THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN LIVINGSTONE DISTRICT,

1945-1991

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN LIVINGSTONE DISTRICT,
1945-1991

BY

KALONGA MOONGA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF ARTS (HISTORY).

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

1999
DEDICATION

To my beloved elder brother, Mutumba Choongo Moonga, twin brother Boyd Kaale Moonga, and loving elder sister, Nduumba Rosebie Moonga, who left this world before they could see the accomplishment of this work. The torch they carried in the family will burn forever.
DECLARATION

I, Kalonga Moonga, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

Signature: ........................................

Date: 27/10/99
APPROVAL

This dissertation of Kalonga Moonga is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

For many years, scholars on Zambian history have concentrated on two themes: mining and agriculture. The two subjects have dominated, perhaps, because of the central position they hold in the country's economy. Little attention has been given to tourism, which is equally a vital industry with significant potential to the national economy. In recent years, tourism has been identified as the fastest growing industry in the world and a great foreign exchange (forex) earner, second only to oil. It is for these reasons that this study attempts to investigate some of the major factors vital to the development of tourism in Livingstone in particular and Zambia in general.

Cognisance of the potential of tourism to the economic development of the country and the desire to diversify the economy, the Zambian government regards the tourism industry as the third most important sector of the economy after mining and agriculture. Although successive Zambian governments have shown goodwill towards the development of the tourism industry in Zambia, particularly in the Victoria Falls area, its development has lagged behind that of Zimbabwe. The Victoria Falls Town alone in Zimbabwe received not less than half a million tourists every year in the early 1990s, while Livingstone attracted a mere trickle.

This study attempts to investigate some of the major forces, which shaped the development of tourism in Livingstone between 1945 and 1991. It further examines how these factors retarded or stimulated the development of tourism in different historical epochs. This study is located in the political economy of Zambia, before
and after independence. Despite its significance to the national economy, tourism has attracted little attention.

The study argues that from the early colonial period to 1945, successive colonial governments neglected the tourism industry in Livingstone. The British South Africa Company (BSACo.) which ruled Zambia between 1890 and 1923 was more interested in tapping the territory's labour than developing its industries, including tourism.

The Crown government which took over from the BSACo. in 1924 recognised the importance of tourism in the country's economic development. However, its efforts to develop the industry were restricted merely to the building of the museum and an airport in Livingstone. The paucity of white population and a small economic base could neither influence nor permit respectively the Crown Government's policies to invest adequately in tourism.

The Federal period (1953 to 1963) witnessed an expansion of the tourism industry. This was a period of economic boom which resulted into increased investment in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In spite of such improvement, Livingstone in particular and Zambia in general still lagged behind in terms of tourism development compared to Zimbabwe. This imbalance can be attributed to the federal arrangement which favoured Zimbabwe as opposed to Zambia and Malawi. The Federal Government with its parliament in Zimbabwe enacted pieces of legislation, which attracted more investment in tourism at the expense of other federal states.
In the post-colonial period (1964 up to 1991), the government, like its predecessor recognised the importance of tourism but inherited a shaky foundation on which to develop the tourism industry. This was compounded by both economic and political constraints notably, the fall in prices of copper on which the government depended. The rise in oil prices in the 1970’s and also the liberation wars in the Central-Southern Africa.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study is a product of concerted support received from various individuals and institutions. First, I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Yizenge Adorn Chondoka, for his critical guidance and understanding, without which this work could not have seen the light of the day. To him, I extend my sincere appreciation; his scholarly comments helped me to be on guard on various issues.

Secondly, I am most grateful to Mr. Bennett Siamwiza and particularly Mr. Walima Kalusa, who, from the inception of this work accorded me critical criticisms. Their observations were vital in shaping this work. For Kalusa, I am heavily indebted to him for going through all my manuscripts and his valuable advice has made this work reach its current level.

Thirdly, I would like to thank my fellow post-graduate students, for companionship and encouragement which made my work stimulating. These are: Messrs, Chisha, Kamwengo, Musa, Phiri and Sapao.

This work was made possible through the financial assistance of the Directorate of Human Resources and Development (DHRD), who offered me a scholarship and the Ministry of Education, my employers, for granting a paid study leave in order to undertake this work. I wish to pay tribute to the following family members, my late uncle, Dr. L.J. Shimaponda, for his effort to get me a scholarship and all the things he did for me. It is sad he died before the completion of this work. I am equally
indebted to aunt, Dr. Stella Kaabwe, for having found the way for me. I would also like to thank my father and mother for teaching me the importance of education.

Thanks to all my brothers and sisters.

I also wish to record my profound appreciation to my wife, Mercy Muloongo Moonga and my children, for enduring the long period of my absence during the course of this work. I shall always remain grateful to my wife for her encouragement and support.

Needless to say, the final responsibility of this work lies with me. None of the people mentioned, should in any way, be held responsible for any shortcomings of this dissertation. I alone, take the responsibility.
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<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSA Co.</td>
<td>British South Africa Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAA</td>
<td>Central African Airways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRZ</td>
<td>Government of the Republic of Zambia</td>
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<td>NAZ</td>
<td>National Archives of Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NHCC</td>
<td>National Heritage Conservation Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRG</td>
<td>Northern Rhodesia Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>RNTB</td>
<td>Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>SATC</td>
<td>South African Tourist Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDI</td>
<td>Unilateral Declaration of Independence</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>United National Independence Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZGA</td>
<td>Zambia Geographical Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZNTB</td>
<td>Zambia National Tourist Board</td>
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<td>ZTTC</td>
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Livingstone District is located in the Southern Province of Zambia (see maps I and II). The district shares a border with the Victoria Falls town of Zimbabwe on the southern bank of the Zambezi River. The River forms a natural boundary between Zambia and Zimbabwe.\(^1\) It lies between latitude 17.9 degrees South and longitude 25.9 degrees East.\(^2\) The district is at an altitude of 986 metres above sea level.\(^3\) It covers a surface area of 1,427 square kilometres.\(^4\) Livingstone is a gateway into Zambia from the south and is linked to Lusaka by rail, road and air.

The town was established in 1905 after the construction of the bridge over the Zambezi River at the Victoria Falls.\(^5\) It served as an administrative capital of North-Western Rhodesia from 1907 to 1910. In 1911, with the amalgamation of North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia, Livingstone became the first capital of Northern Rhodesia till 1935 when the capital was moved to Lusaka.\(^6\) Currently, Livingstone is the provincial capital of Southern Province of Zambia. The district was known as Mukuni by the Leya people of Chief Mukuni who were the earliest local inhabitants of the area.\(^7\) However, the colonial government named it Livingstone, in honour of the Scottish missionary, Dr. David Livingstone, the first white person to see or to be shown the Victoria Falls in 1885.\(^8\)

Principally, Livingstone was the home of the Leya, a branch of the Tonga ethnic group. However, with the advent of colonialism and the consequent emergence of big towns during the first half of the 19\(^{th}\) century, the area attracted various ethnic groups
from within Zambia who went to work in Livingstone's industries and government departments. Today, all major Zambian ethnic groups are represented there.
However, the common languages spoken in the area are Tonga and Lozi. The population of Livingstone has steadily increased. For instance, in the census of 1969, it stood at 49,063. In the 1980 census, the district's population was 71,521. The recent census of the country in 1990 put the population of Livingstone at 82,952.\footnote{The climate of Livingstone is not very different from that of the rest of the country, except that the area receives lower rainfall than the rest of the country as it lies in the low rainfall zone. The climate of Livingstone is typically sub-tropical. Three distinct seasons can be identified in the area. The rain season is characterised by warm and wet weather and starts from November to April. When the rain season is good, the Zambezi river floods between March and April. It is in these months that the most spectacular view of the falls can be seen. The cold season is experienced from May to July and is characterised by cold and dry weather. The hot season begins from August to November. Livingstone is one of the hottest places in Zambia, with temperatures ranging between 27°C and 32°C.\footnote{The district lies in a valley which borders the Batoka plateau in the north with an average height of 1000-4000 metres above sea level. The altitude drops considerably as one nears the falls. The land is watered by the Zambezi river, which flows from Kaleni hills in North-Western Province of Zambia to the Indian Ocean. The Zambezi river has two main tributaries in Livingstone, namely, the Malamba and Nansanzu rivers.\footnote{There are numerous small streams flowing southwards into the Zambezi. Many villages cluster along these streams for easy source of water.}}
The dominant vegetation is the Mopane Savanna woodland, which include Brachystegia, Isoberlinia and Julbernardia locally known as Miombo woodland.\textsuperscript{15} Baikine\textit{a} Plurijuga teak woodlands occur in the western part of the district where Kalahari soils are dominant.\textsuperscript{16}

Many species of wildlife were found in the area surrounding the Victoria Falls before the colonial rule. Owing to rich wildlife in the area, the colonial government in 1906 established a national park, the forerunner of the Musi-oa-tunya National Park, the Victoria Falls Conservancy Park situated between the Old Drift on the southwest and the main Musi-oa-tunya road to the Victoria Falls. Within the park, there was a zoological section in which a variety of animals were free to loam.\textsuperscript{17} In 1972, the post-colonial government turned the Conservancy Park into the Musi-oa-tunya park which became one of the nineteen national parks found in Zambia.\textsuperscript{18} The Musi-oa-tunya National Park became a sanctuary of various animals such as elephants, hippopotamuses, buffaloes, waterbucks, impalas, bushbucks, giraffes, zebras, warthogs, duikers, baboons, monkeys and the white rhinoceroses imported from South Africa in 1964. The park provides one of the major tourist attractions in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{19}

The major village communities included Chief Mukuni’s village to the south east of Livingstone town and Chief Musokotwane and Sekute’s village to the west of Livingstone. The village communities were subsistence farmers. The Leya grew crops such as millet, sorghum and maize, and also kept goats, cattle, pigs and
chickens to supplement their protein. However, the area experienced low rainfall which inhibited mass production of agricultural crops.\textsuperscript{20}

With the advent of colonialism at the turn of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the Leya people were integrated into the capitalist money economy. This necessitated the production of surplus for sell to earn money in order to buy items such as clothes, blankets, pots and other necessities. The coming of the railway in 1904 from the south (Bulawayo) stimulated the growth of curio industry among the Leya and their neighbouring Lozi.\textsuperscript{21} In the pre-colonial era, curio making was done as a pass time – given as gifts. However, the establishment of railway which brought many tourists to the falls commercialised the curio industry. According to Muleya Milimo, Senior headman of Mukuni village; his uncle became rich through curio making, he was able to pay tax and it’s from sales of curio which enabled him to pay lobola (pride price) for his marriage (milimo).\textsuperscript{22} Curio industry has continued to play a major role in the Leyas’ economic life.

At the time of this research, the author found eleven tourists at Mukuni palace who had gone there to buy curios and also to observe the traditional life styles of the Leya in a true African setting. The Mukuni village is an integral part of the tourist attraction in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{23}

Although tourism became an important aspect of the economic activity in Livingstone, it is not the only industry in the district. Livingstone has been a commercial and industrial backbone of the Southern Province. The town had the
largest textile industry in the country. In addition, Livingstone once served as a motor assembly centre for Fiat and Peugeot vehicles. The town processed timber and also assembled radios.\textsuperscript{24}

Although tourism is an important aspect of economic activity in Livingstone, this area has been neglected by historians. One of the purposes of this study is to redress this imbalance of the historiography. The only academic works available on Zambia tourism are by Huckabay\textsuperscript{25}, Mwale\textsuperscript{26} and Husbands.\textsuperscript{27} However, these studies are all written from largely a geographical perspective and therefore are devoid of a historical dimension.

Popovic in his book \textit{Tourism in Eastern Africa} (1972), has a chapter on Livingstone. His concern was with supportive infrastructure for the tourism industry. He has argued that Kenya's tourism policy is well spelt out and has created an ideal environment for development and expansion of the tourism sector. Popovic highlights the heavy investment in the hotel industry and game parks. Furthermore, Popovic cites liberation wars in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 by the Rhodesian government as major constraints on tourism in Zambia, particularly in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{28} However, Popovic treated these issues in passing and did not offer a critical analysis. This study has investigated in depth the constraints of tourism.

