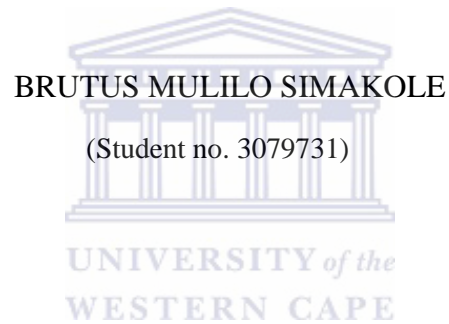


**Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage:
The case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia**



A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M.A. degree in History with specialisation in Museum and Heritage Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Supervisor: Professor Ciraj Rassool

Date submitted: 6th November 2012

Dedication

Dedicated to my beloved parents; Alfred Tomu Simakole and Violet Hanziba Simakole.



Declaration

I declare that *Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia* is my own work that has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by full references.

Full Name: BRUTUS MULILO SIMAKOLE

Date:.....

Signed.....



TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	i
DECLARATION	ii
CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter One	
Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National heritage	7
Autobiography, Auto/biography and Biography	9
Political Auto/biography and ‘Leaders’	12
Nationalist History and National Heritage	23
Chapter Two	
Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia’s Nationalist History	35
Biographical ‘Relations’, Purposes and Archives	36
Methodology, Narrative and History	41
The Individual, the Collective and ‘Conventional’ Auto/biography	49
Kenneth Kaunda, Nationalist History and History Lessons	54

Chapter Three	
Kenneth Kaunda and National Heritage in Zambia	64
Historic Monuments and Heritage Legislation in Zambia: A History	65
The making of the Chilenje House and Kabompo House National Monuments	70
‘Life stories’, Representations and Biographic museums	81
‘Objects’, narratives and Biographical Exhibitions	84
Chapter Four	
Kenneth Kaunda and the ‘National Political Museum’	93
The Making of Zambia’s National Political Museum	94
The Lusaka National Museum	100
Ethnography of an Exhibition: The ‘History of Zambia exhibition’	104
History of Zambia exhibition (re)presentations	109
Kenneth Kaunda and the two ‘Zambian Republics’	116
Conclusion	123
Bibliography	129



LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Figure 1. Chilenje House National Monument	78
Figure 2. Kabompo House National Monument	79
Figure 3. Statue of Kenneth Kaunda	83
Figure 4. The ‘Mama UNIP’ Land Rover	85
Figure 5. The Lusaka National Museum	101
Figure 6. First floor gallery of the Lusaka National Museum	108



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INTRODUCTION

The research for this thesis started off as a long academic essay that sought to review a 1970s biography of Kenneth Kaunda.¹ In its original focus, the study aimed at evaluating the work on the narrations of Kenneth Kaunda's life from a theoretical and critical perspective. Specifically it sought to evaluate the biography for its theoretical and methodological approaches, its attention to issues of sources, archives, narrative and history. In addition, it aimed at locating the biography in relation to debates over biography and history in South Africa. As I began my research for the long essay, it soon became apparent that the biography of Kenneth Kaunda ended its narration in 1964 and yet it was published ten years later in 1974. By ending its 'coverage' of the narrations of Kenneth Kaunda's life in 1964, it seemed obvious that its coverage was in many ways similar to his autobiography that was published in 1962.²

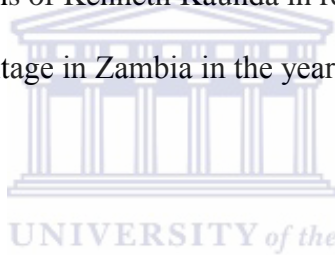
The ending of the biography's coverage in 1964 thus seemed rather abrupt as it precluded any representations of the subject in the post 1964 period in which he had become President of Zambia. Kenneth Kaunda was President of Zambia for nearly three decades (1964-1991) having led the 'final' phase of the nationalist struggle for Independence through the United National Independence Party (UNIP). Surely, I surmised, the meanings of Kenneth Kaunda's life as nationalist leader, as presented in most of his biography, would differ from those of him as President? Upon evaluating the biography, it seemed to be a largely chronological and descriptive rather analytical account of the subject's life. However, what made it profound to me was the ways in which it entwined the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda's life with the events, dates

¹ The biography of Kenneth Kaunda by Fergus Macpherson was the subject of the long essay. See Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1974).

² Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1962).

and activities of the history of the Zambian nation. Some accounts inadvertently referred to this interconnection by referring to Kenneth Kaunda as the ‘founder of Zambia’.³

My exposure to various other debates around the production of history in the public domain such as through museums and national heritage sites or monuments prompted me to consider undertaking a study of the post-1964 historiography of Kenneth Kaunda. Rather than attempting to fill Kenneth Kaunda’s post-1964 historiographical gap with a chronological account of his political life, I wanted to trace the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda’s life in connection with the production of history in different domains in Zambia. This thesis thus aims at examining the political auto/biographical narrations of Kenneth Kaunda in relation to the production of nationalist history and national heritage in Zambia in the years following the country’s Independence in 1964.⁴



One of the key questions that this study sought to engage with was: how did the ‘representations’ of Kenneth Kaunda influence the ways in which Zambia’s post-independence nationalist history and national heritage were produced? In seeking to provide an answer to the question, the study evaluated the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda itself, as well as how it reflects in the history texts utilised in Zambian schools and in history in the public domain through national heritage sites or monuments and museum exhibitions. The thesis will show that in Zambia, the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda has acquired significance through history as school lesson and as history in the public domain, through the production of national heritage sites and museum exhibitions.

³ See Richard Hall, *Kaunda: Founder of Zambia*, (Lusaka: Longmans of Zambia Ltd, 1964)

⁴ Nationalist history is used in this thesis to refer to the various accounts of political history especially as it relates to nationalist movements and the struggles for Independence. National heritage is used in this thesis to refer to the production of history in the public domain such as through national heritage sites or monuments

This study was undertaken against the background of a general post-independence limitation, not only of a historiography that pertains to Kenneth Kaunda, but also, apparently, of Zambia as a whole. Miles Larmer has argued that for a long time ‘there has been little investigation of the political, economic, or social history of Zambia since Independence’.⁵ Many of the studies on history in Zambia have apparently tended to focus on the pre-independence and/or colonial era.⁶ One of the main reasons for this state of affairs, according to Giacomo Macola, is based on the scenario whereby, ‘owing to the dearth of primary sources available for study and to shifting historiographical trends and fashions, present-day historians of South-Central Africa have proved reluctant to engage with Zambia’s nationalist and post-colonial trajectories’.⁷ In addition, Larmer has charged that there has been a presumption amongst some academicians that ‘post-independence events lie largely outside the historical purview’.⁸

While it will contribute towards the filling of a great historiographical gap, this thesis does not provide ‘an all embracing narration’ of Kenneth Kaunda’s post-1964 life. Instead, I draw from the approaches related to the ‘production of history’, the examination of the ‘processes of biographical production’ and the studying of ‘not only things but also their making’ to argue for an examination of the deployment of political auto/biography within particular mobilisations of imagining, forming and consolidating the nation. This thesis thus presents a case for examining some of the ways in which political auto/biography can influence the dominant narratives of

⁵ Miles Larmer, ‘If We Are Still Here Next Year: Zambian Historical Research in the Context of Decline, 2002-2003’, *History in Africa*, Vol. 31 (2004), 217.

⁶ See for example R.I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); David Mulford, *Zambia: the politics of Independence 1957-1965* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: a Prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Zambia 1893-1939* (Manchester: Manchester United Press, 1971); Richard Hall, *Zambia, 1890-1964: The Colonial Period* (London: Pall Mall, 1965).

⁷ Giacomo Macola, ‘It Means As If We Are Excluded from the Good Freedom: Thwarted Expectations of Independence in the Luapula Province of Zambia, 1964-1966’, *Journal of African History*, 47 (2006), 43

⁸ Miles Larmer, ‘If We Are Still Here Next Year’, 218.

society within and beyond the written text. It argues that the auto/biographical narratives of Kenneth Kaunda have significantly impacted the ways in which nationalist history, history as school lessons and history in the public domain (both as national heritage sites or monuments and museum exhibitions) have been produced and presented in Zambia.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One provides a theoretical and contextual introduction to the fields of political auto/biography, nationalist history and national heritage in Southern Africa. With particular focus on examples from South Africa and a few other cases, the chapter reveals political auto/biography's focus on the narrative lives of leaders and considers some of the approaches utilized in their production within and beyond the written text. It further examines some of the ways in which particular versions of nationalist history and national heritage have been produced within the public domain. Chapter Two examines the ways in which Kenneth Kaunda's political auto/biographical narrations are entwined with the narrations of the political history of the Zambian nation. It argues that while Kenneth Kaunda's autobiography, *Zambia shall be saved*, is one in which he 'imagined' the future nation, Fergus Macpherson's biography served to (re)produce the dominant narratives of the nationalist or political history of Zambia by inserting the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda's life into the events, dates and activities of the Zambian nation. It will suggest that some of these accounts have been adopted in history texts utilized in Zambian schools.

Chapters Three and Four examine the entry of Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography into the domains of public history in Zambia. Chapter Three focuses on the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda in relation to the production of national heritage sites or monuments. Through a case study of two national heritage sites or monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia,

namely the Chilenje House National Monument and the Kabompo House National Monument, the chapter examines the processes of their production and how they have changed over time. It argues that the processes of the making of these national heritage sites show that ‘heritage is essentially a political idea’.⁹ The chapter will show that there have been changes with regard to the meanings associated with the heritage values of the national heritage sites or monuments. The chapter also examines their representations and argues that they focus on and valorise the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP at the expense of other individuals and groups in the political history of Zambia.

Chapter Four examines the ways in which Kenneth Kaunda has been represented in the Lusaka National Museum, formerly the national political museum, with particular focus on the images, narrations and exhibitions, how they have changed over time and how they have been contested. The chapter also explores what is represented and how it is represented as well as the silences in the representations. The chapter argues that though the Lusaka National Museum sought to present a broad cultural history of the country, as opposed to only a political history, it has largely not transcended the limitations of political history. It will also assert that the museum, through its ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition reproduced the same ‘relations of domination’ that had been associated with the national political museum. This, the chapter argues, is by way of valuing, at the expense of other individuals and groups, the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in Zambia’s pre and post independence political history.

Chapters Three and Four therefore suggest that the focus on the narratives of and about Kenneth Kaunda (his auto/biography) in the presentations of history in the public domains that are

⁹ Graeme Davison, *The use and abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen Unwin, 2000), 121.

considered represents a ‘Kaundaisation’ of Zambian political history. The final chapter is a conclusion which draws together the key issues raised in the above chapters. Overall, this study argues that the political auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda has acquired significance through the production of history in Zambia. This significance is manifested in the dominant narratives of the country’s nationalist political history, through history as school lesson and as history in the public domain, through the production of national heritage sites and museum exhibitions.



CHAPTER ONE

POLITICAL AUTO/BIOGRAPHY, NATIONALIST HISTORY AND NATIONAL HERITAGE

To the extent you rely on others, better to stand on their shoulders than to lean against them, the more to see beyond the horizon where their sights came to rest.¹

The methodological objective of this thesis is to not only study things but also their making.²

This work is thus, primarily, an exploration of the ways in which the political auto/biographical narrations, nationalist history and national heritage associated with Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia have been produced.³ This chapter provides a theoretical and contextual introduction to the themes of political auto/biography, nationalist history and national heritage. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part is an engagement with some of the debates around the usage of the terms autobiography, auto/biography and biography. This section demonstrates that while there is no consensus on their usage, the terms are often entwined and have no profound conceptual distinctions amongst them. This thesis thus ascribes to ‘auto/biography’ some of the features traditionally singularly associated with either ‘autobiography’ or ‘biography’ in

¹ Mahmood Mamdani, *When victims become killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), xiv.

² A Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form’ in C Hamilton et al (eds), *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), 84. This approach also relates to David William Cohen’s work in which he draws on parallels from the processes of labour, work and production to argue for the ‘production of history’ whereby historians serve as ‘producers’. See David W Cohen, *The Combining of History*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

³ Nationalist history is used to refer to accounts of the political history related to struggles for Independence while national heritage is used to refer to the production of history in the public domain such as through national heritage sites or monuments, historic sites and biographic museums.

recognition of the often entwined nature of autobiography and biography as well as the lack of a complete conceptual distinction between them.⁴

The second part of the chapter shows that the field of political auto/biography in Southern Africa has usually focused on the lives of leaders. It also suggests that different approaches to the production of auto/biographical projects have been adopted and that often, different auto/biographies are associated with or ascribed with different meanings. The section further provides some of the critiques of the approaches adopted in many political auto/biographies, with particular focus on South Africa. The third part explores the production of history in the public domain through the arenas of political or nationalist history and national heritage. It shows that in some African countries, particular interpretations of nationalist histories and national heritages were utilized for various purposes, especially after the attainment of political independence and/or majority rule. This section also demonstrates that some political auto/biographies have found expression outside the text, into the domains of public history and heritage through such avenues as historic sites, national heritage sites or monuments, biographic heritage sites and biographic museums.

This thesis thus discusses the relationship between political auto/biography, nationalist history and national heritage. It will seek to critically examine, on one hand, the mechanisms through which individuals' lives are used to explore aspects of their societies and particular epochs of their societies' histories while, on the other hand, paying close attention to the critiques against conventional, untheorised approaches to life history narrations. In this regard, the thesis will examine the interconnections between Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography with the narrations of

⁴ See discussion below under 'Autobiography, Auto/biography and Biography'.

the political history of Zambia. The thesis will also investigate the ways in which Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biographical narrations figured in the mobilisation of nationalist histories and national heritages in nation-state formation and the construction of particular visions of society in post independence Zambia.

Autobiography, Auto/biography and Biography

The trend towards the use of the term auto/biography instead of the more traditional autobiography apparently only emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century. This shift, writes Barbara Caine, can also be related, at one level, to the emergence of the collective term 'life writing' which encapsulates the many different forms of writing associated with individuals' lives including dairies, memoirs, letters, autobiographies, biographies, travel writing, poems and any other form of writing which records and describes individuals' lives.⁵ The usage of auto/biography instead of autobiography though, seems to be largely predicated on the argument that the latter almost always has 'biographical' inputs in its production. These inputs are seen to be varied and wide ranging, from the nominal editing and verification to the actual writing of parts of or even the entire 'autobiography' by somebody other than the 'official' author.

However, Caine posits that this interconnection can also be seen from the perspective of biographical writing itself. She suggests that though the widespread usage of the term auto/biography is fairly 'recent', its principle that one could not write the life of another completely separately from writing their own had emerged earlier. This was more explicit, according to Caine, when writers wrote biographies of members of their own families and

⁵ Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 69.

overtly inserted themselves in their discussions of others.⁶ Notwithstanding the arguments for the usage of auto/biography, Caine suggests that while it problematises the link between autobiography and biography, it also tends to signify an elimination of any distinctions between them.⁷

It is perhaps with regards the tendency of the usage of auto/biography to equate autobiography to biography that Tonya Blowers argues that ‘while “autobiography” and “biography” have much in common (the reference to an external, historical reality, the retrospective (re)construction of a life, the slippery borders between fact and fantasy, chronicle and good story, the infallibility of memory), they remain two quite distinct genres’.⁸ For Blowers, the prefix ‘auto’ separates the life story of an individual written by that individual from the one written ‘for’ the individual by another person. However, Laura Marcus has argued that to seek to conceptually distinguish autobiography and biography as quite distinct and separate may be ‘inadequate and unhelpful’. Instead Marcus writes that ‘far more exciting conjunctures occur, showing how autobiography and biography function together. Recounting one’s own life almost inevitably entails writing the life of an other or others; writing the life of another must surely entail the biographer’s identifications with his or her subject, whether these are made explicit or not’.⁹ What is perhaps very notable from Marcus’ submission is the suggestion of the existence of an interconnection between autobiography and biography even when the latter is the goal of a writing project. Furthermore, the submission seems to question the notion of the unitary self by suggesting that authors of their ‘own’ autobiographies are at the same time writing about ‘an other’.

⁶ Caine, *Biography and History*, 71.

⁷ Caine, *Biography and History*, 71.

⁸ Tonya Blowers, ‘Locating the Self: Re-reading Autobiography as Theory and Practice, with particular reference to the writings of Janet Frame’, Ph.D Thesis, University of Warwick, 1998, 8.

⁹ Laura Marcus, *Autobiographical Discourses: Theory, Criticism, Practice*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 273-274.

Ciraj Rassool has suggested a third interconnection besides the two that have been elaborated on by Marcus. This third interaction, he posits, is perhaps even more pertinent in that by writing about someone else's life, the author 'almost inevitably...enters into the existence of autobiographical texts, of narrations of self on the part of the subject. This includes narratives lived out in life itself, and biographical texts that the subject had a hand in creating and establishing'.¹⁰ While one reading of Rassool's submission can lead one to the conclusion that the writing of biography always entails encounters with the 'autobiography' of the subject, it may also relate to the wider debate over the relationship between the biographer and the subject.

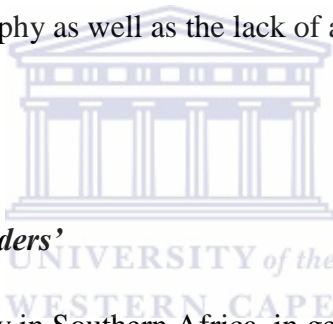
This relationship, according to Caine, has been the subject of contemplation especially for people whose biographical approach is informed by psychoanalysis. At perhaps the most basic level of this relationship is Sigmund Freud's idea that biographers choose their subjects 'because for reasons of their personal emotional life-they have felt a special affection for [them] from the very first. They then devote their energies to a task of idealization, aimed at enrolling the great man among the class of their infantile models'.¹¹ This assertion can be related to the concept of transference which essentially suggests an entanglement between the biographer, the biographical subject and self narration. The concept of transference suggests, writes Marcus, that in every biographical project, 'the biographer...is said to be in part narrating his/her own story, real or fantasised', instead of only the biographical subject's life story and therefore manifests autobiographical self awareness.¹²

¹⁰ Ciraj S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', (Ph.D, University of the Western Cape, 2004), 45.

¹¹ Sigmund Freud, *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood*, translated by Alan Tyson with an introduction by Brian Farrell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 177, cited in Caine, *Biography and History*, 71.

¹² Laura Marcus, *Autobiographical Discourses*, 90.

Leon Edel has gone even further to claim that all biographical writing has, at its heart, the aspect of transference such that in order to produce a balanced biography, ‘authors’ must extricate and/or disengage themselves from their subjects so as to write about them in a detached and perhaps more objective manner.¹³ Thus, Edel’s assertion can also be interpreted to suggest that ‘autobiography’ in the sense of ‘self writing’ is often at the core of all biographical writing. These submissions clearly bring to the fore the difficulty of setting rigid boundaries between biography and autobiography. Therefore, this thesis will utilise, almost interchangeably, the terms autobiography and auto/biography. Furthermore, it will often ascribe to auto/biography some of the features traditionally associated with biography in recognition of the often entwined nature of autobiography and biography as well as the lack of a complete conceptual distinction between them.



Political Auto/biography and ‘Leaders’

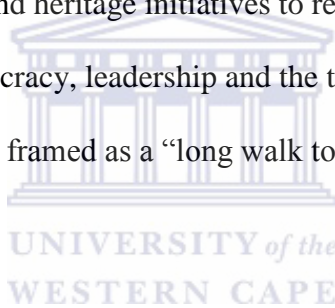
The field of political auto/biography in Southern Africa, in general, can be argued to have been predominantly focused towards the representations of the ‘elite’, rather than the ‘ordinary’ members of society. Thus, many political auto/biographies have tended to focus on prominent individuals and prominent lives as they figure in particular narratives such as pertaining to particular struggles and achievements. More generally though, political auto/biographies have been produced for different purposes that have included the legitimisation of liberation movements, the ‘recovering’ and insertion of certain life narratives into the historical purview and as a means of fostering particular national identities.¹⁴ Thus, one particular focus of political

¹³ Leon Edel, *Writing Lives: Principia Biographica* (New York and London: Norton, 1984), p.67 cited Caine, *Biography and History*, 71-72; see also Eva Schepeler, ‘The Biographer’s Transferences: A Chapter in Psychobiographical Epistemology’, *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly*, 13(2), Spring 1990, 111-127.

¹⁴ Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 6.

auto/biography in Southern Africa can be seen to have been the life narratives of individuals associated with ‘political’ movements and organisations at various levels but especially within the leadership echelons.

In Southern Africa, the focus of political auto/biographies on the lives of ‘leaders’ may probably be no more pronounced than in South Africa. The flurry of political auto/biographical production in the years following the unbanning of political movements such as the African National Congress is particularly telling. This phenomenon can be ascribed, as Rassool writes, to the ‘process of democratisation of South African society [which] provided the impetus for an explosion of audiovisual projects and heritage initiatives to recover the truth of real lives of political leaders as lessons of democracy, leadership and the triumph of the human spirit. Here Nelson Mandela’s epic life history, framed as a “long walk to freedom”, came to stand for the nation’s past’.¹⁵



Nelson Mandela’s auto/biography, as I elaborate later, has often been read as metaphorically illustrative of the ‘auto/biography’ of the ‘new’ South African nation.¹⁶ While Nelson Mandela’s auto/biography has been hailed as one of the pacesetters of the political auto/biographical projects of post 1990 South Africa, a number of other political auto/biographies were also produced within the same discursive framework. However, it is perhaps important to note that political auto/biographies even of the likes of Nelson Mandela had begun to be constructed even before the 1990s as exemplified by the collective biographies in the volumes edited by Thomas

¹⁵ Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 4-5.

¹⁶ Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston: Little Brown, 1994).

Karis and Gwendolen Carter as well as those produced by Shelagh Gastrow.¹⁷ Notwithstanding the above, it is the political auto/biographical productions in the decade before and after the turn of the 21st in South Africa, during which period there seems to have been a ‘boom’ in the level of interest and focus on the actions and deeds of specific individuals that are of particular interest. These increased productions of political auto/biographies, as Rassool writes, occurred both within and outside the academy and also in many other fields of historical production in the public space.¹⁸ Other than the increased production of a number of individual political auto/biographies after the 1990s, there were also some state ‘sponsored’ auto/biographical production initiatives.¹⁹

In addition to Nelson Mandela’s auto/biographies, other examples of these auto/biographical projects focusing on the lives of political leaders in post 1990 South Africa include those of Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki. In Zambia, in addition to Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biographies, other examples of auto/biographies that have focused on political leaders include those of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, John Mwanakatwe, Vernon Mwaanga and Levy Patrick Mwanawasa.²⁰ In these biographies, various approaches can be seen to have been utilised. An examination of the

¹⁷ These biographical projects mainly included brief biographical sketches and profiles of people who were deemed to be prominent within the various political movements, organisations, trade unions and other governmental and non governmental establishments. See Shelagh Gastrow’s five volume series (1985-1995) titled, ‘Who is who in South African Politics’, Shelagh Gastrow, *Who is who in South African Politics*, (Braamfontein: Ravan Press Ltd, 1985, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1995); Thomas Karis and Gwendolen. M. Carter (eds.) *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* (Volumes 1-4), (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972-1977); See especially Volume 4.

¹⁸ Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 193.

¹⁹ See for example, E.J. Verwey (ed), *New Dictionary of South African Biography Volume 1* (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1995). This Volume was part of a series that aimed at recording and commemorating the role of individuals whose past work and struggles were deemed to have greatly contributed to the future of the nation. See ‘Foreword’ to Volume 1 by then President, Nelson Mandela.

²⁰ Giacomo Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa: A Biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); John Mwanakatwe, *Teacher, Politician, Lawyer: My Autobiography* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2003); Vernon J. Mwaanga, *An Extraordinary Life*, (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1982); Amos Malupenga, *Levy Patrick Mwanawasa: An Incentive For Posterity*, (Grahamstown: NISC (Pty) Ltd, 2009).

approaches utilised in the writing of these auto/biographies and especially in Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biographies and how they compare to some of the South African auto/biographical approaches may be informative of their different settings.²¹ The approach which was employed by Luli Callinicos to the writing of the biography of Oliver Tambo, for instance, has been depicted as one that sought to produce 'a gendered, social biography in which 20th century South African history would be explored through the prism of the life and experiences of Oliver Tambo'.²² According to Luli Callinicos, the ability of the life history of Oliver Tambo to operate as a prism through which to explore wider aspects of 20th century South Africa was enabled by biography's capacity to interconnect history, story-telling and empathy.²³ This perhaps only implicitly avers to the representativeness or the exceptionality of the biographical subject as the basis for the use of their life narratives to explore particular historical aspects of their societies.

However, it is clear that the choice of biographical subjects is hardly ever random. Therefore, the question of why the choice of Oliver Tambo as a biographical subject was made is one that arguably deserves attention. In this regard, Rassool has suggested that Callinicos's choice of political leaders such as Oliver Tambo as biographical subjects represented a shift from her earlier propagation of the need for a focus on the lives of the 'ordinary people' as advocated for in social history. According to Rassool, Callinicos's earlier approach had been to advocate for the filling of the gaps in South African history that had resulted from the focus on the lives of prominent individuals and/or the 'elite' members of society. Apparently, Callinicos had earlier argued that:

²¹ See Chapter 2.

²² Luli Callinicos, 'Preface', *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, (Claremont: David Philip, 1998), 16. It is perhaps worth noting that Callinicos makes the point that she was specifically 'asked' by Oliver Tambo and Mrs. Adelaide Tambo to write the biography.

²³ Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo*, 15.

