/bedroom attendants Isaac Mfune and Benjamin Kachingwe.*

Benjamin Kachingwe, Kaunda's Barber and Bedroom Attendant

Benjamin Kachingwe was interviewed on 19 April 2022.

Benjamin Kachingwe was Kaunda's personal barber and bedroom attendant and he probably spent more time in close proximity to him than anyone else

apart from Kaunda's close family members. He began working for Kaunda by chance. He had been working for Kaunda's son Kaweche when Betty Kaunda needed an extra laundry man at their house back in 1998.

> *I did not choose this work, it just happened to me by chance. I started out as a helper with the laundry at the Kaunda house. Eventually I also started giving a hand to the bedroom attendant, Rodgers Zulu with his work in Kaunda's bedroom. Mr. Zulu was getting old and he needed help with some of the tasks. My job involved helping with cleaning* Shikulu's *bedroom, changing his linen, packing his clothes and helping out in selecting what he was to wear each day.*

During this time Kachingwe was simply a helper and was not a permanent staff member in the household. However, he learnt a lot about the job and Kaunda's personality in this period:

> *I learnt a lot from Mr. Zulu who had been in the service of the Kaundas for a long time. For example I learnt from Mr. Zulu that Kaunda's shoe size was size 10 closed shoes and size 9 sandals. I also learnt that Kaunda stammered a lot when he was upset, so most times he chose not to speak when he was upset, but would sway his upper body from one side to another. I was told to take this as a sign that he was not pleased about something. I also learnt that Kaunda always wanted to convey a message in his dressing: happy, sad, serious, relaxed etc. And this was a hard part because he did not choose his clothes, we did the choosing according to his mood and also the occasion and whom he was meeting. Mr. Zulu was very good at this. Whenever he was pleased with our selection of clothes, he would comment after getting dressed that* "Lelo nipopoka" *]Today I look smart)].*

But Kachingwe notes that his love of being dressed up soon changed:

> *After Wezi*[12] *died in 1999,* Shikulu's *dressing changed. I was told Wezi's death deeply affected him that he insisted on wearing only black suits in public to mourn his son. So I was careful when selecting clothes for him to wear in public. I was only to stick to black. He also replaced his colourful scarves with the Zambian flag colours branded scarves. He [Kaunda] observed this until his death in 2021.*

In 2006, Kachingwe became Kaunda's barber:

> *This happened when his barber died. There was no one to shave his head and beard and he was complaining about it every day. Then Mr. Zulu who knew that I knew how to shave hair mentioned it to him. He called for me and asked me if I could shave him. I knew how to shave hair but I did not feel competent enough to shave* Shikulu's *hair or even just touch his head. Yet I could not say no to him. He needed a haircut. So I said yes. After I finished shaving him, he looked at himself in the mirror and said "*Namoneka ga akalumendo. Twalingana naiwe wine" *[I look like a young man. Just like you]. Then I knew he was happy with my job and that is how I became his barber man. From then on I officially replaced his barber man and also became assistant bedroom attendant.*

In 2008, Mr. Rodgers Zulu[13] retired and Kachingwe replaced him as Kaunda's bedroom attendant and Isaac Mfune was employed as his assistant. Kachingwe also taught Mfune how to shave Kaunda's head:

> *Even if* Shikulu *had a bald head, the bald patch was only in the middle. He had hair on the sides of his head. His hair used to grow very fast such that he needed constant haircuts. It was therefore necessary to have an assistant to help me whenever I was busy or off duty.*

Kachingwe says working for Kaunda was a relatively easy job because Kaunda was tidy and always cleaned after himself:

> *He liked to be in a clean environment and he made sure that his bedroom was tidy by cleaning up. He was very particular especially in the bathroom. He always cleaned his bathroom after taking his shower. He used to do this even when he was getting older and slower. During his last days I could only manage to get him out of the bathroom by warning him that his breakfast was getting cold. Otherwise he would spend a long time cleaning up due to his age.*