Bryden’s study of the economics of the Caribbean Islands in \textit{Tourism and Development: A Case Study of Commonwealth Caribbean} (1973), though written
from a geographical point of view, was one of the most elaborate studies. Bryden provided highlights on the role of government policy in relation to the development of tourism. Central to Bryden's work is the hotel industry which he identified as a source of revenue and employment for the local communities. While analyzing the impact of tourism on land, Bryden observed that the expansion of tourism in the Caribbean alienated land from the local people to the multinational companies for hotel construction. According to Bryden, tourism led to the development in other tourist related sectors of the economy such as boating, crafts and tour agents. This work is in agreement on most issues raised by Bryden but, goes further to show how some government decisions can help or retard tourism development.

Asong, in his article entitled "The Transfer of Technology and other things", (1979) noted that the tourism industry is capital intensive and is a vehicle of externalization of foreign exchange from the Third World to the developed nations. Asong argued that developing countries receive little benefits from the tourism industry. This study has attempted an in-depth investigation of constraints which affected tourism in Livingstone between 1945 and 1991.

De Kadt in Introduction in Tourism: Passport to Development (1979), looked at the economic benefits of tourism. He reinforced Bryden's findings on economic and social aspect of tourism. According to De Kadt, tourism improves the standard of living of the local people through employment in the tourism sector. De Kadt's work is useful to us since it also dealt with the issue of local participation in tourism. The current study highlights the economic gains by the inhabitants of Livingstone.
Huckabay's work in *The Rocks in God's Highway* (1987), discussed the success of an American company, Sobek. According to Huckabay, Sobek launched white water rafting expedition on the middle of Zambezi river which until 1981 was regarded as impassable. Huckabay's work also highlighted the economic activities which took place on the Zambezi river and the Victoria Falls. The work was written from a geographical perspective and is more of a prospectus for tourists. Nevertheless, his work is useful as it examined the issue of funding and areas of investment in Zambia.

Mwale's work (1991) is another of the academic studies written on tourism in Zambia. Mwale's major concern was to analyze factors which appealed to tourists and those which dissatisfied them. His work was to ascertain the extent to which tourist demands were met by the Zambian tourist attractions. Mwale blamed the poor state of tourist infrastructure as a major constraint to the tourist industry, an aspect this study investigates in more detail. Mwale's work further provides us with vital information on some of the problems which beset the tourism industry in Zambia. This study however, goes further in analyzing the success and constraints from a broad historical perspective.

Husbands' paper titled: "Nature, Society and the Origins of Tourism at the Victoria Falls (Zambia)" (1995), is a valuable piece of work. It traced the evolution of tourism in Livingstone before independence. Husbands rightly observed that the Victoria Falls occupied a central position vis-à-vis tourism in Zambia. He noted that the extension of railway to Livingstone in 1904 improved transport for tourists and
enhanced the falls' tourism potential. He further gave a general analysis of tourism in Livingstone District.  

This study will attempt to investigate the major forces which shaped the development of the tourism industry in Livingstone District. It will also investigate the extent to which both the colonial and post-colonial governments facilitated the development of the tourism industry. It will also document the areas of investment and highlight the various tourist infrastructures established in the district. Another aspect of concern is the local people's participation in the tourism industry. The study will further investigate the imbalance in the tourism development between Livingstone and the Victoria Falls Town of Zimbabwe. Lastly, the study will examine the success and constraints which tourism industry encountered over time.

This dissertation comprises five chapters. The second chapter looks at the history of the early inhabitants of Livingstone District, the Leya, highlighting the religious role they attached to the falls. It discusses the importance of the Victoria Falls as the major phenomenon which encouraged the development of tourism in the area. The chapter also analyzes the private effort by the white settler community in the development of tourism in Livingstone. It equally addresses the BSACo.'s position as regards tourism development in the district.

In order to have a comprehensive analysis of the development of tourism in Zambia, and Livingstone in particular, we need to place the study in the political economy of the Southern African region. From the outset, the issue of the tourism development in
Livingstone was a result of the penetration of capitalism in Northern Rhodesia from the south. The unequal penetration of capitalism in Northern and Southern Rhodesias, created a deep-rooted imbalance in the general economic development of the two countries.

Northern Rhodesia was created as an extension of British power in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, and therefore remained as an appendage of these two countries on which the BSACo.'s real power rested.

The total neglect of Northern Rhodesia by the BSACo., was a result of the company's failure to discover the Second Rand in the land north of the Zambezi river. This aspect was later to influence the political and economic development of the territory. The absence of minerals in the north attracted a small white settler population which was concentrated along the line of railway and in Fort Jameson (Chipata). Northern Rhodesia with a small white settler community was at a disadvantage compared with Southern Rhodesia, which had a large white settler population. In Southern Rhodesia, the white settlers with the help of the colonial government established a racist policy which was also applied to the economy of the country. The white settlers' agriculture received government assistance in Southern Rhodesia. This created an elite class of rich farmers and generally boosted the economy of the country. With an improved economy, the whites in Southern Rhodesia were able to save some money and could afford the luxury which went with the entry to tourist recreational facilities such as Boat Clubs and so on.
Africans were excluded from the tourism development through deliberate policies enacted by the colonial government. They (blacks) were poor and underpaid hence could not afford to enjoy the recreational activities of tourism. Additionally the concept of tourism was alien to Africans; things which fascinated Europeans as novel were to Africans regarded as of no curiosity value. For instance, the Leyas had lived near the falls for a long time. Equally Africans lived side by side with the game and took no pleasure in game viewing.

It is from this background that we see that colonial states of Africa with sound economies with large white settler communities developing sound tourism industries. These countries are Algeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The third chapter deals with the colonial government’s participation in the tourism industry in Livingstone. The chapter analyzes the glaring imbalance in tourism development between Livingstone and Victoria Falls Town in Zimbabwe. It further identifies the neglect of the tourism industry in the area during the Federation, noting that the federal government concentrated on expanding and developing industries in Southern Rhodesia. Thus, in Southern Rhodesia better tourist infrastructures were established than in Northern Rhodesia.

The fourth chapter discusses the role of the post-colonial government as regards tourism expansion. The diversification of the economy was an important factor which stimulated government interest in the tourism industry. However, the post-colonial era faced two major constraints. The first was the Unilateral Declaration of
Independence (UDI) by Ian Smith in 1965. The closure of the Zambia/Zimbabwe border in 1973 equally adversely affected tourism in Zambia. Other factors were the falling prices of copper and rise in oil prices. A short conclusion of this study appears at the end and marks the fifth and final chapter.

The data for this dissertation were collected in the following manner. Firstly, I consulted and analyzed primary and secondary sources in the University of Zambia library. These included colonial annual reports, books, unpublished dissertations, newspapers and magazines. These sources provided a broad view on the subject.

Secondly, I consulted primary sources at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) in Lusaka. These sources mainly comprised district notebooks, tour reports and original correspondence. I also consulted a contemporary document, the *Livingstone Mail*, which contained vital information on various aspects of tourism development in Livingstone district. Thirdly, I consulted reports from the Ministry of Tourism and the Zambia National Tourist Board offices.

Finally, I conducted fieldwork in Livingstone and Victoria Falls Town in Zimbabwe. I gathered data from the following departments: National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC), Central Statistics, Musi-oa-tunya National Park, Rainbow Lodge, Musi-oa-tunya Hotel, the new North-Western Hotel, Fairmount Hotel, Livingstone Central Police and National Museum. I also visited Chief Mukuni’s palace. I interviewed different categories of people to find out their opinion on the development of tourism in the area and how they wanted the industry to develop. At
the Victoria Falls Town, the only government official who accorded me an interview was the Administrative Officer of the area. Most government officers declined to grant me an interview. I was denied information on the basis of being a foreigner in spite of the introductory letter from the University of Zambia which stated that my work was for academic purpose only.

The major constraint or limitation encountered during the production of this work was lack of archival data. Most of the files on Livingstone and the BSACo. had little information pertinent to the tourism industry, an indication that successive colonial governments grossly neglected the tourism industry. This neglect was inherited by the post-colonial government which attempted to redress the situation.

In the face of this problem, I heavily relied on secondary sources mainly the newspapers and magazines. Another limitation was lack of explicit figures on areas of investment and the number of tourists who visited Livingstone in particular. Most of the sources approach these issues in a holistic manner. In this work the names Northern Rhodesia and Zambia as well as Southern Rhodesia and Zimbabwe will be interchangeably used.
NOTES


11. Northern Rhodesian Government (NRG), The Northern Rhodesia Handbook (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1953), pp.70-75; Chaibva, Tourism and Environment in Victoria Falls, pp. 7-12.


20. NAZ, KSC4/1, Livingstone District Notebook 1906-24, pp. 12-42; See also, interview with Paul Matongo, Mukuni Village, Kalomo District, Zambia (16 July, 1999); He recalled that as a young boy, he hearded cattle and his parents discouraged him to go to school.


22. Interview with Muleya Milimo, Headman, Mukuni Village, Kalomo District, Zambia (16 July, 1999); see also interview with Chief Mukuni, Mukuni Palace, Kalomo District, Zambia (15 April, 1996).

23. Interview with Lisa Cowell, a tourist from Australia, Mukuni Village, Kalomo District, Zambia (16 April, 1996). She said that she was happy to see the beautiful African crafts made at Mukuni palace. “I will buy some curios to take home as presents to my friends; The people of this area can generate a lot of money if only they could establish business contacts with other foreign companies”, Cowell observed.


CHAPTER TWO: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM UP TO 1945

This chapter seeks to explain some of the major factors which shaped the development of tourism up to 1945. It is argued here that the presence of the Victoria Falls was cardinal to the development of tourism in Livingstone.¹ The chapter highlights how the local people, the Leya, perceived the falls prior to the advent of Europeans. It was the early Europeans who popularised the falls as a tourist resort. The white settlers identified the potential of tourism in the area and engaged themselves in the tourism industry. However, there was a clash of interests between the private entrepreneurs and the government.

The falls were originally known as Shungunamutitima (the smoke that thunders) by the earliest inhabitants of the area, the Leya.² Around the 1830s, the Kololo, one of the Sotho group who fled South Africa due to Mfecane (wars of Shaka) called the falls Musi-oa-tunya, (the smoke that thunders) the name which is currently in use.³ Incidentally, the two African names have the same meaning, the smoke that thunders.⁴ This is because of the smoke-like vapour which is formed by the falling water.

The Leya considered the Musi-oa-tunya falls as a vital natural phenomenon of their economy before the advent of colonialism. The ecology of Buleya (Leya land) was economically unfavourable due to low and erratic rainfall as well as generally poor soils. Agriculture was therefore confined to areas along the Zambezi and its tributaries where rich alluvial soils could sustain crops.⁵ The insufficient rainfall led to frequent occurrences of droughts and famine.⁶ Consequently, ritual ceremonies of thanksgiving
THE VICTORIA FALLS AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY THE RESEARCHER ON 5 MAY (1996)

The inception of the Victoria Falls in Livingstone District can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century, when Dr. David Livingstone and another Dr. Livingstone, on his second journey into central South Africa (1855-1856) became the first white man to ascend the falls on 10 November 1855. It was Livingstone who named the Mopane Bush Camp of the Victoria Falls in honor of the British Queen, Victoria. At the turn of the twentieth century, the British South Africa
and of supplication became a marked feature of the Leya society. These rituals were centred on the falls which was regarded as a rain shrine.\(^7\)

The Leya regarded the falls as a sacred place. The falls were highly revered as a rain shrine, and were only accessed during prayers for the rains. Offerings were taken to the shrine at the falls in form of goats in appreciation of good rains. The Leya were led into prayers by a high priestess, Bedyango. The Bedyango was a significant political and religious figure among the Leya in that she was responsible for appointment and installation of new Leya chiefs. Additionally, she led the Leya in prayer rituals in the event of natural calamities such as droughts and mysterious epidemics.\(^5\) The second shrine was upstream and was called Chisamucilikumbete (self embracing tree).\(^9\) At Chisamucilikumbete shrine, people who were afflicted with various incurable diseases were taken for cleansing. Prior to the construction of the Railway bridge at the falls in 1904, the sick were made to jump and wash in the river with their clothes on. Thereafter, the clothes were left in the water. It is claimed that the sick were cured.\(^10\) The falls were a very important and integral part of the Leya religious activity.\(^11\)

The inception of the tourism industry in Livingstone District can be traced from the second half of the nineteenth century when a Scottish missionary and explorer, Dr. David Livingstone, on his second journey into South Central Africa(1854-1856) became the first white man to be shown the falls on 16 November 1855. It was Livingstone who named the Musi-oa-tunya falls as Victoria Falls in honour of the British Queen, Her Majesty Queen Victoria.\(^12\) At the turn of the twentieth century, the British South Africa
Company (BSA Co.), named Buleya as Livingstone District. This was in honour of a Scottish missionary David Livingstone who opened up Central Africa for the British imperialism.

