

Steve Biko and Kenneth Kaunda: Sampling youth in history

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Abstract

The paper examines history from the perspective of the youth as a marginalized social group in most societies. They are young, lacking influential skills and preparing for imagined futures. The paper argues that youth do not often use the democratic power embedded in numbers. The paper advances to show that history as selected speculation, fails to empower the youth in not explaining that major historical eras emerged from political challenges that the youth initiated and led. The author take the case of Steve Biko from South Africa and Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia to demonstrate the historical foundations of changes that came later in their respective states. During their youth Biko and Kaunda entered politics and precipitated changes of an enduring nature. When borrowing from Kaunda, Biko argued that respect for human dignity and freedoms laid foundations for struggles that improved social values and justice by rejecting colonial systems. It is further argued that comparative studies of people during their youth could improve quality of historical studies or learning, and appeal to young people to develop interest in history, and historical research.

Keywords: Kenneth Kaunda; Steve Biko; Comparative history; African leaders; Youth and history; Youth and politics; African leaders.

Introduction

Comparison has been an important framework in studying history in Africa. One recent and historical publication was built on comparing selected writings which have not received sufficient recognition in meta-narratives in African historiographies. Derek Peterson and Giacomo Macola edited a collection of papers from 'homespun historians' whose works were ignored

by dominant African historical scholarship.¹ Many of these early historical writings attempted to validate African history by comparing the African past with what they had learned about European societies. Following the European concept of the nation-state, nationalist historiographies in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, aimed, in a large measure, to prove that Africa had historical states with institutions and rulers like European states. In a rare and refined sophistication at that time, Bethwell Ogot argued in 1967 that as history in Africa was part of world history; historians of Africa should apply historical methods and sources used elsewhere.²

The comparative framework was at the core of studies on the development of African history.³ The study of African pre-colonial states and empires was among dominant themes in early modern studies of Africa. The African states were found either to have rigid structures or fluid political institutions and traditions. The comparisons between the African and European pasts contributed significantly to certain trends in anti-colonial protests in Africa. From the 1970s, dependency theory was borrowed from Latin American studies to explain how Europe underdeveloped Africa during the colonial era.⁴ More recently, in 1994, Frederick Cooper called for a review of African reactions to colonial rule by comparing with studies of anti-colonial protests in other parts of the world.⁵

In a study of roles the youth played in nationalism and building the postcolonial state in Guinea (Conakry), Jay Straker increased clarity of his study, with reference to what young people did in revolutionary transformations that ended the European colonial empire in South-east Asia or brought about socialist systems such as in China.⁶ In the broad context of the comparative tradition such as I sketched out here, I found it instructive to bring young scholars into the histories they study by examining, in a preliminary way, what two well-known citizens of Southern Africa undertook in their respective societies

1 DR Peterson and G Macola (Eds.), *Recasting the past: History and political work in modern Africa* (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2009).

2 BA Ogot, "History of the Southern Luo: Migration and settlement" (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1967), pp. 17-20.

3 P Curtin, "The Archives of tropical Africa: A reconnaissance", *Journal of African History*, 1 (1960), pp. 129-147; JD Fage, "The development of African historiography", J Ki-Zerbo (Ed.), *UNESCO General history of Africa, Vol. 1: Methodology and African prehistory* (Berkeley, Heinemann, 1981), pp. 17-37.

4 Two among the most influential historical works in the 1970s were S Amin, "Under-development and dependency in Black Africa-origins and contemporary forms", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10 (1972), pp. 503-524 and W Rodney, *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (London, Longman, 1972).

5 F Cooper, "Conflict and connection: Rethinking Colonial African history", *American Historical Review*, 99 (December 1994).

6 J Straker, *Youth, nationalism and the Guinean revolution* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2009).

during their youth. History is a study of human agency and progress. Thus, this comparative study of Biko and Kaunda at different historical periods, throws light on how struggles for social justice and democratic values have moved in Southern Africa. This is a study of connections or related struggles for freedom or social justice in different parts of Africa. It is a contribution towards regional and global history. Biographical works on Steve Biko and Kenneth Kaunda, with limited reference to one of Kaunda's favourite songs, are major primary sources. There is a large amount of secondary literature on these historical figures⁷ which reveals the significance of the two people and justifies this discussion from a comparative angle. The study also links colonial and post-colonial historical research and is useful in understanding contemporary Africa.⁸

Internal transformation of upcoming leaders

Kenneth David Kaunda

Image 1: Kenneth David Kaunda as in 1977 (at the age of 53)



Source: See <http://www.endarkenment.com> (Encyclopaedia Africana Project).

7 B Pityani, M Ramphale, M Mpunlwana and L Wilson (Eds.), *Bounds of possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1992); P Brownrigg, *Kenneth Kaunda* (Lusaka, Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1989).

8 JF Bayart, *The State in Africa: The politics of the belly* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993); A Mbembe, *On the postcolony* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001); J-B Gewald, M Hinifelaar and G Macola (Eds.), *One Zambia, many histories: Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Lusaka, The Lembani Trust, 2009).

