

Notes

Introduction

1. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, also known as the Central African Federation, was an association of the central-southern African territories of Northern Rhodesia (contemporary Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Nyasaland (Malawi), which existed from 1953 to 1963, as will be explained in more detail below. I use the term Central Africa in this study to refer to today's Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi, following the usage of the 1950s.
2. At £77.6 million (as of September 1961), the final costs were almost £2 million lower than anticipated (Soils Inc. 2000: 12, 14).
3. Standard Bank of South Africa advertisement, in: South African News Agencies (1959: 10).
4. UK High Commissioner, Salisbury, to Commonwealth Relations Office, 13 June 1960, quoting from *Bulawayo Chronicle*, PRO DO 35/7719. Cf. also 'Visit of the Queen Mother to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', 1 June 1960, PRO PREM 11/3090; Andersen (1960).
5. Gibbs to Governor, Salisbury, 8 June 1960, PRO DO 35/7719.
6. I refer to 'Africans', that is, the black and mostly indigenous population, and 'Europeans', meaning the white community of settlers (longstanding residents who considered the Rhodesias their home) and colonial administrators. I follow common usage of the 1950s for matters of convenience. How contradictory this terminology was can be seen at a various points in this study.
7. The literal translation of the nationalist rally cry of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is 'the dawn' (Macpherson 1974: 384).
8. 'Woman badly hurt in N. R.', *Northern News*, 9 May 1960; 'Top-level talks to halt "savagery" in N. R.', *Northern News*, 10 May 1960. On the demise of the Federation, cf., for instance, Darwin (1993).
9. The protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland came under the control of the British Colonial Office (CO) and were administered through the British Colonial Service. The Southern Rhodesian and Federal governments, locally elected members of the settler community, were dealt with by the CRO. The Federation itself was a superstructure over the three territories, responsible for instance for external affairs, health, and (partly) development. Each of the individual territories remained in charge of its internal, including African, affairs.
10. See below for an explanation of my usage of these terms. For reasons of legibility, I will no longer set them in inverted commas.
11. The terms 'IBRD' and 'World Bank', the institution's later official name, are used interchangeably here.

12. The state of the art on decolonisation is succinctly summarised by Shipway (2008: 2–8) and Stockwell (2008: 269–80).
13. For my usage of the term, see below. For reasons of readability, I henceforth refrain from using inverted commas.
14. Shipway (2008: 6). Early scholarship on nationalism and decolonisation often founded on an implied teleology of how ‘colonized peoples united in struggle under their own Nationalist leadership’ (Shipway 2008: 6).
15. Macola does not go into detail regarding the role of nationalist leader Harry Nkumbula at Kariba but only briefly refers to his ‘anti-Kariba’ writings (2010: 70, 178 n. 84). Herbert’s short discussion of Kariba in her study on the end of Federation follows the same interpretation (2002: 91–3).
16. Hughes claims that through Kariba and other dam-building efforts, Europeans appropriated the land, overcoming landlocked Southern Rhodesia’s ‘hydrological deficit’. This argument is based on an analysis of white literary discourse, which – in my view – could have profited from a more extensive integration of political, social, and economic aspects (Hughes 2006a, 2010: xxi–68).
17. There is only a short publication on the Southern Rhodesian Tonga by Weinrich (1977) and a collection of witnesses’ accounts by Tremmel (1994).
18. Cf., for instance, Shipway (2008: 203–4); Hyam (2007: 215–19, 364–6); Darwin (1988: 194–202, 249–78, 314–24); Darwin (1993); Baker (1997). Moreover, the state-building experiment gave rise to numerous books published by contemporary observers, most of them highly critical (for instance, Franklin 1963; Mason 1960; Leys and Pratt 1960; Hanna 1965; Clutton-Brock 1959). A non-critical, rather apologetic contribution is the account of the Federation’s second and last Prime Minister, Roy Welensky (1964).
19. Wood’s detailed study (1983), based on the records of Roy Welensky in Rhodes House (Oxford, see below), centres on Federal politics. Murphy (2005) has provided a concise overview of the rise and fall of the Federation, based on the British National Archives. As regards metropolitan policy towards the Federation, cf. Murphy (2006, 1999, 1995); Hyam (1987).
20. Important exceptions are: West (2002), on the rise of an African middle class in Southern Rhodesia (on Federation: 177–235); Alexander (2006, 2000: especially chap. 2–4) on ‘native’ administration in Southern Rhodesia; Phiri (2006: 31–119; 1991) on liberalism in Northern Rhodesia; Mlambo (2002, 2000) on white immigration into Southern Rhodesia; Butler (2008, 2007: chap. 5 and 6) on the role the big copper mining businesses played during Federation and decolonisation. On white or multiracial identity construction in the Federation, cf. Shutt and King (2005) and Craggs (2012).
21. Cf. Mulford (1967); Macpherson (1974); Rotberg (1971); Kaunda (1962). Recently, Macola (2010) and Larmer (2011) have laid a solid foundation in revisiting these earlier strands of nationalist historiography.
22. For overviews on development-related literature, see: Cooper and Packard (1997); Cooper (2010); Eckert (2008); Edelman and Haugerud (2005); Büschel and Speich (2009).
23. Cf., for instance, Alacevich (2011); Staples (2006); Maul (2007); Iriye (2002); Kapur et al. (1997) (international organisations); Tignor (2006); Arndt (1987) (economic development theory); Clarke (2007); Hodge (2007) (science and colonial development); Cowen and Shenton (1996); Leys (1996) (intellectual