Through his public speeches and lecturers in Britain, Livingstone opened the falls to the outside world. The novelty of the falls made a strong impression on him. Livingstone's comments on the falls were so striking that almost every scholar on the falls has acknowledged them. In the words of Livingstone:

No one can imagine the beauty of the view from any witnessed in England. It had never been seen before by European eyes; but scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight.13

Following Livingstone's epoch making 'discovery', many European travellers including those who came to South Central Africa made the falls their object. The early travellers to the falls, such as William Baldwin, an English hunter, Thomas Baines and many others found it appealing to the human sight and attempted to describe it. The Victoria Falls, since its 'discovery' by Livingstone, has presented to its visitors a sight that defies ordinary description. It is claimed that, 'the best way to appreciate the falls' beauty and magnificence is by visiting them.'14

Successive visitors to the falls were equally impressed. Among them included James Chapman, who visited the falls in 1862. Like Livingstone, Chapman was greatly impressed by the falls and commented thus:
The falls could bring into combination, at one view, such a variety of most stupendous and beautiful effects inspiring at once terror, devotion and delight, and bowing the feeble ... adding that acknowledge and believe in the superior power of Him who made the Heaven and created all wonders.\textsuperscript{15}

As Chapman suggests, the falls’ mystic nature, could have been a factor which made the Leya to associate them with a supernatural power, God. It is from this basis that the falls were perceived as a place not to be frequented for sight-seeing or used as a play ground.\textsuperscript{16} The falls were not just grand and striking but they evoked a quality of ‘fearsomeness.’ Livingstone, when approaching the falls was forewarned of a great serpent which was not to be disturbed.\textsuperscript{17}

The early travellers enhanced tourism to the falls through their speeches and writings. One such traveller was Frederick Selous, a famous hunter who saw the falls in 1875 and remarked that the falls were:

\begin{quote}
The most glamorous water falls in the world and one, if not the most transcendentally beautiful natural phenomenon on this side of the paradise.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

Such comments played a significant role in promoting tourism based on the falls. The falls were aesthetically pleasing and their grandeur inspired an increasing number of travellers to the area. Tourism development at the falls during the second half of the nineteenth century was what Lewis called the ‘discovery phase’. According to Lewis, during this period, ‘newly discovered tourist features were chiefly visited by explorers’.\textsuperscript{19} The Victoria Falls, however, attracted not just explorers but also hunters,
‘sportsmen’, missionaries and traders. The number of Europeans who reached the falls increased steadily. By 1875 it is recorded that twenty five had gone to see the falls.\textsuperscript{20} It can be ascertained that this period of ‘discovery’ laid down a foundation for tourism in Livingstone.

Incidentally, the development of tourism at the falls, coincided with the emerging European interest in natural history and big game hunting. This played a leading role in tourism by encouraging travels.\textsuperscript{21} The upper class in Britain used its financial power to encouraging hunters to open up South-Central Africa. A typical example of the relationship between the hunters and Britain’s subsequent ascendency in Southern Africa was evidenced by the British South Africa Company’s penetration of the Zambezi region, through the influence and assistance of such hunters as Frederick Selous and George Westbeech. The duo played a significant role in the initial development of both tourism and colonisation of Central Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{22}

In the 1880’s, Harry Ware and George Westbeech, in an effort to exploit tourism potential of the falls engaged themselves in Safari tours for European travellers to the falls. The two were the first tour agents to be established in the region and facilitated travels for tourists who travelled from South Africa and Europe to come and view the falls.\textsuperscript{23} In addition, Ware initiated a deliberate promotional campaign of the falls by advertising his Safari tours in the Field Magazine in England. These advertisements, brought the tourist profile of the falls to a wider readership in England and Europe as a
whole. Consequently, the falls attracted tourists, who appreciated the services provided by Ware and Westbeech which included accommodation, food and canoes. Ware and Westbeech’s tour safaris were sometimes beset with some difficulties such as illness. For example, an English visitor, writing about his trip to the falls in the mid 1880s, stated that his journey was unsuccessful due to the illness of Westbeech. Those travellers who were conducted to the falls were taken care of by Westbeech who also obtained hunting rights for his visitors. The safari tours organised by the two entrepreneurs did not only benefit them but were also a source of employment to Africans. Africans were employed as canoe paddlers and porters.

The early European travellers to the Victoria Falls were in no doubt attracted by its beauty. The falls thus became a viable economic venture. The opportunity to develop tourism in the falls region gained momentum at the turn of the twentieth Century, with the imposition of colonial rule by the BSA Co. in the region.

The BSA Co. government made Livingstone its administrative capital in 1907. F.W. Sykes became the first Native Officer. Unlike the northern towns of Kabwe, Ndola, Kitwe, Chingola and Chililabombwe which developed as a result of the discovery of copper, Livingstone grew mainly as a result of tourism. The town owed its establishment to two major factors: its place as the main port of entry into Northern Rhodesia and its proximity to the Victoria Falls which later earned it the title as the ‘tourist capital’ of Zambia.
The discovery of copper at Kafue Hook, 300 kilometres west of Lusaka on the Mongu road, lead and zinc in Kabwe (Broken Hill) in 1901 and 1902, respectively, enhanced the status of Livingstone and reduced the importance of Kazungula which hitherto was a principal entry point into North-Western Rhodesia. With the discovery of copper, mineral prospecting companies from the south found the crossing at Kalei (Old Drift) near the falls more convenient than Kazungula. Machinery for the mines were crossed into North-Western Rhodesia through Livingstone. The first European settlement in North-Western Rhodesia was established at the Old Drift in 1898. The Old Drift was some nine kilometres upstream of the falls on the Zambezi river and was at a place where the river was narrow and deep.

The first European settler to take up settlement at the Old Drift was Fredrick Clark who arrived there in 1898. Upon his settlement, Clark established himself as a businessman. He started operating as a clearing agent of goods from the south. Africans were employed to paddle his canoes and ferry people and their goods into North-Western Rhodesia. In 1901, the Old Drift received one of the notable settler to the area. The new settler was Fred Mills who came with his wife. Having realised the potential of tourism in the area, the Mills opened up a restaurant to cater for the locals and tourists. By 1903 the European population had increased to sixty eight.

The Old Drift settlers took advantage of the tourism potential of the area by undertaking business in tourist-related ventures such as hotel building and canoe-hiring to tourists who went for picnics on the islands of the Zambezi. Percy Clark who arrived at the
Old Drift in 1903, equally exploited the situation by engaging himself in photographical enterprise. Clark took photographs of the falls and sold them as souvenirs to the tourists.\textsuperscript{37}

In 1903 a visitor to the Old Drift renamed the settlement as Livingstone, in honour of the late explorer and missionary.\textsuperscript{38} Perhaps, one of the notable settlers at the Old Drift was Leopold Moore who settled there in 1904.\textsuperscript{39} Moore was later to play a major political and economic role in the development of Northern Rhodesia. Through his newspaper, the \textit{Livingstone Mail}, Moore championed the European settlers’ aspirations, business concerns and grievances to the government.\textsuperscript{40}

From its inception, the Old Drift had one major problem; the place was heavily infested with mosquitoes which caused malaria, which when insufficiently treated turned into fatal blackwater fever.\textsuperscript{41} As Clark, one of the earliest settlers in Livingstone, noted ‘almost everybody was sick and there was a funeral in the white community every week.’\textsuperscript{42} The unhealthy environment forced the BSA Co. to abandon the Old Drift and move its offices to the present site. The Old Drifters who were against the shifting of the settlement were not happy about the company’s decision because they feared that tourism would collapse.\textsuperscript{43} However, the BSA Co. insisted on the move, especially after the construction of the railway near the Victoria Falls in 1904. The BSA Co. allayed the settlers’ fears of the development of a town on the southern bank of the Zambezi river. It promised to demolish the only tourist infrastructure, the Victoria Falls Hotel, built by the railway company in 1903. The BSA Co. argued that the Victoria Falls Hotel was
built as a temporal accommodation for its employees. The company maintained that the development of a town near the falls would mar the natural beauty of the landscape.

In order to exploit the minerals in the North, The BSA Co. organised capital and invested it in the railway line expansion. The settlers were equally apprehensive of the development of a new town across the Zambezi, the Victoria Falls Town in Southern Rhodesia. The settlers feared tourism competition with their counterparts. In 1904, the railway was extended from Bulawayo to Livingstone. It crossed the Zambezi river a few metres south of the falls in line with the wish of Cecil Rhodes, the architect of Central African colonization. Rhodes had earlier suggested that the bridge across the Zambezi should be built near the falls, so that it would have the spray of the falls. The coming of the line of rail, though intended for transportation of minerals and other goods, was to play a vital role in the development of tourism in Livingstone. The railway enhanced tourism in the area by easing accessibility to the falls. It also drastically reduced costs and days of travel from the south and consequently a large number of visitors became a common feature after 1904.

Prior to the construction of the railway, travelling to the falls was hazardous; it was by foot, horse and ox-driven wagons. The wagon trail from Bulawayo to the falls, passed through an arid and lion-infested territory which David Livingstone appropriately called the ‘Valley of death’. With the construction of the railway line, a journey from Wankie [Hwange] which took a week was now reduced to a day. This development
undoubtedly led to the increased inflow of tourists to the area. It should be categorically stated from the outset that the BSA Co. when constructing the railway, did not have the objective of developing tourism in Livingstone and the colony. As will be shown later, when the company failed to develop a viable mining industry in Northern Rhodesia, its economic policy shifted in favour of exporting cheap African labour to Katanga mines and Southern Rhodesia mines and farms into which some of its shareholders had invested.\textsuperscript{52} In 1921, there were 5049 Africans from Northern Rhodesia who were working in Katanga’s Union Minière Copper mine.\textsuperscript{53}

The principal concern of the company \textit{vis-a-vis} the construction of the railway line was to exploit minerals. However, by this action the BSA Co. indirectly and unconsciously helped the development and expansion of tourism in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{54} The railway encouraged more visitors to the falls and a white settler Percy Clark, claimed of making huge profits from the sales of photographs to the increasing number of tourists at the falls. Clark’s photographs of the falls were on high demand by tourists who bought them as souvenirs. Clark’s photographs were another vehicle through which the falls were promoted to the outside world as a tourist destination. Through the sales of the photographs he was later able to live in comfort in Britain.\textsuperscript{55}

As observed by Phillipson, by 1904, King Lewanika of the Lozi obtained an annual income of as much as two hundred pounds from his curio shop.\textsuperscript{56} The importance of the curio industry as a result of the expansion of tourism at the Falls was further amplified by Chief Mukuni. Chief Mukuni of the Leya made sure that the BSA Co. allowed his
people to sell their curios at the falls following the construction of the rail line. Since 1904, the Leya have monopolised the sale of curios at the falls, where they have an exclusive place to conduct their business.\textsuperscript{57}

In 1905, the BSA Co., through persuasion and verbal threats forced the settlers to abandon the Old Drift. By January 1906, all the settlers moved to a new site (Livingstone). What remains of the Old Drift today is a cemetery which is protected by the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) as a national relic.\textsuperscript{58} The cemetery forms an integral part of the tourist attraction in the Musi-oa-tunya park where it is located. In the new town of Livingstone, the European settlers who had earlier engaged themselves in the tourism industry embarked on similar ventures. They formed the Livingstone Boat Club in 1905 which organised the first regatta on the Zambezi.\textsuperscript{59} The occasion drew participants from many parts of Africa, particularly South Africa. There were over a thousand visitors. This number outstripped the accommodation of the area.\textsuperscript{60}

The increase in the number of tourists at the falls, led to the development of hotels in Livingstone. In June 1906, Fred Mills opened the Livingstone Hotel.\textsuperscript{61} In October, another businessman, ‘Mopane’ Clark, opened the North-Western Hotel.\textsuperscript{62} By 1906, Livingstone’s premier hotels, the Livingstone and North-Western were equipped with telephones and electricity for easy communication and comfort of tourists. The two hotels played a significant role in developing tourism in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{63} Owing to the increase in hotels, Livingstone received many tourists. For instance, in 1906 alone, two hundred visitors are said to have spent their holidays in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{64}
The origin of the tourism industry in Livingstone as indicated by the participants of the Zambezi regatta, was a product of the emerging elite class of Europeans and whites from Southern Africa. Africans from the outset were excluded from tourism because of the racial discrimination which was applied even on the economic front. Husbands noted:

on the whole, Africans were employed as labourers

or curio vendors or Europeans were prone to think

of Africans as curios themselves or as lesser people.⁵⁵

Africans in Northern Rhodesia were poor and therefore could not afford the luxury which is associated with tourism.