Image 2: (A more mature) Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia



Source: Kaunda, Kenneth. [Photograph]. Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, from <http://www.britannica.com/EBcheck/media/52281/Kenneth-Kaunda>.

Several events highlight turning points in Kenneth Kaunda's political biography. Kaunda's autobiography, *Zambia shall be free*, is an examination of his responses to injustice meted out at him as an individual and Africans as a colonized people. He (or popularly familiar as KK) is known to be associated with being the Ghandi of Africa. There are also many studies that confirm general injustice in a colonial context. The Lubwa Christians centre was a case study of sacrifice dedicated to improving human welfare and eradicating all forms of discrimination. Yet, Lubwa was not a perfect place as there were times when Kaunda's father 'preached sermons which did not please missionaries'.⁹ One of the first generation of Zambian priests in the Roman Catholic Church, Mpundu Mushindo, endured considerable discrimination in the course of writing the first Bible in Chibemba. Mushindo's response to the discrimination was stoic in at least two ways. First, he believed in the cause of his Christian faith. He believed that the discrimination strengthened his faith. Second, he considered enduring the discrimination a worthy sacrifice in the course of giving the Bemba people a Bible in their own language.¹⁰ Mushindo was dedicated to promotion of Christianity among people who

⁹ K Kaunda, *Zambia shall be free*, pp. 7-8; RS Hall, *Zambia* (Praeger, 1966), pp. 82-86 for a general view of discrimination in the education system in colonial Zambia.

¹⁰ AM Kanduza, "Towards a history of ideas in Zambia", SN Chipungu (Ed.), *Guardians in their times: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890-1964* (London, Macmillan, 1992).

spoke Chibemba.¹¹

There are two further ways in which nationalist struggles transformed Kaunda's life style. First, he stopped drinking tea in 1955 following his first imprisonment. According to Lazarus Miti "Kaunda did not want to be broken down by food restrictions when he realized that he began to engage himself in a struggle that would be a long one and would result in many prison terms".¹² This imprisonment was for being found in possession of a newspaper, *Africa and the colonial world* that was published by the Labour Party of Britain. Richard Hall discussed this imprisonment as making and leading to Kaunda's political radicalization.¹³ Kaunda's second change in life style was that he became a vegetarian to protest a discriminatory colonial practice of selling meat to Africans through small windows in butcheries. Many who recall services in European owned butcheries state that butchery owners normally ignored choices of meat Africans made. This was itself evidence of impoverishment of Africans as there were no butcheries Africans owned in urban areas where Africans could turn to in boycotting European owned butcheries. Serving Africans through small windows was such a general practice despite ridiculous practices it revealed. For example, an Anglican priest, Rev. SK Mwansa, recalled that at one time Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula paid for a bicycle through a window and insisted on receiving his merchandise through the same window.¹⁴ Nkumbula was the second leader of the first nationalist organisation in Zambia, the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress. He is generally regarded as the father of nationalism in the country.¹⁵ The shop owner pleaded for Mr Nkumbula's understanding of the difficult circumstances. At this point, Mr. Nkumbula was treated with some respect and courtesy. Respectful pleas for Mr Nkumbula to receive his bicycle through the main entrance to the shop fell on deaf ears as he received a refund. Thus, Biko and Kaunda were not unique in changing their life styles because of the struggles they undertook to restore dignity to black people. Biko and Kaunda emerged as formidable leaders with strong popular support and such circumstances were bound to transform them; especially as they

11 In similar ways, Biko and Kaunda neither abandoned their Christian faith nor completely shun white liberals in the course of their political struggles.

12 Personal communication, Prof LM Miti/AM Kanduza, 27 September 2008. Prof Miti had a conversation with President Kaunda on a proposal for a biographical study by Zambians as there was no such work by a Zambian on Kaunda.

13 RS Hall, *Zambia*, p. 123.

14 Personal conversation of author, interview, Rev. SK Mwansa (Gaborone), 23 October 2011.

15 GB Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula: A Biography of the "Old Lion" of Zambia* (Lusaka, Multimedia Publications, 1982).

continued to lead their organisations.

Stephen Bantu Biko

Image 2: Stephen Bantu (Steve) Biko



Source: <http://www.zar.co.za/biko.htm> (on a biography of Steve Biko)

Pasupathi, Mansour and Brubaker examined how individuals develop identities over time they reflect on some major events and experiences in their lives.¹⁶ They examine the key issue about how we know we remain the same person over time despite diverse events we encounter. They further argue that as individuals make out how various events in their lives are connected, people construct their enduring characteristics. Other scholars such as Linton and Locke studied human capacity to develop a sense of continuity as they review their previous experiences.¹⁷

Individuals, especially those in conflict situations, search contents of their memories in order to improve understanding and prepare themselves better for the next round of encounters. Mzamane, Maaba and Biko argued that that the political climate in South Africa from the time Biko was born till his

16 M Masupathi, E Mansour and JR Brubaker, "Developing a life story: Constructing relations between self and experience in autobiographical narratives", *Human Development*, 50 (2007), pp. 85-110.