History has tended to be the history of the rich, the powerful and usually the male, great men. I am concerned that we bring...the history of women, that hidden abode, the private sphere and also the marginalised, grassroots people [and thus] move away from the history of leaders to a history of people - history from below, social history – how do people survive, the creative ways in which they managed to make something in a very hostile environment – what we call human agency.²⁴

However, the biographical project of Oliver Tambo, undertaken later, does not fit into the above social history framework. There was thus an apparent shift, according to Rassool, in Callinicos's earlier commitment to the lives of the ordinary people as opposed to those of the dominant and the powerful. This shift, writes Rassool, was articulated by Callinicos in the following terms:

I'm actually very interested in this whole thing of leadership. For fifteen years or more I have been writing about the grassroots people and I think there is something to be said for leaders. I think that it is very difficult to say that some other leader other than Mandela would have been just as good. I don't think it would have worked. I think that at this particular historical moment, President Mandela is tailor made.²⁵

It can be argued that Rassool correctly ascribes these shifts and 'seeming historiographical contradictions' to slippages into 'post-struggle histories deemed appropriate for nation-building and new patriotism' which tended to valorise the contribution of the great men in the heroic narratives of the nation.²⁶ In addition, it is perhaps also because Callinicos decided that the story of the African National Congress in the twentieth century, for example, would need to encompass the life stories of the leaders. This is especially so given that Callinicos posited that Oliver Tambo's life story in many aspects meshed with a greater part of the twentieth century African National Congress.²⁷ It is perhaps worth questioning whether a life story, characterised as belonging to an ordinary member of South African society could have equally been regarded,

²⁴ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 111-112.

²⁵ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 113.

²⁶ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 113.

²⁷ Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo*, 18.

by Callinicos, as offering sufficient insights into the interludes and interplays between the family and the nation as Tambo's life story, especially with the latter having been accorded the tag of 'father of the nation'.²⁸ What is apparent is that, for Luli Callinicos, a biography of Oliver Tambo, both as one of the prominent leaders of the African National Congress and as an anti-apartheid figure offered more possibilities for a more complete exploration of some of the country's historical moments than others.²⁹

Almost a decade later, Mark Gevisser's approach towards the writing of the biography of Thabo Mbeki, can perhaps be seen as a means through which he sought to analyse the political transformations that had taken place in South African society within a given period of time.³⁰ Through the biography, Gevisser sought to understand change by examining the subject's history and how it may have influenced his sometimes complex political positions and actions.³¹ Gevisser's approach to the writing and researching of the biography seems to have been partly influenced by two factors. There was the apparent 'reticence' of his subject, Thabo Mbeki, towards the biographical project and the fact that at the time the biography was being written and researched, the subject, was president of South Africa and thus had 'significant agency'.³² This aspect of agency, as I later argue in relation to the writing of Kenneth Kaunda's biography, does seem to influence some auto/biographical projects although the nature and extent of the influence may not easily be discerned. Laura Ahearn writes that it is common for some historians to

²⁸ Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo*, 18.

²⁹ Stephen Clingman, 'Biography and Representation: Some Analogies from Fiction', Paper for Presentation at the History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, February 1987, 9.

³⁰ Mark Gevisser, 'Introduction', *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki* (Johannesburg & Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007), xxi-xxii.

³¹ Gevisser, *The Dream Deferred*, xlii.

³² Sarah Nuttall, 'Writing Biography: an Interview with Jon Hyslop, John Matshikiza and Mark Gevisser', *Social Dynamics*, 30 (2), 2004, p107.

ascribe agency solely to the power of individuals regarded as ‘Great Men’.³³ However, as David Garry Shaw argues, the ‘problem of agency has been perennial within human thought’ and it can thus be contended that within auto/biographical productions, the question of agency is complicated and can perhaps not be ascribed to any one entity.³⁴

It is Nelson Mandela’s political auto/biography that has been credited with the notion of being, in many ways, the auto/biography of the South African Nation. Philip Holden has argued that Nelson Mandela’s auto/biography is a latter addition to an autobiographical ‘tradition’ that he traces from India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. Holden writes, ‘in its mapping of the individual onto national story, Nehru’s text became the model for a series of national autobiographies written by the leaders of nations emerging from colonialism: Kwame Nkrumah’s *Ghana* and Kenneth Kaunda’s *Zambia Must Be Free*, for example, and later in the century, Nelson R. Mandela’s *Long Walk to Freedom* and Lee Kuan Yew’s retrospective *The Singapore Story*’.³⁵ According to Holden, these individual autobiographies, in serving as national autobiographies, supplement Benedict Anderson’s depiction of a nation as an imagined community.³⁶ In this regard, Holden suggests that:

In these immensely influential autobiographies, and in the social imaginaries which they bring into being, the nation state is an imagined individual. Enslaved under colonialism, the nation is now reborn, has achieved the age of majority [rule], and will mature in the fullness of time. For now, it will take its place as a

³³ Laura M. Ahearn, ‘Language and Agency’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30 (2001), 114.

³⁴ David Gary Shaw, ‘Happy in our Chains? Agency and Language in the Postmodern Age’, *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 40 (December 2001), 1.

³⁵ Philip Holden, ‘Other Modernities: National Autobiography and Globalization’, *Biography*, Volume 28, Number 1, (Winter 2005), 89.

³⁶ See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991; first published, 1983) in which he avers that nations are essentially imagined communities whose members will never know or meet with each other.

junior member among a community of equal nations, each autonomous and self-governing.³⁷

Thus for Holden, the autobiographies of the likes of Jawaharlal Nehru, Kwame Nkrumah, Kenneth Kaunda and later in the century Nelson Mandela and Lee Kuan Yew share a similar characteristic of epitomizing the emergency of the nation state through the account and/or narrations of an individual's life.³⁸ Furthermore, he suggests that through the ways in which they describe the 'past' and invoke the promises of the future, the autobiographies can be seen to contemplate on how public and private, individual and collective stories come together and how the construction of a new self is linked to the construction of a new polity and a new world.³⁹ In his book, *Autobiography and Decolonization: Modernity, Masculinity, and the Nation-State*, Holden does attempt to analyse how the biographies of Nehru, Nkrumah, Mandela and Yew can be related to the narrative of the decolonization of their countries. However, he does not undertake a similar exercise with regards the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda.⁴⁰ Thus, certain individuals' life narrations are deemed to be representative of some historical aspects of their societies while the individuals themselves are concurrently usually regarded, almost paradoxically, as exceptional.

Indeed, the interaction between history and auto/biography, writes Stephen Clingman, can also be analysed through the relationship between auto/biographical subjects being socially

³⁷ Philip Holden, 'Other Modernities', 94.

³⁸ See Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1962; first published, 1936); Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International, 1979; first published 1957); Kenneth Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1962); Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (London: Abacus, 1994) and Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew* (Singapore: Times Editions, 1998).

³⁹ Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization: Modernity, Masculinity, and the Nation-State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 7.

⁴⁰ The examination of Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography in relation to the narrations of the political history of the Zambian nation is dealt with in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

representative and being exceptional at the same time. According to Clingman, it is the notion of typicality that can link the social representativeness of an auto/biographical subject with their exceptionality and this linkage can enable historians and others to be freed ‘from the anxiety of the exceptional [individual]’.⁴¹ The idea of typicality is based, according to Clingman, following Lukacs, on individuals being really ‘typical’ by possessing, in extreme and condensed form, many of the broader experiences and patterns of many different lives of their societies.⁴² This apparently occurs when these individuals, ‘engage in their fullest potential with the social and historical circumstances of their situation’. It is thus due to individuals’ typicality through their ability to reflect condensed experiences of some of their societies’ histories and the full utilisation of their potential that, for Clingman, would qualify biographical subjects to be exceptional. Hence, by utilizing the notion of typicality, he argues that exceptionality may actually be the key for a biographical subject to be socially representative of their societies.⁴³

More broadly though, as Caine writes, the ‘approach to autobiography as a form which is important, not so much for the insights that it offers into individual subjectivity as for the ways in which it links one particular life to significant political and social developments and transformations, has become increasingly significant in thinking about post-colonial autobiography’.⁴⁴ According to Caine, following Holden, the auto/biographies of some of the leaders of movements and organisations that fought colonialism and for independence especially in Africa and Asia have acquired a high symbolical status in that they are deemed to be particularly illustrative of the narratives dealing with the end of colonial power and how the new

⁴¹ Stephen Clingman, ‘Biography and Representation: Some Analogies from Fiction’, Paper for Presentation at the History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, February 1987, 10.

⁴² Stephen Clingman, ‘Biography and Representation’, 8.

⁴³ Stephen Clingman, ‘Biography and Representation’, 7-9.

⁴⁴ Caine, *Biography and History*, 80.

nations came to be born. Of these auto/biographies, Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* is, for Caine, the best known of the auto/biographies that combine individual life stories with the account of the production of the new nation. Thus, with regards Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*, Caine writes:

It is an epic story of apartheid and resistance to it, describing immense suffering under the harsh prison system of the South African apartheid regime, detailing the life of Mandela and his fellow inmates on Robben Island and the turning of a prison into a university, and finally their release and the establishment of a new multi-racial South Africa. [A]ny inaccuracies it might contain are of almost no importance beside its place as the founding story of the nation.⁴⁵

Indeed not only was Nelson Mandela's 'long walk to Freedom' at the centre of political biography activity in the mid 1990s in South Africa, it also came to symbolise, according to Rassool, the past of the new nation.⁴⁶ Some of these political auto/biographical representations, as I later elaborate, find expression within the realm of national heritage.

However, with regards many of the South African political auto/biographical projects that focused on the lives of political leaders, usually in the form of 'great men', Rassool has argued that they tended to '[i]nset the life story of the hero within teleological accounts of the rise of political movements, and that they [were] premised on an account of selfhood and identity that is overly coherent and neglect[ed] the relationship between personal and political life'.⁴⁷ In these political auto/biographies, Rassool writes that 'the history of a life tended to be approached as a linear human career, formed by an ordered sequence of acts, events and works, with individuals

⁴⁵ Caine, *Biography and History*, 80.

⁴⁶ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 194.

⁴⁷ C. Rassool, 'Challenges of Rethinking South African Political Biography: A Reply to Jonathan Hyslop', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41, 2 (2010), 116-117.

characterized by stability, autonomy, self-determination and rational choice'.⁴⁸ Furthermore, these projects are deemed to have paid limited attention to the issues involved in biographical production such as the aspects of narration, discourse and subjectivity. This glossing over resulted, according to Rassool, in '[I]near biographical constructions, born out of realist projects, where subjects were thought to have lived lives in chronological narratives, [which] served to perpetuate a "biographical illusion" in which the main challenges of the historian were deemed to be empirical'.⁴⁹

Given Rassool's critique, the question that perhaps arises is; to what extent does it apply to the political auto /biographical projects of Zambian political leaders in general and that of Kenneth Kaunda in particular? Moreover, as indicated earlier, it is apparent that conventional political auto/biographies in South Africa and elsewhere have largely tended to be masculinist. In these conventional masculinist biographies, Mary Evans writes that the individual would be introduced and presented within the framework of their original family, from which they would then emerge, almost uniquely to take their place on the stage of their life courses. According to Evans, the subject's life was then rendered as a journey to adulthood, leadership and achievement through an ordered sequence, reminiscent of an apprenticeship, with the stages of adolescence, education and early influences presented as the forerunners of future achievements.⁵⁰ Hence, the compartmentalised approaches of these conventional masculine biographies in which the personal and the public spheres of the lives of subjects are separated and in which the life history

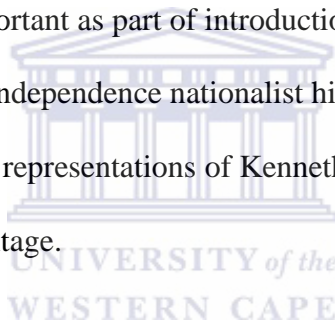
⁴⁸ C. Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41, 1 (2010), 28-29.

⁴⁹ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 4.

⁵⁰ Mary Evans, 'Masculine and Feminine Biography', in David Ellis (ed), *Imitating Art*, 108, Cited in C.S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 28-29.

is presented as a sequence of acts, events and works can be seen to bear the hallmarks of Pierre Bourdieu's 'biographical illusion'.⁵¹

The question that this mini-thesis will have to tackle is to what extent do the auto/biographical narrations of Kenneth Kaunda manifest the features that have been highlighted by Bourdieu, Rassool and Evans, among others? As a way of attempting to answer this question, this study will interrogate the approach, content and trends in Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biographical texts as well as examining their deployment within the public historical knowledge terrain in Zambia. Since this work also encapsulates the issue of post colonial auto/biographical representations in the public terrain, it is perhaps important as part of introduction to undertake a brief historical analysis of the production of post-independence nationalist history and national heritage as a way of creating an understanding of the representations of Kenneth Kaunda within Zambian nationalist history and national heritage.



Nationalist History and National Heritage⁵²

In many African countries, the period immediately after the attainment of political independence saw the production of nationalist histories and ideas of national heritage in the service of the formation and even consolidation of the nation-state. These largely tended to be initiated by the ruling political elites or their surrogates and often involved the production of particular types of nationalist histories and heritage. In the years following Zambia's attainment of political independence in 1964, Larmer writes that some '[h]istorical studies were undertaken that

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Biographical Illusion* (Working Papers and Proceedings of the Centre for psychosocial studies, no 14), Chicago, Centre for Psychosocial Studies, 1987.

⁵² Nationalist history is used to refer to accounts of the political struggles for Independence while national heritage is used to refer to the production of history in the public domain such as through national heritage sites or monuments, historic sites and biographic museums.

contributed to a new self-conscious construction of a Zambian identity, shaped around a nationalist metanarrative of injustice, exploitation and struggle, culminating in the achievement of national independence under the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) and its leader, President Kenneth Kaunda'.⁵³ Kenneth Kaunda's own writings at the time concerning the doctrine of 'Humanism in Zambia' can perhaps be situated within this discursive framework.⁵⁴ In this regard, Larmer has contended that in his writings on humanism, Kenneth Kaunda utilised particular interpretations of Zambian colonial and post-colonial history that valorised the role played by his party UNIP as well as legitimising its governance approach.⁵⁵

These assertions suggest a construction of national history that was aligned with a nationalist movement. Some of this nationalist history was apparently produced and disseminated through the history studies curriculum in schools. Perhaps, an examination of the history textbooks utilized in the education system from the period of independence may be able to reveal the role of Kenneth Kaunda's political auto/biographical narrations in the production of Zambia's nationalist history. Moreover, the other ways in which the metanarrative that was favourable to Kenneth Kaunda and the ruling party were constructed and disseminated perhaps also needs to be examined. In general, Srirupa Roy has suggested that the post colonial formation of the nation-state tended to be a dual production of stateness and nationhood. According to Srirupa Roy, the nation state citizenry was formed by way of its repeated exposure to, rather than its belief in the official imagination of nationhood and that this occurred through the recognition of the signs, sights, sounds and symbols of the state and not necessarily through 'buying into' the

⁵³ Miles Larmer, 'What went Wrong? Zambian Political Biography and Post-Colonial Discourses of Decline', *Historia*, Vol 51, No. 1, (May, 2006), 236.

⁵⁴ See K.D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation I*, (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1968); K.D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation II* (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1974).

⁵⁵ Miles Larmer, 'What went Wrong?', 236.

official discourses.⁵⁶ This aspect is perhaps important when considering, as I elaborate later, the limitations of the dominant ideology thesis in explaining the ways in which national heritage and nationalist history are produced.

However, the production of particular types of history and heritage by post-colonial and/or post-independence governments has been observed elsewhere in Africa. Owen Kalinga, for instance, has posited that in post-independence Malawi, President Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party promoted particular types of Malawian history and heritage. And while the dissemination of these ideals appears to have been done discursively through such avenues as the media and ‘print capitalism’, there seems to have been more promotional emphasis during certain events. Kalinga thus writes that during national festivities such as those associated with the commemoration of the day of independence, the country’s political history was recounted and narrated in various media, at different gatherings and schools. However, the version so disseminated straddled the official position and perspective of the ruling Malawi Congress Party following the 1964 cabinet crisis when many senior politicians in Kamuzu Banda’s ruling party fell out of favour with him and left the government.⁵⁷ As Franz Fanon observed, the phenomenon of selectively valorising and disseminating particular versions of history over others was widespread amongst a number of African post-colonial leaders as ways of buttressing their

⁵⁶ Srirupa Roy, *Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism* (New Delhi: Duke University Press, 2007), 15.

⁵⁷ Owen Kalinga, ‘The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnston, the influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party’, *African Affairs*, 97 (1998), 540.

legitimacy and promoting ‘national unity’ when confronted with social, economic and political crises.⁵⁸

Moreover, Kalinga suggests that Kamuzu Banda and the Malawi Congress Party actually sought to influence the entire scope of the production of history in the country through the attempts to monitor and control such spheres as historical research (such as through restricting access to the national archives), history writing and teaching, representations in museums and the types and scope of historical topics covered on radio and through the print media.⁵⁹ And, Kalinga has charged that ‘the version of history that was being inculcated in the minds of the new generation of Malawians was that which was approved by Dr Banda and his ruling party. This became the official history, and anybody departing from it was regarded as anti-government, a “rebel”, a “confusionist”, an “ungrateful” person and, therefore, someone deserving detention without trial’.⁶⁰ The question that this study will seek to examine then is, to what extent do the ways in which Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party sought to influence the production of nationalist history in Malawi resonate with the case of Kenneth Kaunda and the ruling UNIP in Zambia?

In a somewhat similar case to post-colonial Malawi, Janet Hess has argued that in post-colonial Ghana, the Government of Kwame Nkrumah and the ruling Convention People’s Party (CPP) sought to promote particular versions of culture and heritage that represented a unified nation. These efforts, writes Hess, began in the early years of Nkrumah’s administration and often also included the institutionalising of restrictions on opposition political parties that were deemed to

⁵⁸ Franz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964), 99-102, Cited in Owen Kalinga, ‘The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s’, p544

⁵⁹ Owen Kalinga, ‘The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s’, 524.

⁶⁰ Owen Kalinga, ‘The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s’, p541.

be narrowly ethnically based as well as the deliberate advancement of particular representations and exhibitions, television documentaries and ‘national’ art aimed at projecting the nation-state as a unified and homogenous entity.⁶¹ Furthermore, Hess contends that ‘the promotion of exhibitions and performances that collapsed distinct and ongoing cultural practices into a category of “traditional cultural display”, and the rigid restrictions placed on radio and television broadcasting and film, reinforced the government’s advocacy of an ideologically unified culture’.⁶² It is apparent that at the centre of many of the representations of what was classified as Ghanaian national art, monuments and other discursive representations and exhibitions were images of Kwame Nkrumah himself. With regards the proliferation of the representations of Kwame Nkrumah, Natalie Yowles writes that:

Countless depictions of "Osagyefo"-Father of the Nation, Leader and Teacher - surrounded by workers and farmers with spades and hoes and smiling Young Pioneers, all looking happily forward to a brighter future, appeared on canvas and the walls of public buildings.... The happy image of the nation, confidently striding into the wonderful tomorrow, appealed to the unsophisticated masses, and, with its uncompromising message and exaggerated optimism, served as effective political propaganda.⁶³

In addition to these, Hess has posited that that various media such as postage stamps and currency bearing Nkrumah’s image and various Nkrumah statues were all utilized to disseminate his image. And in response to the apparently strong opposition from organisations such as the National Liberation Movement (NLM) to these representations, including their charge that the depictions aimed at presenting the view that ‘Ghana was Kwame Nkrumah, and Kwame Nkrumah was Ghana’, Hess asserts that Kwame Nkrumah and the government’s response

⁶¹ Janet Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary and “National” Art in the Nkrumah Era’, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 44, No. 1, April 2001, 62.

⁶² Janet Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana’, 69.

⁶³ Natalie Yowles, ‘Modern Art and Artists in Ghana: A Cultural Development’, (Ph.D, University of Legon, 1981), 44- 45, cited in Janet Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana’, 69-70.

included the arguments that these representations would remind non-literate Ghanaians that they were truly independent.⁶⁴ These differences can perhaps be argued to highlight the fact that the production of history and heritage are usually contested. Thus the Ghanaian post-colonial administration is adduced to have employed various mechanisms to propagate their desired messages to the populace. The imagery and representations of Nkrumah can also be understood to have been mechanisms through which he was ‘deployed’ within the terrain of Ghanaian public history and heritage. The question then that this thesis hopes to interrogate is to what extent does this deployment resonate with that of Kenneth Kaunda in post colonial Zambia and what were the related contestations?

While the cases considered of Malawi under Kamuzu Banda and the Malawi Congress Party and Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People’s Party can be seen to resonate, to an extent, with the dominant ideology thesis, it is clear that the thesis by itself does not adequately provide for the ways in which national public history and heritage are produced. The dominant ideology thesis, according to John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth, following Abercrombie, ‘[a]t its most extreme argues that heritage [and history] interpretation is endowed with messages which are deliberately framed by an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimise the existing dominant regime, or alternatively are developed by an opposition group with the objective of overthrowing a competitor’.⁶⁵ However, as Tunbridge and Ashworth contend, there are many objections to the idea of the existence of a dominant ideology thesis as well as many unanswered questions. They question, for instance, the thesis’s assumption of the existence of two delineable

⁶⁴ Janet Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana’, 71-72

⁶⁵ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 48

categories in society – the dominant and the subordinate such that messages can be consciously projected from the former to the latter.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Tunbridge and Ashworth suggest that even if a dominant group exists in society, it may be largely diffuse and one whose messages or ideals, if they are projected at all, may be done unconsciously and unintentionally.⁶⁷ This, they argue, is largely because it would be very difficult for a so called dominant group to have and project a common ideological message to the subordinate classes given that historically, dominant ideologies have had minimal impact on the subordinate groups and can be seen to have been mainly aimed at the dominant groups themselves so as to encourage their cohesion and sense of purpose.⁶⁸ It can thus be argued that there is no single version of nationalist history or national heritage, but that there are many histories and heritages that can come out from an examination of their production. In this regard, it is plausible to argue that the production of history and heritage occurs at different levels and is not always directly influenced by the ruling elites. It is therefore within the different representations of and about Kenneth Kaunda that this thesis aims at identifying the contestations related to the production of Zambian nationalist history and national heritage related to the subject. Perhaps, some of the episodes during and after Kenneth Kaunda's presidency can be considered, in some ways, as part of the auto/biographic contestations associated with him.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 49.

⁶⁷ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 49.

⁶⁸ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 49.

⁶⁹ See for example, Roger Southall and Henning Melber (eds), *Legacies of Power: Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006); Miles Larmer, 'A Little Bit Like A Volcano- The United Progressive Party and Resistance to One Party Rule in Zambia', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2006), 49-83; Miles Larmer, 'Chronicle of a Coup Foretold: Valentine Musakanya and the 1980 Coup Attempt in Zambia', *Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 391-409; Miles Larmer and Giacomo Macola, 'The Origins, Context, and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion Against the Zambian One-Party State', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2007), 471-496.

Another avenue through which the production of history and heritage manifests is through the realm of heritage sites and national monuments. For example, Rassool has submitted that in the late 1990s, in order ‘to counter the dominance of colonial and Afrikaner monuments on South Africa’s landscape, the National Monuments Council had endorsed a host of new heritage sites, many of them associated with Mandela’.⁷⁰ After 2000, this work of heritage site management was continued by the South Africa Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in declaring sites associated with Nelson Mandela and other leaders as national heritage sites. And at the same time, the remaking of museums after apartheid saw the creation of biographic museums especially those associated with the anti-apartheid struggle such as the Robben Island Museum.

It is thus apparent that in many instances, the interconnections between conventional political biographies and the production of history and heritage are often mantled within the ‘great man’ paradigm through the focus on masculine leadership and/or ‘exemplary lives’. These representations have gone beyond the written text into the arenas of memorial landscapes and other visual mediums that have included national ‘sites of memory’.⁷¹ These aspects can be seen, for example, in the representations associated with Martin Luther King, Jr and Nelson Mandela. With regards Martin Luther King, Jr perhaps the most prominent national ‘site of memory’ associated with him is the King National Historic Site in Atlanta’s Sweet Auburn which was established by the American Congress in 1980 and commemorates ‘the places where he was born, lived, worked, worshiped and is buried’.⁷² And, Rassool writes that historically, the memorialisation associated with the Civil Rights Movement in the United States tended to

⁷⁰ C. Rassool, ‘The Rise of heritage and reconstitution of history in South Africa’, in *Kronos*, No. 26, (August 2000), 13.

⁷¹ Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 51. The concept of ‘sites’ or ‘realms’ of memory is largely based on the work edited by Pierre Nora. See for example, Pierre Nora (ed), *Les lieux de mémoire* (seven volumes; Paris: Edition Gallimard, 1984-1992).

⁷² Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 86.

valorise the role played by King almost at the expense of some of his contemporaries. Rassool, following Owen Dwyer, states that:

Sites and institutions associated with the life and career of Martin Luther King, Jr have been given the most prominent place in the Civil Rights memorial landscape. From Atlanta, where he was born and where he ministered and Birmingham where he conducted a campaign against segregation in 1963 to Selma, where he led the Voting Rights March in 1965 and Memphis, where he was assassinated in 1968, King's biography has been imprinted on the landscape of memory. In addition, civic infrastructure across the United States has been named in King's honour and a national holiday marking his birthday has been inaugurated.⁷³

Furthermore, Dwyer argues that while Martin Luther King, Jr was sometimes pictured alongside some of his contemporaries, these tended to be male individuals such as Ralph David Abernathy, Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson, while his female advisers such as Ella Baker, Septima Clark and Jo Anne Robinson were largely ignored.⁷⁴ This representational 'bias' was apparently also manifest in the sites associated with the representations of the civil rights movement in many of the major museums. As Dwyer writes, many of the major museums that represented the civil rights movement depicted it 'as having been won on the streets, from the pulpit, and in the courtroom-places intimately associated with masculinised leadership in the movement's iconic legacy'.⁷⁵ This focus on the public spaces while neglecting the private and semi public spaces can, according to Dwyer, also be related to the scaling of participation whereby the 'prominent' men of the civil rights movement were cast as national or international figures where as the 'prominent' women were represented as largely local actors.⁷⁶

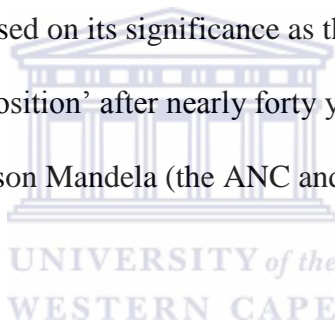
⁷³ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 85.

⁷⁴ Owen J. Dwyer, 'Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Place, Memory, and Conflict', *Professional Geographer*, 52(4), 2000, 663-664.

⁷⁵ Owen J. Dwyer, 'Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Place, Memory, and Conflict', 664.

⁷⁶ Owen J. Dwyer, 'Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Place, Memory, and Conflict', 664.