Comparatively, the BSA Co.'s policy and attitude towards the falls and their surrounding environs appear to have been. The company seems to have favoured Southern Rhodesia. As regards its policy toward tourism in Northern Rhodesia, the company seems to have been bent on preserving the falls, which it recognised as an environmental asset to be protected and preserved for the future generations. It was from this premise that the BSA Co. in 1906 instituted a legislative organ: the Victoria Falls Conservancy or park, with Sykes as its first curator.⁶⁶ The conservancy covered an area of eight kilometers in radius from the falls on both banks of the Zambezi.⁶⁷ According to the new law, no hunting or shooting of game was allowed in the area. Cutting down trees or removing flowers were equally not allowed in the park.⁶⁸
park was to be a sanctuary of wildlife. It ought to be pointed out here that by creating
the conservancy, the BSA Co. systematically alienated Africans from the falls.

The law also undermined the Leyas' religious practices. The falls to Africans were an
important and sacred place which united them. In addition, Africans were denied
hunting rights in the park. This proscription of hunting in the park reduced the Leyas'
access to game, a rich source of animal protein.\textsuperscript{69} The conservancy became exclusively
a preserve of the Europeans who complemented game viewing with gazing at the falls
and achieved aesthetic satisfaction. The falls and game have ever since formed a
significant tourist attraction in Livingstone District.\textsuperscript{70} In order to manage the
conservancy effectively, an initial grant of £200 was allocated jointly between North-
Western Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia for the project.\textsuperscript{71}

The company government's involvement in tourism industry hardly went beyond its
creation of the conservancy. Much of the initiative to develop the recreation remained
in private hands. For example, canoe hiring was one of the businesses which private
entrepreneurs developed in the area. Tourists who went to picnic on the islands on the
Zambezi hired such canoes.\textsuperscript{72} Perhaps the most important business event to occur on the
Zambezi river was the World Sculling Championship of 1910.\textsuperscript{73} This event was
initiated by the Livingstone Boating Club and attracted many new participants from
across the world. In an effort to be associated with this event, the BSA Co. donated
£100. The 1910 event put Livingstone District on the world tourist map.\textsuperscript{74}
However, government's indifference towards tourism frustrated their effort. The company reneged on its assurance of not establishing a town on the southern bank of the Zambezi. Instead, the company - government covertly encouraged the emergence of the Victoria Falls Town in Southern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{75}

In addition, the Victoria Falls Hotel at Victoria falls town which the company promised to raze down grew into a grand hotel with no match in Central Africa.\textsuperscript{76} This, therefore, marked the beginning of the imbalance in the development and expansion of tourism in Livingstone District and the Victoria Falls Town. As the European settlers and investors in Livingstone rightly feared, the establishment of the Victoria Falls Town was a disadvantage to them in that, tourists were more attracted by the Victoria Falls Hotel than the hotels on the Zambian side.\textsuperscript{77} The BSA Co. was equally criticised for not improving communication in Livingstone and between Livingstone and the Falls. The poor and erratic transport discouraged tourists to come to Livingstone. Comparatively, the BSA Co. favoured the development of Southern Rhodesian economy as opposed to that of Northern Rhodesia. This unequal development was inherited and carried over by the successive colonial government up to 1963.\textsuperscript{78}

The industry's problems became particularly acute in the years towards and during the First World War, 1914 to 1918. The political instability in Europe greatly affected travel to areas outside Europe.\textsuperscript{79} Tourism is a very sensitive industry which can not thrive in politically unstable countries. Northern Rhodesia as part of the British Empire had an obligation to defend the empire. To this end, the BSA Co. directed the country's financial and human resources to the war effort. The general public was asked to
contribute to the war, for instance Lewanika, chief of the Lozi, contributed £200 for the war. Northern Rhodesia forces were sent for military campaigns in Northern Rhodesia to fight the Germans.® The economic situation on the colony after the war was not sound. The war had a negative impact on the general economy of the country.®¹ In the face of such economic ills, the BSA Co. found itself in a serious financial position and could hardly administer the vast country. The BSA Co. as a joint stock company, failed lamentably to develop Northern Rhodesia. This is one of the reasons why the company relinquished the administration of Northern Rhodesia six years after the First World War. The Chartered company’s interests, as Lewanika observed as early as 1907, were concentrated somewhere else. As rightly observed by the Lozi chief, the BSA Co.’s interests were in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Northern Rhodesia proved to be a very expensive venture to contend with.®²

According to Lewis Gann, a colonial historian, the BSA Co. throughout its tenure of administration of Northern Rhodesia never made a dividend. The only investment associated to the company rule was the railway.®³ The BSA Co.’s policy during the first two decades of this century regarded Northern Rhodesia as a labour reservoir for the expanding economies of Southern Rhodesia. As Dr L. Jameson, BSA Co. stated: ‘Our policy was to develop Southern Rhodesia’.®⁴ This policy was the beginning of the unequal development of the tourism industry between Livingstone and the Victoria Falls town.

From 1924 to 1953, the administration of Northern Rhodesia came under the control of the British Colonial Office, with the Governor as its territorial head. The first Governor
of Northern Rhodesia was Sir Herbet Stanley. Tourism under the Colonial Office continued to face some constraints because the government was in financial difficulties. Just a few years after assuming power, the British Government and the Northern Rhodesia Government faced the World economic recession of 1929-1934 which seriously affected tourism and other industries. The worldwide slump meant that people could not afford to spend their incomes on tourism and other luxuries. As Victoria Langley noted, tourism usually thrives when people have extra income to spend. The depression years reduced the tourist inflow to the Livingstone District and Africa as a whole.

After the recession ended in the mid - 1930s, there was hope again for tourism development in Livingstone. The copper mines were reopened and as Europe braced itself yet for another war, copper sales soared. This brought a tremendous improvement in the Northern Rhodesian economy. The contribution of copper to the national economy rose from thirty per cent to ninety per cent. During the Second World War the Allies made heavy demand on copper. The exploitation of copper in the colony attracted European immigrants who came to work on the mines in Northern Rhodesia.

In the 1946 census of Northern Rhodesia, the European population stood at 21,907, whereas in 1931 it was only 13,846. This in turn was a positive development to the tourism industry in Livingstone because it increased local demand for internal tourism. The immigrant population enjoyed high incomes and could thus afford to visit Livingstone and other tourist resorts.
In 1935, the new colonial government boosted tourist attraction in Livingstone District by creating a museum, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. The idea of the museum was originally conceived by Moffat Thompson who, from 1929 to 1934, was Secretary of Native Affairs. Thompson envisaged a museum to preserve African material culture of various ethnic groups. However, Hubert Young who was the Governor, wanted the collections to be extended so that they could be a memorial to David Livingstone. In 1934, the Rhodes-Livingstone museum was established with A. Brew as its first curator. Like the Victoria Falls, the Rhodes-Livingstone museum became an important tourist attraction centre. The museum contained an ethnographical collection of arts from the different tribes. Many tourists who went to the falls also visited the museum to view African crafts, as well as Cecil Rhodes' and David Livingstone’s personal belongings which were/are kept there. Since then the museum has been one of the most frequented places by both local and foreign tourists.

**Conclusion**

It can be concluded from the foregoing that the BSA Co.’s general economic policy in Northern Rhodesia during the period under review up to 1923, was retrogressive. Scholars are unanimous that the BSA Co.’s. policy towards Northern Rhodesia was to treat the country as a labour reserve for the expanding copper mines of Katanga and farms of Southern Rhodesia. Although the British South Africa Company had recognised the potential of tourism in Livingstone, it did little to develop the tourism industry in the area. The company’s policy as regards tourism in Livingstone was ambivalent. In Livingstone, the BSA Co. frustrated the effort of the white settlers who
had built tourist infrastructure at the Old Drift. The government argued that the settlement was near to the falls and would mar its beauty. However, in Southern Rhodesia, the BSA Co. encouraged the establishment of the Victoria Falls Hotel and the Victoria Falls Town within the vicinity of the falls. This obviously disadvantaged Livingstone and laid the foundation of the current striking imbalance in tourism development between Livingstone and the Victoria Falls Town.
NOTES


30. Gelfand, Northern Rhodesia, pp. 32-35; Phillipson, The Victoria Falls, p. 143; Clark, The Autobiography, p. 72.


34. Clark, The Autobiography, p. 56; Gelfand, Northern Rhodesia, p. 64; Clay, "The Discovery and Historical Associations", pp. 32-34.

35. Phillipson, The Victoria Falls, p. 46.

36. Progressive Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique: Company’s Territories Supplement, p. 72.


39. Gelfand, Northern Rhodesia, p. 134.
40. NAZ, B5z/82-88, Administrator, Livingstone to High Commissioner in Cape Town, 11 March, 1911; *Livingstone Mail* (August, 1911).


43. Gelfand, *Northern Rhodesia*, p. 136; *Livingstone Mail* (13 April, 1906).


52. NAZ, HC/5/1/116, Northern Rhodesia Natives in Katanga, Report for October 1921 by British Vice Consul.

53. NAZ, HC/5/1/116, Northern Rhodesia Natives in Katanga, Report for October 1921 by British Vice Consul.

54. For expansion of tourism as a result of the railway, see Jack Simon, “Tourism in Great Britain”, pp. 201-12.


56. Phillipson, *The Victoria Falls*, p. 67; *Livingstone Mail* (6 April, 1906).

57. Interview with Chief Mukuni (15 April, 1996).
58. Interview with Oliver Himakanta, Regional Manager of National Heritage Conservation Commission, (NHCC), Southern and Western Provinces, NHCC office, Livingstone, Zambia (13 April, 1996).


64. **Livingstone Mail** (7 March, 1906).

65. Husbands, “Nature”, p. 14; see also, Per B. Rekdal, “Traditional Carving and Livingstone Curio Trade”, Phillipson (ed.), *The Victoria Falls*, p. 105: Rekdal argues that to the early European colonisers it was the Africans’ customs, their objects and the Africans themselves that were regarded as curios.

66. NAZ, KSC4/1, Livingstone Note book 1906 - 64, pp. 24 - 27.


69. NAZ, BSC/130, Preservation of the Natural Beauties of the Victoria Falls, 1922; Interview with Chief Mukuni.


71. **Livingstone Mail** (11 August, 1910); Lowth, *South Africa*, p. 93; see also, NAZ, BSz/1, Report on the Zambezi Regatta, 1910.