17 M Linton, "Ways of searching and the contents of memory", DC Rubin (Ed.), *Autobiographical memory* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 50-70; J Locke, "An essay concerning human understanding", KP Winkler (Ed.), *An essay concerning human understanding: Abridged and edited with an introduction and notes* (Indianapolis, Hackett, 1996).

murder in September 1977 shaped his political views.¹⁸ Biko acknowledged that the political events he was engaged in changed him considerably. This appears clear in the series of writings that Biko has titled as “I write what I like” and record of his last court appearance in 1975 and 1976.¹⁹ Mzamane, Maaba and Biko pointed out that ‘a combination of factors politicized Steve Biko. They stated that Biko’s immediate family shaped his political development. There were strong traditions of leadership and service to other people in both his maternal and paternal families. Then there were specific events that marked progressive development of Biko’s political consciousness and leadership. In 1963 the arrest of Biko’s older brother, Khaya, awakened Biko politically. When Biko reported his absence from school with a letter from the police, the principal of Lovedale College dismissed him from school. This action of the principal at Lovedale remains a big paradox in the light of the long history of Lovedale as an institution that trained many African heroes in Southern Africa who fought injustices after graduating from Lovedale. Biko was out of school for one year. Consequently, Biko “hated authority like hell”. He enrolled at Saint Francis College in Marianhill in 1964 and for Biko:²⁰

... that’s where one got to see in a sense the totality of white power. These were liberals, presumably, who were enunciating a solution for us. They saw that we needed a private high-school to train in whatever so-called nebulous ideas that they saw as being fit for us. But at the same time their control within was a complete denial of the so-called liberal stance they took as a basis in the first place.

This political development was the foundation of Biko’s rejection of the way student organisations in South Africa, like the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was run, and also what motivated him to found the South African Student Organisation (SASO) and other black empowerment organisations.²¹ Steve Biko grew in courage, advanced in political consciousness and refined himself intellectually at every point he challenged the repression of the South African Apartheid State. He displayed the same characteristics when he made critical assessments of African politics

18 I have based my assessment of Biko here almost entirely on the SADET chapter of three authors, MV Mzamane, B Maaba and N Biko, “Black Consciousness”, pp. 120-123.

19 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, pp. 47-81.

20 GM Gerhart, *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979).

21 For a full examination of this complex subject, see for example, GM Gerhart, *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*; B Pityana, M Ramphele, MMpumlwana and L Wilson (Eds.), *Bounds of possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1992).

in Africa and beyond. Apartheid in South Africa, like the colonial situation in Zambia, subverted human dignity and social justice. In the new politics and in a changing South Africa Biko built support for underlining the value of struggles in change and transformation. Its meaning is exposed in his personal history.

Striking similarities between both Ksunda and Biko as leaders, though geographically (and in age) worlds apart, justify a comparative assessment on certain criteria as identified in the next sections.

“Young Turks” challenging the politics of the day

During their youth, in their respective countries and at different times, Steve Bantu Biko and Kenneth David Kaunda radically opposed the status quo. Biko and Kaunda were revolutionaries, in the positive and constructive sense of this ambiguous word. They were progressive radicals who wanted shared social justice and human values as the foundation and vision of democratic governance. They were “Young Turks”. In the historical context of Turkey, Young Turks were a variety of progressive and radically committed young people between 1908 and 1913 who sought liberal governance and reduction of absolute powers of their monarchy.²² Biko and Kaunda were Young Turks during their youth because they rejected and fought racism and all forms of discrimination as a basis of state power and governance in their respective countries and everywhere in the world. I shall begin with noting highlights in the life of the older of my two Young Turks or case studies during his youth, that is, the age below forty. Born on 28 April 1924, at Lubwa Livingstonia Mission in Chinsali District of Zambia, Kaunda became secretary general of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress in 1953.²³ Colonial injustices baked Kaunda’s childhood and youth. At thirty-six, he was president of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in April 1960; and at the age of forty he was founding president of the Republic of Zambia on 24 October 1964. Thus, Kaunda became a global player with diverse influences

22 MS Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001).

23 RM Nabulyato, *African realities: A memoir edited by G Macola* (Lusaka, Lembani Trust, 2009); F Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The times and the man* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974); KD Kaunda, *Zambia shall be free: An autobiography* (London, Heinemann, 1962).

on individuals and organisations inside and outside Zambia.²⁴ In this sense, Biko and Kaunda were organically linked in struggles against injustice; and with reference to the struggles of Black people in South Africa, Kaunda fought from outside while Biko waged the fight from within South Africa.