Nelson Mandela's representations have also gone beyond the written auto/biographic text and into the landscapes of biographic memory. Some of these have been turned into historic and/or heritage sites of national remembrance that have celebrated his political 'greatness'.⁷⁷ Among these are Nelson Mandela's one time home in Soweto and Pretoria's Great Synagogue, scene of the 1956 treason trial of prominent anti-apartheid leaders which were both declared as national monuments. Furthermore, the South African Heritage Resources Agency declared 'Madiba House', a building 'situated on the Farm Watervliet, Portion 2 of farm 942, Drakenstein Correctional Services (formally known as Victor Vester Prison) and all associated heritage objects, as a National Heritage Site'.⁷⁸ The declaration of 'Madiba House' as a national monument is presented as being based on its significance as the place where the South African government engaged with the 'opposition' after nearly forty years of apartheid. Apparently, 'it was here that interactions with Nelson Mandela (the ANC and the then South African Government) were initiated'.⁷⁹



Other biographic landscapes of memory for Nelson Mandela include the Nelson Mandela Museum, planned to be located in three sites on the Eastern Cape, including at the place of his birth in Mvezo village and his early childhood at Qunu village. At these sites, various facets of Mandela's life were to be exhibited and presented 'within a local, national and international context'. This work closely relates to that of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, established in 1999 to support and promote Nelson Mandela's post-Presidential work, values and vision in order to

⁷⁷ Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 73.

⁷⁸ See Department of Arts and Culture, 'National Heritage Resources Act (25/1999): Declaration of 'Madiba House', Farm Watervliet, Portion 2 of farm 942, Drakenstein Correctional Services (formally known as Victor Verster Prison) as a national heritage site (Pretoria: Government Gazette Number 32403, 2009)

⁷⁹ Department of Arts and Culture, 'National Heritage Resources Act (25/1999): Declaration of 'Madiba House'.

contribute to the making of a more just society.⁸⁰ The national heritage site that is most closely associated with Nelson Mandela is clearly the Robben Island Museum. Listed as a World Heritage Site in September 1997, the site has as its central tenet, the representation of ‘the triumph of the human spirit against the forces of evil’.⁸¹ Such has been the focus on Nelson Mandela that not only has the museum been argued to be heavily ‘Mandelaised’, but the visit to his former cell in B-Section, where he apparently spent seventeen years remains, for many visitors, the major highlight of the tour of the former Robben Island prison. Hence, Rassool asserts that the Robben Island Museum has largely been driven by the biographic narrative of Nelson Mandela from its inception in 1997.⁸²

Following the above, an examination of biographic heritage sites and biographic museums associated with Kenneth Kaunda and especially how they were produced may be able to explain some of the approaches in the production of national heritage in post-independence Zambia. To this end, the Chilenje House National Monument and the Kabompo House National Monuments, which are both historic buildings, form the crust of this assessment. Principally, these were selected as being among the very first sites associated with Kenneth Kaunda, which were declared as national monuments after the attainment of independence in Zambia. It is perhaps worth noting, that while the sites are categorized as historic monuments and museums, their significance rests, primarily on their association with a prominent individual, Kenneth Kaunda in

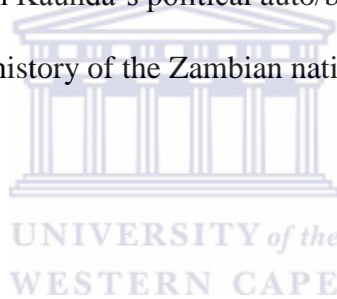
⁸⁰ See for example, Nelson Mandela Foundation Annual Report 2010, available at http://www.nelsonmandela.org/images/uploads/NMF_AR_lowres_01.pdf, accessed on 6/01/ 2012

⁸¹ Robben Island Museum, ‘Integrated Conservation Management Plan 2007-2012: Abridged Version’, (Cape Town: Robben Island Museum, 2007).

⁸² Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 267. See also Noel L.Z. Solani, ‘Memory and Representation: Robben Island Museum 1997-1999’, (University of the Western Cape: Unpublished Masters Thesis, 2000) and Noel Solani, ‘The Saint of the Struggle: Deconstructing the Mandela Myth’, *Kronos*, No. 26, August 2000.

this case, and thus their significance is associational.⁸³ This thesis will seek to create a framework for exploring of the linkages between the political auto/biographical narrations of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's nationalist history and national heritage.

This chapter served as an introduction to the study, Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia. With particular focus on examples from South Africa and a few other cases, the chapter considered some of the ways in which political auto/biographies, nationalist history and national heritage have been produced in order to try and understand their undercurrents and determinants. I now turn to an examination of some of the ways in which Kenneth Kaunda's political auto/biographical narrations are entwined with the narratives of the political history of the Zambian nation.



⁸³ Graeme Aplin, *Heritage: Identification, Conservation, and Management* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002), 118.

CHAPTER TWO

KENNETH KAUNDA AND ZAMBIA'S NATIONALIST HISTORY

In Zambia, the focus on the 'deeds and actions of individuals', through political auto/biographies, largely occurred many years after the attainment of independence in 1964. While the autobiography of Kenneth Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography*,¹ which was published in 1962 does not fit this frame, its role, as I will show, can be seen to have been to 'imagine the new nation'. Though the biography, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man*,² which was published in 1974, mainly covered the same time span as the autobiography by ending in 1964, its purpose can be argued to have been different. The purpose of the biographic production can be seen to have been one that sought to 'consolidate' the nation. Thus the biography often elaborated upon, expanded on and added to the themes in the autobiography to present a more detailed account of the narrations of Kenneth Kaunda's life within the narratives of Zambia's political history. As indicated in Chapter One, this thesis will often ascribe to the term 'auto/biography' some of the features traditionally singularly associated with either 'autobiography' or 'biography' in recognition of the often entwined nature of autobiography and biography as well as the lack of a complete conceptual distinction between them.³

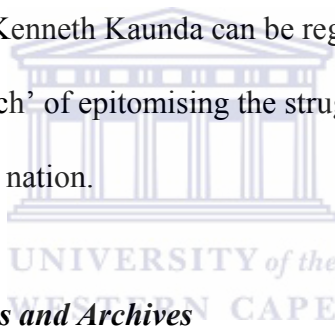
This chapter argues that there are interconnections between the political narrations of Kenneth Kaunda's life (or his auto/biography) and the accounts of the political or nationalist history of Zambia. In order to examine the interlinkages between the micronarratives of an individual and

¹ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1962).

² Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1974).

³ See discussion in Chapter One, 9-12.

the metanarratives of the nation, it draws from his auto/biographies. It suggests that an examination of the narrative ways in which Kenneth Kaunda is represented in his auto/biographies reveals that they mirror the narrations of the popular political history of the country. In this regard, the chapter argues that Fergus Macpherson's biography of Kenneth Kaunda was a key avenue through which the political or nationalist history of Zambia was (re)produced. This, it asserts, was accomplished by inserting the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda's life into the events, dates and activities pertaining to the political history of the Zambian nation. The chapter suggests that it is these and similar accounts that have, in a limited manner, been presented as political history lessons in many Zambian schools. In addition, the chapter will contend that the autobiography of Kenneth Kaunda can be regarded as a 'national autobiography' through its 'approach' of epitomising the struggle for decolonization, thereby imagining the formation of a 'new' nation.



Biographical 'Relations', Purposes and Archives

While auto/biography has been suggested to mean 'simply writing life'⁴ and 'history without boundaries',⁵ it is apparent that auto/biographies of people may not be about their lives per se, but about the meanings that are associated with their lives. It is in those meanings, it seems, that the reasons and perhaps the different approaches to the writing of auto/biographies can be traced. Moreover, even though it is not always apparent, auto/biographies are always written for a reason or reasons. Sometimes, there is a clearly traceable 'relationship' between the 'biographer' and the 'biographee'.

⁴ Birgitta Svensson, 'The Power of Biography: Criminal Policy, Prison Life, and the Formation of Critical Identities in the Swedish Welfare State' in D.E. Reed-Danahay (ed.), *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social* (Berg: Oxford, 1997), 99.

⁵ Charles Van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine a South African Sharecropper* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996), ix.

Fergus Macpherson, a Scottish Missionary and author of the biography of Kenneth Kaunda for instance, apparently met his biographical subject in about 1946 when the latter was appointed to teach at the school where the former was the School Manager in the present town of Mufulira on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia.⁶ By the time he was writing the biography, Fergus Macpherson had apparently known his subject, who had become President of Zambia, for close to thirty years. Though the nature of the relationship and its impact, if any, on the writing of the biography is not known, it is perhaps an important aspect to note.

Some auto/biographers have alluded to some personal (in addition to professional) motivations for the writing of auto/biography. In writing the biography of Manilal Mohandas Gandhi – *Gandhi's Prisoner? The Life of Gandhi's Son Manilal*, Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, for example, highlighted 'significant personal motivations to telling th[e] story. [Her] mother, Sita, was Manilal's eldest daughter and she had felt that Manilal's contribution both to Phoenix and to South Africa's resistance struggle had to be documented and recognized'.⁷ In this project, Dhupelia-Mesthrie also sought to rescue the subject 'from anonymity', and to present a better understanding of Mahatma Gandhi, as a father and family man, through the life story of his son. Others such as Van Onselen alluded to 'both political and moral motives for writing' their biographies.⁸

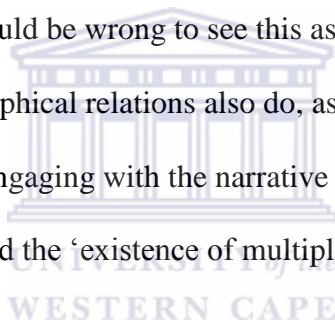
Personal and political considerations also apparently influenced John Matshikiza to author a biography of his father Todd Matshikiza even though he reportedly knew very little about his life

⁶ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1962), 30.

⁷ U. Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'Writing the Life of Manilal Mohandas Gandhi', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 24 & 25, 2006-2007, 189.

⁸ C. Kros, 'Farewell to the Middle Style? Reflections on The Seed is Mine', *South African Historical Journal* 37 (Nov 1997), 181.

since he had died when he was very young.⁹ This was especially because no one had written about Todd Matshikiza and some ‘South African exiles’ felt that the biography needed to be written.¹⁰ What is particularly important with regard to John Matshikiza’s case is that even though there was a clearly defined ‘close’ relationship between the biographer and the biographee, it can be argued that this did not necessarily enhance the biographical project. In other words, the nature of the biographical relationship can be argued to not always be indicative of a particular influence in the writing of auto/biography. And the influence exerted is not empirical. Thus Charles Van Onselen, for example, has argued that ‘simply because the relationship that exists between interviewer [or biographer] and interviewee [or biographee] is a dynamic and developing one, it would be wrong to see this as always being an advantage.¹¹ Perhaps, what different auto/biographical relations also do, as Rassool has suggested, is offer possibilities for understanding or engaging with the narrative ways in which individuals and/or subjects are related and narrated and the ‘existence of multiple narrations of lives’.¹²



Notwithstanding the above considerations, Fergus Macpherson was argued to have been ‘uniquely’ qualified to write the biography of Kenneth Kaunda. In this regard, Douglas Anglin asserted that ‘not only ha[d] he lived in Zambia and known the President intimately since 1946, he was also given access to an extraordinary wide range of unpublished party documents and personal papers of actors in the events recorded’.¹³ An examination of some of the sources that

⁹ See S. Nuttall, ‘Writing Biography: an Interview with Jon Hyslop, John Matshikiza and Mark Gevisser’, *Social Dynamics*, 30(2), 2004, 105.

¹⁰ S. Nuttall, ‘Writing Biography’, 105.

¹¹ Charles Van Onselen, ‘The Reconstruction of a Rural Life from Oral Testimony: Critical Notes on the Methodology Employed in the Study of a Black South African Sharecropper’, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol 20, No.3, April 1993, 506.

¹² Ciraj S. Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 17.

¹³ Douglas G. Anglin, ‘Review: Political Scene in Zambia’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies/ Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1975), 337.

are cited in the biography confirms Anglin's submission. Thus it seems that, for Anglin, the nature of the biographer's relationship with the subject and his/her access to the related sources and archives serve as a mark of qualification for writing a biography.

Therefore, according to Anglin, Fergus Macpherson's archive in writing the biography of Kenneth Kaunda consisted of, in part, 'an extraordinary wide range of unpublished party documents and personal papers of actors in the events recorded'. However, documentary archives can have their own histories and biographies. As John Randolph has suggested, such archives may also have their own 'story of production, exchange, and use across and among a number of social and institutional settings'.¹⁴ In other words, the meanings of documentary archives may change over time. Dhupelia-Mesthrie, for instance, has highlighted, in the study of migration documents between India and South Africa, that what started off as migration related individual identity documents 'evolved' to become numbered personal archival files with auto/biographical information.¹⁵

In addition, it can be argued that whereas Anglin regarded Fergus Macpherson's accessibility to these documentary archives as a mark of qualification, the documents themselves may have been a testimony to particular sets of power relations that enabled these, and not others, to be selected and archived. In this regard, Rassool has asserted that often, party documents and related materials have their own conventions of production and are thus hardly 'transparent windows' to

¹⁴ John Randolph, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive' in A. Burton (ed.) *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 210.

¹⁵ Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'The Form, the Permit and the Photograph: An Archive of Mobility between South Africa and India', Paper presented at Conference on Print Cultures, Nationalisms and Publics of the Indian Ocean. Indian Ocean Network, University of the Witwatersrand, 15-17 January 2007, 18.

the past.¹⁶ Fergus Macpherson's documentary archives can thus be argued to not just have been a source of historical information, but a site of knowledge production. And, as Carolyn Hamilton et al have argued, 'what constitutes an archive, what form it takes, and what systems of classification signal at specific times ... are the very substance of the politics of the time'.¹⁷

Furthermore, as Rassool has argued, 'to simply read meanings off words in a documentary fashion' can limit understanding of the complexities of identity production, shaping and narrative.¹⁸ Thus, it can be argued that access to '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'.¹⁹ 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. In this regard, Ann Stoler's caution with regards colonial documentary archives may also be applicable to documentary auto/biographical archival sources in that, there may have been need to read them both along and against the grain.²⁰

Perhaps the fact that Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography seems to have crowded out any consideration of criticisms and scepticism about his life, except that by the colonial authorities, is indicative of the ways in which the documentary archives were read.

¹⁶ C. Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41(1), 2010, 42.

¹⁷ Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds), *Refiguring the Archive*, (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 2002), 15.

¹⁸ Ciraj S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 13.

¹⁹ See Achille Mbembe, 'The power of the archive and its limits' In Carolyn Hamilton et al, *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002) and Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History: Between the syndromes of discovery and abolition* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota, 2005).

²⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance' In Carolyn Hamilton et al, *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), 99-100

Methodology, Narrative and History

Broadly, it can be argued that the narrative structure of Kenneth Kaunda's autobiography is largely chronological and descriptive rather than analytical. Summarily the autobiography, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, recounts his early childhood and schooling at Lubwa Mission and Munali Secondary School and his years as a student, teacher and political activist. Thus Kenneth Kaunda's autobiography, like those of Nehru and Nkrumah before it, and arguably that of Mandela later in the century, can be seen to present the subject's life as a 'journey' that involves progressing, almost successively, through ever widening circles of home, ethnic group, early childhood, schooling and political activism.²¹

Similarly, though the opening chapter of Kenneth Kaunda's biography, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man*, starts with the events of 'the night of October 24th 1958',²² the order and sequences of its narrative structure can also be seen to tend towards chronology and description rather than analysis. While the purpose for the biography's starting with 'the night of October 24th 1958' is unclear, it does seem to immediately place Kenneth Kaunda at the heart of the country's nationalist politics. As argued later in this chapter, the post-1958 to 1964 period has largely been adopted as the most important in the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's nationalist history and it is this period and the associated dates, events and actions that

²¹ Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization*, 143

²² It was at a meeting on this date that Kenneth Kaunda and some other officials resigned from the Africa National Congress (ANC) which was led by Harry Nkumbula to form the Zambia Africa National Congress (ZANC) – a forerunner to the United National Independence Party (UNIP) which became the ruling party at Independence in 1964. See Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 1

dominate the limited narrations of Zambian nationalist history in the history studies texts for schools.²³

The close to five hundred pages biography, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man*, initially seems to break from a strict chronological approach by commencing with the events of ‘the night of October 24th, 1958’. However, this approach is not sustained even in the first chapter which almost immediately ‘reverts’ to a chronological treatise on the history of colonial rule in Central Africa in general and in Zambia in particular.²⁴ The text includes a trace of Kenneth Kaunda’s family background from the ‘Tonga’ ethnic group, who dwelled on the south shore of Lake Malawi during the state of upheaval caused by the Ngoni migrations and wars of the late 1800s.²⁵ This period marked the childhood of Kenneth Kaunda’s father, Julizya Kaunda, who later became an evangelist in the Livingstonia Mission Council and was part of a team which was sent in about 1904, to preach ‘the gospel’ among the Bemba people of Chief Nkula in Northern Zambia.²⁶

Julizya Kaunda later settled at a place called Lubwa where Kenneth Kaunda was born in 1924. Apparently, a memorial stone at the historic church that was built at Lubwa credits Julizya Kaunda with having taken the gospel there in 1905.²⁷ The biography’s focus on this aspect of Kenneth Kaunda’s background seems to aim at highlighting the evolution of his personal Christian life from the influences of his father, even though his father died when he was only eight years old. In this regard, Fergus Macpherson seems to draw from Kenneth Kaunda’s own

²³ See the discussion under ‘Kenneth Kaunda, Nationalist History and History Lessons’.

²⁴ See Chapter 1- ‘Seeds of the Whirlwind’ in Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 1-19.

²⁵ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1974), 23-28

²⁶ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 29-40

²⁷ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 28

‘autobiography’ in which he asserts that some of his fondest memories of his father relate to his work as a minister of the church.²⁸ And as Holden has similarly observed with regards Nehru and Nkrumah’s early autobiographical childhood recollections,²⁹ most of Kenneth Kaunda’s early childhood reminiscences seem to be ‘pleasant ones’. He recalls that:

Lubwa, set among the lovely hills of Chinsali in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia, was a good place in which to live. [M]y own father and the other missionaries had created out of nothing a busy community of order and peace, which I look back upon with a deep thankfulness, realizing how much I owe to my early training in that place’.³⁰

From the discussion of Kenneth Kaunda’s religious background and primary education, the narrative moves to his secondary school education for a period of two years before going back to Lubwa to teach.³¹ Apparently, it was during this period of Kenneth Kaunda’s life that there was the ‘germination of a vision’, such that his later leadership was ‘not an accident’.³² This element of ‘self-evident leadership’ is, according to Rassool, a common feature of political biographies which also attempt to present the ‘role of the remarkable individual’ in the nation and/or its making.³³ The auto/biography interweaves the life narratives of Kenneth Kaunda with a brief account of the genesis of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the reality of white racism in Northern Rhodesia and some of the attempts of the major political movement- the African National Congress (ANC), to which Kenneth Kaunda now belonged, to oppose many of the discriminatory practices.³⁴ Clearly, much of the auto/biography focuses upon events after the late

²⁸ See Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 6.

²⁹ See the respective first Chapters in Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1962; first published, 1936) and Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International, 1979; first published 1957).

³⁰ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 7

³¹ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 12-22 and Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 50-69

³² Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 64.

³³ Ciraj S. Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 51.

³⁴ See for example the ‘Colour Bar’ in Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 31-36.

1940s when the subject became more fully involved in nationalist politics with the African National Congress, first as District Secretary, then as Provincial Organising Secretary and as Secretary General of the party.

Kenneth Kaunda became Secretary General of the ANC under the leadership of Harry Nkumbula in 1953. It is during this role as Secretary General that Kenneth Kaunda started making references to Kwame Nkrumah's positive action and Mahatma Gandhi's stance of non-violence.³⁵ It is perhaps worth noting that about the same time in South Africa, the 1950s, Mahatma Gandhi's approach of non-violent positive action was influencing the non-violence stance of Albert Luthuli who became President General of the African National Congress of South Africa in 1952.³⁶ Apparently, Kenneth Kaunda, like Albert Luthuli, was also strongly influenced by non-violence and theological considerations. For Kenneth Kaunda, this period (the mid to late 1950s) involved a number of international commitments which included trips to England for meetings with members of the colonial office.³⁷

He also travelled to Tanzania where he met Julius Nyerere and to India, at the invitation of the Indian Council of Cultural relations, where he met Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders who were attempting to put the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi into political planning and action.³⁸ It is plausible that through such trips 'new political spaces' were being opened by the international interactions.³⁹ Hence these trips seem to have had a profound effect on Kenneth Kaunda. For example, writing in the early 1970s and likely referring to Nehru, Kaunda testified that 'about

³⁵ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 140.

³⁶ Scott Couper, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by Faith* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2010), 50.

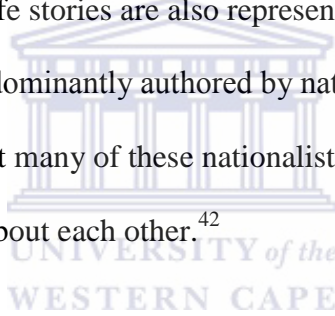
³⁷ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 80-87 and Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 228-244.

³⁸ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 256.

³⁹ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 259.

thirteen years ago I met a friend who, like me, tries to follow the path of non-violence. In fact he had the rare opportunity of working closely with Mahatma Gandhi and we spent long hours exchanging views on how a social order based on non-violence could be established'.⁴⁰

Holden has argued that Nehru's influence on nationalist leaders like Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah and Kenneth Kaunda extended into the field of political autobiography. Thus, following Holden, the autobiographies of the likes of Jawaharlal Nehru, Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela, Lee Kuan Yew and Kenneth Kaunda can be considered as 'national autobiographies'.⁴¹ They epitomise an approach in which the protagonists are deemed to be both unique and separate and yet their life stories are also representative of the political formation of their nations. These texts were predominantly authored by nationalist leaders in the 'process of decolonization'. Holden asserts that many of these nationalist leaders were quite familiar with each other and even wrote to and about each other.⁴²



Apparently, these autobiographies and many others of their mode also seem to share many elements in their narrative structures. Indeed, like Nehru's, Nkrumah's and Mandela's autobiographies, *Zambia Shall Be Free* accords substantial coverage to Kenneth Kaunda's childhood and youth. And similar to Nehru's and Nkrumah's autobiographical beginnings, Kenneth Kaunda's autobiography commences with his birth in Chinsali, in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia in 1924.⁴³ Notwithstanding the ensuing 'similarities' and 'dissimilarities', it is perhaps important to note, following Rassool, that 'in the narrativisation of

⁴⁰ K.D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation II*, (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1974), ix.

⁴¹ Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization: Modernity, Masculinity, and the Nation-State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 110

⁴² Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization*, 6

⁴³ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography*, 5.

the self, identities need to be understood as constituted within and through representation' and as Stuart Hall (cited in Rassool) puts it, as "produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies".⁴⁴

The texts also focus on Kenneth Kaunda's roles in some of the militant but non-violent protests that took place in the country against various discriminatory practices. These protests included boycotts of shops and butcheries that discriminated between black and white customers. The late 1950s are also presented as having been characterized by increasing discontent within the ANC with the leadership of Harry Nkumbula and the calls on Kenneth Kaunda to take over the leadership of the party.⁴⁵ For example, some of his comrades who were resident in London during a visit there by both Kenneth Kaunda and Harry Nkumbula apparently preferred the former to the latter to be at the helm of the nationalist movement. They argued that:

He did not indulge in any activities that would embarrass the movement. Kaunda was not drinking or smoking [and] when compared to Nkumbula he was an extremely good, modest, dedicated man ... with the characteristics we would like to see in a nationalist leader'.⁴⁶

Some of these views perhaps need to be understood within the contexts in which they were given. It can thus be argued that it is in the period of the 1950s that Kenneth Kaunda 'acquired' a biography in the sense of this being the period when his life began to be narrated as a leader. It

⁴⁴ Ciraj S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 14

⁴⁵ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 228.

⁴⁶ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 232.

is possible to contend that Kenneth Kaunda, as leader, was ‘made’ through his interactions and posturing with fellow nationalists in both public and private spaces.⁴⁷

Thus there seems to have been a number of factors that influenced the split with the leadership of the ANC and the founding of the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) which transformed, after its banning, to the United National Independence Party (UNIP) to lead the struggle for political independence.⁴⁸ This is especially so given that Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biography also suggests that Harry Nkumbula’s alleged moral frailties and political weaknesses when compared to Kenneth Kaunda’s lack of them were partly behind the calls for him to take over the leadership of the ANC.⁴⁹ The fact that the auto/biography does not give any sense of Kenneth Kaunda’s own political weaknesses and presents him as some form of moral colossus can be argued, in this particular regard, to be hagiographic.⁵⁰ Evidently, it is in the late 1950s and early 1960s that Kenneth Kaunda’s own autobiography, got to be written. However, there are some notable differences in the focus periods of the ‘national autobiographies’. For example, in Nkrumah’s autobiography, ‘over half of [the] text describes events during his tenure as leader of government business and later prime minister of the Gold Coast between 1951 and full independence in early 1957’.⁵¹ Conversely, over half of Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biographical

⁴⁷ This formulation partly draws from Ciraj Rassool’s assertion of how ‘relationships with layers of comrades in public and clandestine formations as well as in the borderland spaces between the public and the private’ were instrumental in the making of I.B. Tabata as a biographical subject. See Ciraj S. Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 323.

⁴⁸ See ‘I Split with Harry Nkumbula’ in Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 88- 99.

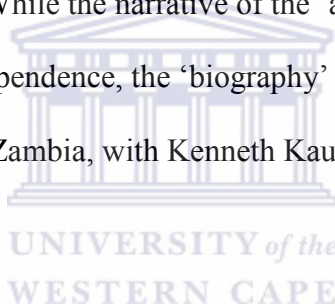
⁴⁹ See for example Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 92-95 and Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 232.

⁵⁰ See Collin Morris, *A Humanist in Africa: Letters to Collin Morris from Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia* (London: Longmans, 1966), 9, in which the Reverend Collin Morris, a long time ‘colleague’ of Kenneth Kaunda has argued against this formulation. He has insisted that ‘I am an admirer, quite unashamed and not a little sentimental, of Kenneth Kaunda. And if this brief assessment of him [his goodness with a character of vital interest to millions] smacks of sycophancy then I can only claim that what some may regard as immoderate praise I would term accurate description’.