73. NAZ, BSz/1, Report on the Zambezi Regatta, 1910; Livingstone Mail (6 April, 1910); Clay, “The Discovery”, p. 36.

74. NAZ, BSz/1, Report on the Zambezi Regatta, 1910; Clark, The Autobiography. p. 52.

75. Livingstone Mail (11 August, 1910); Gelfand, Northern Rhodesia, p. 233.


77. Livingstone Mail (23 November, 1918); Husbands, “Nature”, p. 22.


80. NAZ, BS3, Report on Expenditure incurred by the BSACo. in Connection with War, February, 1916.


83. NAZ, HC/5/116, Lewanika from Lealui to Lord Selborne, London, 10 October, 1907.


92. NAZ, SEC6, Museum General Correspondence, 1934.

93. NAZ, SEC6, Museum General Correspondence, 1934.

94. Interview with Flexon Mizinga, Head, Humanities and Social Sciences Department, Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, Zambia (17 April, 1996); see also, NAZ, SEC6, Museum General Correspondence, 1934.
CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN LIVINGSTONE

1945 - 1963

Although both the BSA Co. and the colonial government had identified the potential of tourism in Livingstone, it was not until the end of the Second World War (in 1945) that serious efforts were made by the colonial government to develop the industry. The colonial government, this chapter argues, became actively engaged in formulating policy meant to develop tourism industry in the colony. The government assumed an active role in the development of the tourism industry because its financial position greatly improved as a result of an increase in the price of copper on the world market. Along with improved financial position came a reassessment of government’s economic activities. The chapter further notes that, comparatively the federal government favoured the development of Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, the imbalance in the development of the economy and tourism in particular in Northern and Southern Rhodesia continued after the Second World War.¹

In 1945, the colonial government drew up a development plan. W.J. Busschau, an economist, was assigned to identify areas of economic development which were viable in the country. In his report, Busschau, among other things, noted the significance of tourism as a vital economic activity which could generate revenue for the country.² The Busschau Report particularly noted the underdeveloped nature of tourism in Livingstone and highlighted the potential of the Victoria Falls in the enhancement of
tourism in the area. In his report, Busschau, recommended the Northern Rhodesian government to embark on a serious publicity campaign to sell the country’s tourist attractions to the outside world. Additionally, the report urged the government to establish tours in conjunction with tourist agencies of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa where the majority of Northern Rhodesia tourists came from.³

In 1946, the issue of tourism development in Northern Rhodesia was again addressed by the Northern Rhodesia Advisory Committee on Industrial Development. The Advisory Committee recommended the development of air transport which they saw as a major component of tourism development.⁴ Air transport enhances tourism by facilitating quick and easy travelling for tourists.⁵ The committee further recommended the establishment of a tourist office with a full-time publicity officer manning it. The committee finally urged the government to increase funding for tourism.⁶

These two reports were cardinal in influencing government position towards tourism development in Livingstone District and the territory as a whole. In its effort to increase hotel accommodation in Livingstone, the government advertised the lease of a hotel site near the Victoria Falls in September 1947.⁷ Although the private sector showed interest and applied for a hotel site, no hotel was built in the colonial era within the vicinity of the falls until after Independence in 1964.⁸ This was due to the lack of confidence by foreign companies in the country which was devoid of basic tourist infrastructure. As Amusa Mwanamwambwa noted, the other problem with foreign investment is that it
seeks out the economic activities that yield the highest profit, as sanctioned by business ethic.9

The improved economy of the colonial government in the late 1940s saw the construction of a big international airport which was opened in the 1950s in Livingstone. The establishment of an international airport enhanced tourism in the area as it facilitated the landing of bigger planes which brought many tourists. Prior to the establishment of the airport, bigger planes ended in Salisbury and most tourists remained in Southern Rhodesia. A group of prominent Livingstone citizens and Northern Rhodesia government officials worked towards this end.10 Consequently, in June 1946 the Central African Airways Corporation (CAA) was established and financed by Central African states, namely Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The capital for the corporation was subscribed in the ratio of fifty per cent from Southern Rhodesia, thirty-five per cent from Northern Rhodesia and fifteen per cent from Nyasaland.11

The Airline was based in Salisbury (Harare), Southern Rhodesia. The establishment of the CAA was a positive step towards the enhancement of the tourism industry in Livingstone. However, it should be mentioned that Livingstone was only indirectly connected to the outside world through the CAA. Foreign tourists first flew to Salisbury where the CAA had its major airport and later from there, they found their way by air to the falls. Livingstone’s tourism potential was not developed fully since the headquarters for the airline was based in Salisbury.12 Apparently most of these visitors ended their
visit on the Zimbabwean side without coming to Livingstone. This state of affairs continued until 1950 when the colony built its own airport at Livingstone.

Despite the new airport, Livingstone did not have direct connections to Europe, particularly Britain, its major tourist market. By virtue of being the CAA’s headquarters, Southern Rhodesia generally improved its internal airline and consequently attracted more tourists than Northern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{13} In the case of South Africa, the availability of air services greatly improved tourist arrivals in the country. According to the \textit{Livingstone Mail}, the number of tourist arrivals in Johannesburg increased from 1,098 in 1938 to 10,866 in 1947. The improvement of air transport and its effect on tourism earned South Africa £4,000,000.\textsuperscript{14} Other factors which facilitated the expansion of the tourism industry in Southern Rhodesia as compared to Zambia was the latter’s sound economic base. Tourism is a capital intensive industry and therefore could only be developed in countries with strong economies, a situation which was lacking in Northern Rhodesia. The Southern Rhodesian white settlers with both political and economic advantage over Northern Rhodesia were able to shape the development of tourism industry in Southern Rhodesia. The farmers were able to sustain the Hotel industry.\textsuperscript{15} The desire to benefit from the tourism industry influenced the government in Northern Rhodesia to seek South Africa’s assistance in the tourism industry in the territory.

In 1947, the Northern Rhodesia Government invited the South African Tourist Corporation (SATC) to investigate the colony’s tourism potential. The government’s
aim was to turn Northern Rhodesia into a tourist paradise. SATC noted that tourism in Northern Rhodesia was less developed than in South Africa because the former had poor tourist infrastructure. In South Africa, tourism ranked third, after the mineral and wool industries, both of which were sources of foreign exchange. SATC, further, observed that in 1947 the tourism industry earned South Africa twelve million pounds.\textsuperscript{16} Finally, SATC noted that tourist numbers in Northern Rhodesia were lower than those of Southern Rhodesia, because the latter had better tourist services than the former. For instance in 1947, there were over 38,000 tourists, spending an average of £50 each thus making tourism one of the biggest-revenue generating industries in Southern Rhodesia. In contrast, in the same year (1947), Northern Rhodesia had approximately 15,000 visitors and tourists.\textsuperscript{17} This glaring difference in terms of tourist inflow was to continue inspite of growing government intervention in tourism. Clearly, by 1940s, Southern Rhodesia had a better developed tourist infrastructure than Northern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{18} In 1947, a visiting delegation of the South African Tourist Corporation, urged the Northern Rhodesia government to improve tourist infrastructure in Livingstone, particularly the roads, hotels and rail station.\textsuperscript{19} Lack of hotel accommodation caused acute problems to tourists during the Royal visit in 1947 of the King and Queen of England, who came to see the falls. Most of the hotels were fully booked. The Royal visit did not help much to improve the tourism industry in Livingstone as roads were poorly maintained.\textsuperscript{20}

The poor state of roads and railway stations was a drawback which discouraged tourists, both real and potential. For example in 1948, a tourist was appalled by the filth of the Livingstone railway station:
I was much struck by the difference between the gateway approaching to the Victoria Falls from Southern Rhodesia and that of Northern Rhodesia’s neglect. On the Southern Rhodesia side the Victoria Falls station was clean ... no wonder tourists hurried down the path to the nearby hotel ... Livingstone station offers no such thrill ... sordid is the word (which) best fits the entrance to Livingstone by railway ... a shabby and miskept station, poverty small place[sic].

The unequal comparison of the cleanliness of the tourist facilities of the two countries made Livingstone less popular as a tourist destination, than the Victoria Falls Town in Zimbabwe.

Cognisant of the need to improve tourism in the country, the colonial government started to address some key areas which affected tourism. In 1950, the government, introduced the Hotel Bill, which was passed as law and subsequently led to the establishment of Hotel Boards. The prime objective of the Hotel Bill was to regulate and control standards of hotel services such as accommodation and food. The government recognition of the importance of tourism was evident in the preamble to the Hotel Bill which read:

The development of tourism and the shortage of hotel accommodation have made it desirable to control the standards of accommodation and the food provided and maximum prices charged by hotels in the country.

The Hotel Act was a positive legislation towards tourism development in the country in general and in Livingstone in particular. Under the new law, all hotel keepers were to apply for a licence. Those hotel owners whose standards did not meet the Hotel Board’s standards were not given licences. In order to provide quality services, hotels were
graded. Those with standards which could not meet the Hotel Board’s requirements were relegated to lower grades.\textsuperscript{25} This development was ideal for tourism development since it instilled a sense of competition among hotels in the country.

In the same year (1950), the colonial government established a Tourist Office in the area. H.D. Bridge, became the first Tourist Officer in Northern Rhodesia, based in Livingstone. The Tourist Officer was assigned to promote and market the country’s tourist attractions locally and abroad.\textsuperscript{26}

To improve tourism in Livingstone, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, personally summoned the Tourist Officer to Lusaka to discuss how best the country could exploit and enhance the tourism industry. The discussions were centred on the possibility of forming a tourist development corporation in Northern Rhodesia. This plan was based on the success of the East African Tourist Travel Association which covered Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.\textsuperscript{27} The East African Tourist Travel Association, among other things, had eased customs and immigration procedures at ports of entry and enhanced the improvement of hotel accommodation by engendering a spirit of competition. The association embarked on extensive publicity campaigns in the United States and Germany.\textsuperscript{28} These activities were lacking in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), hence the government’s concern and the need to establish a corporation on the East African model.

Equally important in the development of tourism was the opening of an International Airport in Livingstone in August 1950 by the colonial government.\textsuperscript{29} The airport was
built to accommodate big aeroplanes. This development attracted international airlines such as the ‘EL AL’ of Israel, the first to make use of the new facility.\textsuperscript{30} Additionally, the establishment of the airport, facilitated the development of the tourist related companies. In 1950, for instance, a professional tour company, the Cosmopolitan tour company was established in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{31}

Other international operators which used the Livingstone airport included the British Overseas Air Corporation (BOAC), and Air France which flew planes from Livingstone airport to Brazzaville,(Congo), Tananarive (Malagasy) and Johannesburg (South Africa).

South Africa Airways also used the Livingstone airport.\textsuperscript{32} Additionally, a local chartered airline, the Zambezi Airways, began operations within the country; It was based in Livingstone and mostly specialised in game flights in the vicinity of the falls.\textsuperscript{33}

The serious government involvement in the tourism industry which characterised the 1950s, greatly improved the tourism industry in Northern Rhodesia. The establishment of Hotel Boards and the opening of an International Airport helped to increase revenue collected from tourists. Revenue collected from tourism rose from £212,000 in 1950 to £273,000 during the first half of 1951.\textsuperscript{34} This figure might be an underestimate because tourist statistics are erratic and the tourist inflow to Livingstone was not well documented. It is only proper to assume that more revenue was generated as many tourists came to Livingstone, the principal tourist resort of the country. In August 1950 alone, Livingstone received 600 American tourists who went to see the Victoria Falls. In
the words of a resident in the 1950s, a visit to Northern Rhodesia was not complete unless the itinerary included the Victoria Falls. The Federal period was a period of boom and saw an increase in the tourist inflow to the Federal states. As Table 1 indicates:

Table I: Tourist Traffic in the Federation

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<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourists</td>
<td>84,056</td>
<td>102,052</td>
<td>14,517</td>
<td>112,057</td>
<td>117,057</td>
<td>128,023</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report of the Tourist Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1955 - 1960

Inspite of the increase of tourists to Livingstone, the area did not have sufficient hotels to accommodate the increasing inflow of visitors. This remained a thorny issue for visitors, especially American businessmen who complained about hotel accommodation in the town.