There is no evidence of direct contact between Kaunda and Biko yet they were dedicated to struggles of eradicating institutionalised discrimination in their respective countries. Born in King Williams Town, on 18 December 1946, Biko entered national politics in South Africa between 1967 and 1972.²⁵ Earlier at the age of 15, Biko was arrested because of political activities by his older brother. Biko paid dearly for this undeserved injustice because he was expelled from Lovedale College. Despite this double injustice, Biko entered medical school at the University of Natal in 1966. He soon became actively involved in the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). This was a liberal organisation that conformed to some laws of the Apartheid Government such as the injustice that black students could become members of NUSAS but leaders had to be white students. Apartheid suppressed development of Black leadership in South Africa. In colonial Zambia as in Apartheid South Africa, laws clearly prohibited African leadership in organisations that recruited members without regard to racial identity. Both Biko and Kaunda strongly opposed the idea that white liberals should lead and guide African struggles or organisations.²⁶

Yet, the paradox was that white liberals were important individuals in the political developments of both Biko and Kaunda, especially in rejecting racism. White liberals as agents of liberal ideas and as activists linked Biko and Kaunda. Steve Biko appeared in one of his early court trials in 1975, for his radical politics in South Africa, wearing a tie from Kenneth David Kaunda, President of Zambia. Donald Woods, a liberal South African journalist, took the tie as a gift from Kaunda to Biko.²⁷ The tie carried the branding and emblem of UNIP, the political party that Kaunda had led from April 1960

24 R Hall, *The high price of principles: Kaunda and the white south* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1969); J Hatch, *Two African statesmen* (London, Secker and Warburg, 1976); S Chan, *Kaunda and Southern Africa: Image and reality in foreign policy* (London, British Academy Press, 1992); JM Mwanakatwe, *The end of the Kaunda era* (Lusaka, Multimedia, 1994).

25 One of the most informative biographical assessments of Biko is that of MV Mzamane, B Maaba and NBiko, "The Black Consciousness Movement", South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), *The road to democracy in South Africa*, Vol. 2, 1970-1980 (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2006), pp. 120-129.

26 K Kaunda, *Zambia shall be free*, pp. 94-95 and 138-139; S Biko, *I write what I like* (Oxford, Heinemann, 1987), pp. 4-11; MV Mzamane, B Maaba and N Biko, "Black Consciousness", Trust (SADET), *The road to democracy in South Africa*, Vol. 2, 1970-1980, pp. 99-119; 129-138.

27 D Woods, *Steve Biko* (London, Paddington Press, 1979).

and led Zambia to independence in October 1964. These achievements strengthened Kaunda against Apartheid in South Africa and minority settler governments in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe. According to Vickery, Kaunda emerged as a compromise leader of the UNIP from about April 1960 following his release from detention and political imprisonment. Zambian radical nationalists used Kaunda to contain or manage tribalism. He was a compromise candidate who was expected to rise above tribalistic inclinations in all his political dealings and promoting national unity out of about 73 language clusters. Unity was thus a foundation of his own power base and also expected others to do the same.

Emergence and vision as political leaders

Kaunda became a popular and effective leader because of strong support from radical Zambian Young Turks in the late 1950s and early 1960s.²⁸ Closer to South Africa studies of Steve Biko show that he was emerging as a national leader in South Africa during the early 1970s.²⁹ Donald Woods did not explain circumstances that influenced Kaunda to give Biko a political tie. Biko did also not explain why he decided to wear a tie from a person and country that were strongly opposed to the South African Apartheid Government. Biko never met Kaunda. Biko was a young man or youth of extraordinary courage. Like Kaunda, Biko was also irrevocably committed to transforming anti-Apartheid politics. Biko triumphed over many challenging circumstances in South Africa from the late 1960s till the mid-1970s. He had entered student politics between 1967 and 1969 to transform young people in South African tertiary institutions so that they fill a vacuum in African politics in the country following the imprisonment of African leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe in the early sixties.³⁰ Another development, upon which Biko anchored his inspiration, was the success of liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique that caused a military coup in Portugal in April 1974 and prepared political independence of Mozambique in June 1975 and Angola in November 1975. The Black Consciousness Movement in South

28 KP Vickery, "Old man out: Labor, politics and Dixon Konkola", Paper, Conference on Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s (Leiden University, September 2008).

29 MV Mzamane, B Maaba and N Biko, "Black Consciousness Movement", pp. 120-159.

30 S Biko, *The testimony of Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa* (London, Granada, 1979).

Africa organized celebration and solidarity rallies in South Africa.³¹ According to Mzamane, Maaba and Biko, events in neighbouring states “provided models worthy of emulation”.³²

Utilising and unifying political and cultural consciousness on the African continent

Pan-Africanism is another important theme on which Biko and Kaunda constantly reflected. They recognised that their political and cultural consciousnesses were linked to struggles for liberation of the African continent. In a series of writings that later constituted a book with a title of extraordinary confidence, *I write what I like*, Biko defined Black Consciousness to reflect struggles of Blacks and also visions of the new struggles emerging in the late 1960s and early 1970s in South Africa. The critique of internal black struggles and mapping of future strategies also drew inspiration from resistance to oppression in Africa and the African Diasporas, especially in the United States of America. Biko made major contributions to radical resistance among Black people in South Africa. Both Biko and Kaunda recognized radicalizing effects of Ghana’s attainment of independence in March 1957 and Kwame Nkrumah’s assertion that his country’s decolonisation was not completed until the rest of Africa was liberated from colonial rule.³³