⁵¹ Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization*, 120.

texts describe the events before the start of his tenure as prime minister of Northern Rhodesia in 1964. However, both autobiographies can be seen to end with the ‘announcement, if not the realization, of ... independence’.⁵²

The final chapters of the auto/biography focus on the period after Kenneth Kaunda and others resigned from the ANC to form the ZANC in 1958. The narrative also recounts the banning of the new party, the banishing and later imprisonment of Kenneth Kaunda for nine months, first in Lusaka and then in Salisbury (now Harare).⁵³ The narrative then moves to the events after Kenneth Kaunda was released from prison and became leader of UNIP which became the ruling party at Independence in 1964.⁵⁴ While the narrative of the ‘autobiography’ ends some two years before the attainment of Independence, the ‘biography’ ends with the attainment of Independence of the new nation – Zambia, with Kenneth Kaunda as President and ‘midwife of the birth of the nation’.⁵⁵



It can be argued that by ending at Independence and not beyond, Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biography intertwines the story of his life with part of the history of the country’s struggle from colonial domination to Independence. This is especially so when one considers that Northern Rhodesia became a British Protectorate in 1924, the same year of Kenneth Kaunda’s birth. This, according to Holden, tends to create ‘a series of homologies between binarisms such as the personal and the collective, and the individual body and the body politic, suggesting ways personal and national narratives might be mapped onto each other as part of a grander narrative

⁵² Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization*, 120.

⁵³ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 121-136.

⁵⁴ Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 137-160

⁵⁵ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 461.

of modernity'.⁵⁶ However, by ending at Independence when Kenneth Kaunda became President, aged forty years old, the biography can be argued to only highlight his role as a nationalist leader and not as President even though it is published ten years into his twenty seven year presidency.

Perhaps the fact that the biography was written when Kenneth Kaunda was President may have significantly influenced what can be argued to be the author's uncritical and uncomplex depiction of Kenneth Kaunda. Mark Gevisser, for example, wrote a biography of Thabo Mbeki when the subject was serving as President of South Africa and alluded to the subject's strong agency in the biographical production.⁵⁷ For Gevisser, the constant exploits of his biographical subject, which were 'outside' his biographical focus period continued to distract his attention. It is plausible that Fergus Macpherson faced similar circumstances. Hence, the representations of Kenneth Kaunda in the biography should perhaps be understood, as Jabulani Sithole and Sibongiseni Mkhize admonish with regards the various representations of Albert Luthuli, within the contexts in which they are made.⁵⁸

The Individual, the Collective and 'Conventional' Auto/biography

In view of the foregoing, the approach utilized in the writing of Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography can be seen as one that sought to use the story of his life to explore wider aspects of the history of the Zambian nation within a particular period of time. This is thus similar, in a sense, to Luli Callinicos's biography of Oliver Tambo which sought to unveil and examine the life and experiences of the subject as a 'lens' through which to read the history of the South

⁵⁶ Philip Holden, *Autobiography and Decolonization*, 99

⁵⁷ S. Nuttall, 'Writing Biography: an Interview with Jon Hyslop, John Matshikiza and Mark Gevisser', 107.

⁵⁸ Jabulani Sithole and Sibongiseni Mkhize, 'Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imagings, Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses', *History and Theory*, 39 (December 2002), 71.

African nation.⁵⁹ In this regard, Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography can also be seen to relate to Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, which is widely considered as being part and parcel of the history of the 'new' South African nation. There is thus some resonance, it seems, between the cases briefly outlined above and Clingman's approach to biography in which 'biographical subjects can also be used as "laboratory specimens" for exploring the complex social and historical issues of their societies through the intense and heightened focus of individual life'.⁶⁰

In this regard, Clingman argues that the exceptionality of the biographical subject in terms of them 'reflecting' through their lives many of the experiences of the societies in which they belong may be their key to social representativeness. Hence, according to Clingman, the exceptionality of Bram Fisher, for example, as a biographical subject, facilitated his social representativeness in that his story is indicative of the complexities, imperfections and reputations of a particular epoch of South African history.⁶¹ In this mode, Kenneth Kaunda can be argued to have been regarded as an 'exceptional' biographic subject whose life narrative could be used to explore the events, dates and activities of part of Zambia's history. For Kenneth Kaunda however, the relationship between a representative individual who is also an exceptional leader and the 'masses' seems to be quite straightforward, though not unproblematic with regards the struggle against colonization. He wrote, 'we who believe that we are the mouthpieces of the inarticulate masses to express their own feelings of frustration in a society dominated by white

⁵⁹ Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, 16.

⁶⁰ Stephen Clingman, 'Biography and Representation: Some analogies from Fiction', Paper for Presentation at the History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, February 1987, 7.

⁶¹ Stephen Clingman, *Bram Fischer, Afrikaner Revolutionary* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1998), 2.

settlers are branded as political agitators giving way to personal ambition and lusting for power'.⁶²

It can also be argued that Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography falls within the realm of biographies of 'great men' and their 'exploits'. Even though Fergus Macpherson, for example, has attempted to consider the political and the personal aspects of the life of Kenneth Kaunda, it can be argued that the 'personal' aspects have been largely neglected in favour of the 'political' aspects.

Kenneth Kaunda's biography seems to manifest some of the hallmarks of some South African political biographical approaches deemed to be conventional. These biographies were argued to have 'insert[ed] the life story of the hero within teleological accounts of the rise of political movements', and to have largely neglected the 'relationship between personal and political life'.⁶³ It is apparent that Kenneth Kaunda's political auto/biography attempts to place a narrative structure on various events into which his life history is inserted. This is because the auto/biography focuses on events, dates and related activities in the political history of Zambia which it intertwines with the narrative of Kenneth Kaunda's life.

The chronological approach in the representation of Kenneth Kaunda suggests, in one sense, that there was coherence to his life. But as Rassool has argued, 'any coherence that a life has, then, is imposed by the larger culture, by the researcher, and by the subject's belief, retrospectively (and even prospectively), that his or her life should have such coherence'.⁶⁴ In addition, the chronological approach to the writing of biography, such as the one utilized in Kenneth Kaunda's case, has been argued to be one that often leads to linear biographic products. In many

⁶² Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 21

⁶³ Ciraj Rassool, 'Challenges of Rethinking South African Political Biography: A Reply to Jonathan Hyslop', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41, 2 (2010), 116-117.

⁶⁴ Ciraj S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 29.

chronological biographical approaches, Rassool asserts that ‘the history of a life tends to be approached as a linear human career, formed by an ordered sequence of acts, events and works, with individuals characterized by stability, autonomy, self-determination and rational choice’.⁶⁵ These approaches thus tend to represent untheorised lives that are depicted as natural and linear. Clearly then, both the ‘autobiography’ and the ‘biography’ of Kenneth Kaunda can be argued to present the subject’s life as a sequence of real life acts, events and works thereby manifesting some of the principal characteristics of Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘biographical illusion’.⁶⁶

In addition, the biography of Kenneth Kaunda seems to be encrusted within a realist paradigm. Biographies in this paradigm, as Rassool posits, result in ‘linear biographical constructions... , where subjects were thought to have lived lives in chronological narratives, [thereby] serving to perpetuate a “biographical illusion” in which the main challenges of the historian were deemed to be empirical’.⁶⁷ The chronological approach adopted in the writing of the auto/biography plus the apparent limited theorization of the production of the meanings of Kenneth Kaunda’s life lends credence to this assertion. The biography’s chronological approach and descriptive rather than analytical approach, results in a rather uncritical product that does not offer a complex understanding of the meanings of Kenneth Kaunda’s life and identity. And yet, as Margaret Lindauer suggests, people’s lives often have many meanings and identities which are not static.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ciraj Rassool, ‘Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography’, 28-29.

⁶⁶ See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Biographical Illusion* (Working Papers and Proceedings of the Centre for psychosocial studies, no 14), Chicago, Centre for Psychosocial Studies, 1987.

⁶⁷ Ciraj S. Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 4.

⁶⁸ Margaret. A. Lindauer, *Devouring Frida: The Art History and Popular Celebrity of Frida Kahlo* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1999), 6.

However, the chronological approach to the writing of biography has been argued to have the capacity to be analytical and not merely descriptive. Jonathan Hyslop, following William Sewell, has argued that chronological narratives can:

Have complex (if under theorized) accounts of causation built into their treatment of time and events. To place events in a chronological narrative is not necessarily to compile a list of one-damn-thing-after-another. Sequence can have important explanatory value.⁶⁹

While this capacity undoubtedly exists, Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography can be argued to have neglected the existence of conflicting narrations of the subject's life. With regards subjectivity for instance, the biography does appear to neglect consideration of any criticisms and scepticism of the meanings of Kenneth Kaunda's life from within the nationalist movement.

With regards the critique of the chronological and descriptive rather than analytical biographical approach, it is perhaps important to note Rassool's submission that:

Seeking an approach to biography that overcomes the untheorised, chronological narrative procedures of traditional biography does not mean rejecting narrative altogether. Merely to impose a narrative structure on events in the reconstruction of the past, as a chronological 'history of events' or as a life history, in realist mode, placed in a "historical context", is not enough. Rather, we should recognize the existence of multiple narrations intersecting and crosscutting each other, paralleling and contradicting each other as they compete for the creation of historical meaning.⁷⁰

Furthermore, it can be argued that Kenneth Kaunda's biography does resonate, to an extent, with Evans' critique of masculinist conventional biographies. Evans asserts that in these biographies, 'the subject was usually introduced in the context of their original family, from which the person emerged "to take his or her place on the stage of adult life"'. The path to adulthood and public

⁶⁹ Jonathan Hyslop, 'On Biography: A Response to Ciraj Rassool', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (2), 2010, 108.

⁷⁰ Ciraj S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 49.

achievement was ordered so that the subject was taken to pass through a stage of apprenticeship' (adolescence, education, early influences), which foreshadowed the achievements to come'.⁷¹

The chronological outline of the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda, from his family background, through various developmental stages, to his inauguration as President of Zambia can be argued to clearly highlight many of the key characteristics that Evans refers to.

Kenneth Kaunda, Nationalist History and History Lessons

The Department of Native Education in Zambia which was established in 1925, a year after the British Colonial Office took full control of the territory of Northern Rhodesia, categorized history as part of 'social studies' subjects together with civics and geography.⁷² The history studies curriculum which was initially only for the primary school level was apparently largely adopted, unchanged, when junior secondary school education was later introduced.⁷³ This curriculum was revised in about 1962 and though it was inherited at independence, it apparently began to be reviewed soon after independence. The aim of the revision was apparently to 'put ... the contents of the curriculum including the methods of teaching in the context of Zambia' in order to 'suit the aspirations of the new nation'.⁷⁴ It is within the same framework of reform that

⁷¹ Mary Evans, 'Masculine and Feminine Biography', in David Ellis (ed), *Imitating Art*, p108 cited in C.S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 28-29

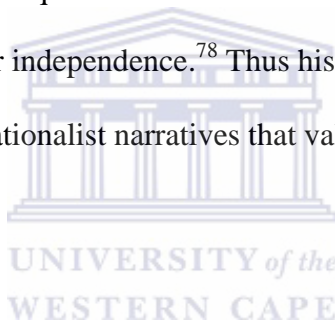
⁷² History as a school subject was available at Standards V and VI and was apparently based on two principal texts; The Standard V text was *Europe learns about Africa* and dealt with 'how people in Europe discovered routes to countries all over the world. How their journeys led them to, and into Africa [and] British participation in the government of Africa [as well as] the partition of Africa and recent developments'. See 'The Primary School Social Studies Syllabus' In *1958-1962 Geography, History and Civics Syllabus (Revisions)*, National Archives of Zambia: File number ED 1/8/43. The Standard VI text was *Africa learns about Europe* and looked at the 'ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe; changing ideas in farming, industry, transport, medicine [and] the development of the United Nations Organization.' See 'The Primary School Social Studies Syllabus' in *1958-1962 Geography, History and Civics Syllabus (Revisions)*, National Archives of Zambia: File number ED 1/8/43.

⁷³ Melvin Simuchimba, 'Religion and Education in Zambia, 1890-2000 and Beyond', Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of South Africa, 2005, 119.

⁷⁴ Ministry of Education, 'The historical background to curriculum development in Zambia 1883-1999', (Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre, 1999), 8

an Education Bill, later to become the Education Act of 1966 was enacted by the new parliament which sought, through the Ministry of Education, to ‘direct the school calendar, syllabus, and subjects of instruction’.⁷⁵

Thus, much like Kalinga has argued with regards the Malawian case,⁷⁶ attempts were made to realign the narrations and production of history in Zambian schools after independence. In this regard, the history which began to be taught and narrated was apparently ‘heavily politicised’ in line with the new nationalist discourse.⁷⁷ At secondary school level, for example, history related to the struggle for independence in Central Africa in general and Zambia in particular was introduced in the curriculum which required students to understand the political parties and individuals who led the struggle for independence.⁷⁸ Thus history as school lessons can be seen to have focused on the dominant nationalist narratives that valorised the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP.



However, though nationalist history was apparently ‘adopted’ in the history studies ‘curriculum’ at primary and secondary levels in the years immediately following the country’s independence, the exact manner in which it was enshrined within the history studies texts utilised in schools can not easily be ascertained.⁷⁹ This may be because thorough education reforms in post-

⁷⁵ Government of the Republic of Zambia, ‘The Education Act Number 28 of 1966’, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), 239.

⁷⁶ Owen Kalinga, ‘The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnston, the influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party’, *African Affairs*, 97 (1998), 540-541

⁷⁷ Personal communication with History Specialist-Curriculum Development Centre, 17/ 07/ 2012

⁷⁸ Ministry of Education, ‘History Secondary School Syllabus’, (Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre, 1983); Ministry of Education, ‘History High School Syllabus: Grades 10-12’, (Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre, 1996).

⁷⁹ For example, no history texts specifically dealing with Zambian nationalist history which were utilized in the 1960s and 1970s are available even at the National Archives of Zambia, (Personal communication with Solomon Chipeta, Librarian-National Archives of Zambia, 18/07/2012). This dearth of primary sources with regards Zambian history has also been alluded to by Miles Larmer and Giacomo Macola. See Giacomo Macola, ‘It Means As If We

independence Zambia were only undertaken in the mid 1970s.⁸⁰ This suggests that though nationalist history began to be taught in Zambian schools soon after Independence, the history texts specifically for schools which were reflecting this new curriculum were only produced much later. However, other avenues such as the media and ‘print capitalism’ were also employed to discursively disseminate the nationalist history.

In addition, there were challenges faced when seeking to transform the schools curriculum in general, not least because even after independence, the provision of what had been deemed as ‘African education’ was still the responsibility of missionary societies and other voluntary agencies, through grant aided primary schools and a few secondary schools.⁸¹ And owing to the general neglect of African education during the colonial era, the new government may have been more concerned with the need for a ‘massive expansion in the field of education at all levels particularly in the provision of primary and secondary school place’.⁸² Notwithstanding this limitation, in Zambia as in many other countries, one can argue that in the period following the attainment of political independence, there was a tendency for both nationalist and political history to be ‘constituted out of the words and actions of political leaders of national political organisations, and their political statements and biographic profiles stood as the authoritative – almost monumental – sources of a significant political history’.⁸³

Are Excluded from the Good Freedom: Thwarted Expectations of Independence in the Luapula Province of Zambia, 1964-1966’, *Journal of African History*, 47 (2006), 43 and Miles Larmer, ‘If We Are Still Here Next Year: Zambian Historical Research in the Context of Decline, 2002-2003’, *History in Africa*, Vol. 31 (2004), 215-216

⁸⁰ Melvin Simuchimba, ‘Religion and Education in Zambia, 1890-2000 and Beyond’, 125

⁸¹ Melvin Simuchimba, ‘Religion and Education in Zambia, 1890-2000 and Beyond’, 125

⁸² Ministry of Education, ‘The historical background to curriculum development in Zambia 1883-1999’, (Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre, 1999), 13. See also J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The growth of education in Zambia since Independence* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), 38.

⁸³ Ciraj S. Rassool, ‘The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa’, 299

It is perhaps in this regard that Larmer makes the argument that ‘in the years after independence in 1964, historical studies played an important role in the self-conscious construction of a Zambian identity, shaped around a nationalist metanarrative of injustice, exploitation and struggle, culminating in the achievement of national independence under the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) and its leader, President Kenneth Kaunda’.⁸⁴ The role played by political auto/biographies and other political narrations in this regard can, perhaps, not be over emphasized. For example, Kenneth Kaunda’s writings concerning the doctrine of ‘Humanism in Zambia’ are argued to have played a significant role in the ways in which the ruling UNIP approached post-colonial governance.⁸⁵ These assertions suggest that in the years following Independence, there was increased production of nationalist history that was aligned with a nationalist movement- specifically Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP. However, the current coverage of Kenneth Kaunda in relation to Zambia’s nationalist history can be argued to be marginal within the history studies texts used in Zambian schools.

For example, *Junior Secondary History*, which is arguably the current principal prescribed text for the Junior Secondary History curriculum in Zambia only deals with Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia’s nationalist history in the very last chapter of the book.⁸⁶ This text aims at providing a broad sweep of ‘relevant’ history for students encountering the subject for the very first time.⁸⁷ This perhaps explains the contents of the text which commences with ‘history and evolution of man’, through the early settlers and migrations into Zambia and a brief discussion of the

⁸⁴ Miles Larmer, ‘What went Wrong? Zambian Political Biography and Post-Colonial Discourses of Decline’, *Historia*, Vol 51, No. 1, (May, 2006), 236.

⁸⁵ Miles Larmer, ‘What went Wrong?’, 236.

⁸⁶ See G. Haantobolo and P. Ng’andu, *Junior Secondary History* (Ndola: Printpak (Z) Limited, 1992). This is the principal prescribed History Text at this level.

⁸⁷ In the Zambian Education System, History as a subject is taught beginning at Junior Secondary level or Grade 8.

Mfecane.⁸⁸ The text also describes activities of the ‘Europeans’ specifically their arrival in the Cape, explorations and missionary work, the ‘scramble for Africa’ and colonial occupation and rule of Central Africa which includes a brief discussion of the Central African Federation.⁸⁹ The last section of the text considers the ‘Early resistance to colonial rule’ and the ‘Independence of the Central African Colonies’.⁹⁰

It is within the ‘Independence of the Central African Colonies’ that a discussion of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambian nationalist history is found under the section entitled simply as ‘Northern Rhodesia’. After a very brief mention of the background of the African National Congress under the leadership of Harry Nkumbula, the text focuses on some of the influences of the split within the movement which led to the resignation of Kenneth Kaunda and others. As the text explains:

In 1958 Northern Rhodesia was granted Benson Constitution which pleased nobody (sic). Africans were not given the majority in the legislative council. The Congress opposed this constitution and Nkumbula even burnt the White Paper which was a federation paper. But on 24 October, 1958 Nkumbula decided to take part in the elections planned under this constitution with an aim of providing 14 seats for Europeans and 8 for Africans in the Legislative Council. This decision brought to a head a crisis which had been building up within the Congress for sometime. It is for this reason that in the same year some leaders including Kaunda split from the ANC and formed Zambia African National Congress and elected Kaunda as the leader.⁹¹

It is apparent that the text’s focus with regards Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia’s nationalist history focuses on the year 1958 and afterwards. This narrative is quite similar to the one in Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biographical text, with the decision to participate in the Benson Constitution enabled elections branded, in the latter, as ‘political prostitution at best and a complete sell-out at

⁸⁸ G. Haantobolo and P. Ng’andu, *Junior Secondary History*, 1-60.

⁸⁹ G. Haantobolo and P. Ng’andu, *Junior Secondary History*, 67-115

⁹⁰ G. Haantobolo and P. Ng’andu, *Junior Secondary History*, 117-127

⁹¹ G. Haantobolo and P. Ng’andu, *Junior Secondary History*, 126

worst' and as the 'final straw'.⁹² In their discussion of the nature of nationalism and new states in Africa, Ali Mazrui and Michael Tidy suggest that the issue of whether or not to participate in the 1958 Legislative Council elections for the eight African seats also influenced the split within the African National Congress of Zambia.⁹³

However, Kenneth Kaunda in his auto/biography proffers that as Secretary General of the ANC, he noted a number of serious leadership and 'moral frailties' of Harry Nkumbula which were also a factor in the eventual split.⁹⁴ This aspect is, perhaps surprisingly, not covered at all within the prescribed schools historical texts examined. In a sense, this 'moral argument' would be very difficult to sustain with regards Kenneth Kaunda himself.⁹⁵ The post-1958 period and the related nationalist political episodes seem to have cohered and in many cases dominated the narration of the country's pre-independence nationalist history related to Kenneth Kaunda in school history texts.⁹⁶ The complementary volume to the text *Junior Secondary History* is *Senior Secondary History of Central and Southern Africa*.⁹⁷ In the senior secondary history text, Kenneth Kaunda and Zambian nationalist history are also accorded, essentially sections in one chapter, 'Early resistance to colonial rule and the rise of African nationalism'.

⁹² Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 97.

⁹³ Ali A. Mazrui and Michael Tidy, *Nationalism and New States in Africa* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1994) 113

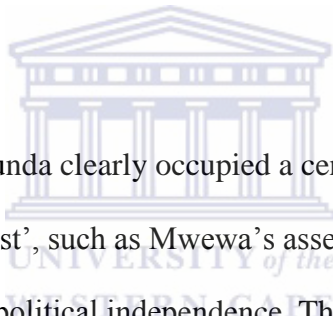
⁹⁴ See Kenneth D. Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 88-98 in which Nkumbula is presented as having exercised autocratic leadership in addition to being morally weak, impatient and untrustworthy.

⁹⁵ See for example Charles Mwewa, *Struggles of my people* (Lusaka: Maiden Publishing House, 2011) 10 in which he narrates that on August 24th, 1946 Kaunda married Betty Mutinkhe Banda Kaunda, the daughter of a Mpika local and successful businessman called John Kaweche Banda. Apparently, Kaunda had initially intended to marry a Gloriah Chellah. While still married to Betty, Kaunda had a child out-of-wedlock in about 1948 with Gloria named Catherine Kaunda. Six months earlier Kaunda and Betty had a son whom they called Panji Kaunda.

⁹⁶ See also Isaac Chilimunda, *A Success in Junior History Grade 8* (Lusaka: Chilimoyo Publishers Ltd, 1989), Anastasia Kasoma, *Senior African History of Central and Southern Africa* (Lusaka: ZPC Publishers, 2000) and G. Arnold and L. Ntalasha, *Junior Secondary History for Zambia* (Lusaka: Longman Zambia (Pvt) Limited, 2001)

⁹⁷ G.H.N. Haantobolo, *Senior Secondary History of Central and Southern Africa* (Ndola: Times Printpak (Z) Ltd, 2000).

The chapter discusses some of the elements of the ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ resistance to colonial rule such as aspects of ethnic resistance to some of the colonial practices like forced labour and village tax and the genesis of welfare societies which are presented as the precursors of the political parties.⁹⁸ The text briefly discusses Northern Rhodesia during the period 1951 to 1958 when the ANC held sway as the main nationalist movement and then there is the discussion of the post 1958 period which focuses on the birth of UNIP which is also associated with constitutional changes.⁹⁹ Thus, in terms of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambian nationalist history most of the current history texts for schools focus on these very aspects of the split of the ANC, the emergency of the ZANC, the banning of ZANC and the rise of UNIP and the dawn of self leadership and Independence.



In all these narratives, Kenneth Kaunda clearly occupied a central role though he was often provided an all male ‘supporting cast’, such as Mwewa’s assertion that ‘there are six Zambian leaders who were key to Zambia’s political independence. These were Dauti Yamba, Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, Mainza Mathew Chona, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, and Kenneth David Kaunda’.¹⁰⁰ This apparent masculinist ‘bias’ is not uncommon especially in representations of individuals who are taken to belong within the great man paradigm.¹⁰¹ Notwithstanding this argument, Mwewa still positions Kenneth Kaunda foremost among his contemporaries as one who apparently ‘both epitomises and personifies the struggle

⁹⁸ Haantobolo, *Senior Secondary History of Central and Southern Africa*, 62-64. See also R.I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

⁹⁹ Haantobolo, *Senior Secondary History of Central and Southern Africa*, 66-74.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Mwewa, *Struggles of my people* (Lusaka: Maiden Publishing House, 2011) 9

¹⁰¹ See for instance Owen J Dwyer, ‘Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Place, Memory, and Conflict’, *Professional Geographer*, 52(4), 2000, 663-664 in which he argues that in the instances where Martin Luther Jr was (re)presented with others- it would almost always be his male contemporaries while the females were largely ignored.

for Zambia's independence'.¹⁰² It is this masculine focus which, as Evans suggests, has long framed and defined traditional, conventional auto/biographies.¹⁰³ The focus on particular post-1958 narratives in the schools history studies texts, almost at the expense of others, suggests that these are deemed to be the main themes in the nationalist history of Zambia.

It is perhaps worthy noting, that while there seems to be some focus on the pre-independence period in the coverage of the nationalist history of Zambia within the history studies texts currently in use in Zambian secondary schools, there seems to be very limited coverage of the post-independence or the post-1964 period.¹⁰⁴ Thus the history course offered by the University of Zambia entitled 'History of Zambia' can be considered to be an important variant to this trend. This is apparently a compulsory course for all history students (whether history majors or minors) which is usually taught at third year level.¹⁰⁵ The course is spread over two semesters. The first semester focuses on the pre-colonial history of Zambia up to 1890 while the history of Zambia since 1890 is the subject of the second semester. It is perhaps worth noting that, according to the Course Coordinator; part of the curriculum for these courses has remained largely unchanged and has been followed since the university was opened in 1966.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Charles Mwewa, *Struggles of my people* (Lusaka: Maiden Publishing House, 2011) 9

¹⁰³ Mary Evans, 'Masculine and Feminine Biography', in David Ellis (ed), *Imitating Art*, 108 cited in C.S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', 28-29

¹⁰⁴ However, the High School History Syllabus does have a topic 'Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi since 1965', which aims at analyzing the political and economic systems as well as the relationship between Europeans and Africans in the three territories. See Ministry of Education, 'History High School Syllabus: Grades 10-12', (Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre, 1996), 6. See also William Tordoff (ed) *Politics in Zambia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974) which focuses on the post-independence period of 1964-1972.

¹⁰⁵ Personal communication with Alfred Tembo – Course Coordinator for 'History of Zambia'; University of Zambia History Department on 18/07/2012.