In 1953, the three Central African states of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, assumed a new political status; they were merged into the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia as the administrative capital of the Federal government. Henceforth, the Federal government took charge of all matters concerning European and economic development, including tourism.
The Federal arrangement favoured Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia took a dominant position because it had the majority of members in the Federal Parliament. Out of twenty-six members, fourteen came from Southern Rhodesia and only eight from the north.\(^{39}\) The dominance of Southern Rhodesia in the Federal government meant that; it influenced the policies to suit its needs. This is evidenced from the economic gains which Southern Rhodesia enjoyed at the expense of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The financial policy of the Federation was formulated in Salisbury and all income tax from the three territories went into the federal pool in Southern Rhodesia and benefited that country through a disproportionate allocation of expenditures to territories.\(^{40}\) This is evidenced from Table II

**Table II: Selected Federal Government Expenditures by Territory, 1958 - 59**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>NR</th>
<th>NYASALAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Central African Command</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Public debt</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Post and telegraphs</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Transport and public works</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Agriculture</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Education</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although tourism was not initially a separate government department, its importance was recognised by the Federal government. The Federal government facilitated the development of tourism particularly in the Victoria Falls Town. It controlled tourist services such as the civil aviation, administered in Southern Rhodesia at Salisbury. With this situation, it was easy for tourists to fly into Southern Rhodesia. The tourists booked in hotels of Southern Rhodesia and travelled in that country’s registered vehicles or in aircraft chartered in Salisbury to Livingstone. Livingstone only received revenue from payment of Park entrance fees and incidental expenses.

In Northern Rhodesia government policies were intended to promote tourism in the colony as a whole. The government enacted new laws which were intended to reinforce the programmes started by the colonial government before 1953. For instance, it continued supporting the Victoria Falls Conservancy by allocating it grants to enhance the smooth operation of the institution. The government also promulgated a number of ordinances in the 1950s to promote tourism. The most outstanding of these was the Victoria Falls Trust Ordinance. This Ordinance was intended to preserve the physical environment of the Victoria Falls from ecological destruction. Its other function was to foster tourism in the falls area. While preserving the beauty of the falls area, commercial exploitation which would mar the beauty of the falls was strictly forbidden. Furthermore, the government began to provide supportive tourist services, such as ferrying tourists from the North bank to the Livingstone Island.
The promulgation of the Victoria Falls Trust Ordinance was a positive action towards the development of tourism in Livingstone. It should be recognised that environmental preservation is an important input in tourism. The maintenance of a good environment is essential to the growth of tourism.\textsuperscript{47}

In 1954, the Northern Rhodesia government established the Maramba Cultural Village. The objective of the formation of the cultural village was to entertain local residents and tourists who visited Livingstone. According to Njekwa Sililo, the cultural village was to preserve the African culture through dances. However, the colonial mentality was to show Africans to their kith and kin (whites) as primitive people who needed a whiteman’s guidance. The Maramba cultural dancers performed various traditional dances every weekend. The Cultural Village has been a major tourist attraction in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{48}

PLATE 2: MARAMBA CULTURAL DANCER

PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY RESEARCHER ON 5 MAY (1996).
The importance of tourism as a source of government revenue, encouraged the federal government in 1958 to be directly involved in the management and administration of tourism. In 1958, the federal government formed the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board (RNTB). Here again the economic dominance of Southern Rhodesia manifested itself. The RNTB’s headquarters was in Salisbury. This development augmented tourism development in Southern Rhodesia and comparatively retarded the growth of tourism industry in colonial Zambia in general and Livingstone in particular. 49

The location of the Tourist Board office in Salisbury had a negative effect on Livingstone. The office’s promotional activities were biased in favour of the Victoria Falls Town. For instance its tourist advertisements favoured Southern Rhodesia more than Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Tourist Board, with assistance of Federal funds was able to open new tourist offices in other countries. In 1960, federal tourist offices were opened in Johannesburg, Durban and Nairobi. 50 The following year, a Federal Tourist Board office was opened in Rhodesia House in London and the Central African Aviation manager was to act as a promotional officer. His responsibility was to market federal tourist attraction in Europe. 51 These developments were a positive aspects as regards the expansion of tourism industry in the Federal period.

Livingstone with poor communication, accommodation and inadequate flight services, therefore, could not compete favourably with Victoria Falls Town. Most tourists ended in Southern Rhodesia which had better tourist infrastructure such as, good hotels, airports and road network. Consequently, this led to a considerable increase in the tourist flow to Southern Rhodesia at the expense of Northern Rhodesia. 52
As already noted, these developments however, were not balanced between Southern Rhodesia and the other members of the Federation. The imbalance in the development in tourism in Southern Rhodesia compared to Northern Rhodesia can be observed in the number of tour agencies that were operating in the two colonies. By 1962, there were twenty four tour agencies in Southern Rhodesia while Northern Rhodesia, had only seventeen. Of these, only one was located in Livingstone the ‘tourist capital’. The only agency was run by R.F. Sutherland Limited Company.\textsuperscript{53} Thus as late as the 1960s, Livingstone, with its relative poor communication, inadequate accommodation and flight services, continued to lose its tourist trade to the Victoria Falls Town.

The Livingstone District during the Federal period lagged behind the Victoria Falls Town in terms of tourism infrastructure due to unequal federal government support. In spite of the increase of copper prices, most of the revenue from copper sales was sent to Salisbury, the federal headquarters. The Northern Rhodesia Copper greatly improved the general economy and welfare of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{54}

With improved economy, the white population of Southern Rhodesia could afford vacational retreats in that country’s hotels and other tourist centres. This phenomenon led to the expansion of internal tourism.\textsuperscript{55} Internal tourism in Southern Rhodesia facilitated the expansion of international tourism as it generated sufficient revenue which helped to improve the tourism industry. This in turn, attracted more foreign visitors to Southern Rhodesia. Additionally, the large white population of Southern Rhodesia equally played a major role in that country’s tourist traffic. A large population of British immigrant settlers, fostered the flow of British tourists from England whose
settlers to Southern Rhodesia shared a common culture and ancestry with England. These factors gave sense of security and belonging to the tourists.56

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to indicate how active government participation in tourism led to expansion in the tourism industry in colonial Zambia and in Livingstone in particular.

The involvement of the government, led to the enactment of positive legislation and also a general improvement in the infrastructure of the tourism industry.

The Federal government arrangement from 1953 favoured the economic development of Southern Rhodesia more than the other members of the Federation. More financial resources went to Southern Rhodesia to promote her tourism and economy while Northern Rhodesia received less. In this way, the latter could not develop her tourism potential as much as Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, the development of tourism in Livingstone naturally lagged behind that of Victoria Falls Town.
NOTES


5. NRG, *Advisory Committee*, p. 23; Interview with Amusa Mwanamwambwa first General Manager of ZNTB, Lusaka, Zambia (3 August, 1999). He explained that it takes a month for a ship from Britain to arrive at Natal Port, while a plane takes only a few hours.


9. Interview with Amusa Mwanamwambwa.


15. Interview with Mwanamwambwa; see also, J. Simmons, “Tourism in Great Britain 1839 - 1914”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 19, 1984, pp. 201 - 12.


18. Interview with Kristine Ese, Livingstone, Zambia (20 May, 1996); see also, Profit No. 3/4 December, 1994, p. 29.


22. Interview with Ese.

23. NAZ, ML1/12/1, Hotel Board Minutes No. 95 of Lusaka (18 April, 1952).


25. Livingstone Mail (18 April, 1950); see also General Notice No. 265, dated 13 March, 1951.


29. Livingstone Mail (27 October, 1950).


33. NRG, Annual Colonial Report, 1951, p. 70.


35. Livingstone Mail (7 September, 1951).


37. Livingstone Mail (6 December, 1951).


41. Hazlewood and Henderson, Nyasaland the Economics of Federation, p. 49.

42. Interview with Chola Mulenga, former Marketing Manager of ZNTB, Lusaka, Zambia (7 July, 1999). He observed that Southern Rhodesia had an advantage over Northern Rhodesia because they had direct air connections with South Africa, East Africa and Britain; see also, Popovic, Tourism in East Africa, p. 180; Times of Zambia (27 September, 1988), it stated that during the pre-independence era much of tourism development took place in the then Southern Rhodesia now Zimbabwe which was regarded as a whitemen’s stronghold; see also, Ndeke Tales, Issue No. 3 (1984), p. 12; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Annual Tourist Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1959 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1959), pp. 1 - 8.

43. Interview with Mwanamwambwa; see also, Popovic, Tourism in East Africa, pp. 108 - 12; He equally made parallel observation of what obtained between Tanzania and Kenya. Popovic observed that tourists used vehicles and planes from Kenya into Tanzania and returned to Kenya. This denied Tanzania enough revenue from tourism trade.


49. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Annual Report 1959, pp. 8 - 11;


52. Interview with Gaudensio Rossi, Managing Director of Ndeke Hotel, Lusaka, Zambia (22 February, 1995); Rossi observed that Southern Rhodesia had an advantage over Northern Rhodesia because the former had direct air connections with South Africa, East Africa and Britain; Popovic, *Tourism in East Africa*, p. 180; *Times of Zambia* (27 September, 1988); see also, *Ndeke Tales*, Issue No. 3 (1984), p. 12.


54. Interview with Rossi.

55. Interview with Rossi; see also, Interview with Nicholas Katanekwa, Director of the National Heritage Commission, Livingstone, Zambia (15 April, 1996). He argued that tourism is a very expensive venture and only those people with enough money could afford it. In Southern Rhodesia, the whites with a general improved welfare fostered the development of tourism in the Victoria Falls Town; Hazlewood and Henderson, *Nyasaland the Economics of Federation*, pp. 32 - 70.

56. Interview with Katanekwa.

The independence of Zambia in October 1964, opened a new chapter in the history of tourism in the country. The new government, recognised the significance of tourism as a foreign exchange earner and undertook programmes to promote the industry. However, this chapter argues, that government enthusiasm in tourism faced a number of obstacles, such as the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by Rhodesia in 1965, the closure of the Zambia-Rhodesia borders in 1973 and the government support for liberation struggles in the regime. These hindered the growth of tourism in the country.¹

The United National Independence Party (UNIP) government’s action to promote tourism can be traced from as early as 1964 because it realised the danger of over-dependence on copper. The government realised the significance of tourism as an important source of foreign exchange. With this in mind, in 1964, the government imported white Rhinoceros from Zululand in South Africa. They were subsequently transferred to Livingstone’s Musi-oa-tunya National Park.² According to the Zambia Information Service, the presence of white Rhinoceros attracted many tourists to the Musi-oa-tunya National Park. The park received an average of about two hundred per week as compared to hundred tourists per week previously.³

The new government’s interest in tourism was further reflected in the Transitional Development Plan, 1965 - June 1966. Through this plan, the government allocated 35
million Zambian pounds to key development areas, one of which was tourism which received 2 million pounds. These actions by the government, however, suffered a setback as political tension increased in Southern Rhodesia where Ian Smith, a white settler, declared the UDI from the British government one year after Zambia’s independence.

The Smith regime was condemned worldwide. Britain and other western countries imposed economic sanctions on Southern Rhodesia with the support of Zambia which sympathised with the plight of blacks in that country. The UDI was a major setback to Zambia’s tourism industry, particularly in Livingstone. As expected, the ensuing political instability reduced considerably, reduced the number of tourists to Livingstone from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The decline in the number of tourists was made worse by strict visa regulations introduced for security reasons by the immigration department in Zambia in 1966. The number of tourists to Zambia declined by 18 per cent in 1966.