Kaunda participated directly in the early part of the continental revolutionary movement Nkrumah talked about while Biko found that this revolutionary movement had continued to grow and became sophisticated. Kaunda attended the All-Africa People’s Conference that Nkrumah convened in December 1958 and stayed on after the conference to study strategies of political mobilization. Kaunda participated directly in the pan-Africanist movement from the time he was Secretary-General of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) IN 1958. Kaunda was a light of continuity and Biko was a new touch bearer in the 1970s. Advancement towards and actual attainment of independence in Zambia made Kaunda and Zambia leading actors in eradicating vestiges of colonialism in Southern

31 G Houston and B Magubane, “The ANC political underground in the 1970s”, Trust(SADET), *The road*, p. 380.

32 MV Mzamane, B Maaba and N Biko, “Black Consciousness”, Trust (SADET), p. 142.

33 B Davidson, *Black star: The life and times of Kwame Nkrumah* (London, Longman, 2007).

Africa.³⁴ During the period that Biko invigorated Black politics in South African politics, Kaunda was at the frontline of the Pan-Africanist movement dedicated to ending colonial rule in Southern Africa.

While Biko wrote his popular newsletter column, *I write what I like* in the early 1970s, Kaunda sang his popular song on struggles for Zambian national and pan-African political unity. Events in Angola and Mozambique leading to a military coup in Portugal inspired Kaunda to increase commitment to Pan-Africanism. In his favourite political song, he sang of crossing the Limpopo to complete African liberation or decolonization. In *Tiyende Pamodzi ndi Mtima Umo*,³⁵ Kaunda called on young people and women in Zambia to rally together in promoting solidarity and struggles for national unity in Zambia. Kaunda's song further called for mobilization of Pan-Africanist forces to cross the Zambezi and the Limpopo in order to complete decolonization of the continent. Before 1980, one verse of the song focused on crossing the Zambezi in African unity to end minority rule in Zimbabwe. Following coming to power of the Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in April 1980, Kaunda called on Pan-Africanist forces to cross the Limpopo in Unity to end Apartheid. In fact, Biko called on the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black Peoples Programme (BPP) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) as organisations that had to unify and mobilize Black people within South Africa against Apartheid. From this strength, further power was added through struggles and successes of Black people in Africa and beyond. Political unity and networking were cornerstones in the nationalist (internationalist) politics of Biko and Kaunda. Kaunda's song is a testimony for Pan-Africanism and internationalism.

Biko and the Kaunda song of unity

It's necessary to turn to Biko for a deep and profound understanding of Kaunda's song on unity. Biko's reflection on the nature and function of songs or singing in African societies helps to understand the significance of Kaunda's

34 R Hall, *Zambia, 1890-1964: The colonial period* (London, Longman, 1976), pp. 131-132; 181-183; R Hall, *The high price of principles: Kaunda and the white south* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1969); C Legum, *Pan-Africanism* (London, Pall Mall Press, 1965).

35 *Tiyende pamodzi ndi mtima Umo; Mayusi tiyenimwe; Amai tiyenimwe; Limba moyo tiyende pamodzi ndi mtima umo. Tiwoloke Zambezi ndi mtima umo; Tiwoloke Limpopo pamodzi ndi mtima umo. Limba moyo tiyende pamodzi ndi mtima umo.* [Let us walk together in unity; The youth let us go; Women let us go; Strengthen your heart and let us walk together in unity; Let us cross the Zambezi in unity; Let us cross the Limpopo in unity. Let us strengthen our hearts and walk together in unity].

song. Biko strongly believed that songs invigorated Africans to communicate with each other and also strengthened solidarity. According to Biko:

... the major thing to note about our songs is that they never were songs for individuals. They were group songs.

Biko went further to explain that “music in the African culture features in all emotional states”.³⁶ A Malawian medical doctor, whose expertise in cultural history is exceptional, made a similar point as Biko when he observed that “music is an integral part of life in most African communities”.³⁷ Singing was (is) an expression of free speech. About thirty years later, a radical South African Journal, reflected on Biko’s message. In this journal, Lara Allen examined the significance of music in African societies and adaptation of music to political ends.³⁸ Allen observed that music had special appeal in post-colonial Africa. In the same journal, Silindiwe Sibanda asserted that: “You don’t get to sing a song when you have nothing to sing”.³⁹ Sibanda showed what extraordinary courage Oliver Mtukuzi had in expressing himself freely through music when free speech was not tolerated in Zimbabwe.

In the 1970s, national unity in Zambia was a high priority for Kaunda. Unity in diversity was the main menu for national building. Kaunda discouraged any opportunity for South Africa⁴⁰ to sponsor political movements opposed to UNIP that had ruled Zambia since 1964. He was equally concerned about unity of anti-colonial forces in Africa. Kaunda extended the imperatives of unity to all liberation organisations. In fact, he solicited cooperation of the Organisation of African Unity in not funding groups that weakened unity among liberation movements. He outlawed from Zambia all groups that broke away or that he did not consider genuine liberation movements. Biko also believed that songs and rhythm among Africans amplified all human experiences, inspired dedication and promoted group solidarity. He gave the example of “Negro Spirituals” among African-Americans as making their suffering ‘much real’.⁴¹ Comparative studies do facilitate seeing some hidden

36 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, p. 22.