¹⁰⁶ Personal communication with Alfred Tembo – Course Coordinator for 'History of Zambia'; University of Zambia History Department on 18/07/2012. The main change has apparently been the realigning of the course to fit a two semester system from the three terms system which was previously used by the University.

With regard to Zambian nationalist history and Kenneth Kaunda, it is the second semester course, ‘History of Zambia since 1890’, which is most relevant. The course is divided into two parts with the first focusing on the colonial period while the second deals part with the post-colonial period. As part of the colonial period coverage, the course considers, among others, how northern Rhodesia was established and administered during the British South African Company (BSACo). It also examines at the operations of the direct and indirect rules over the territory and the constitutional and political changes which influenced the growth of African politics through such avenues as the welfare societies and the resultant political parties and the struggle for independence up to 1964.¹⁰⁷

The post-colonial period coverage includes an examination of some of the challenges faced by Zambia at independence, the impact of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia on the Zambian economy, some of the post independence economical reforms and some of the political developments that took place in the post independence period.¹⁰⁸ While Kenneth Kaunda does feature in the nationalist history of the ‘History of Zambia’ course, it can be argued that his representation is ‘decentred’. Not only is the focus of the nationalist history broader, it also does not seem to be so predicated with the post 1958 period which has been noted with regards the secondary schools level history curriculum.¹⁰⁹

This chapter has sought to trace some of the ways in which Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biographical narrations can be seen to be entwined with Zambian nationalist history. Through an analysis of the auto/biography, this work has argued that Kenneth Kaunda’s life story can be seen to be

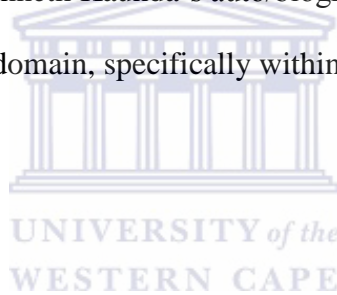
¹⁰⁷ Course Outline, ‘H912: History of Zambia since 1890’, Department of History, University of Zambia, 2012.

¹⁰⁸ Course Outline, ‘H912: History of Zambia since 1890’, Department of History, University of Zambia, 2012.

¹⁰⁹ For example Alfred Tembo – Course Coordinator for ‘History of Zambia’ Lecture notes for Lecture 17 – ‘The rise of African nationalism’ in which Kenneth Kaunda is mentioned once, in the second last sentence.

‘inserted’ in the dates, events and other activities related to the narrations of Zambia’s nationalist history. However, the chapter has suggested that while there was a drive to produce particular versions of nationalist history in the years following the country’s independence and that some of these narrations were disseminated through the education curriculum, the history texts reflecting this history were only produced much later. This suggests that the coverage of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia’s nationalist history may have tended to diminish over the years since independence. This is especially so given the marginal coverage of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambian nationalist history within the current history studies texts and curriculum.

I now turn to an examination of Kenneth Kaunda’s auto/biography within other fields of historical production in the public domain, specifically within the realm of some national heritage sites or monuments.



CHAPTER THREE

KENNETH KAUNDA AND NATIONAL HERITAGE IN ZAMBIA

Public monuments are the most conservative of communicative forms precisely because they are meant to last, unchanged forever. While other things come and go, are lost and forgotten, the monument is supposed to remain a fixed point, stabilising both the physical and the cognitive landscape.¹

The years following Zambia's independence in 1964 saw the entry of Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography into the domain of national heritage, through the creation of new national heritage sites or monuments. The Chilenje House and Kabompo House National Monuments are two of some of the national heritage sites or national monuments that are associated with the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia.² Upon their declaration as national heritage sites or national monuments, they were prescribed with a national significance or value. While the Chilenje House and the Kabompo House National Monuments, both of which are 'historic buildings', have retained their national monument status in Zambia, the two have faced starkly different fates. While the former is still widely valorised as a key site associated with Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's national heritage, the latter's heritage values have more prominently clashed with the needs of contemporary society. This is in line with the widely accepted view that heritage is not static. The heritage value of national heritage sites or other public monuments, of an aesthetic, political or other value, often acquires different layers of meaning over time.³

¹ Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, war, and monument in the nineteenth century America* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 4.

² There are other national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda as I will show.

³ George S. Smith et al (eds), *Heritage values in contemporary society* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010), 15.

This chapter examines the processes of the production of the Chilenje House National Monument and to a much lesser extent the Kabompo House National Monuments and how they have changed over time. It also studies the way they are represented as well as the contestations that have marked them. It suggests that the processes of the making of some of these national heritage sites or monuments involved the interaction of different ‘actors’ that included the government, the relevant heritage institution as well as Kenneth Kaunda. It argues that the politics of the production of these national heritage sites or monuments can be illustrative of some of the ways in which heritage is produced. The chapter also asserts that the representation of the national heritage sites or monuments placed more focus on the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP at the expense of the other individuals and groups. It thus suggests that this bias represented a ‘Kaundaisation’ of Zambia’s political history. In order to better understand the production of the historic national heritage sites or national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda, it may be helpful to briefly examine the history of the historic monuments in terms of their legislation in Zambia.

Historic Monuments and Heritage Legislation in Zambia: A History

The origins of the Zambian system of heritage management and historic national monument can be traced to the 1911 Bushman Relics Proclamation.⁴ This proclamation aimed at providing for the protection of what were referred to as Bushman relics and ancient ruins within the territory of Northern Rhodesia.⁵ The two focus areas of the proclamation were thus the ‘Bushmen relics’ and the ‘ancient ruins’. The preservation of ‘historic buildings’ can arguably be noted within the

⁴ This proclamation was signed by the High Commissioner at Pretoria on 8th August 1912 and is thus officially cited as the Bushman Relics Proclamation (Northern Rhodesia) No. 15 of 1912 (See Proclamation No.15 of 1912, Northern Rhodesia Gazette, Index for the Period 17th August, 1911 to 31st December , 1913 Volumes 1-3), Lusaka, National Archives of Zambia.

⁵ Bushman Relics Proclamation No. 15 of 1912, Northern Rhodesia Gazette, Index for the Period 17th August, 1911 to 31st December , 1913 Volume 1, 95.

provisions of the Bushman Relics Proclamation even though it was directed at material traces of the ‘Bushmen’. This reference can be discerned from the definition of ‘ancient ruin’ provided for by the Proclamation. The Proclamation stated that ancient ruins meant ‘any building constructed either of stones packed loosely or otherwise which is known or is believed to have been erected by the people who preceded the native tribes now in occupation of the territory or any material which has been used in the construction of such a building’.⁶

The Bushman Relics Proclamation was replaced in 1930 with the Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance whose focus was on ‘caves’, ‘excavations’, ‘graves’ and ‘ruins’ associated with archaeological objects.⁷ While this ordinance has often been deemed to have been broader in scope than its predecessor, it did not make any provision for the preservation of historic buildings. Instead, the proclamation gave the Governor powers to declare ‘reserve areas’. These were areas for which the Governor was of the opinion that they contained ‘objects of archaeological or paleontological interest and considered it desirable to control the removal of such objects or excavation for them’.⁸

The Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance of 1930 was replaced with the Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics Act in 1947 which also came to be known as the National Monuments Commission Act as it led to the establishment of an administrative institution - the

⁶ *Bushman Relics Proclamation No. 15 of 1912*, 95. One of the oldest historic national monuments in Zambia is the Niamkolo Church which is a stone built church constructed in 1893-96 by the London Missionary Society and is situated about two kilometres to the east of the port of Mpulungu in the Northern Province of Zambia. This structure was declared a national monument by Government notice number 130 of 1956 for its unique stone architecture and also for being the oldest surviving stone-built church in Zambia.

⁷ *Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance, No. 5 of 1930*, later Chapter 146 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia. See *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia 1930, Vol II, Chapters 76 to 146* (London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1931), 1355-1356

⁸ *Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance, No. 5 of 1930*, 1355.

National Monuments Commission in 1948.⁹ The primary responsibility of the National Monuments Commission was to manage ‘immovable’ artefacts, such as historic buildings and sites which heretofore had apparently been under the charge of museums which were left with the management of ‘movable’ artefacts and relics. It was the responsibility of the National Monuments Commission to carry out research with regards the country’s natural and cultural heritage. In addition, it was the responsibility of the National Monuments Commission to make recommendations for particular heritage resources to be declared as national monuments and where it was deemed necessary, to de-gazette declared monuments.¹⁰

The Natural and Historic Monuments and Relics Act of 1947 and the associated National Monuments Commission was inherited upon Zambia attaining political independence in 1964 and continued to be used until 1989.¹¹ This aspect perhaps lends credence to the assertion that what constitutes heritage does not necessarily change in tandem with political changes, notwithstanding Davison’s argument that ‘heritage is essentially a political idea’.¹² However, it is clear that the UNIP government set about declaring some particular sites, as national heritage sites or monuments, which were not national heritage sites or monuments before Independence. In this regard, all the national monuments which are associated with Kenneth Kaunda, for instance, were declared so between the years 1964 to 1989, when the ‘colonial era’ legislation was still being used.

⁹ See Ordinance No. 36 of 1947 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1947), later Cap. 90 of the Laws of Zambia and Cap. 266 of the Laws of Zambia.

¹⁰ Billiard Lishiko, ‘The Politics of Production of Archaeological knowledge: A Case Study of the Later Stone Age Rock art Paintings of Kasama, Northern Zambia, (UWC: Unpublished MA mini-thesis, 2004), 93.

¹¹ Some amendments were however made to the Act during the period such as through Government notices number 90 of 1948, 109 of 1949, 21 of 1953, 69 of 1957 and 266 of 1964.

¹² Graeme Davison, *The use and abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen Unwin, 2000), 121.

Thus, in addition to the Chilenje House and Kabompo house National Monuments, other national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda include the Lubwa House in Chinsali District of Northern Zambia and House Number E1376, Bwacha Township, in Kabwe District of Central Zambia. Lubwa House is a brick house which was occupied from 1945 by Kenneth Kaunda while he was head master of Lubwa Upper Primary School and was declared a historic national monument by Statutory Instrument number 121 of 1976. House Number E1376 in Kabwe was declared a historic national monument by Statutory Instrument number 120 of 1984. It was in this House that Kenneth Kaunda was elected for the first time, on 8th March, 1958, as President of the Zambia African National Congress precursor to the United National Independence Party. The House was thus declared a national monument for the 'important role' it played as a meeting place for the Party in the early days in the struggle for the Independence of Zambia.¹³ The apparent 'political value' of such sites, as I elaborate with regards Chilenje House National Monument below, transformed them from 'ordinary' places into symbols of national pride that became part of the heritage landscape.¹⁴ In one sense therefore, as Jessica Evans has observed, such national monuments are both a symbolic and tangible form through which nations are imagined and constructed.¹⁵

The Natural and Historic Monuments and Relics Act of 1947 and the National Monuments Commission were replaced in 1989 by the currently prevailing National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) Act number 23 of 1989 and the National Heritage Conservation Commission respectively. The NHCC Act sought to:

¹³ See National Heritage Conservation Commission Act no. 23 of 1989, 37, 40.

¹⁴ M Burns, 'A Completion of Memory? Commemorating a decade of freedom in South Africa: 1994-2004', *Eras Edition* 8 November 2006, cited in Blessed Magadzike, 'An investigation of Zimbabwe's contemporary heritage practices of memorialising war', (UWC, Unpublished MA mini-thesis, 2011), 6.

¹⁵ Jessica Evans, 'Introduction: Nation and representation' in David Boswell and Jessica Evans (eds), *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, heritage and museums* (London: Routledge, 1999), 2.

Establish the National Heritage Conservation Commission; to define the functions and powers of the Commission; to provide for the conservation of ancient, cultural and natural heritage, relics and other objects of aesthetic, historical, prehistorical, archaeological or scientific interest; to provide for the regulation of archaeological excavations and export of relics; and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing.¹⁶

The NHCC Act also stipulated that all the national monuments that had been declared through the previous legislation would maintain their declaration status.¹⁷ In terms of historic buildings, the NHCC Act provides for their conservation through the category of ‘cultural heritage’. In this regard, one of the four definitions of cultural heritage, according to the Act, ‘is any old building or group of buildings of historical or architectural interest’.¹⁸

The NHCC Act stipulates that conservation of cultural heritage, in general, and historic buildings in particular will be through preservation, adaptive use, reconstruction, restoration, rehabilitation, good management or any other means.¹⁹ The various provisions in the Proclamations and Acts discussed above can also be argued to be avenues through which knowledge and politics about heritage are disseminated to the public. In this case, there is an interaction between heritage institutions and the associated ‘experts’ as well as with the government. This suggests that what constitutes heritage and how it is defined is not only based on the ‘professional’ tenets of the associated disciplines such as archaeology but on various other factors that influence the way knowledges about heritage are produced. It is perhaps in this regard, that Davison’s assertion that

¹⁶ National Heritage Conservation Commission Act no. 23 of 1989, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1989) 3. This Act was passed on the 26th of December 1989 and is the current legal framework for the work of the National Heritage Conservation Commission of Zambia which is the Institution mandated with the conservation of the country’s natural and cultural heritage.

¹⁷ National Heritage Conservation Commission Act no. 23 of 1989, 20.

¹⁸ National Heritage Conservation Commission Act no. 23 of 1989, 4.

¹⁹ National Heritage Conservation Commission Act no. 23 of 1989, 8.

‘heritage is essentially a political idea’ would be applicable.²⁰ Lishiko, for example, has argued that ‘no matter how professionally archaeology is carried out to produce archaeological knowledge, the knowledge produced will always have in it some elements of the politics of academic and heritage institutions and government’.²¹ Similar interconnections can be argued to have been manifest in the production of the national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda.

The making of the Chilenje House and Kabompo House National Monuments

A combination of efforts from the government, the National Monuments Commission (precursor to the National Heritage Conservation Commission) and heritage practitioners as well as Kenneth Kaunda (and probably part of his family) can be seen to have been responsible for the declaration of Chilenje House as a national monument. Chilenje House number 394 is located in Chilenje Township about six kilometres from the Lusaka city centre. It was declared a national monument under Statutory Instrument number 390 of 1968 and was officially opened to the public on 23rd October 1968 by the then President, Kenneth Kaunda in the company of his wife, Betty Kaunda.²² Kenneth Kaunda and family had occupied the house from 13th January 1960 to 27th December 1962 at a time when he was President of the United National Independence Party, one of the major parties in the *Zambian independence struggle*.²³ A number of reasons were proffered for the declaration. These included that ‘House number 394 became the centre of

²⁰ Graeme Davison’s argument also includes the view that heritage ‘asserts a public or national interest in things traditionally regarded as private’. See Graeme Davison, *The use and abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen Unwin, 2000), 121

²¹ Billiard Lishiko, ‘The Politics of Production of Archaeological knowledge: A Case Study of the Later Stone Age Rock art Paintings of Kasama, Northern Zambia’, 94.

²² National Heritage Conservation Commission, ‘Chilenje House Re-exhibition Project Proposal: Chilenje House National Monument’, Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

²³ National Heritage Conservation Commission, ‘Chilenje House Re-exhibition Project Proposal: Chilenje House National Monument’, Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

political activity throughout the period it was occupied by the Kaundas'.²⁴ Further, it was posited that Kenneth Kaunda 'directed the independence struggle from this house from January 1960 to December 1962. Some of the major events he directed whilst at [house number] 394 were the Constitutional Conference of 1960, "Cha Cha Cha" Campaign and the election of 1962'.²⁵

There are two aspects that stand out from these representations. Firstly, as I have already argued, the valorisation of Chilenje House and Kabompo House (as I will show) can be seen to fall within the post 1958 focus on the narratives of Zambian nationalist history.²⁶ Secondly, the representations tended to place much prominence on the role of Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in the struggle for Zambia's independence at the expense of the contributions of other parties and individuals and can be argued to be part of a matrix of the 'Kaundaisation' of the country's political history.²⁷ The national heritage sites or monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda and the related auto/biographical museums can thus be argued, following Tony Bennett, to have been part of the post-independence pedagogic institutions which served as part of an

²⁴ National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House Re-exhibition Project Proposal: Chilenje House National Monument', Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

²⁵ National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House National Monument Site', (Brochure, n.d). The Constitutional Conference of 1960 dealt with issues concerning the type of franchise for the 'natives' while the Cha Cha Cha episode was a militant and sometimes violent campaign by Africans of the Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) as a result of the anger and disillusionment they felt towards the 1960 Constitutional Conference which resulted in an election procedure which they deemed as giving European voters a clear advantage. The election of 1962 resulted in a 'short lived' coalition government between Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP and Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula's ANC. See D.W. Phillipson, *Historical Notes on Political Development in Zambia* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1972), 9-10.

²⁶ For example, before 1958 the Kaunda family lived in Chilenje House number 257 which is not similarly recognized. See also Chapter Two – Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's nationalist history.

²⁷ See Chapter Four – Kenneth Kaunda and the National Political Museum, for a discussion on the ways in which political and nationalist history narratives of Zambia in the Lusaka National Museum revolve predominantly around Kenneth Kaunda. The concept of the 'Kaundaisation of Zambia's political history' is drawn, in formulation, from Noel L.Z. Solani, 'Memory and Representation: Robben Island Museum 1997-1999', (University of the Western Cape: Unpublished Masters Thesis, 2000) in which he argues that the narratives of the Robben Island Museum tended to valorise the role of Nelson Mandela at the expense of his contemporaries. See also Noel Solani, 'The Saint of the Struggle: Deconstructing the Mandela Myth', *Kronos*, No. 26, August 2000; Fran Buntman, 'Politics and Secrets of Political Prisoner History', Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society, 'Not Telling: Secrecy, Lies and History', UWC, 11-14 July 1999 and Harriet Deacon, 'Memory and History at Robben Island', (Unpublished).

exhibitionary complex for the creation of a new self regulating and perhaps, politically independent citizenry by altering people's ways of knowing and seeing.²⁸ Through such pedagogic institutions, a new Zambian 'public' was formed within the narratives of national progress through political independence that was also placed in 'new relations of sight and vision' as well as 'new relations of power and knowledge'.²⁹

Apparently, the national monument declaration was also made so as to preserve for posterity the residence, furniture and personal effects of the family of Zambia's first Republican President or as a 'memento to Zambia's independence struggle'.³⁰ The Chilenje House national monument is comprised of three houses numbered 393, 394 and 395. House number 393 was the caretaker's residence after the national monument declaration and served, at the time of the research, as a site office and ticket office. House number 394 included some of the personal effects, furniture, some portraits and kitchen utensils used by the Kaunda family and House number 395 housed an in-house exhibition with displays that covered such themes as 'Zambia's independence story in pictures', the 'growth of Lusaka', 'Chilenje' and 'pre-independence and post independence bank notes and coins'.³¹ Within the grounds of the national monument, there was a large portrait painting of the Kaunda family as well as an old Land Rover that was apparently used for pre-independence UNIP campaigns.

Before attempting to analyse the various exhibitions at the Chilenje House National Monument, a brief examination of the process towards the declaration of the national monument is, perhaps,

²⁸ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 73.

²⁹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 73-74

³⁰ National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House National Monument Site', (Brochure, n.d).

³¹ The quotations from these displays are from photographs taken at the Chilenje House national monument in August 2012.

in order. Before its declaration as a national monument, Chilenje House which had been built in about 1951 did not legally ‘qualify’ to be a historic building. The then prevailing Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics Act of 1947 provided that a historic building had to have been constructed before 1924.³² This declaration, as aforementioned, was the result of a combination of efforts by the government, the National Monuments Commission and Kenneth Kaunda himself. While the legal mandate for declaration of national monuments lay with the National Monuments Commission, under the then prevailing Natural and Historic Monuments and Relics Act of 1947, the initiative for the declaration of the site can be argued to have had ‘political’ originations. In a letter dated 10th November 1966 and addressed to President Kenneth Kaunda, a Willie Robert Mwendela who was apparently the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government and Housing wrote:

Your Excellency, may I be allowed to make a suggestion for Your Excellency’s consideration. I have always thought that the Chilenje house No. 394 in which Your Excellency lived prior to Independence has some historical importance to the future Zambian generations. I therefore think that it would be beneficial to the Nation if precautions were taken now to protect the house, put it to a historical use and make it a national monument.³³

For the aspect of making this ‘suggestion’ operational, Mwendela did not immediately refer the matter to, arguably, the most relevant Institution of the time- the National Monuments Commission. Instead, he saw it as an explicitly political project which needed the attention of a small committee. He thus suggested, in the same letter to the President that:

This is a small beginning which could have an important feature in the Zambian political history. With Your Excellency’s permission I humbly suggest that a small committee of about four or five persons

³² D.W. Phillipson, *Historical Notes on Political Development in Zambia* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1972), 7. A number of amendments to the Act in the period 1964-1989 served to clear a number of such legal hurdles.

³³ Letter from W.R. Mwendela to President Kenneth Kaunda, 10th November 1966, Chilenje House No. 394, File number CO 167/ 1, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

be formed to consider the suggestion and perhaps recommend to your Excellency the basis on which the idea could be implemented.³⁴

Before the post-independence declaration of buildings as national monuments, no historic building in Zambia had been declared as a national monument due to its associational value with an individual or group. Perhaps this explains why for Mwondela, the model for the type of national monument he envisioned was not local but ‘foreign’. In this regard he wrote:

My present thinking is on the lines of the David Livingstone Memorial House in Blantyre of Scotland. In the Chilenje house it should be possible to show how life was lived by the first President of the Republic of Zambia and perhaps show how the Party that formed the first Zambian Government was administered from it. This, Sir, is just speaking aloud, but as I have suggested in paragraph 3 a committee should consider how best the idea could be put on the ground.³⁵

For the representations and management of the proposed national monument, Mwondela suggested ‘the replacement of the original furniture, a permanent enclosure to ensure the safety of the house, the possibility of the services of a caretaker, the feasibility of the introduction of a small entry fee [and] upkeep of the grounds’.³⁶

While the response of then President Kenneth Kaunda to the suggestions over Chilenje House was not ‘archived’ together with the other correspondence, it is more likely than not, that the proposal received favourable response. Thus, in a letter that was addressed to members of a select committee which would be tasked with implementing the proposal to make ‘Chilenje House No. 394 – A National Monument’ operational, Mwondela wrote:

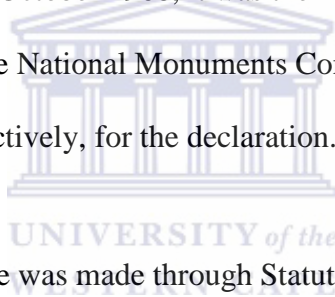
³⁴ Letter from W.R. Mwondela to President Kenneth Kaunda, 10th November 1966, Chilenje House No. 394, File number CO 167/ 1, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

³⁵ Letter from W.R. Mwondela to President Kenneth Kaunda, 10th November 1966, Chilenje House No. 394, File number CO 167/ 1, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

³⁶ Letter from W.R. Mwondela to President Kenneth Kaunda, 10th November 1966, Chilenje House No. 394, File number CO 167/ 1, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

A suggestion has been made to his Excellency the President that the above-mentioned house in which he lived prior to Independence be designated as a National Monument. The suggestion has been approved in principle by His Excellency. It is now considered that a formal approach be made to you with a view to requesting your participation on a committee which will consider the best way of implementing the proposal.³⁷

It is clear from the targeted list of recipients that the National Monuments Commission was not part of the committee and yet the legal mandate of declaring and managing national monuments lay with the institution. While it is unclear as to when exactly the National Monuments Commission got involved in the process of declaring Chilenje House as a national monument, by the time of the declaration, on 18th October 1968, it was the Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics Act and by extension the National Monuments Commission which provided the legal and institutional frameworks respectively, for the declaration.



In this regard, the declaration notice was made through Statutory Instrument No. 390 of 1968 and was signed by the Minister of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development.³⁸ It read, ‘in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by section nine of the Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics Ordinance, the monument described in the Schedule hereunder is hereby declared to be a National monument’.³⁹ The Statutory Instrument did not proffer the reasons for the declaration and simply stated that ‘Chilenje House 394 was occupied by Dr. K.D. Kaunda

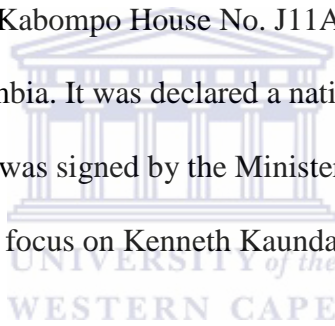
³⁷ Letter from W.R. Mwendela to His Worship the Mayor of Lusaka, the Town Clerk, City of Lusaka, the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information and Postal Services and a Mr. S. Chileshe, 16th November 1966, Chilenje House No. 394, File number CO 167/ 1, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

³⁸ See Statutory Instrument No. 390 of 1968 In *Supplement to the Republic of Zambia Government Gazette, dated the 23rd October, 1968* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968).

³⁹ Statutory Instrument No. 390 of 1968.

from January, 1960, until December, 1962, and was the centre of his work during the struggle for Zambia's independence'.⁴⁰

The making of the Kabompo House National Monument seems to have been borne from similar political objectives to the declaration of the Chilenje House National Monument. While documentary evidence for this assertion was not found, during the research, the purposes of the declaration placed the national monuments within the same framework. As I have argued, the Kabompo House National Monument, like most of the other national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's nationalist history fall within the post 1958 period when he came to the fore of nationalist politics.⁴¹ Kabompo House No. J11A is located in Kabompo Town in the North-Western Province of Zambia. It was declared a national monument through Statutory Instrument No. 123 of 1987 which was signed by the Minister of Tourism on 9th June 1987.⁴² The declaration notice revealed the focus on Kenneth Kaunda.



It stated that 'the house has been declared a national monument because of the events which took place in it. It was in this house that his Excellency the President Dr K.D. Kaunda was, together with other freedom fighters, restricted by the colonial authorities from March to July, 1959'.⁴³ Apparently, one of the main aims of this restriction was to incapacitate the struggle for freedom and Independence by making it very difficult for these leaders of the struggle to communicate with and organise their followers since Kabompo, where they were being held, was very far from

⁴⁰ Statutory Instrument No. 390 of 1968.

⁴¹ See Chapter Two, 'Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia's nationalist history'.

⁴² See Statutory Instrument No. 323 of 1987 in *Statutory Instruments, 12th June, 1987* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1987).