The political uncertainty in the country and in particular in Livingstone which is close to Southern Rhodesia, led to the withdrawal of private companies which were engaged in tour operations. Such companies included the Sossens, Greenway Safaris and the United Touring Company. The latter was based in Livingstone. As noted in chapter two, most of the tourists came from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

In 1967, the Zambian government opened the Lusaka International Airport and established its own national airline, the Zambia Airways. In order to increase the
number of tourists in the country, Zambia Airways commenced local flights from Lusaka to Livingstone.\textsuperscript{11}

Although the establishment of Zambia Airways was a positive development as regards tourism in Zambia, the country lacked a well co-ordinated marketing and promotional strategy. The lack of such a strategy was aggravated by the withdrawal of foreign tour companies mentioned earlier. To cope with this situation, the government established the Zambia Travel and Touring Company (ZTTC) under the Zambia National Tourist Bureau (ZNTB).\textsuperscript{12} ZTTC, with its subsidiary company called Tours and Lodges which was also formed in 1969 were to redress the promotional gap left by foreign tour companies and to continue serving tourists in Zambia, particularly in the Victoria Falls area. This development saved the Zambian tourist industry from total collapse because ZNTB embarked on an aggressive promotional and marketing programme abroad.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1969 the ZNTB embarked on a tourism promotional and marketing campaign through its newly established offices in London, Milan and New York.\textsuperscript{14} ZNTB offices in Livingstone dealt with the promotion of tourism in the country and attracting tourists from the whole of Africa. The bureau published the ‘Discover Zambia’ travel guide and quality postcards, showing the country’s tourist attractions.\textsuperscript{15} In 1969, ZNTB held seminars in five centres in the United States of America, namely, New York, Chicago, Dallas, San Francisco and Los Angeles. These measures exposed Zambia to the outside world more than ever before. However, these developments were beset with some constraints among which inadequate funding was the major one.\textsuperscript{16}
Government efforts to develop a viable tourism industry in Zambia was additionally hindered by the new economic policy introduced by President Kaunda in 1968. In that year, Kaunda nationalised the economy which had hitherto been dominated by the private sector, and run mainly mainly by foreigners. President Kaunda made a watershed speech in which he introduced the Mulungushi Reforms which brought about nationalisation of private companies. The government took shares in some companies. Further, it abolished the externalisation of foreign exchange earned by companies in the country. Under the Mulungushi Reforms, the establishment of businesses became a preserve of the local people. The main objective of this policy by government was to empower the local Zambians economically. Though well intended, this move, had a far-reaching negative impact on the economy of Zambia as most of the would-be investors in the tourism industry shunned the country. In the same period, some companies such as Lever Brothers and Sossens closed down, left the country and only operated in Southern Rhodesia. In Livingstone, the government failed to attract foreign investors to the area and consequently tourism suffered.

This realisation prompted Kenneth Kaunda to appoint a Ministerial Committee to look into the problems affecting the development of tourism in the country. The committee was chaired by the Vice President, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe and among other things, it was to carry investigations into immigration and customs formalities and to promote the development of tourist attractions such as game parks. Government’s intervention in the tourism industry was intended to diversify the country’s economy and rid it of its heavy dependence on copper, a wasting asset. The committee recommended the reduction of bureaucratic procedures at ports of entry to enhance
efficiency. It further recommended training of customs and immigration officers in order to promote their efficiency.\textsuperscript{24}

To improve tourism facilities in Livingstone’s Victoria Falls area, the government placed the area bordering the Zambezi river under the responsibility of ZNTB. Renovations were also done to the thatched buildings there. In addition, a wattle shelter was built at Kakunka Island where tea was served to clients on the launch cruises.\textsuperscript{25} In addition, the government in 1969, funded the construction of the Knife-Edge Bridge at the falls. This linked the area near the eastern cataract with the promontory. This enabled tourists on the Zambian side of the falls to have a much improved view of the main falls, namely, the Devil’s cataract, Armchair and the Boiling Pot.\textsuperscript{26} The Knife-Edge Bridge received publicity in New York and London and contributed to increased inflow of visitors.\textsuperscript{27} In 1969 alone as a result of aggressive promotional campaigns in the United States by ZNTB, the tourism industry recorded 2,058 tourists from New York who came to see the Victoria Falls.\textsuperscript{28}

Another measure taken by the government to encourage more tourists into the country, was the improvement of tourist facilities on the Zambezi river. In 1969, the government, through the ZNTB, introduced a 140 seater boat the Makumbi boat. The boat was intended to cope with increasing cruise demands on the Zambezi river.\textsuperscript{29} Cruises on the Makumbi were a popular tourist activity because they accorded tourists an opportunity to clearly view numerous islands which were a sanctuary of a great variety of wildlife.\textsuperscript{30}
PLATE 3: A CRUISE ON THE MAKUMBI BOAT

PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY RESEARCHER ON 5 MAY (1996).
PLATE 4: A GIRAFFE IN THE ZOOLOGICAL PARK

PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY RESEARCHER ON 5 May (1996).

The 1970s also witnessed another major obstacle in the development of the tourism industry in Zambia. Owing to Zambia’s impact on the liberation movement in Southern Africa, Ian Smith closed the border between Northern Rhodesia and Zambia in 1975. This severely affected tourism traffic from both Northern Rhodesia and South Africa, Zambia’s main source of tourists. The implosion of the closure of the border
Government commitment to the development of tourism continued during the First National Development Plan (FNDP), 1966-70. The objective of the FNDP as regards tourism was to create a complex of tourist attractions centered around the game parks, Livingstone and the Victoria Falls area. Additionally, the FNDP recognised the need to increase hotel accommodation in the country. To this end, the government in 1968 constructed a five-star hotel, the Mosi-oa-tunya Hotel (also called Inter-continental Hotel) near the Victoria Falls. It further built the Rainbow Lodge along the edge of the Zambezi river, a few metres away from Mosi-oa-tunya Hotel. These developments were among the major government investments as regards tourism development in the area.

The effort of the United National Independent Party (UNIP) government to invest in tourism industry became even more necessary in the 1970s. In that decade, dependence on copper became economically unsound as its price plummeted on the international market due to a worldwide recession. The recession however, adversely affected tourism. As the European economy declined, few tourists could afford the costs associated with tourism such as air tickets, hotel bills, food and other expenses. Consequently, fewer tourists could afford to visit Zambia and other countries.

The 1970s also witnessed another major obstacle in the development of the tourism industry in Zambia. Owing to Zambia’s support of the liberation movements in Southern Africa, Ian Smith closed the border between Southern Rhodesia and Zambia in 1973. This adversely affected tourist traffic from both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, Zambia’s main source of tourists. The implication of the closure of the border
meant that tourists from South Africa and other European countries remained in Zimbabwe and viewed the falls on that side. This led to the expansion of the tourism industry in Zimbabwe, particularly the Victoria Falls. Thus, the Zambia experienced a decline in the number of tourists from nearly 62,000 in 1972 to about 41,000 in 1973.\textsuperscript{37} This problem was compounded by the fall in the prices of copper in the mid 1970s. This led to a decrease in the Zambian government’s revenue. In 1975, copper lost 40 per cent of its value. In addition, its terms of trade fell by 50 per cent, while its contribution to the Zambian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell to 13 per cent.\textsuperscript{38} This affected the operations of ZNTB. Amusa Mwanamwambwa explained that ‘we had to suspend our promotional activities in some of our foreign offices and also the training of our tourist officers suffered’.\textsuperscript{39}

An equally serious constraint in tourism development was the armed liberation struggles Zambia supported in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Particularly affected was Livingstone which is on the border with Zimbabwe.\textsuperscript{40} The political climate in Central Southern Africa was, in the 1970s, not conducive to the development of tourism in Zambia. As wars of liberation flared in Southern Africa, foreign media projected Zambia as a battle field.\textsuperscript{41} This political climate in the Central Southern Africa was not conducive to the development of tourism in Zambia as it created a feeling of insecurity in Zambia’s overseas clients. According to Amusa Mwanamwambwa, tourism is highly sensitive to political problems; he observed that Egypt virtually lost the entire tourism during and after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.\textsuperscript{42} The first Republic of Zambia (1964-1975) also experienced inter-party fighting in the country between UNIP and the African National Congress (ANC), party of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula. The
clashes between UNIP and ANC in Southern Province, a stronghold of the latter scared away tourists in Livingstone.\textsuperscript{43}

The liberation struggles in the neighbouring countries also led the Zambian government to institute laws which forbade photographing of certain places such as airports, bridges and so on.\textsuperscript{44} This was meant to safeguard the vital installations from saboteurs. The Zambian military personnel and ordinary citizens treated tourists (mainly whites) as Smith’s spies.\textsuperscript{45} This is because the Smith government of Southern Rhodesia used white mercenaries to spy on Zambia. In the wake of such tense political climate in the region, Zambia’s tourism development suffered, especially in Livingstone which is a border town. As Table III (next page) indicates, the actual number of tourists into Zambia declined from 42,700 in 1970 to 36,700 in 1973.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\hline
\textbf{Tourists} & 42,700 & 54,700 & 53,500 & 36,700 & 38,700 & 45,700 & 46,900 & 40,100 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Zambia’s Tourism Performance 1970-1977}
\end{table}

Source: Central Statistical Office\textsuperscript{46}

The sharp decrease of tourists in 1973 was a direct effect of the closure of the border with Zambia by Southern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{47}
In 1978, the Zambian government in an effort to improve tourism in the country, contracted consultants from the Irish Tourist Board to look at efficient ways of running a viable tourism industry in the country. The Irish consultants made numerous recommendations. Perhaps the most important recommendation was the creation of a separate tourism ministry. In 1980, under the Tourism Master Plan’s recommendation made by Irish Consultants, the government established the Ministry of Tourism. Before 1980, tourism was under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

The establishment of the Ministry of Tourism was a positive move and indeed a sign of the government’s commitment towards the development of tourism, particularly in Livingstone. Government commitment was further illustrated by the transformation of ZNTB. According to the Irish consultants, the former did not have a coherent marketing strategy. Therefore, it could not fully utilize the tourism potential. The new Board was to boost tourism development in the country.

These changes proved positive and were boosted by the independence of Zimbabwe in April 1980. The end of the liberation war in Zimbabwe brought about relative peace to the Southern Africa region. This saw a marked increase both in the numbers of tourists and earnings. In 1981, for instance, there were 146,694 tourists who, together, contributed K41.1 million, compared to 53,885 tourists in 1979 when Zambia earned K12 million. The independence of Zimbabwe was therefore a positive development to the expansion of tourism and the general improvement of the Zambian economy. Examples abound to confirm the above.
After the independence of Zimbabwe, new foreign investments in tourism in Livingstone took place. In 1981, an American company, Sobek, was established in Livingstone. Sobek became the pioneer of white water rafting companies on the Zambezi river. Lendor Burton the renowned American actor in the epic film Roots, took part in the first expedition. The Sobek expedition destroyed the notion that the Zambezi river was not navigable between the falls and the Kariba Dam due to the gorges.\textsuperscript{56}

The launching of Sobek in Livingstone with its white water rafting added yet another tourist activity to the area. It contributed positively to the creation of employment to the locals in the area. Water rafting became a popular tourist venture which generated foreign exchange for the country.\textsuperscript{57} By 1990, Sobek’s contribution to the Zambian economy was substantial. A \textit{Daily Mail} reporter in 1990 observed that ‘Sobek, a tourist development company now ten years in Zambia, brings in 5,000 tourists every year, earning the country 300,000 United States dollars.’\textsuperscript{58}

In 1981, the government, through the National Heritage Conservation Commission opened a Rail Museum. The NHCC’s role was to preserve the natural heritage and other relics. In Livingstone, it is responsible for the preservation of the Victoria Falls and all buildings built before 1924. The Railway museum keeps a collection of the earliest locomotives in the country.\textsuperscript{59} This move also increased tourist attractions in Livingstone. As Oliver Himakanta noted, the railway museum received an average of ten tourists per week.\textsuperscript{60}
In spite of these developments, tourism in Livingstone continued to be affected negatively by external factors: The liberation of Zimbabwe did not bring lasting peace to the region. Following the former’s independence, there were internal problems between Prime Minister Robert Mugabe’s government and Joshua Nkomo’s opposition party.\(^\text{61}\) In 1983, some rebels abducted two American and two British tourists in Matebeleland. The rebels demanded the release of Nkomo’s supporter jailed by the Zimbabwean government.\(^\text{62}\)

The abduction and the subsequent killing of the kidnapped international tourists, projected a negative image not only of Zimbabwe but also of Zambia.\(^\text{63}\) As already mentioned, tourists shun places where violence is strife. Evidence shows that fewer tourists than before were seen in Livingstone town as a result of violence in Zimbabwe.\(^\text{64}\)