37 JLC Lwanda, *Music, culture and orature: Reading the Malawian public sphere, 1949-2006* (Zomba, Kachere Series, 2008), p. 10.

38 L Allen, “Music and politics in Africa”, *Social Dynamics*, 30 (2004), pp. 1-19.

39 S Sibanda, “‘You don’t get to sing a song when you have nothing to sing’: Oliver Mtukuzi’s music as a vehicle for Socio-political commentary”, *Social Dynamics*, 30,1 (2004), pp. 36-63.

40 K Good, “Zambia and the liberation of Southern Africa”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25 (1987), pp. 504-540; M Larmer and G Macola, “The origins, context and political significance of the Mushala Rebellion against the Zambian one-party state”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 40 (2007), pp. 471-496.

41 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, p. 22.

aspects in biographical research. We can use Biko to explain or understand the foundation and purpose of Kaunda's song on political unity in Zambia and Africa at a time anti-colonial struggles intensified. Thus, songs explain human experiences, break social barriers and bind people for common causes.

A non-violence approach non-negotiable

Further, Biko shared with Kaunda, a belief in non-violence even at a time in the 1970s when violence appeared inevitable. Kaunda had been exposed to non-violence during his brief visit to India in 1957. He experienced, at close range, achievements and celebration of Ghandi's practice of non-violent politics. Kaunda was also a keen student of Kwame Nkrumah's⁴² positive non-violence. Violence of the colonial administration in Zambia between March 1959 and August 1961 in Northern Rhodesia (Colonial Zambia) increased Kaunda's commitment to non-violent nationalism. Radical nationalists detained in March 1959 preached non-violence when they were released in 1960. However, these nationalist leaders in Zambia often pointed out their failure to control violent responses of their members to provocative actions of white settlers and the colonial government. Kaunda was committed to show the colonial administration how disciplined and orderly his Party, UNIP, was despite isolated instances of violence in the early 1960s.⁴³ Violence was never Kaunda's first strategy in conflict resolution. Even at the time Zambia hosted armed liberation movements from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, Kaunda asserted his unqualified belief in non-violence. From time to time, Kaunda qualified his advocacy of armed liberation violence as a strategy to court negotiations.⁴⁴ Kaunda often cited violence as failure of reason and justification for negotiation strategies.⁴⁵ Steve Biko faced contradictions like Kaunda on violence in the early 1970s. Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr and Black Liberation theology combined to influence Biko towards non-violence.⁴⁶ Yet events in Southern Africa in the 1970s showed that intensification of violence against minority white regimes in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa appeared to be

42 RS Hall, *Zambia*, pp. 130-133.

43 RS Hall, *Zambia*, pp. 154-157; WT Kalusa, "The killing of Lilian Margaret Burton and black and white nationalism in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in the 1960s", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 2011.

44 R Uwuche, "Interview with President Kenneth Kaunda", *Africa*, 42 (February, 1975), pp. 10-12.

45 KD Kaunda, *Kaunda on violence* (Edited by Colin Morris) (London, Collins, 1980).

46 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, pp. 33, 45.

an effective liberation strategy for black people who were oppressed⁴⁷.

Ideas on the African heritage

Biko and Kaunda believed in searching African heritage in order to understand sources of strength and visions of their struggles. For Kaunda, his views are well known as “Philosophy of Humanism”.⁴⁸ Kaunda strongly saw unique values in African cultural and historical experiences and these shaped contemporary African perspectives. History and values shaped Kaunda’s vision of post-decolonisation Africa. Kaunda saw anti-colonial struggles of Africans in Africa and the Diasporas as an opportunity for Africa’s contribution of unique heritage. Both Kaunda and Biko saw struggles of Africans as interlinked because of their unique values, dehumanizing consequences of the slave trade and European colonization of Africa. In his discussion of African heritage, and especially in showing how African values and philosophical explanation differed from European or Western societies, Biko turned to Kaunda. Biko argued that Africans had different mental attitudes towards solving problems. Biko pointed out that Westerners “cannot live with contradictory ideas” and in contrast, Africans were socialized to recognize the virtues of “situation-experiencing”.⁴⁹ Africans learned to live with, accommodated, adapted and mobilised diverse situations. Africans managed their situations or struggles through sustaining a maze of realities. The purpose of struggles was to see all parties, individuals or social groups, in full view and that guaranteed values of equality.⁵⁰

Biko and Kaunda searched hard and deep into African heritage and values. Struggles for justice in which Biko and Kaunda were involved grew from their understanding of African societies. In both Zambia and South Africa, colonialism had destroyed black self-esteem and pride. For as long as parts of Africa were under the control of settler minorities, full recovery of Black Consciousness such as expressed in “Black is beautiful” was impossible. Biko and Kaunda saw restoration of African cultural pride and personhood

47 B Magubane, “Introduction to the 1970s: The social and political context”, pp. 1-37; TG Karis and GM Gerhart, *From protest to challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa-nadir and resurgence, 1964-1979* (Pretoria, UNISA Press, 1997).