Kaunda's daily routine began with reading a verse from the Bible when he woke up:

> Shikulu *had good eyesight for his age. He used to read and write up to his death. His favorite verse was Psalms 23.*

He would then take a shower and have breakfast, before going out for a walk:

> Shikulu *never went anywhere without his white handkerchief, even for his daily healthy walks. Wrapped in the handkerchief was a gold cross that he held in place between his thumb and forefinger. He would not go anywhere without the white handkerchief and the cross. They were very important to him as a representation of his faith.*

Kaunda spent most of his free afternoons at Betty's grave:

> *If he had no commitments, he would walk down to Mama Betty's grave in the afternoons between 15hrs and 16hrs. There is a bench there. He loved to sit there reading a book or a newspaper.*

According to Kachingwe the location of Betty's grave later pleased Kaunda for one major reason:

> *When* Shikulu *discovered that he could see Mama Betty's grave from his bathroom window, he was very happy. Every morning before taking his bath, he would first open his bathroom window and spend some time looking out at the grave. After which he usually uttered to himself When God calls me,* bakese nshika na bana Mpundu[14] *[They should bury me next to the mother of twins].*

Kaunda spent his evenings watching football on television.

> *He would watch the ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] 19:00 news first. Then after his supper he would retire to his bedroom to a game of football, often sitting up late into the night. He loved football. He was a committed supporter of Manchester United football club.*

Kachingwe spent considerable amounts of time with Kaunda in his final years:

> *As his bedroom attendant, I was inseparable from him. The only time that I was separated from him, was when he got ill and he was admitted to hospital just before he died. I saw him leave. He was not very ill. He had experienced difficulties in breathing a few days before.*

> *It was not very bad. He was eating well, it was just the discomfort he was experiencing especially when sleeping that was bothering him. He was diagnosed with pneumonia, but I was not worried.* Shikulu *was never sickly, he was very strong and healthy and he used to recover quickly. He was not worried either. He did not even think he needed to go to the hospital. When they came to get him to go to hospital, he protested. He did not think he needed that. They urged him on and reluctantly he got into the vehicle and left. I did not know that it was the last time I was to see him alive.*

Kachingwe's last call to duty was to ensure that Kaunda dressed correctly for his own funeral:

> *I ensured that he got his handkerchief in his left hand, complete with the cross wrapped in it as he always wanted it. Then he had his black suit ready and his scarf in Zambian flag colours. He had to wear black not because it was his funeral but because this was his preferred colour after the death of Wezi. He never came out of mourning after Wezi's death. He went to the grave mourning his murdered son.*

Conclusion

Biographies of particular individuals or groups of people have been written for centuries as inspirational or as cautionary tales. The biographer's ultimate goal is to recreate the world their subject lived in and describe how they functioned within it. The above interview narratives help us see Kaunda through the eyes of people that were very close to him and in ways that are maybe different from his public image.

Through the eyes of his lifelong friend N'gandu, one sees a vulnerable Kaunda looking for serenity in the comfort of his childhood village and in the familiar company of not only a friend, but one that was very much a part of his early family life, a mood that he tries to recreate at the Shambalakale Christmas holidays. For Kaunda it was a friendship in N'gandu that he treasured and nurtured but kept away from the public eye, where from time to time he escaped to, to find that much needed familiarity that kept him going.

Senior Chief Nkula's narration on Kaunda's relationship with his chiefdom is one which most Zambians would be familiar with. Though many live in the city, they can trace their origins to a village, and are subjects to particular chiefs, that

appear on their National Registration Cards as part of their identity. Kaunda was no exception. He, like all Zambians, had a chief to whom he was subject. Even though he did try to use his power as president on his Chiefdom, in the end he submitted to it. On the other hand, Senior Chief Nkula's narratives shows a part of Kaunda that many may not have known - an orphan who survived under the protection of his benefactor Senior Chief Nkula. Yet he was never fully accepted, to the extent that he remained forever haunted by his parentage which rendered him stateless at one point in his life.