The worldwide economic recession of the early 1980s had a negative effect on Zambia’s general economic performance. The tourism industry was not an exception.\(^\text{65}\) In order to redress her economic problems, Zambia introduced stringent economic measures. The Zambian government introduced the auctioning of the Kwacha against the United States dollar.\(^\text{66}\) During this period, the country experienced a serious shortage of foreign exchange, a situation which did not encourage both private and public investment in tourism. The scarcity of foreign exchange inhibited various tourist operations. Tourist marketing, for example, was adversely affected as the ZNTB’s marketing activities abroad were limited due to the shortage of foreign exchange.\(^\text{67}\) Official figures of tourists for 1983 as compared to the pre-recession period of 1981
were not impressive. Whereas in 1981 the number of tourists to Zambia was 146,694, in 1983, it dropped to 122,051.\textsuperscript{68} In the same year 1983, hotel room occupancy fell to less than thirty per cent.\textsuperscript{69} In 1984, Zambia recorded a further four per cent drop in visitors from Europe, North America and the Far East.\textsuperscript{70}

The drop in the number of tourists was also occasioned by the inadequate investment into the industry. As the \textit{Quarterly Economic Review} notes, tourism was under-funded and thus no new hotels were opened after 1984.\textsuperscript{71} This phenomenon adversely affected the hotel industry in particular. Worse still, in Livingstone, the Oldest hotel, the North-Western Hotel, closed during the same period due to financial problems. According to its proprietor, the main reasons for the closure of the hotel were insecurity following a bomb blast by Ian Smith’s rebels and lack of financial resources with which to repair the hotel.\textsuperscript{72}

The situation in tourism development in Livingstone continued to lag behind that of the Victoria Falls Town in Zimbabwe throughout the 1980s as the country’s economy declined. Accounts about the neglect of tourism and the poor physical tourist infrastructure in Livingstone abound and these have been a source of frustration to tourists. This can be inferred from the complaint of one tourist who as late as 1994 lamented as follows:

We were told it would be worth crossing Victoria Falls Bridge to see Livingstone. It wasn’t Livingstone is a dump, [sic]we went back to Victoria Falls Town.\textsuperscript{73}
Lack of government funding coupled with neglect undermined tourism in Livingstone. In the 1980s, the town lost its beauty. Even the Barotse (Mukuni) Park which was one of the tourist attractions within Livingstone, deteriorated. The park became dilapidated with nothing to offer to the tourists. At the time of this study, the park was used by the curio traders as a market. A Livingstone council employee, Mwiinga Hangala, attributed the neglect of the park to lack of funds. As Hangala noted:

Our council does not receive enough grants from central government. This makes it impossible to meet all its responsibilities. This problem has been worsened by the closure of the textile industry - a source of revenue in form of rates. Owing to the serious liquidity problem, our council even fails to pay its workers. 74

The non availability of funds seriously hindered the development of tourism in Livingstone.

The economic decline of the 1980s created other problems which retarded the development of the tourism industry in Livingstone and other parts of Zambia. Perhaps, the most important of these was the unemployment mainly occasioned by the closure of the textile industry which once was one of the major employers in Livingstone, which contributed to a rise in crime. The rise in crime rendered Livingstone unpopular as a tourist centre. As tourists were robbed of their belongings and money, the town’s image suffered. 75

While in Livingstone, tourists faced another problem: exchanging their foreign currency for Zambian Kwacha. This issue was very acute during the 1980s when Zambia had
very strict foreign exchange controls. With inadequate foreign exchange (forex), unscrupulous illegal money dealers, locally known as Cinja-Chinjulula (change and rechange), surfaced. The illegal business was first conducted at the border within the vicinity of the customs offices which did not augur well for tourism development in Livingstone. Illegal money dealers become popular to both tourists and local Zambians who wanted forex which was in short supply.

However, dealing with illegal money dealers exposed tourists to thefts and robberies. This problem was present during the time this study was being conducted. According to Ephraim Mateo, the then Southern Province Commanding Officer of the police, attempts to control illegal dealing in currency were not bearing any fruits because of laxity of the law. Arrested culprits were released after paying admission of guilt fines.

The poor performance of tourism in Livingstone may further be attributed to lack of qualified human resources. Under UNIP, tourism management was ran by people with scant or no knowledge of the industry. This was common in almost every sector. Most parastatal managements were dominated by political appointees who, in most cases, were not professionals and as a result lacked managerial skills.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to highlight the major difficulties that beset the tourism industry in post-colonial Zambia. It argues that both internal and external factors hindered tourism development after 1964. Internally, the political instability engendered by clashes between UNIP and ANC in the Southern Province, a strong-hold of the latter,
scared away tourists from Livingstone. The decline in the economy in the mid 70s to the 1990s created social problems like unemployment which in turn led to a rise in crime in Livingstone. Economic problems further resulted into reduced funding for the tourism industry.

Externally, the fall in copper prices on the World market reduced Zambia’s capacity to market the industry, as did the rise in the prices of oil on which Zambia depended. Another external problem had to do with the liberation wars in Southern Africa which created a source of insecurity which did not augur well for the development of tourism in Livingstone and elsewhere in Zambia.
NOTES


5. Interview with Mwanamwambwa; Roberts, A History, p. 225.

6. Interview with Mwanamwambwa; Roberts, History, p. 225; see also, Popovic, Tourism in East Africa, pp. 105 - 08.


9. Irish Tourist Board, Zambia Master Plan, p. 38; Interview with Mwanamwambwa.


11. Times of Zambia (27 August, 1999); Interview with Baldwin Nyeleti, former pilot of Zambia Airways, Lusaka, Zambia (4 June, 1999). Nyeleti recalled that he flew from Lusaka to Livingstone twice per week.

12. GRZ, Ministry of Tourism Annual Report for the year 1980 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1983), pp. 1-6; Interview with Mwanamwambwa. I had a mammoth task to supervise all companies dealing with the tourism industry. As an institution, ZNTB lacked well trained tourist officers and adequate funding.

14. **GRZ, Ministry of Information Broadcasting and Tourism** (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1971), p. 15; Interview with former Publicity Manager of ZNTB office in New York, Bettis Shaambo, Lusaka, Zambia (6 June, 1999). He said that he was amazed to find out that most Americans did not know about the existence of a country called Zambia. "Very few Americans knew that the Victoria Falls were found in Zambia", Shaambo claimed.


19. **GRZ, Zambia’s Economic Revolution**, pp 37 - 38; International Labour Office, **Narrowing the Gap** (Paris: Unesco Press, 1976), p. 265; see also, Interview with Tabeth Sibandze, an Administrative Officer of the Victoria Falls Town, Zimbabwe (21 April, 1996); She noted that although Zimbabwe was politically a socialist state, it pursued a capitalist economy. This gave opportunities to both the local and foreign investors in the tourism industry. Sibandze further observed that the socialist reforms introduced by President Kenneth Kaunda, had a negative impact on Zambia’s tourism industry because the reforms scared away investors.


21. Irish Tourist Board, **Zambia Master Plan**, p. 76; Interview with Fredrick Chitunga, former Mayor, Livingstone, Zambia (14 April, 1996); He observed that foreign businessmen left the country because of nationalisation.


26. Zambia, p. 63; Interview with Martin Siamuzwe, Manager of Rainbow Lodge, Livingstone, Zambia (12 April, 1996). He explained that before the construction of the Knife-Edge Bridge at the falls, there were many accidents; tourists and local people fell into the Devil's Cataract due to the slippery nature of the soil caused by rains/vapour from the falls.


30. GRZ, First National Development Plan, 1966-70 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966), p. 56; see also, Interview with Janet Battison, tourist from the United Kingdom at Livingstone, Zambia (17 April, 1996). She said she enjoyed the cruise on the Makumbi boat and further said that the country should improve on marketing the falls particularly in her country.


35. GRZ, Ministry of Finance Economic Report, p.2; Interview with Rossi. He noted that tourists shun expensive tourist destinations except a few millionaires.

36. Irish Tourist Board, Zambia Master, p. 16; Interview with Katanekwa; see also, Popovic, Tourism in East Africa, p. 178.

37. GRZ, Second National Development Plan 1972-76 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1971), p. 32; Irish Tourist Board, Zambia Master Plan, p. 12; Interview with Mwanamwambwa. He said that the liberation wars in neighbouring countries made Zambia unsafe for tourists as they feared to be caught up in the conflict since Zambia gave logistical support to the liberation movements in the region.

39. Interview with Mwanamwambwa; Irish Tourist Board, *Zambia Master Plan*, pp. 60 - 64.


41. Interview with the Director of the National Heritage Conservation Commission, Nicholas Katanekwa, Livingstone, Zambia, (15 April, 1996).

42. Irish Tourist Board, *Zambia Master Plan*, pp. 44 - 53; Interview with Mwanamwambwa.

43. Interview with Fredrick Chuunga. He noted that before the introduction of one party state in 1975, Southern Province towns including Livingstone experienced terrible clashes between UNIP and ANC supporters. Most of the fighting occurred during meetings and also at social gatherings such as wedding ceremonies and beer halls.


45. *Profit*, p. 29; Interview with Katanekwa.


50. The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Economic Review*, p. 32; Interview with Mwanamwambwa.


54. The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Economic Review*, p. 34; For example, see also, *Times of Zambia* (14 March, 1980).


59. Interview with Katanekwa.

60. Interview with Oliver Himakanta, Regional Manager of the NHCC, Livingstone, Zambia (14 April, 1996).

61. *Times of Zambia* (13 June, 1993); Interview with Katanekwa.

62. *Times of Zambia* (13 June, 1993); Interview with Flexon Mizinga.

63. Interview with Dennis Haambote, Archaeologist, Livingstone, Zambia, (15 April, 1996).


68. The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Economic Review*, p. 32.

69. The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Economic Review*, p. 32.

70. The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Economic Review*, p. 32.


72. Interview with Martin Hitchins, Proprietor of New North-Western Hotel, Livingstone, Zambia (8 May, 1996).


75. Interview with Southern Province Police Commanding Officer, Ephraim Mateo, Central Police, Livingstone, Zambia (26 April, 1996).

76. Interview with Mateo.

77. Interview with Joyce Chikolwa, Senior Accountant, Barclays Bank, Livingstone District, Zambia, (8 May, 1996); see Interview with Nyanbe Mubita, money dealer, Livingstone, Zambia (25 April, 1996); He claimed that he was able to sustain himself through money changing. "I am able to educate my young brothers who are at Linda Secondary School".


79. Interview with Mateo.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This study has traced the history of the development of tourism in Livingstone. The study has shown that despite the early acknowledgement of tourism potential in the area, the district’s tourism industry did not develop as rapidly as in its sister town, the Victoria Falls Town in Zimbabwe.

In Livingstone, the industry from the advent of colonialism was beset with numerous constraints from the advent of colonialism. These problems range from what one may call a ‘colonial legacy’. The first colonial government, the BSA Co., though conscious of the falls as a tourist attraction, lamentably failed to facilitate the expansion of the industry. During its tenure of office between 1890 and April 1924, tourism development was a result of private initiative of the local settlers. After 1924, the government largely as a result sought to stimulate tourism development by passing legislation and encouraging the development of the hotel industry. With the imposition of the federation government, however, tourism development was undertaken in favour of Zimbabwe to the detriment of Zambia.

From 1964, the government showed interest in tourism. It built the Musi-oa-tunya Hotel, Rainbow Lodge and established a railway museum in Livingstone. However, lack of sufficient funding thwarted further the development in tourism in Livingstone. Government pronouncements to make Livingstone a tourist paradise were not backed by financial resources.
The issue of funding is of paramount importance to any development. This aspect has been one of many constraints on the development of tourism in Livingstone in recent years.

The UNIP command-type economy did not contribute much towards the expansion of tourism in Livingstone. The economic policies of UNIP, discouraged private investments. Tourism thus became a monopoly of government-run parastatals, such as ZNTB which lacked the necessary expertise to run the industry. For many years after independence, the tourism industry lacked competition; this contributed to the fall in standards. This obviously retarded the development of quality tourism. In the 1970s and 1980s the situation was compounded by a host of political, economic and social problems; together these militated against the industry. Among these, included the closure of the Zambia - Zimbabwe border in 1973, the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, the worldwide economic slump, the near-collapse of Zambia's economy and the resulting problems, such as the increase in crime, and so on.
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