⁴³ Statutory Instrument No. 323 of 1987

the line of rail or indeed any other communication routes.⁴⁴ Thus the Kabompo House National Monument, like the Chilenje House National Monument was declared for its ‘associational significance’ in it being associated with particular political figures.⁴⁵

The making of the Chilenje House and Kabompo House as national monuments can thus be argued to be indicative of some of the ways in which heritage is produced. Clearly, with regards these national heritage sites or monuments, and many similar others, ‘heritage’ does not exist, of and by itself, but it is produced at different levels and often for varied purposes. It can be argued here, following Tony Bennett, that at the time of their production, the national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda ‘made the order of things dynamic, mobilising it strategically in relation to the more immediate ideological and political exigencies of the particular moment’.⁴⁶ Thus when one considers the ways in which these places were selected, valorised, packaged and interpreted as ‘national heritage’ together with their underlying power and knowledge systems, then one can tend to concur with Davison’s assertion that ‘heritage is essentially a political idea’.⁴⁷ This assertion also alludes to the apparent ‘instability’ of just what constitutes ‘heritage’. Davison argues in this regard that heritage ‘is by its very nature an unstable and contested idea, as must be any idea that attempts to capture the things we count most valuable in our collective life. As soon as the net of definition is lifted over it, it takes flight’.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ National Heritage Conservation Commission, ‘Heritage Sites Guide for North West Region’, (Solwezi, n.d).

⁴⁵ Graeme Aplin, *Heritage: Identification, Conservation, and Management* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002), 118.

⁴⁶ Tony Bennett, ‘The Exhibitionary Complex’, in D Boswell and J Evans (eds), *Representing the Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 352.

⁴⁷ Graeme Davison, *The use and abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen Unwin, 2000), 121. See also David W Cohen, *The Combing of History*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) in which he argues for the ‘Production of History’.

⁴⁸ Graeme Davison, ‘The meanings of “Heritage”’ in G. Davison and C. McConville (eds), *A Heritage Handbook*, (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1991), 130.

Perhaps the notion of the ‘instability’ of heritage can be used to analyse the somewhat different fates faced by the Chilenje House national monument and the Kabompo House national monument. The two national monuments were declared, principally, for the roles that they each played in different phases of Kenneth Kaunda’s life as it related to the struggle for Zambian independence. And yet, Chilenje House national monument was valorised while Kabompo House national monument was ‘neglected’. Chilenje House national monument, as I elaborate later, was a fully operational and manned national heritage site while Kabompo House was being used as residential accommodation by some government workers from within the Kabompo District.⁴⁹ There was no presentation or interpretation of the heritage values of the latter building apart from an almost indecipherable plaque and a notice by a tree, purported to have been a favourite recline for Kenneth Kaunda.



Figure 1: The three buildings (houses) that make up the Chilenje House National Monument. Number 393 is on the left, 394 in the middle and 395 on the right. Photo by Brutus Simakole.

⁴⁹ Two families occupied the Kabompo House National Monument owing to the ‘acute shortage of accommodation’, in the District and while they were aware of the status of the building, ‘it was just a house for them’, Personal communication with tenant of Kabompo House National Monument, 31st May 2012, anonymity respected.



Figure 2: Kabompo House National Monument; used for residential accommodation.
Photo by Brutus Simakole.

Thus, following Clark, the values associated with heritage sites, such as the Chilenje House national monument and the Kabompo House national monument are often contested.⁵⁰ In this regard, Smith et al have argued that ‘governments and international organizations struggle to balance heritage values with the needs of contemporary society’.⁵¹ In the case of the Kabompo House National Monument, there was an apparent clash between the heritage values of the building and the contemporary accommodation needs of the Kabompo society. And yet by virtue of being declared national monuments, the two places were associated with a ‘national significance’. This stark contrast between two similar national monuments (both associated with the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda and both being historic buildings) can perhaps also be alluded to the different meanings associated with their heritage values.

⁵⁰ Kate Clarke, ‘Values in cultural resource management’, In George S. Smith et al (eds), *Heritage values in contemporary society* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc, 2010), 92.

⁵¹ George S. Smith et al (eds), *Heritage values in contemporary society* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc, 2010), 17.

Moreover, Tunbridge and Ashworth's interpretation of heritage as a 'product' constructed to suit present day needs,⁵² can be applied to the production of national heritage sites or monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda. This is especially when they are considered as part of the circulation of knowledge and power systems in post independent Zambia. The notion that 'heritage is produced' has also been elucidated upon by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett who writes:

Heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. Despite a discourse of conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, recreation, recuperation, revitalization, and regeneration, heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past. By production, I do not mean that the result is not authentic or that it is invented out of whole cloth. Rather, I wish to underscore that heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. It is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past. Heritage not only gives buildings, precincts, and ways of life that are no longer viable for one reason or another a second life as exhibits of themselves; it also produces something new.⁵³

While the production of the national heritage sites or monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda was aimed at the consumption of the general public, it is apparent from the analysis of the process of the making of the national monuments that the 'target' group had little or no part in the process. It is perhaps in this regard that Davison argues that 'although the public is constantly exhorted by the experts to "cherish" and "nurture" their heritage, the job of identifying, classifying and ensuring it belongs largely to the coterie of heritage experts, architects, historians, archaeologists and planners'.⁵⁴ This scenario has generally limited the participation of people outside museums, heritage institutions and other centres of knowledge in the production of heritage.

⁵² E Tunbridge and G. J Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996) 5-6.

⁵³ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Autumn, 1995), 369-370.

⁵⁴ Graeme Davison, 'The meanings of "Heritage"', 127.

'Life stories', Representations and Biographic museums

The reference to the David Livingstone Memorial House, in the letter that was addressed to then President Kenneth Kaunda, suggests that what Willie Robert Mwendela had in mind was a form of biographic museum whose representations would revolve around a 'life story'. While many of the features suggested by Mwendela were manifest in the contemporary representations and management of the Chilenje House National Monument, its focus can be argued to have been quite different from that of the David Livingstone Memorial House. This is, perhaps, also a testament of the dissimilarities between the two principals – Kenneth Kaunda and David Livingstone. The David Livingstone Memorial House was apparently run by the National Trust of Scotland and was situated in the town of Blantyre, housed in a former mill in which David Livingstone worked as a young man.⁵⁵ Apparently, the memorial housed an exhibition that was divided into two parts. The first part was devoted to David Livingstone's early years when he worked in the mill and his 'extremely harsh' family life in which the Livingstone family lived in a one room accommodation.⁵⁶ An immediate contrast with the representations at Chilenje House National Monument is that they hardly covered any aspect of Kenneth Kaunda's own childhood. The second part of the David Livingstone Memorial exhibition provided his 'life story from his early interest in the natural world, his conflict with his religious beliefs and his journey through Africa' when he worked as an explorer and missionary.⁵⁷ Apparently, this part also highlighted his efforts to 'fight the slave trade'. According to a reviewer of the exhibition, the memorial also

⁵⁵ David Livingstone Memorial- Blantyre: Review of Attraction 2001, <http://www.scotlandforvisitors.com/living.php>, accessed on 4th September 2012.

⁵⁶ David Livingstone Memorial- Blantyre: Review of Attraction 2001, <http://www.scotlandforvisitors.com/living.php>, accessed on 4th September 2012.

⁵⁷ David Livingstone Memorial- Blantyre: Review of Attraction 2001, <http://www.scotlandforvisitors.com/living.php>, accessed on 4th September 2012.

housed some ‘interesting artifacts and exhibits’. Furthermore, it attempted to cater for different age groups and included interactive exhibits viewed at a ‘push of a button’. The entire exhibition was thus ‘a simplified version of his whole life story including the famous meeting with Henry M. Stanley, columnist with the New York Herald, in seven pictorial exhibits’.⁵⁸ An analysis of the representations of Kenneth Kaunda at the Chilenje House National Monument may shed more light on the focus of the exhibitions.

Of the three buildings that make up the Chilenje House National Monument, two of them – House number 394 and 395 had, at the time of visitation in August 2012, some in-house displays. However, it is also possible to consider the entire national monument and its individual components as one exhibition. The three buildings 393, 394 and 395 were enclosed in a wire fence and were arranged side by side and in chronological order, with about equal-distance spaces between them. There were four rooms in each of the buildings. The first aspect that one noticed upon entry through the gate into the national monument was a statue of Kenneth Kaunda. Depicted as the ‘Statue of the father of the nation’, it was mounted on a concrete platform. It was basically a bronze encrusted rendition of the image of Kenneth Kaunda with an upwards outstretched right hand holding his trademark handkerchief. The statue was a recent addition to the national monument site as it had only been unveiled on the occasion of Kenneth Kaunda’s 87th Birthday on 28th April 2011.⁵⁹ Apart from this statue, there are almost no other statues of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia. This is thus unlike the case of Ghana where Janet Hess has argued

⁵⁸ David Livingstone Memorial- Blantyre: Review of Attraction 2001, <http://www.scotlandforvisitors.com/living.php>, accessed on 4th September 2012

⁵⁹ According to the Principal Architect of the project, this was the only statue of Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka Province (J. Banda, Pers comm., 28th August 2012).

that there was a proliferation of statues of Kwame Nkrumah after the attainment of Independence in 1957, some of which still stood despite his ‘acrimonious’ exit from the Presidency.⁶⁰



Figure 3: A statue of Kenneth Kaunda located just inside the entrance to the Chilenje House National Monument with the portrait painting of the Kaunda family in the background. Photo by Brutus Simakole.

The three buildings that make up the Chilenje House National Monument were arranged in a row over the left hand shoulder of the Kenneth Kaunda statue. The closest building was House number 395 but before reaching the building, one had to pass right in front of apparently one of the most memorable artifacts from the pre-independence era. Christened as ‘Mama UNIP’ for the

⁶⁰ See Janet Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary and “National” Art in the Nkrumah Era’, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 44, No. 1, April 2001, 62-72.

pre-independence role it played in facilitating the movement of some of the UNIP leaders, including Kenneth Kaunda, around the country for political campaigns, the burnt out Land Rover sat under an open walled shed, which had a corrugated roof supported by iron poles. It is perhaps possible, following Kopytoff, to consider the Land rover as an ‘object with its own biography’.⁶¹ However, it is worth noting that a biographical approach to an object may, quite literally, concentrate on innumerable matters and events, all of which relate to the object or objects in question.

‘Objects’, narratives and Biographical Exhibitions

In considering the construction of biographies of objects, Kopytoff has suggested that it may be useful to relate these to the constructions of biographies of people. He suggests that this may be accomplished by asking ‘the same range and kinds of cultural questions to arrive at biographies of things’ as those that are asked to arrive at biographies of people.⁶² The fulcrum of the kind of questions that Kopytoff suggests seems to gyrate around the issue of how the objects’ usage changes over time. Importantly, any biography of an object or objects, like those of people will be encased within a selection of certain aspects of its varied ‘life’. In this regard, Kopytoff asserts that, just as people have ‘many biographies – psychological, professional, political, familial, economic and so forth’, objects may similarly have many biographies that can focus on their ‘technical’, ‘economic’ or ‘social’ attributes.⁶³

⁶¹ See Igor Kopytoff, ‘The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process’ In Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 66.

⁶² Igor Kopytoff, ‘The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process’, 66.

⁶³ Igor Kopytoff, ‘The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process’, 68.



Figure 4: The 'Mama UNIP' Land Rover used in the pre-independence political campaigns.
Photo by Brutus Simakole.

The version of the 'life-story' of the 'Mama UNIP' Land Rover that was part of the display at the Chilenje House National Monument was inscribed on a small plaque at the front end of the Land Rover. It read simply as 'this Land Rover was donated by a missionary, Mr. Marvin Temple to Dr Kaunda for use during the liberation struggle. It was burnt during the food riots on 27th June 1990'⁶⁴. While clearly abridged, the displayed 'life-story' revealed that the Land Rover was exchanged and used across and among a number of social and political settings.⁶⁵ Thus the 'life story' of the 'Mama UNIP' Land Rover can be considered by following Randolph's suggestion that the biography of objects can be considered as the story of their production, exchange and use in different settings. Apparently, the vehicle (a Land Rover Station Wagon) was imported as a 'brand new machine' into the then Northern Rhodesia in about 1957 and was first owned and

⁶⁴ In addition to the burning of the Land Rover, there was general damage to the site and other items were destroyed including an outside portrait painting of the Kaunda family, 'a ship bottle, wood carvings and a single mattress' and this led to the national monument to be closed for a number of months to allow for extensive repairs and renovations. See National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House Re-exhibition Project Proposal: Chilenje House National Monument', Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

⁶⁵ John Randolph, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive' in A. Burton (ed.) *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 210.

registered by the United Society of Christian Literature.⁶⁶ The United Society of Christian Literature which was a missionary organization utilized the vehicle for nearly three years in its work of distributing Christian and educational materials to different parts of the country.⁶⁷ About three years later, on 8th March 1960, the Reverend Merfyn Marvin Temple who belonged to the Society became the new owner of the vehicle, an ownership that lasted less than one year. On 20th January 1961, the ownership of the vehicle was transferred to the then UNIP President, Kenneth Kaunda.⁶⁸

The basis of the change of ownership from the Society to the Reverend and to Kenneth Kaunda is unclear but, it is plausible that the usage, values and interpretation of the vehicle changed as its ownership changed. It is these aspects of how the vehicle was regarded and interpreted in different settings that form part of its biography. In this regard, the burning of the vehicle in the food riots that took place in 1990 can be considered as a 'radical alteration' that gave the 'object' another meaning. This is in line with Kopytoff's argument that objects have their own histories that can reveal their 'different meanings over time-in their exchange and physical transformation-and have meaning for us today through this process and not in isolation from it'.⁶⁹ Thus, the Land Rover which started off as a missionary vehicle acquired different meanings in its 'life story'. It can now perhaps be considered as a memento to the end of Kenneth Kaunda's rule and the reintroduction of multipartism in Zambia which occurred just after the 1990 food riots.

⁶⁶ National Monuments Commission, 'His Excellency, President Kaunda's Struggle Land Rover Registration No. K12848'. The vehicle was imported from the United Kingdom under Customs Clearance Certificate No. 241/57 and was registered on 31st December 1957. See Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

⁶⁷ National Monuments Commission, 'His Excellency, President Kaunda's Struggle Land Rover Registration No. K12848'.

⁶⁸ National Monuments Commission, 'His Excellency, President Kaunda's Struggle Land Rover Registration No. K12848'.

⁶⁹ John Randolph, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive', 210.

The in-house exhibition which was in Chilenje House number 395 was arranged in three adjoining rooms. The first room encountered upon entry had a display which was divided into three parts namely, 'the growth of Lusaka', 'Chilenje' and 'Zambia's independence story in pictures'. The first two parts namely 'the growth of Lusaka' and 'Chilenje' had apparently also been in the first site exhibition which was undertaken in the early 1970s while the 'Zambia's independence story in pictures' was only done in year 2010.⁷⁰ The display panels for 'the growth of Lusaka' and 'Chilenje' were wood panelled and fronted with glass panes under which were black and white photographs and aerial photographs. 'The growth of Lusaka' panel basically attempted to provide an archaeological history of the city. It highlighted such things as 'an archaeological excavation in Lusaka', 'iron age rock engravings near Lusaka' and 'pre-historic iron smelting furnaces near Lusaka'.⁷¹ This panel also had three sets of aerial photographs which were apparently depicting the same area of Lusaka in 1928, 1953 and 1965. The panel with the 'Chilenje' display showed four photographs, two of which were highlighted as former residences of Kenneth Kaunda, one was titled 'Chilenje Community Centre Hall' and the fourth was captioned simply as 'Chilenje market'.⁷²

The exhibition titled 'Zambia's independence story in pictures' was done on a canvas cloth that took up most of one of the walls of the room. This display entirely utilized portrait photographs of individuals deemed to have been part and parcel of the theme. These individuals were categorized into three sections whose portrait derived photographs ran vertically, side by side,

⁷⁰ Interview with Site Attendant – Chilenje House National Monument, 29th August 2012. This perhaps suggests that when the buildings were declared as national monuments in 1968, the focus was mainly on the presentation of House number 394 which had been the Kaundas' former home. The other buildings (House numbers 393 and 395) may have been included in the national monument area for management and administrative purposes.

⁷¹ The quotations from this panel are from photographs taken at the Chilenje House number 395 exhibition in August 2012.

⁷² The quotations from this panel are from photographs taken at the Chilenje House number 395 exhibition in August 2012.

from the top to the bottom of the canvas. The first section was given the title ‘missionaries and colonialists’ and included photographs of David Livingstone and ‘mail boys during the colonial days’.⁷³ No firm distinction was placed between the next two sections which dealt with ‘Africans fight for freedom’ and ‘independence struggle continues’. These sections had portrait photographs of some of the individuals who had been members of the county’s nationalist movement such as Simon Kapwepwe, Mainza Chona, Ngenda Sipalo and Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula. The individuals had clearly predominantly been drawn from UNIP. Kenneth Kaunda featured prominently on this canvas such that it had more of his photographs than those for any of the others.

The two adjoining rooms to the first also had their individual displays. One had two wooden, glass fronted cabinets, mounted waist high from the floor. One of the cabinets had some ‘pre independence and post independence bank notes and coins’ with the latter prominently featuring the portrait of Kenneth Kaunda.⁷⁴ The other cabinet had some pre-independence UNIP campaign materials such as those titled ‘when UNIP becomes Government’ and ‘voice of UNIP’ and a ‘manuscript account of Kaunda’s arrest, written whilst he was in restriction at Kabompo’ in 1959.⁷⁵ The displays in Chilenje House number 395 largely revolved around Kenneth Kaunda

⁷³ The quotations from this panel are from photographs taken at the Chilenje House number 395 exhibition in August 2012

⁷⁴ Between 1967- 1969, the Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) currency which had hitherto been pounds and shillings was changed into new units namely Kwacha and ngwee. The queen’s portrait which had accompanied the previous currency was replaced with the portrait of Kenneth Kaunda in the new currency. The banknotes with Kenneth Kaunda’s portrait ceased to be legal tender in 1992, a year after he lost the Zambian Presidency and were replaced with currency without any portraits. See Ministry of Finance, ‘Decimal currency: General policy, 1967’, File number MF/0022/2/4/5, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka and Letter on the ‘commendation for the protection and interpretation of the Big Tree National Monument, Kabwe from the Director – Banking, currency and payment systems to the Regional Director – National Heritage Conservation Commission, Lusaka, 14th July 2009, Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1.

⁷⁵ The quotations from these displays are from photographs taken at the Chilenje House number 395 exhibition in August 2012

and his party UNIP. These representations therefore mirrored the general domination of Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in the narrations of Zambian political history. The roles played by other political parties and individuals in the struggle for Zambia's independence can be argued to have been largely neglected and glossed over.⁷⁶

This apparent neglect of the roles played by other political parties and individuals in the struggle for Zambia's independence at the expense of Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP had not been uncontested. The daughter of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, who had been Kenneth Kaunda's main political rival in the pre-independence nationalist political leadership, had reportedly 'condemned' the Chilenje House National Monument for not representing her father and yet 'he had done a lot for the country'.⁷⁷ Perhaps, as Brian Graham et al have suggested elsewhere, the national monument declaration for particular sites associated with Kenneth Kaunda aimed at the consolidation of their national identification while 'absorbing or neutralizing potentially competing heritages'.⁷⁸ Thus the later looting and raiding of the Chilenje House National Monument 'can be attributed to the fact that at that time, (1990) anything associated with Dr Kaunda was a target of attack'.⁷⁹ This is also apparently the reason why the family portrait

⁷⁶ National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House Re-exhibition Project Proposal: Chilenje House National Monument', Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

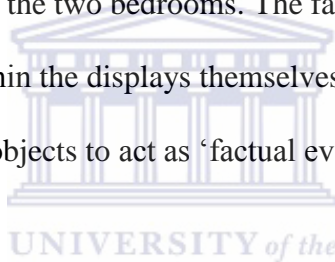
⁷⁷ Interview with Site Attendant - Chilenje House National Monument, 29th August 2012. The Site Attendant also indicated that Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula's former house was located next to the Chilenje House number 393, just outside the fence of the national monument, and was not a recognised heritage site.

⁷⁸ Brian Graham et al, 'The uses and abuses of heritage', In Gerald Corsane, *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An introductory reader* (London: Routledge, 2005), 27.

⁷⁹ National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House Management History', Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

painting of the Kaunda family which had been done as part of the first exhibition of the national monument in the late 1960s was targeted for destruction in the 1990 riots.⁸⁰

The displays in Chilenje House number 394, which had been the home of the Kaundas in the period 1960 -1962 focused on the presentation of some of the artefacts that the family had made use of during their stay. Thus, each of the four rooms in the building had ‘original’ items from the by-gone era. There was, for example, a set of orange sofas and a dining table in the room which had purportedly been the Kaundas’ living room, a wooden kitchen cabinet, metal dishes, plates, cups and a charcoal/ firewood fuelled stove in the former kitchen. Two single beds occupied what had apparently been the two bedrooms. The fact that there was no text that explained the various ‘objects’ within the displays themselves suggests that the exhibition also relied on the narrative function of objects to act as ‘factual evidence’ of life as lived.⁸¹



Thus, while the aim of the displays in Chilenje House number 394 was to create a sense of ‘what life for the Kaunda family’ had been in the house, it can be argued, following Caterina Albano, that the effects created were complex and varied. Following Pearce, Caterina Albano asserts that while the reconstruction of living spaces for prominent individuals aim at creating a vision of the people who lived there, the objects that are part of the display ‘are invested, not unlike religious relics, with extra cultural beliefs and values rendering them vestiges of illustrious person[s] and past ways of life’.⁸² Thus the objects that were displayed within the Chilenje house number 394

⁸⁰ Interview with Site Attendant - Chilenje House National Monument, 29th August 2012. See also National Heritage Conservation Commission, ‘Chilenje House Management History’, Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, (Lusaka, n.d).

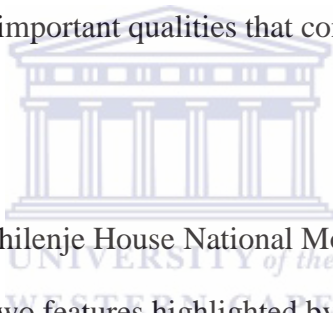
⁸¹ Caterina Albano, ‘Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions’, *Museum and Society*, Vol 5(1), March 2007, 16.

⁸² Caterina Albano, ‘Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions’, 5. See also S. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press: 1992).

can be considered, in one sense, as having undergone a shift from mere personal items to cultural icons by virtue of them having been inscribed into the Kaundas' biographical narratives.

However, this shift was not collectively understood or even noticed by everybody who visited the national monument because, like Katsuyuki Okamura has suggested, objects of and about the past carry different meanings to different people.⁸³ In this regard, Stuart Hall posits that 'things "in themselves" rarely if ever have any one, single, fixed and unchanging meaning'.⁸⁴

Furthermore, Caterina Albano makes two other arguments with regards the biographical value of objects. The first is that 'to consider objects biographically is to reveal something not only about the objects themselves but also about those who acted upon them'. She adds that 'authenticity and representational value are also important qualities that concur to culturally shape objects biographically'.⁸⁵



The information brochure for the Chilenje House National Monument can be seen to have corresponded, in one sense, to the two features highlighted by Caterina Albano. The text and photographs in the brochure for the Chilenje House National Monument related the objects on display to 'those that acted upon them' and belabored to authenticate what was displayed. Thus, for example, the picture of the bed in one of the former bedrooms was accompanied by text which read, 'Bed – used by Mr and Mrs Kaunda'. A picture of a metallic dish in the former kitchen was accompanied by the text, 'Bath tub "Jacuzzi" used by the Kaunda family' and a photograph of a wardrobe was announced as 'Wardrobe- used by Dr Kaunda'.⁸⁶ Similarly, the display of some of the 'original' documents associated with Kenneth Kaunda in Chilenje House

⁸³ Katsuyuki Okamura, 'A consideration of heritage values in contemporary society' In George S. Smith et al (eds), *Heritage values in contemporary society*, (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc: 2010), 56.

⁸⁴ Stuart Hall (ed), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 3.

⁸⁵ Caterina Albano, 'Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions', 17

⁸⁶ National Heritage Conservation Commission, 'Chilenje House National Monument Site', (Brochure, n.d)

number 395, such as his deportation order from Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1954 and his 1959 restriction order under the Emergency powers ordinance can also be read as a desire to imbue them with some form of ‘evidential force’ to act as both authentic objects with relational value concerning Kenneth Kaunda.⁸⁷

The national heritage sites or national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda that were declared in the years following the attaining of Zambia’s political independence can also be considered as an attempt at changing part of the country’s heritage landscape. This is similar to efforts of the National Monuments Commission of South Africa after 1994, who wanted to ‘to counter the dominance of colonial and Afrikaner monuments on South Africa’s landscape’ by ‘endorsing a host of new heritage sites, many of them associated with Mandela’.⁸⁸ While the National Monuments Commission of Zambia was not solely responsible for the declaration of national monuments associated with Kenneth Kaunda, its involvement in the processes attests to the often interconnected aspects of heritage production, heritage legislation and heritage institutionalization. The different and often changing values associated with Zambian heritage in general and national heritage sites or monuments and artefacts associated with Kenneth Kaunda in particular, can perhaps also be attributed to Tunbridge and Ashworth’s observation that, heritage is ‘a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands for it, and shaped by those requirements’.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Caterina Albano, ‘Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions’, 16. The documents are part of the display in one of the two cabinets in Chilenje House number 395. See National Heritage Conservation Commission, ‘Inventory of collection in House 395’, Closed File number NHCC/206/01/1, Lusaka.

⁸⁸ Ciraj Rassool, ‘The Rise of heritage and reconstitution of history in South Africa’, *Kronos*, 26, 2000, 13.

⁸⁹ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 6.

CHAPTER FOUR

KENNETH KAUNDA AND THE 'NATIONAL POLITICAL MUSEUM'

In addition to its entry into the domain of national heritage, discussed in Chapter Three, Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography also found expression through another avenue of the production of history in the public domain. This was through museum exhibitions, especially those that dealt with Zambia's political history. This chapter thus examines the ways in which narrations of and about Kenneth Kaunda's life were represented in the Lusaka National Museum which started as a National Political Museum with particular focus on the images, narrations and displays.