Franklin Ndlovu reveals that Kaunda's portrait, one that could be found in almost all public places during his 27 years as president, did not come easy. But it was created under the ordinary hands of a photographer, to whom he humbly submitted. The story also shows that Kaunda, like most people was not that 'photogenetic', but had to work on it in the privacy of a photo studio, to produce the image that became so well-known.

Stephen Chanda gives us a glimpse of what was, literally, on Kaunda's plate during his presidency. It is common knowledge that Kaunda was vegetarian, but it is the details of the ingredients of his meals and where the ingredients came from that are interesting. His insistence to get his food from the local Lusaka markets reveals that the State House table was not so different from the tables of ordinary Zambians.

Kennedy Lusanso narrates the life of Kaunda many years after he left power. We meet a more relaxed Kaunda that takes his time to enjoy his food. Lusanso paints a side of Kaunda that is not known. To learn that Kaunda, the strict healthy eater also had a sweet tooth and just like many people could not resist certain foods that can be unhealthy, humanises him. Yet Lusanso shows that Kaunda's approach to the table embodies much of his personality and politics. In it can be seen his idea of Zambianisation, humanism, Christian values and his sense of humour. But what is even more revealing is Kaunda as a former president, sticking to what is commonly regarded as a poor man's meal: *nshima* with *ichipondwa* in salted water.

Finally, Benjamin Kachingwe shows us a side of Kaunda that the public has no knowledge of: a deeply grieving Kaunda. Death was not something new to Kaunda; when he lost his mother, he is said to have been devastated, it was the same when he lost his son Masuzyo and also his wife Betty. But from Kachingwe's narrative we can deduce that Wezi's death hit him to the core of his heart and he seemed to never have fully recovered from the loss. Kachingwe also makes us see how Kaunda appreciated that his life's end was near and planned for it by expressing where he wished to rest for ever - beside the woman that he loved

– though sadly this was never fulfilled. Kachingwe also gives us a glimpse of Kaunda's last days alive: he a reluctant patient, not terminally ill and full of hope of a recovery. To many Zambians this part is very important as it gives some kind of *'Isambo lya mfwa'* [the death message] that is part of the traditional mourning process familiar to most ordinary Zambians and is considered important for closure in the grieving process.

Interviews

Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, 28 January 2017
Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, 26 March 2017
Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, 15 June 2017
Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, 29 August 2017
Interview with Watson Lombe N'gandu, 8 March 2017
Interview with Maxwell Mucheleka, 10 March 2017
Interview with Franklin Ndlovu, 12 August 2021
Interview with Steven Chanda, 2 February 2017
Interview with Kennedy Lusanso, 18 April 2022
Interview with Benjamin Kachingwe, 19 April 2022

Endnotes

[1] "Ba" is a prefix added to the name of someone to indicate your respect to them in terms of age and/or relationship.
[2] The Baptism Roll is a book of record of baptism, birth dates, and death dates for all congregants of the Free Church of Scotland mission that established the Lubwa Mission Church, currently belonging to the United Church of Zambia.
[3] Lubwa Mission in Chinsali has a section in the Reverend's office, reserved for old reports and literature related to the Church since its inception in 1905.
[4] Roy Welensky was not the Governor but the Prime Minister of the Central African Federation.
[5] "Sacha" from the word "Thatcher" Hopson.
[6] Masuzyo was Kenneth Kaunda's fifth born son. He died from complications of AIDS in 1986
[7] Shikulu referring to Kaunda. It means Grandfather in Bemba.
[8] Panji is Kaunda's first born son.
[9] Cheswa a twin with Kambarage, was Kaunda's ninth born daughter.
[10] Wezi (short form for Ngwawezi) was Kenneth Kaunda's third born son. He was killed by gunmen in 1999).
[11] Zulu died in August 2019.
[12] Kaunda always referred to Betty as "Ba na Mpundu" (Mother of twins). Betty gave birth to their last born twins, Kambarange and Cheswa in 1964.