48 B de G Fortman, *After Mulungushi: The economics of Zambian humanism* (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1969); HS Meebelo, *Main currents of Zambian humanist thought* (Lusaka, Oxford University Press, 1973); T Kandeke, *Fundamentals of Zambian humanism* (Lusaka, NECZAM, 1976).

49 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, p. 22.

50 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, pp. 22-23.

as depended on full decolonization. This process included improving the standard of education and abolition of South Africa into Bantustans. Biko deplored violence and disorientations flowing from poverty⁵¹. In Zambia Kaunda had found similar consequences because of discriminatory policies of the colonial government. In response, Kaunda introduced free education from 1966 in order to develop human resources. As during the pre-colonial era, the community or government took up the responsibility of education young people.

Globalism and Africa

Biko and Kaunda often showed how Africans had adapted to local and global changes. Biko for example acknowledged that attainment of political advancement in many parts of Africa had resulted in improvements in education. Mzamane, Maaba and Biko observed that Biko noted that black South Africans probably felt the need to rehabilitate their much maligned past even more acutely than Africans elsewhere on the continent.⁵² He often cited social and economic inequality in the United States of America as fuelling struggles for social justice among African-Americans.⁵³ Biko's understanding of global developments sharpened his critique of South African policies towards black people.⁵⁴

In South Africa Biko prescribed radical changes in the educational system. His model was an education system that took the cultural background of learners and aimed at equipping students with a variety of skills relevant to their age of technological development in their counties or globally. Biko pointed out that most black people in South Africa came from peasant backgrounds and had limited contacts highly technological society. He pointed out that it was responsibility of the government to provide education that constructed cultural identity through such things as use of local languages. Yet, both Biko and Kaunda rejected division of people along racial or ethnic lines. Kaunda stood up against tribalism and Biko rejected Bantustans and Apartheid. Biko may have spoken for Kaunda, as literature on his social philosophy makes it clear, that Black Consciousness sought to elevate the personality of a black

51 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, pp. 38, 53.

52 MV Mzamane, B Maaba and NBiko, "The Black Consciousness Movement", p. 128; SB Biko, *I write what I like*, p. 49.

53 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, p. 29.

54 MV Mzamane, B Maaba and NBiko, "The Black Consciousness Movement", pp. 132-134; pp. 142-143.

person to “make him distinctively a man in society”.⁵⁵

From understanding African cultural heritage, Biko and Kaunda had clear ideas about the kind of societies that should be born from struggles in which they were involved. Biko stated during his trial early in 1976 that the ‘BPC believes in a judicious blending of private enterprise’ in order create an economy in which wealth was equitably distributed.⁵⁶ Biko appears to be eloquent in his support of what was known as mixed economy during the 1960s and 1970s. Biko and Kaunda preferred mixed economies to capitalist or communist economies. The mixed economy had become natural successor to the welfare state that had emerged in Europe after the Second World War. At the beginning of the twenty-first Century, there is a strong belief in partnership between the private sector and the public sector as the best strategy for development. In essence, this is a mixed economy. Globalisation since the 1990s paved the road for this partnership and it appears the only practical strategy of development. The meltdown of the world economy between 2008 and 2011 have brought out the dangers of dominance by private capital when state regulation is either weak or absent. In the 1960s, political independence meant wielding political power. With political power in his hands, the strong ideological encouragement of an active role of the state in the economy during the 1960s and 1970s, Kaunda established about 80% state control in the Zambian economy by the end of the 1970s. He became able to provide high quality education and medical services to the indigenous population on a scale never ever done in the history of that mineral rich country. Such a general provision of services to a section of the population that had been deliberately neglected is what Biko also understood to be the meaning of independence or the end of Apartheid in South Africa.

Two factors should be emphasized: First, during the 1960s and 1970s. There was a strong global movement that favoured a strong role of the state in the economy. The ideological climate did not promote private-public sector partnership as has been advocated for Africa since the 1990s. Second, Biko and Kaunda defined a mixed economy as including strong pre-capitalist values found in African societies. Values of social welfare, compassion and egalitarian visions of the pre-colonial or pre-capitalist societies were seen as giving distinctive African orientation of socialism. For Biko and Kaunda,

55 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, pp. 73-77; S Chan, *Kaunda and Southern Africa*, p. xiii.

56 SB Biko, *I write what I like*, p. 77; HS Mebeelo, *Main currents of Zambian humanist* (Oxford University Press, Lusaka, 1973).

certain core values were 'all weather' and could not be periodised as confined to pre-capitalist era in Africa. In terms of current debates, advocates of human rights champion open and inclusive societies. The non-governmental movement since the 1960s developed partly as a response to the failure of the welfare state and capital centred development to reach or provide for the most vulnerable sections of society. It is important in comparing Biko and Kaunda to understand their serious commitment to searching the African past for worthy contributions to new post-colonial societies. Biko and Kaunda saw their struggles as strategies to draw religious, political, economic and cultural values from the African heritage with which to create new African political economies. Biko and Kaunda rejected any notions that the West had found all strategies for economic and political advancement. They believed they were engaged in struggles for progressive change and that included renaissances of African values.