It also explores how the exhibitions have changed over time and how they have been contested. In this regard, the chapter studies what is represented and how it is represented as well as the silences in the representations. It argues that while the Lusaka National Museum had sought to present a broad history in the 'History of Zambia' exhibition, it largely did not transcend the 'limitations' of political history. In this regard, the chapter asserts that the 'History of Zambia' exhibition in the Lusaka National Museum generally reproduced the 'relations of domination' associated with the initial National Political Museum. The exhibition valorised, at the expense of other individuals and groups, the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in Zambia's pre and post Independence political history.

The Making of Zambia's National Political Museum

Museums are often deemed to have the capacity to play a fundamental role in the ways in which societies understand their 'political' pasts. According to David Dean and Peter Rider, national museums have long been seen to have a role in the ways in which national identities are defined and shaped.¹ It is for perhaps similar purposes that the idea of establishing a National Political Museum in Zambia was first considered. Apparently, this imperative ultimately resulted in the signing of Statutory Instrument number 186 of 1982, under the National Museums Act Chapter 267 of the Laws of Zambia, which declared the establishment of the National Political Museum of Zambia.² The Statutory Instrument was issued on 28th December 1982 by the Minister of Tourism and essentially laid the foundation towards the initial efforts to establish the museum.³

The National Political Museum, according to Francis Musonda, was aimed at fulfilling three functions, namely: 'to preserve the political history of the country for the benefit of future generations; to acknowledge the role played by Zambians to liberate their country from colonialism; and to educate the public and afford researchers an opportunity to write the history of the independence struggle through the means of documentary and physical material'.⁴ In terms of scope, the National Political Museum was planned to be focused only on 'political' matters in the history of the country, 'starting with the ancient

¹ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, 'Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization', *Museum and Society*, Vol. 3 (1), March 2005, 35.

² Statutory Instrument No. 186 of 1982 in *Statutory Instruments, 31st December 1982*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1982) and Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', *Zambia Heritage News*, Issue No. 5, January – June 1994, 24.

³ Statutory Instrument No. 186 of 1982.

⁴ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', *Zambia Heritage News*, Issue No. 5, January – June 1994, 24.

kingdoms, arrival of the colonialists and the attainment of political independence'.⁵ The National Political Museum was thus initially earmarked to provide a broad sweep of the country's political history without particular focus on particular individuals or entities. Considering the roles and scope that had been envisaged for the National Political Museum, the question that perhaps arises and which this chapter will seek to evaluate is to what extent do the representations of the Lusaka National Museum, which has taken over the mantle of the National Political Museum fulfilled the set out objectives.

Clearly then, the National Political Museum aimed at transcending the nationalist history of the country by also considering the historical and political features that prefigured and later influenced the rise of nationalism in the country.⁶ Apparently, the museum also encouraged the collection of objects which invoked particular narratives about the 'political struggle' and the benefits that had ensured from their use. The idea of a National Political Museum was initiated, according to Musonda, by A.K. Mofya, the Festival Secretary in the Department of Cultural Affairs and it was under the auspices of this Department that the museum first operated.⁷ The museum was later transferred to the Department of National Guidance with Mofya as Curator and when the Department was transferred to Freedom House which was the Headquarters of UNIP, 'he was

⁵ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', 24.

⁶See also Robert. I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

⁷ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', 24

appointed as Director by the President on the basis of his active participation in the political struggle and the fact that he initiated the idea of a political museum'.⁸

The transfer of the National Political Museum to Freedom House was apparently rationalized by the UNIP government as a way of enhancing the museum staff's access to freedom fighters from whom they were expected to obtain relevant materials and information related to the political struggle.⁹ However, it is perhaps worth noting that at the time of its establishment in 1982 and during the aforementioned transfers, Zambia was a one party state.¹⁰ The one party state meant that there was a direct linkage involving the state, the government and the party (UNIP) such that the demarcations between these entities were blurred.¹¹ Thus, the transfer of the museum to what was then the ruling party's headquarters suggests that, in terms of relations of power and knowledge production, there could have been a bias towards the 'freedom fighters' who had been aligned with UNIP at the expense of the other nationalist movements. As Jacques Depelchin has observed, the production of history in Africa was often 'shaped by individuals and/or institutions which directly or indirectly, were connected to, and thus

⁸ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', 24

⁹ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', 24

¹⁰ Zambia's post-independence history is often divided into three categories which are referred to as 'republics'. The first republic was from Independence in 1964 to 1972 under political pluralism, second republic was from 1972 to 1991 under a one party state and the third republic is from 1991 to date under political pluralism.

¹¹ Jan Pettman, 'Zambia's second republic – the establishment of a one-party state', *The Journal of modern African studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June, 1974), 231.

had a vested interest in, the reproduction of histories ... which did not challenge currently established relations of power'.¹²

The pro-UNIP bias in the 'production of the museum's political history' in the collections of materials and information was perhaps also exacerbated by the hostile relationship that existed amongst the different political parties after independence. There was, for example, a tendency to regard groups which were not aligned to UNIP or those that had broken away from the party as having 'opted out of the nation'. These were regarded, writes Jan Pettman, as 'a threat to the very existence of Zambia, for it could not be assumed that the majority of the inhabitants owed their first loyalty to the state'.¹³ In a similar regard, Miles Larmer has charged that though the declaration of a one party state was 'presented by UNIP as the ultimate expression of popular will', it was 'in fact UNIP's only response to rising political opposition and its failure to meet popular expectations of social and economic change'.¹⁴

Furthermore, Larmer asserts that 'during Zambia's era of "one-party participatory" democracy, the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation produced some important historical works that nevertheless served to reinforce UNIP's own interpretation of colonial history'.¹⁵ The assertions by Pettman and Larmer can thus be argued to suggest that the initial operations of the National Political Museum were largely predicated on the relationship between the

¹² Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History. Between the syndromes of discovery and abolition* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota, 2005), 2.

¹³ Jan Pettman, 'Zambia's second republic – the establishment of a one-party state', 231-232

¹⁴ Miles Larmer, 'What went wrong? Zambian political biography and post-colonial discourses of decline: Review Article', *Historia*, 51, 1, May 2006, 236

¹⁵ Miles Larmer, 'What went wrong? Zambian political biography and post-colonial discourses of decline', 236

party – UNIP and its government. This assertion can be lent some credence when considering that when political pluralism was reintroduced in 1990, the museum was delinked from Freedom House (UNIP headquarters) and was handed back to the Government (as a separate entity from the party) both in terms of its management and funding.¹⁶ Upon transfer of the collections of the National Political Museum from Freedom House which was associated with UNIP to the new Government, the Ministry of Tourism was given the mandate to manage the museum.¹⁷

The reintroduction of political pluralism in 1990 and the defeat of UNIP by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (hereafter MMD) in the 1991 multiparty elections can be seen to have necessitated the transfer of the museum to the government. This can be explained in terms of the inability of UNIP which had lost political and governmental power to effectively manage the museum. Furthermore, Musonda explains that:

This transfer of management from a political party to government was accompanied by staff retrenchment, anxiety among workers about their future and the general lack of interest in the museum by the general public. This was perhaps expected especially that more than ninety per cent of the objects on display reflected the political life of vanguarded (sic) leaders.¹⁸

However, the ‘expected’ corrections of the pro-UNIP bias in the representations of the National Political Museum were apparently not embarked upon after the change of government in 1991. In this regard, Larmer writes that:

When the one-party state was overthrown and replaced by a multiparty democracy in 1991, the new ruling Movement for Multi-

¹⁶ Francis B. Musonda, ‘National political museum’, 24

¹⁷ Francis B. Musonda, ‘National political museum’, 24

¹⁸ Francis B. Musonda, ‘National political museum’, 24-25

Party Democracy (MMD) made little effort to provide its own re-interpretation of either colonial or post-colonial history. The MMD had to grapple with a major economic crisis and perhaps had little interest in such matters, but the significant presence of former UNIP leaders amongst the ranks of the MMD government may have represented a deterrent to any detailed investigation into the successes and failures of UNIP's rule'.¹⁹

It is also plausible that the MMD government did not see itself playing a direct role in the actual working of the National Political Museum, other than providing the monthly operational grants through the Ministry of Tourism. This may have been because the museum collection was now under the management of the National Museums Board, who decided that it would be part of a new museum called the Lusaka National Museum.²⁰ The housing of the collection of the National Political Museum within the Lusaka National Museum building was thus also due to the view of the National Museums Board that from its inception, the collection had had no 'ideal' building to serve museum purposes.²¹

For the new Lusaka National Museum, the aspect of reinterpreting the representations of the former political museum may have provided a significant challenge. As Dean and Rider, following McIntyre and Wehner, have observed, there are potentially serious 'difficulties that contemporary museums face in trying to negotiate and present

¹⁹ Miles Larmer, 'What went wrong? Zambian political biography and post-colonial discourses of decline', 236-237

²⁰ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', 25. The National Museums Board of Zambia comprises a Secretariat and four national museums through which it carries out its mandate. The national museums are the Copperbelt Museum in Ndola, Livingstone Museum in Livingstone, Lusaka Museum in Lusaka and Moto Moto Museum in Mbala. The board also provides support to two community museums, namely Choma Museum and Crafts Centre in Choma and Nayuma Museum in Mongu

²¹ Francis B. Musonda, 'National political museum', 25.

competing interpretations of national histories and identities'.²² Some of these difficulties, as Dean and Rider have posited:

Have to do with contextual realities, such as leadership; budgets; time constraints; the number, ability, and interest of curators and other staff; the holdings of the institutional collections; the availability of loan material; community involvement, to name but a few. Any and all of these will impinge upon the shaping of the final product.²³

Many of these difficulties can be seen to have confronted the then new Lusaka National Museum which was still lamenting its lack of means to fully achieve its potential and objectives.²⁴

The Lusaka National Museum

The Lusaka National Museum building is part of the 'new Government Complex' in Lusaka. The entire complex is fenced and houses a number of buildings that include offices for the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Labour and the Private Sector Development Program. The museum building is at the far right end of the series of buildings that face one of Lusaka's busiest roads – the Independence Avenue. When compared to most buildings within the vicinity of the Government complex, the Lusaka National Museum building can be deemed to be 'striking in both its architecture and its interior spaces, but these are features it shares with other museums'.²⁵ While the

²² David Dean and Peter E. Rider, 'Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization', 35.

²³ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, 'Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization', 44.

²⁴ Interview with the Lusaka National Museum Keeper of History, on 28th August 2012. According to the Keeper of History, the Lusaka National Museum was, at the time of the research, in the process of changing part of its permanent exhibition which would involve pulling down the current 'History of Zambia' exhibition and redesigning it. The details for these plans were 'not available for non museum staff'.

²⁵ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, 'Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization', 37.

museum's architecture and physical fabric has generally received positive acclaim, its representations, as I will show, have tended to be largely unfavorably reviewed.



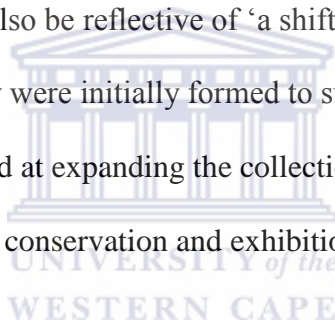
*Figure 5: A prestigious museum building? The Lusaka National Museum.
Photo by Brutus Simakole*

The Lusaka National Museum building project was apparently a joint venture of the Government of the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of China. The construction of the new museum, which started in the late 1980s, was delayed due to the political changes of 1990-1991 which saw the exit of UNIP and the entry of MMD into government. While the initial focus had been to house a National Political Museum, documenting and presenting, as it were, the history of Zambia's struggle for independence, the focus was broadened when the museum building was completed in 1995.²⁶ On 25th October 1996, the Lusaka National Museum was officially opened to the

²⁶ Interview with the Lusaka National Museum Keeper of History, on 28th August 2012.

public as a national museum to specialize in the broader category of ‘cultural history’ as opposed to only political history of Zambia.

Such a shift in focus from the initial direction of a national museum is apparently not uncommon. Dean and Rider, for example, have drawn attention to the ‘long’ process of the making of the Australian National Museum such that at its inauguration, the Prime Minister declared that the new museum was going to change the way people viewed museums through its concept of interpreting and relating the country’s history and experience ‘in a somewhat different way’.²⁷ This desire for change by national museums, as Jette Sandahl suggests, can also be reflective of ‘a shift from the nation state and homogeneous cultures that they were initially formed to support and define’.²⁸ The Lusaka National Museum aimed at expanding the collection of the National Political Museum as well as ensuring its conservation and exhibition.²⁹



Just before transferring the National Political Museum collection to the new museum, Musonda charges that it had been ‘crammed together, allowing no proper display’ and without any climatic control in addition to problems associated with the location of the museum building which rendered it largely unknown to the members of the public.³⁰ The Lusaka National Museum was envisaged to meet these challenges. The design of its building was planned to be specifically suited to a museum so as to ‘accommodate’ the

²⁷ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, ‘Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization’, 37.

²⁸ Jette Sandahl, ‘Negotiating Identities’, <http://www.hz-journal.org/n5/sandahl.html>, accessed 9th September 2012.

²⁹ Interview with the Lusaka National Museum Keeper of History, on 28th August 2012.

³⁰ Francis B. Musonda, ‘National political museum’, 25

museum collection, ensure its conservation and facilitate for professional exhibitions.³¹

The planned location of the museum close to the city centre aimed at benefiting from ‘an excellent road infrastructure’ that would ‘facilitate accessibility to the new museum both by vehicular transport and pedestrians’. The location of the museum was also envisaged to make it popular with the public owing to ‘its proximity to the city centre, intercity bus terminal and Kamwala market’.³²

A large poster on the ground floor of the Lusaka National Museum, entitled ‘National Museums Board, Zambia’, explained its genesis and focus:

Lusaka National Museum which started as a National Political Museum is now a Cultural History institution specializing in ethnography and art, archaeology and history. It officially opened its doors to the public on the 25th of October 1996. The museum has two galleries, one on the ground floor and the other on the upper floor of the museum building. The lower gallery is a temporary exhibition space in which temporary exhibitions on various themes and contemporary art are exhibited. The upper gallery tells the story of Zambia’s history and development from its prehistoric past to its contemporary way of life. The upper gallery also hosts a children’s corner through which the museum introduces the young to Zambia’s heritage through various practical educational activities.³³

While the poster clearly proclaimed the museum’s intentions to deal with the broader issues of cultural history as opposed to only political history, an examination of the exhibitions can be argued to have fallen less of this ideal. In this regard, the chapter argues that much like was apparently the case with regards the Australian National

³¹ Francis B. Musonda, ‘National political museum’, 25

³² Francis B. Musonda, ‘National political museum’, 25

³³ This quotation from the poster entitled – ‘National Museums Board’ is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

Museum and Australian history,³⁴ political history played a more prominent role, than any other aspect, in the presentation of Zambia's history in the Lusaka National Museum. This was evident given the fact that the 'History of Zambia' section overwhelmingly displayed material related to then Northern Rhodesia and now Zambia politics. Only a small archaeology section 'display[ed] archaeological residues, which ... bore testimony to human evolution and cultural development in Zambia, and date[d] back to about 3.0 million years ago'.³⁵

Ethnography of an Exhibition: The 'History of Zambia exhibition'

The 'History of Zambia' displays were part of the gallery situated on the first floor of the Lusaka National Museum. To access the floor after entering the museum, one climbed a flight of stairs to the right of an information desk. The first floor gallery had a square shaped dwarf wall, about one meter high which was situated towards the centre of the floor, beyond which was an open hollow space that opened onto the ground floor. At the time of visitation in August 2012, the displays on the first floor were placed a short distance away from and around the dwarf wall which had a metal railing above it. The 'History of Zambia' exhibition was not readily visible upon reaching the first floor as it

³⁴ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, 'Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization', 39.

³⁵ Lusaka National Museum, http://sadbiz.com/countries/zambia/categories/arts/adverts/lusaka_nat_mus/galleries.html, accessed on 18th September 2012. Within the Museum, the 'archaeological residues' were placed in some adjoining wooden, glass fronted display cases that were mounted on two stands on the floor facing the display boards of the rest of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition. Inside the display cases were casts that were placed horizontally in two rows which included those of Australopithecus Africanus, Homo Habilis, Homo Erectus and the Bodo Skull.

was situated at the far right opposite end of the floor from the point of access for the general public.³⁶

My methodology for analysing the representations of the ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition in relation to narratives about Kenneth Kaunda involved exploring each of the relevant display boards while attempting to photographically capture the images, narratives and other information displayed. This approach was intended to note how information related to Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia’s nationalist history was classified and displayed with the hope of identifying the exhibitionary meanings intended, created and communicated. A lot of reliance was placed on this approach owing to the dearth of literature on the Lusaka National Museum in general and the ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition in particular. Thus, borrowing from Margaret Lindauer’s approach and notion of the critical museum visitor, I aimed at attempting to be a critical exhibition visitor while trying to be mindful of some of what would perhaps be the considerations of an ideal and/or typical visitor.³⁷

Lindauer suggests that museums often tend to tailor their exhibitions towards the typical and ideal visitors.³⁸ She contends that, unlike the typical and ideal visitors, the critical museum visitor is one that consciously questions his/her own actions before and during the visit as well as seeking to understand the elements that make up the museum’s own

³⁶ There is apparently another access route to the first floor of the Lusaka National Museum which is restricted to ‘Staff only’.

³⁷ Margaret Lindauer, ‘The Critical Museum Visitor’, in Janet Martine (ed), *New Museum Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 204.

³⁸ See Margaret Lindauer, ‘The Critical Museum Visitor’, 204, on which She posits that ‘a typical visitor represents the average of all visitors in terms of education, socioeconomic status, racial or ethnic identity, and previous museum experience, whereas an ideal visitor is one who would be ideologically and culturally at home in the exhibition or politically comfortable with the information that is presented’.

programs, displays and purposes.³⁹ In this regard, Lindauer suggests that the critical museum visitor should be able to read between the lines to understand the unspoken messages of display texts as well as evaluating how the museum architecture and display style contribute to the ways in which museum visits are experienced.⁴⁰ Thus, as a critical museum visitor one would be able, according to Lindauer, to come up with an informed critique of the museum's History of Zambia exhibition that can also be transformed into recommendations that are in line with new museum theory and practice.⁴¹

In addition, an attempt was made to identify any pattern in the ways in which the 'History of Zambia' displays were presented and arranged in order to explore the possible implications of what Corinne Kratz has called, 'the poetics of representation and the politics of communication'.⁴² This was coupled with trying to be both an insider and outsider, so as to be able to 'take in' what was displayed and still note the apparent contradictions in the representations.⁴³ However, even though my self guided tour of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition coincided with visits of a small group of other individuals, no visitor studies were undertaken. In order to fill in any gaps that would be noted during the 'reading' of the 'History of Zambia' displays, the methodology also included

³⁹ Margaret Lindauer, 'The Critical Museum Visitor', 204-205.

⁴⁰ Margaret Lindauer, 'The Critical Museum Visitor', 204, 206-207.

⁴¹ Margaret Lindauer, 'The Critical Museum Visitor', 223. This research does not give any recommendations about the exhibition.

⁴² Corinne Kratz, *The Ones that Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic exhibition* (Berkeley: UCLA Press, 2002), 131-218.

⁴³ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 10.

interviewing the Keeper of History about the making of the exhibition, the changes it had undergone over time and any contestations that had marked it.⁴⁴

Most importantly, though the 'History of Zambia' exhibition had a number of photocopied portrait images and photographs, my methodology only provided for their brief overview rather than a detailed study.⁴⁵ This was also in recognition of the fact that 'the meaning of photos is precarious' and as Caterina Albano, following Roland Barthes, writes, photographs are:

Elusive, fragmentary, discontinuous, and exist in a complex relation with reality, of which they supposedly act as traces. Yet, the authenticity of the trace exceeds reality, and merges with the imaginary creating an encompassing image from details, by capturing the transience of a moment in time. As soon as the photograph is taken, what was photographed no longer exists; the subject is objectified, almost turned into 'a museum object'.⁴⁶

Thus visual representations such as photographs can be argued to be traces of the past which are contested, which harbour the handiwork of their makers and are thus, according to Gillian Rose, 'interpretations rather than facts' as they can carry different meanings to different people.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ The Keeper of History suggested the same approach involving a self conducted tour of the displays before 'attending' to my questions related to the same. Unfortunately, the Keeper of History did not 'have' any literature with regards the museum in general and the 'History of Zambia' exhibition in particular with regards their making and/or history. However, some important leads and suggestions were provided.

⁴⁵ Such a study is beyond the scope of this work.

⁴⁶ Caterina Albano, 'Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions', *Museum and Society*, Vol 5(1), March 2007, 22. See also Barthes, R., *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard, (London: Vintage, 2000); Brilliant, R., *Portraiture*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1991); France, P. and St Clair, W., 'Introduction' in Peter France and William St Clair (eds), *Mapping Lives: The Use of Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2002) and Holmes, R., 'The Proper Study?' in Peter France and William St Clair (eds), *Mapping Lives: The Use of Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2002).

⁴⁷ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage, 2001), 16-17.



Figure 6: Part of the first floor gallery of the Lusaka National Museum. Note the display boards of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition towards the top of the picture beyond the three pillars. Photo by Brutus Simakole.

The immediate challenge to my methodology was two notices placed at two different pillars along the dwarf wall, towards the 'History of Zambia' exhibition which stated that 'photography is prohibited'. Perhaps, the forbidding of the taking of photographs within the gallery of the first floor of the Lusaka National Museum can be considered, in one sense, as an 'ethical guideline'. Hence, following Meskell and Pels, where such 'ethical' guidelines are provided, they should not be considered as '[c]onstitutions - quasi-contracts determining what it is right to do ... but as methodologies: as suggestions about what to do and what to be when engaged in the process of determining what is fact and information and when, where, why, and for whom such work is significant'.⁴⁸ For the

⁴⁸ Lynn Meskell and Peter Pels, 'Introduction: Embedding Ethics', in Lynn Meskell and Peter Pels (eds), *Embedding Ethics* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 22. No notice forbidding taking of photographs was seen on the ground floor of the Lusaka National Museum.

purposes of this research, permission to take photographs was sought from the Director of the Museum and the Keeper of History and was granted.⁴⁹

History of Zambia exhibition (re)presentations

The 'History of Zambia' exhibition was predominantly arranged on wooden display boards, which were about two meters high, with some of them numbered one to eight. A number of display boards were not numbered. The display boards were complemented by a few glass fronted display cases most of which housed political campaign materials. Each board was basically made up of a soft board supported by two wooden stands and there somewhat close, but unaligned placement, gave a large part of the display an impression of having a 'zigzag' pattern. The display materials themselves were varied, ranging from newspaper cuttings and scanned and/or photocopied documents to political campaign memorabilia. The documentary and other display materials were usually glued onto the soft boards of the display boards.

While the numbering of the display boards suggests that there was an attempt to project some coherence in the 'History of Zambia' exhibition, the actual physical layout and positioning of the boards made a chronological approach in 'assessing' the displays a serious challenge. This was due to the scenario whereby, though the general orientation of the chronologically numbered display boards was clockwise, one often needed to 'search' for the next chronologically numbered display board in the quest to identify continuities and/or discontinuities in the presentations and narratives as some of the

⁴⁹ Personal Communication with Director of Lusaka National Museum and Keeper of History, 28th August 2012.

display boards were not numbered. Almost all the display boards were ‘heavy’ on textual presentations which were occasionally interspaced with mostly black and white portrait photographs. The ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition can thus be argued to have valorised ‘ethnographic elucidation’ over and above any ‘aesthetics of display’.⁵⁰

The representations of the first two numbered display boards of the ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition seemed to aim at setting the ‘background’ for the rest of the display. Headed as ‘colonial rule 1900-1964’, the first display comprised a hand drawn map of Africa on a grid background, within which was a hand drawn map of Zambia.⁵¹ Outside the top left corner of the grid was a text table which presented some ‘country details’ of Zambia.

These details included the former name of the country, its size, that it is entirely landlocked, its population as well as the ethnic groups that make it up.⁵² Thus, it can be argued that there was very little correlation between the title of the display board and what was actually represented.

The display board that was numbered two was headed as ‘Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953-1963’ with a sub-heading of ‘Establishment of Federation’.⁵³ The privileging of textual ‘elucidation’ was arguably evident in the display board’s presentation composition which had five documents and one black and white photograph showing twenty two white men. The display materials were placed in two vertical

⁵⁰ See Sally Price, *Paris Primitive: Jacques Chirac’s Museum on the Quai Branly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 147.

⁵¹ This information from the Display Board numbered one, headed – ‘Colonial Rule 1900 -1964’ is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

⁵² Display Board One – ‘Colonial Rule 1900 – 1964’, Lusaka National Museum

⁵³ This information from the Display Board numbered two and headed – ‘Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953 -1963’ is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

columns on the board such that the black and white photograph was placed in between two documents in one column. The individuals in the photographs were all formally dressed, mostly in suits, and seemed to have been posing for the camera whereby the front row of seven men were seated while the rest stood in two rows behind them. All of the individuals in the photo appeared to be gazing in one direction. While the picture was totally unlabelled, its juxtaposition between two particular documents suggests, in one reading, that what was inscribed in the ‘bordelling’ documents could perhaps be more closely related to the photograph than the documents in the other column.

Based on the above reading, the document titled ‘report by the conference on Federation held in London in 1953’ which was just below the photograph of the twenty two men and the extracts from the newspaper articles proclaiming such things as ‘unanimous agreement at falls conference: Federal government advocated’ and ‘European community will not accept African paramountcy’, which were part of the document located just above the picture, can be attributed to the group or at least some individuals within the photograph.⁵⁴ The other documents on the display board, in the other column, included an extract from the Federal Government Gazette: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland dated 23rd October, 1953 which apparently carried a ‘message from Her Majesty’ on the occasion of the coming into full operation of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and an almost entirely indecipherable two paged document of

⁵⁴ Display Board Two – ‘Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953 -1963’, Lusaka National Museum.

the ‘draft copy of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) order – in – council, 1953’.⁵⁵

From the display boards numbered one and two, the rest of the display boards largely dealt with *Zambian* nationalist politics. The display board numbered three was headed ‘struggle for independence 1948-1964’.⁵⁶ The board presented, in no particular order, some documents related to ‘African Welfare Societies’ and two black and white photographs were also part of the display. The documents included a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Lusaka Native Welfare Association on 19th January 1934 and another that briefly outlined how the federation of African Welfare Societies transformed into a political party, the Northern Rhodesia African Congress in 1948.⁵⁷ The two photographs related to this theme; one showed Kenneth Kaunda in the company of three other individuals and the other was a portrait image identified as that of Dauti Yamba.⁵⁸



In general, the ‘History of Zambia exhibition’ can be argued to have been heavily ‘masculinised’ as can be exemplified by the prevalent representations of Kenneth Kaunda in the company of other male, as opposed to female individuals. This aspect can be argued to be similar to the trend observed by Dwyer with regards the representations of Martin Luther King Jr. Dwyer noted that while the latter was sometimes pictured alongside some of his contemporaries, these tended to be male individuals while the

⁵⁵ Display Board Two – ‘Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953 -1963’, Lusaka National Museum.