Conclusion

There are at least three main features from the discussion. First, Biko and Kaunda contributed to raising consciousness for the cause and connectedness of struggles Black people waged in Africa and the diasporas. Second, the discussion advanced justification for using a comparative and world history approach in teaching and writing history. Third, a study of history as the foundation scholarship in the humanities raises the question about the utility of knowledge and the development of human capital as the key resource in future development. I shall now elaborate each conclusion, one after another.

Njabulo S. Ndebele,⁵⁷ in the first public lecture in 2000 to commemorate Biko's brutal murder, pointed out that identifying and defining Black consciousness was the most important legacy of Biko. Ndebele further indicated that although Biko was associated with many institutions among Black people, consciousness about oppression was a critical development. Biko further explained the need for unity and strategies to challenge the Apartheid regime and all its policies. For Biko, he rose at a critical time because the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa had lost leadership between 1963 and 1965 when leaders were sentenced to life-long prison sentences. Some leaders fled into exile. Biko called for, and built, a new generation of

⁵⁷ NS Ndebele, "Iph Indlela? Finding our way into the future-The first Steve Biko memorial lecture", *Social Dynamics*, 26, 1, 2000, pp. 43-55.

leaders after he had criticized the older African leaders, white liberals and oppressive Afrikaner engineered Apartheid. While the Apartheid government was committed to policies on Bantustans, Biko rejected that approach and spoke of coordinated Black struggles in one undivided South Africa. In the Zambian case, Kaunda and his group of Young Turks had increasingly been critical of conservative trends in African leadership between 1955 and 1958. When the father of Zambian nationalism, Nkumbula, tolerated paternalism during this period, Kaunda demanded full rights and dignity for colonized Black people in colonial Zambia. Kaunda's radicalization set him apart. He was a transforming force in nationalism. Kaunda saw anti-colonial struggles in Zambia as integral to Pan-Africanism. Thus, Biko and Kaunda met in their understanding of Pan-Africanist consciousness during the 1970s. Biko found a seasoned and experienced Pan-Africanist consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s to which Kaunda had made vast contributions.

The comparative methodology is another concluding point we should identify in the discussion. I have attempted to show how to understand Biko through what Kaunda did in particular areas of the struggles they were engaged in. Biko kept Pan-Africanism alive in South Africa when Kaunda mobilised resources in his country and through the organisation of African Unity to support decolonization in Southern Africa. The 1970s were revolutionary years in Southern Africa. The revolution was sustainable through clear ideologies and strategies. It was important for Biko and Kaunda to draw from support from within Africa and struggles of Black people beyond the continent. Thus, a world-view approach, such as attempted in this discussion is rewarding. Understanding one struggle illuminated the nature of a similar social movement elsewhere.

The third conclusion is on the usefulness of historical studies such as undertaken here. I conceived this paper in the context of a commemorative conference of the South African Society of the Teaching of History. The conference particularly focused on how to make history relevant to young people in schools and institutions of higher learning. I chose a South African hero, and another from the southern African region, whom I assumed were well known to many young generations in South Africa.⁵⁸ It was a great coincidence that the conference was held in September, the month in which Biko was murdered in 1977. So the discussion was a useful contribution to

58 AM Kanduzza, Paper, 16th Annual conference, *The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)*, Willow Conference Park, Johannesburg, South Africa, 22-24 September 2011.

memory studies. I further decided to suggest that South African history could lead to study of histories of other countries. The biographical approach I used brings out human action at the centre of studying activities of men, women and young people in the past. The discussion is also useful in the way Kurt B. Young suggested to be a valuable re-assessment of the legacies of Frantz Fanon on Pan-Africanism. Young's paper was a commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Frantz Fanon's death. In writing the paper, Young assumed that; "Fanonian thought contained within it many of the fundamental elements that have defined Pan-Africanist thinking for generations".⁵⁹ I make a similar point through comparative study of Biko and Kaunda. This captures our earlier two conclusions on consciousness and comparative methodology in historical writing or research. Young found his writings on Fanon as a review of 'the relationship between self-awareness, the emergence of cultural consciousness and the struggle for national liberation provide a lens for viewing the relationship between Pan-African consciousness and the politics of Pan-African unity.'⁶⁰ The contemporary usefulness of African history is a continuing debate. I have argued in my discussion that Biko and Kaunda engaged in liberation that released human capital from restrictions of colonial myopia in Zambia and delusion of Apartheid in South Africa.

It was and is worth it to examine how Kenneth Kaunda and Steve Biko changed over time in the course of the struggles in which they were engaged from their youthful days. Imprisonment and fear of state violence did not weaken Biko and Kaunda. Instead, they grew in political courage and increased support every time they were detained or imprisoned. Whenever they were in direct confrontation with the government of the day, Biko and Kaunda increased their popularity.

59 KB Young, "Untrapping the soul of Fanon: Culture, consciousness and the future of Pan-Africanism", *The Journal of African Studies*, 4, 2011, p. 137.

60 KB Young, 'Untrapping the soul of Fanon ...', *The Journal of African Studies*, 4, 2011, p. 138.