⁵⁶ This information from the Display Board numbered three and headed – ‘Struggle for Independence 1948 -1964’, is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

⁵⁷ Display Board Three – ‘Struggle for Independence 1948 -1964’, Lusaka National Museum

⁵⁸ The latter’s accompanying text read, ‘Dauti Yamba elected President of Federation of African Welfare Societies in 1946. He was elected member of the Legislative Council in 1951’.

females were largely ignored.⁵⁹ The text accompanying the photograph with Kenneth Kaunda and the three individuals read, ‘thank you Donald Siwale, thank you for your relentless contribution to the “struggle for Zambia’s Independence” says His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia Dr. K.D. Kaunda ... Mr Siwale died at the age of 108. He was founder member of the Mwenzo African Society in 1923’.⁶⁰

Welfare societies have been linked by some scholars such as Phillipson, Rotberg and Henderson to the formal rise of nationalism in the then Northern Rhodesia.⁶¹ While the focus of the display can be seen to have been on the welfare societies that later gave rise to the nationalist political parties of then Northern Rhodesia, within the periodisation 1948-1964, Kenneth Kaunda was presented in the display as President which is a post 1964 phenomenon. This can be argued to relate, in some ways, with the post 1958 focus on Zambian political history.⁶² Furthermore, it can perhaps also be argued that the display, almost inadvertently, associated Kenneth Kaunda with both African Welfare

⁵⁹ Owen J. Dwyer, ‘Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Place, Memory, and Conflict’, 663-664.

⁶⁰ Display Board Three – ‘Struggle for Independence 1948 -1964’, Lusaka National Museum.

⁶¹ See Phillipson D.W *Historical notes on political development in Zambia*, 4; Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966) and Ian Henderson, ‘The Origins of Nationalism in East and Central Africa: The Zambian Case’, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1970), 593- 594.

⁶² See Jan Kees Van Donge, ‘An Episode from the Independence Struggle in Zambia: A Case Study from Mwase Lundazi’, *African Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 335 (Apr., 1985), 266, in which he argues, somewhat in favour of this focus, that ‘demands for independence in the immediate future were only made after UNIP was formed in 1958’. While this assertion can be seen to be factually incorrect with regards the formation of UNIP which took place after July 1959, the valorization of the role played by UNIP has also been contended. See also Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1974), xvi.

Societies and the Presidency of the country, almost as if to suggest that he was symbolic of the ‘culmination’ of the Welfare Societies’ ideals.⁶³

The display board that was numbered four was headed, ‘Zambia in the transitional period January-October 1964’. The representations on this display comprised a collection, on two adjoining documents, of portrait photographs of ‘the [UNIP] Cabinet on the eve of Independence’. It also had a picture of the type of ballot that had apparently been used in the 1962 elections and a photograph, as the ‘centrepiece’ of the display board of Kenneth Kaunda and the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Evelyn Hone, both of whom were wearing almost identical black suits and sashes with the former carrying a bouquet of flowers.⁶⁴ The portrait photographs of the UNIP cabinet designates were complemented with brief biographical information which included such details as their dates of birth, their education background and their political records within the party. Kenneth Kaunda’s portrait picture topped the picture of the 1962 ballot, followed by that of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and the ANC and a Roberts of the white dominated National Progress Party.

The selection of particular photographs and their associated text in the above presentations can be argued to not have been random or ‘innocent’. As Rose, following Foster, has argued with regards the aspect of visibility, both the ways in which people see and what is seen can be considered to be culturally constructed.⁶⁵ Hence, the selections of

⁶³ See Phillipson D.W *Historical notes on political development in Zambia*, 4, in which he posits that Kenneth Kaunda played an important part in the Mufulira Welfare Society in about 1946 when he was a School Master.

⁶⁴ This information from the Display Board numbered four and headed – ‘Zambia in the transitional period January – October 1964’, is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

⁶⁵ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage, 2001), 6

particular images and narratives of Kenneth Kaunda in the exhibition can be seen as, perhaps inadvertently, part of the matrix of the Kaundaisation of Zambian political history in which can be noted the post Independence valorisation of the status and roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in the country's Independence struggle at the expense of other individuals and/or organisations. This can therefore be argued to resonate, in many ways, with Depelchin's charge that:

History as professionally practiced [and perhaps presented] has been mostly shaped by the forces which have emerged victorious from open, hidden, and/or muted confrontations of all kinds, between communities, nations, classes, clans, gender, which may or may not have exploded into warfare'⁶⁶

Adjacent to the display board that was numbered four was an unnumbered display board that outlined, entirely textually, 'a brief history of Zambia'. Though seemingly a later addition to the display, this particular information board can, in a way, be argued to have defined in principle, the History of Zambia exhibition. Seven documents made up the representation which divided the history of Zambia into seven epochs, namely; colonial rule, 1900-1964, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1953-1963, struggle for Independence 1948-1964, Transition period, First Republic 1964-1972, Second Republic 1972-1991, and threshold of Third Republic.⁶⁷ While there were some overlaps in the

⁶⁶ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History. Between the syndromes of discovery and abolition*, 1.

⁶⁷ This information from the Display Board headed – 'A brief history of Zambia', is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012. The document 'colonial rule, 1900-1964' briefly outlined colonialism in Zambia and posited that 'the colonisation process of Zambia began in the last decade of the 19th century'. The document 'Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1953-1963' basically asserted that Federation was 'an effort to safeguard white supremacy' which Africans 'strongly opposed before and after its imposition'. The document 'struggle for Independence 1948-1964' focused on the nationalist efforts to 'dismantle colonialism' which culminated into Kenneth Kaunda becoming President of Zambia on 24th October 1964. The document 'Transition Period' alluded to some of the events of the nine months from January – October 1964 including the Lumpa Church uprising and the signing of the

time periods, the presentation of Zambian history on the display board headed ‘a brief history of Zambia’ and in the exhibition as a whole can be argued to have reflected an understanding of history ‘as the unfolding of events in broadly linear fashion’.⁶⁸ Thus the presentation on the display board can be seen to lend credence to the argument that though the ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition sought to project a ‘broad’ Zambian history and not that restricted to political history, it largely did not transcend the limitations of nationalist and political history. The rest of the numbered display boards focused, in general terms, on post independence images and narratives of the Zambian nation categorized into the different ‘republics’.

Kenneth Kaunda and the two ‘Zambian Republics’

Kenneth Kaunda can be seen to take centre stage in the exhibition’s presentations with regards the different post independence political periods. This is perhaps unsurprising given that Kenneth Kaunda and the ruling party UNIP often spearheaded and influenced the politics of the time. The display headed as ‘First Republic 1964-1972’ focused on the presentation of ‘leadership of new Zambia’.⁶⁹ However, the focus on Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP can perhaps be seen as one that sought to reinforce a ‘dominant nationalist

Barotse Agreement which provided for a unitary state. ‘First Republic, 1964-1972’ focused on the country’s post independence commitment to Pan Africanism and the ‘Second Republic, 1972-1991’ alluded to the formation of other political parties after Independence which were dissatisfied with UNIP as well as the latter’s justification of establishing a One Party State. The document ‘threshold of Third Republic’ discussed the ‘disenchantment among the people of Zambia’ with the ruling UNIP and the rise of the Movement for Multi- Party Democracy (MMD).

⁶⁸ Susannah Radstone, ‘Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory’, *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 59, (Spring 2005), 138.

⁶⁹ This information from the Display Board numbered six and headed – ‘First Republic 1964-1972’, is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

narrative' that valorised their roles in the political history of the country.⁷⁰ Thus as Hayden White observes, 'facts do not speak for themselves, but the historian speaks for them, speaks on their behalf, and fashions the fragments of the past into a whole whose integrity is – in its re-presentation – a purely discursive one'.⁷¹ The presentation of 'leadership of new Zambia' comprised three portrait photographs and two group photographs of a number of individuals including Kenneth Kaunda. On the top left corner of the board was a blank space on which had clearly been a portrait image of Kenneth Kaunda as evidenced by a small text box underneath the space which read 'Dr Kenneth Kaunda, first Republican President of Zambia'.⁷² To the far right of this space was a portrait of Reuben Chitandika Kamanga who the accompanying text indicated had been the first Republican Vice President.

In the bottom left corner of the display board was a portrait picture of 'Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, leader of the African National Congress (ANC)' with a small text box that read 'African National Congress was for a long time opposed to the introduction of one party state'.⁷³ This depiction can be argued to understate the often vociferous opposition, as I relate later, to the establishment by UNIP of a one party state.⁷⁴ The two group photographs were adjoined one above the other and located towards the middle of the

⁷⁰ Miles Larmer, 'What went wrong? Zambian Political Biography and Post-colonial Discourses of Decline', 236.

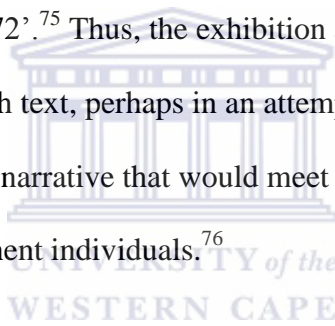
⁷¹ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 125, cited in Caterina Albano, 'Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions', *Museum and Society*, Vol. 5(1), March 2007, 21.

⁷² Display Board Six, 'First Republic 1964-1972', Lusaka National Museum.

⁷³ Display Board Six, 'First Republic 1964-1972', Lusaka National Museum.

⁷⁴ See for example, Miles Larmer, 'A Little Bit Like A Volcano-The United Progressive Party and Resistance to One-Party Rule in Zambia, 1964-1980', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2006), 79-83 in which he contends that opposition to the establishment of a one party state in Zambia was widespread.

display. The one on top featured Kenneth Kaunda who was sited next to the last Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Evelyn Hone, in the front row while members of his cabinet stood behind them. The photograph below featured exclusively Zambia's first cabinet with Kenneth Kaunda occupying a central position in the front row. The proliferation of images and narratives of Kenneth Kaunda and other leaders of UNIP was also evident in the presentation that focused on 'the Second Republic 1972-1991'. These included a portrait picture of Kenneth Kaunda with the caption, 'Dr. K.D. Kaunda, president in the second republic' and another photograph showing 'President Kenneth Kaunda signing article 4 of the Constitution establishing one party state participatory democracy in December 13 1972'.⁷⁵ Thus, the exhibition as a whole can be seen to have generally combined images with text, perhaps in an attempt to ensure that they concurred in the developing of a coherent narrative that would meet socio-cultural expectations about representations of prominent individuals.⁷⁶



The presentation of the displays regarding the 'Second Republic 1972-1991' can be argued to have largely ignored or at best glossed over some 'important' episodes during this epoch which can perhaps be considered as contestations to the representations of Kenneth Kaunda. While the displays, for example, projected an apparently homogenous perspective of Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP and the introduction of the one party state, Larmer has argued that there was considerable opposition to and within UNIP towards the establishment of the one party state and that this widespread opposition was a major

⁷⁵ This information from the Display Board numbered seven and headed – 'Second Republic 1971 - 1991', is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

⁷⁶ Caterina Albano, 'Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions', 22.

factor in the 1980 military coup attempt.⁷⁷ And according to Larmer and Macola, it is the opposition to the introduction of the one party state by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP which lead to the Mushala rebellion in the mid 1970s and early 1980s.⁷⁸ The Mushala rebellion was ‘the only significant internal armed rebellion against the post colonial Zambian state’ though it was largely restricted to parts of the North Western Province of the country.⁷⁹

The focus on Kenneth Kaunda within the exhibition can also perhaps be exemplified by the display that focused on the narratives and images of ‘Government Economic Policies’. A displayed newspaper cutting from the state owned Times of Zambia proclaimed, ‘Kaunda shapes the new Zambia’. Apparently this proclamation came about after ‘President Kaunda announced the Matero Economic Reforms on 11th August, 1969’ which resulted in the Government nationalizing or taking over fifty one percent of the shares of all corporations in the country.⁸⁰ The display of ‘Government Economic Policies’ also included documents related to ‘Zambian Humanism’ which became the national philosophy after 1968 and was hailed as a ‘creation of Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, first President of the Republic of Zambia’.⁸¹ Also displayed in this section was the letter, apparently written by Kenneth Kaunda while he was detained at Kabompo House in 1959

⁷⁷ Miles Larmer, ‘Chronicle of a coup foretold: valentine Musakanya and the 1980 coup attempt in Zambia’, *Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 391–392. See also Jan Pettman, ‘Zambia’s second republic – the establishment of a one-party state’, 237-239 and Timothy M. Shaw, ‘Zambia after Twenty Years: Recession and Repression without Revolution’, *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 12, No. 1/2, (Spring - Summer, 1982), 55.

⁷⁸ See Miles Larmer and Giacomo Macola, ‘The Origins, Context, and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion Against the Zambian One-Party State’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2007), 471- 496

⁷⁹ See Miles Larmer and Giacomo Macola, ‘The Origins, Context, and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion Against the Zambian One-Party State’, 471.

⁸⁰ This information from an unnumbered Display Board headed – ‘Government Economic Policies’ is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

⁸¹ Display Board headed – ‘Government Economic Policies’, Lusaka National Museum.

detailing the manner of his arrest.⁸² The display can thus be argued to have conflated history, economic development and ideology thereby producing a discourse that measured historical progress by the ‘achievement of supposedly neutral development goals’.⁸³ In addition, by largely maintaining the focus on Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP, the ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition can be argued to have reproduced the ‘historical silences’ that had been part of the ‘relations of domination’ under the UNIP reign.⁸⁴

Kenneth Kaunda was also presented in the exhibition as a conciliator with such images and narratives as the ones that depicted him meeting with some of the coup plotters during his reign after their release from prison in 1990.⁸⁵ However, as Caterina Albano has argued, when images and other records are ‘divested of their original functions’ they ‘exist in mutual visual and contextual relationships: yet the extent to which these relationships mirror those that existed between the subject[s] ... is arguable’.⁸⁶ The display of the ‘threshold of Third Republic 1990 – 1991’ featured newspaper cuttings from the state owned Daily Mail and Times of Zambia newspapers. With headings such as ‘new era dawns’, ‘UNIP, MMD avert crisis’ and ‘Zambia breakthrough’, the images and narratives presented a magnanimous Kenneth Kaunda who was ‘willing’ to cut short his five year term of office to allow for multi-party elections in 1991.⁸⁷ The History of

⁸² A copy of the same letter was displayed at the Chilenje House National Monument, House number 395. See ‘Chapter Three – Kenneth Kaunda and National Heritage in Zambia’.

⁸³ Miles Larmer, “‘If we are still here next year’: Zambian Historical Research in the Context of Decline, 215

⁸⁴ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History. Between the syndromes of discovery and abolition*, 2.

⁸⁵ This information from an unnumbered Display Board headed – ‘National Reconciliation’ is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

⁸⁶ Caterina Albano, ‘Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions’, 25.

⁸⁷ This information from the Display Board numbered eight and headed – ‘Threshold of Third Republic 1990 - 1991’, is from photographs taken at the Lusaka National Museum in August 2012.

Zambia exhibition ended with a display of some campaign materials utilized by the MMD and UNIP in the 1991 multi-party elections that also signalled the ‘end of Kaunda era’.⁸⁸

Apparently, at the time of undertaking this research, no formal reviews of the ‘History of Zambia’ exhibition had been undertaken other than the informal, mostly blog reviews. The blog reviews of the representations of the Lusaka National Museum in general and the history of Zambia exhibition in particular can be argued to have been mixed but tending towards what can moderately be termed as ‘unfavourable’. These included excerpts such as; ‘effortless but better than nothing: You go, you see and you come back a bit disappointed. At least you get an idea. Better than nothing’, ‘some interesting exhibits but the labelling could do with some attention’ and ‘Informative: It’s clear that the museum needs money to develop and to archive the important articles from their struggle for independence...’.⁸⁹ Some of the reviewers were evidently less forgiving such as the aspersion that stated, in part, that ‘the outside of the building was very nice for Zambian standards, but looking at the exhibit you knew that you were in Zambia. Much of the information was photocopied newspaper articles, and artefacts that had been stolen from their display’.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ John. M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era* (Lusaka: Book world Publishers, 1994).

⁸⁹ Reviews: Zambia National Museum (sic), Lusaka, http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g293843-d2085013-Reviews-Zambia_National_Museum-Lusaka.html, accessed 18th September 2012.

⁹⁰ Blog: The Lusaka National Museum, <http://www.aliveinafrica.com/2008/04/lusaka-national-museum.html>, accessed 18th September 2012.

Notwithstanding the generally unfavourable reviews of the history of Zambia exhibition, the arena of exhibition making, in general, has been argued to be a complicated one. In this regard, it is perhaps useful to also consider Dean and Rider's observation that:

Exhibitions themselves have their limitations. They are a medium of expression, and like any medium have strengths and weaknesses. Compared to some other media, exhibitions are blunt instruments, unable to convey certain highly nuanced ideas or complex concepts effectively. In getting their messages across, museums can add other media to exhibitions, such as video clips, computer stations, sounds capes, and portable electronic guides, to give the nuances some subjects might demand. Alas, although exhibits contain historical artifacts, the physical context that gives them meaning can only be simulated, not replicated, in uncompromising detail. Nor can exhibitions bear the burden of fact that can be packed into books. Catalogues and other publications continue to be the best vehicle for conveying densely-packed information.⁹¹

While the extent to which the observations of Dean and Rider may be applicable to the representations of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition are arguable, it was apparent in this assessment that the exhibition still had a long way to go in transcending the narrow focus on political history associated with Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in order to present a truly broad 'cultural history' of Zambia.

⁹¹ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, 'Museums, nation and political history in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization', 44.

CONCLUSION

The principal aim of this study was to examine the political auto/biographical narrations of Kenneth Kaunda in relation to the production of nationalist history and national heritage in Zambia in the years following the country's Independence in 1964 and, the associated contestations. To achieve this, the thesis has investigated the ways in which 'representations' of Kenneth Kaunda influenced the production of Zambia's post independence history in the public domain. To this end, the study has examined the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda's life in different sites of historical knowledge production namely, through the history texts used in Zambian schools, through national heritage sites or monuments and through museum exhibitions.

Chapter One has sought to provide a theoretical and contextual introduction to the themes of political auto/biography, nationalist history and national heritage to show that they are sometimes interconnected. This chapter has suggested that the trend towards the usage of the term auto/biography instead of the more traditional autobiography and biography largely emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century. It argued for the usage of the collective term auto/biography in recognition of the often entwined nature of autobiography and biography as well as the lack of a complete conceptual distinction between them. The chapter also demonstrated political auto/biography's focus on the lives of leaders especially those associated with political movements.

Chapter One has argued that political auto/biographical projects of leaders have often sought to use the narratives of leaders' lives to study particular periods of their societies' histories and to

present the narrated life as an example to be emulated. These auto/biographies have usually focused on the political and not personal aspects of the individuals concerned who have mainly been male. The chapter has submitted that, in Southern Africa, the focus of political auto/biographies on the lives of leaders may be no more pronounced than in South Africa owing to the auto/biographical ‘boom’ after apartheid. It has suggested that other auto/biographies, including that of Kenneth Kaunda could be examined in relation to the critiques that have arisen over many South African political auto/biographical projects that focused on the lives of leaders.

The chapter also demonstrated that some auto/biographies are deemed to be more significant than others. It suggested that auto/biographies of the likes of Nelson Mandela, Kwame Nkrumah and Kenneth Kaunda have been read as ‘national auto/biographies’ through their being interpreted as ‘epitomising’ the emergence of their nation states. The chapter argued that the emergence of the independent state in many African nations saw the production of particular versions of history especially in the public domain. It argued that these histories and heritages tended to be initiated by ruling elites or their surrogates. The chapter also suggested that usually it is the political auto/biographies of the ‘great men’ that have gone beyond the written text into the production of history in the public domain such as through national heritage sites or monuments, historic sites and biographic museums.

Chapter Two has examined the political narratives of Kenneth Kaunda’s life in relation to the narratives of the political or nationalist history of Zambia. The chapter has argued that there is an interconnection between the two narratives in a way that suggests that the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda’s life were ‘inserted’ into the dates, events and activities of the narratives of the political history of the country. The chapter has asserted that the auto/biographies of Kenneth Kaunda

present untheorised accounts of his life which is depicted as linear and natural. In presenting a chronological and descriptive rather than critical narration of the subject's life, the chapter has argued that the auto/biography manifests many of the features that have been ascribed to 'conventional' masculinist biographies. The chapter has further submitted that it is because of the interconnections between the micronarratives of Kenneth Kaunda's life and the metanarratives of the political history of the Zambian nation that his autobiography has been regarded as, metaphorically, a 'national autobiography'.

The chapter has also argued that the narratives of Kenneth Kaunda's life in Fergus Macpherson's biography (re)produced the dominant narratives of the political or nationalist history of Zambia. It has asserted that the post 1958 focus in the biography, which coincided with the processes leading to the birth of UNIP and the rise of Kenneth Kaunda to the Presidency of the nationalist movement, is manifest in the narratives of the nation's political history in different domains. It has suggested that it is the post 1958 focus that has largely dominated the coverage of political history within the history texts utilised in Zambian schools. The chapter has argued that in the years following the attainment of independence in 1964, there were attempts to realign the narrations and production of history in Zambian schools in a way that valorised the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP at the expense of other individuals and groups in the nation's political history.

Chapter Three has examined the entry of Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography into the realm of national heritage in Zambia through the declarations of national heritage sites or monuments in the years following the country's independence. Using a case study of the making of the Chilenje House National Monument, the chapter has demonstrated that the deployment of political

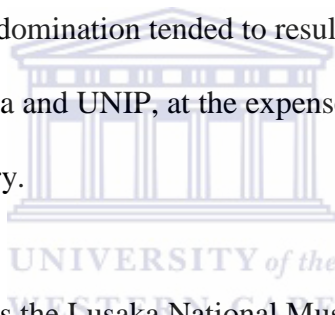
auto/biography onto the national heritage landscape can be initiated by ruling political elites or their surrogates. It has argued that however the way the production of history in the public domain, which is defined as heritage is initiated, there is often a need for a legal framework which tends to 'legitimise' what is deemed to be heritage. The chapter has also suggested that an institutional framework, often through a heritage institution is often necessary to provide the administrative and management aspect to what is deemed to be heritage. The chapter has also posited that national heritage sites or monuments such as the case studies do not have static heritage values but acquire different meanings over time.

The chapter has thus argued that unlike Chilenje House National Monument which is still valued and presented to the public as a key national heritage site or monument associated with Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, the Kabompo House National Monument has been neglected. It has argued that this neglect has resulted from competing demands for the resource and the different meanings attached to it. Thus while it is still legally a historic national monument with a national significance, its primary significance to the occupants of the 'historic building' is that of residential accommodation. The chapter has argued that such conflicting interpretations attest to the view that 'heritage is essentially a political idea'.¹ The chapter has argued that in terms of images and narratives of the representations at the Chilenje House National Monument, they mainly revolve around narrations of or about the 'political' Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP and UNIP members with very little about his personal life outside politics and/or about his family.

Chapter Four has examined Kenneth Kaunda's auto/biography within another avenue of the production of history in the public domain namely, the museum exhibition. Through a case study

¹ Graeme Davison, *The use and abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen Unwin, 2000), 121

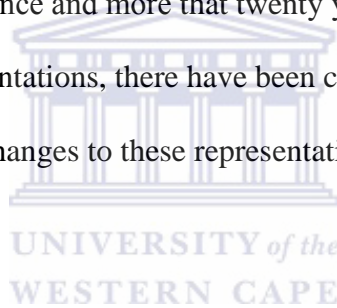
of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition within the Lusaka National Museum, which started as a National Political Museum, the chapter has examined the representations of Kenneth Kaunda with particular focus on the images, narrations and displays. What became apparent is that initially, both the National Political Museum and the Lusaka National Museum had sought to present a broad sweep of the country's history without particular focus on particular individuals or entities. The chapter has argued that in the case of the National Political Museum, there was a pro-UNIP emphasis in the museum's production of history as it was essentially housed and managed at the party's headquarters. It has further suggested that the pro-UNIP approach in the work of the museum resulted in the museum reflecting 'relations of domination' in its representations. These relations of domination tended to result in representations that valorised the roles played by Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP, at the expense of other individuals and groups, in the political history of the country.



The chapter has argued with regards the Lusaka National Museum, that its representations in the 'History of Zambia' exhibition are dominated by political history and not the intended 'broad cultural history'. It has asserted that the museum did not just 'inherit' the collections of the National Political Museum, but it also reproduced its 'relations of domination'. Thus, through an analysis of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition, the chapter has demonstrated that the museum has retained the focus on Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP in the presentations of the country's political history. Chapter Four has also argued that there are significant silences in the representations of the 'History of Zambia' exhibition which could not be attributed to issues of space. Rather, the chapter has contended that the exhibition deliberately glossed over and downplayed the representations of episodes that would have been deemed to be 'unfavourable history' from the perspective of Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP. It has demonstrated that the exhibition failed to

present the widespread opposition to the establishment of the one party state and to Kenneth Kaunda's rule, including through the potentially serious military coup attempts against the Kenneth Kaunda government.

This work has examined the political auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda in different 'sites' of historical knowledge production. The emphasis has been to evaluate the productions and the politics of the productions of these knowledges in order to show some of their underlying currents and frictions. It has been apparent that the auto/biography of Kenneth Kaunda still looms large in the presentations of history in the public domain in Zambia more than forty seven years after the country's independence and more than twenty years after the end of his presidency. But, within these presentations, there have been changes. The only predictable thing about the future directions of the changes to these representations is that, they are unpredictable.



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