- history); Ferguson (1990); Colson (1960, 1971); Scudder (2005) (development 'on the ground').
24. Although Scott's overall argument has been rightly criticised (see below), his notion of 'high modernism' is still widely used to describe the spirit of the post-1945 modernisation drive. I explain my usage of the term in Section 1.1.
 25. Cf. also Escobar (1995). For an overview of development critiques, cf. Cooper and Packard (1997); Herzfeld (2001: 152–80); Engerman and Unger (2009).
 26. Cf. Isaacman and Isaacman (2012) on the Cahora Bassa scheme in Mozambique (see below); Mitchell (2002) on the Aswan Dam; Biggs (2008) on water engineering and nation-building in Vietnam; Hoag and Öhman (2008) on hydropower development in Tanzania; Billington and Jackson (2006) on dams in the American New Deal; Blackbourn (2006) on dam-building in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany; Obertreis (2007) on hydro-engineering in Central Asia. For a critical overview drawing on different case studies from around the world, cf. McCully (2001). Adams (1992) discusses post-independence water engineering in Africa, pointing to the environmental and social problems it has caused. Showers (2011) critically assesses contemporary EU policies regarding hydroelectricity development in Africa, drawing out parallels in the colonial era.
 27. While there are many parallels between our studies, Allen and Barbara Isaacman's main concern is to contradict the dominant progress-discourse on Cahora Bassa and to reconstruct the silenced experiences of the displaced communities and exploited workers by an impressive feat of oral history. By comparison, my own interest lies more in the in-between, that is, the negotiations, conflicts, and overlaps between different perspectives ('entanglement', see below). I am indebted to the Isaacmans for sharing their findings with me prior to publication.
 28. Cf., for instance, China's notorious Three Gorges Dam or the controversial plans around the Grand Inga Dam on the Congo River. Further examples can be found on the website of the dam-critical organisation International Rivers (see below).
 29. Kariba is also referred to by the international anti-dam movement International Rivers, whose mission is to 'protect rivers and defend the rights of communities that depend on them' (home page: <http://www.internationalrivers.org>, date accessed 21 May 2012).
 30. Colson's and Scudder's research was also an important source for a study undertaken by the World Commission on Dams, an independent body of commissioners, who assessed Kariba and further case studies to develop guidelines for building and operating large dams (cf. Leslie 2005: 6–8; Soils Inc. 2000). For a bibliography of 60 years of Gwembe Tonga research cf. <http://www.uky.edu/~cligget/docs/Tonga%20Bibliography%20Jan%202008.pdf> (date accessed 21 May 2012). On the role of the Manchester School of Anthropology and the Northern Rhodesian Rhodes–Livingstone Institute (RLI), including critical assessments, cf. Ferguson (1999: 24–35); Schumaker (2001: chap. 5–7).
 31. Cf. Cooper's (2005: 141) criticism of Scott's model: 'The best example of high modernism that appears in Scott's text is James C. Scott himself. He has simplified each of his cases to render it "legible"'.
 32. Cf. Herzfeld (2001: 152): 'rejecting the essentialization of other cultures does not legitimate meting out the same treatment to "the West"'.

33. One of the most influential programmatic texts on 'entanglement', especially in German academia, is Conrad and Randeria 2002, which in turn builds on Cooper and Stoler's (1997) notion of 'shared history'. For a concise summary of the differences between histories of comparison, transfers, and entanglement, cf. Kaelble (2005).
34. Conrad and Eckert (2007: 19–22) have argued, however, that global history understands globalisation as a perspective rather than a meta-theory, which can help to situate specific phenomena in a wider perspective. Although historians postulate an intensification of economic, cultural, or political interconnections from about 1900, this was not a linear process of 'growing together'.
35. Welcome address for Northern Rhodesian Secretary for Native Affairs, Habanyama, 25 October 1956, PRO CO 1015/1484.
36. Studies in the field of global history do not necessarily have to provide macro-analyses of world-spanning processes. Rather, they work at the intersection of the global and the local, for instance by studying how wider processes played out on the ground (Conrad and Eckert 2007: 24–30; Büschel and Speich 2009: 9, 22; Rempe 2009: 242). Cf. also Robertson's concept of 'glocalization' (Robertson 1995).
37. Engerman and Unger (2009: 378). Regarding criticism on political history approaches to development, see also Büschel and Speich (2009: 16–20).
38. Examples of existing multi-perspective case studies are: van Beusekom (2002), on the history of the Office du Niger in French Sudan, and Schuknecht (2010), on post-war British development in Sukumaland, Tanganyika. Furthermore, Falola (1996) has contributed a case study on development planning in Nigeria, while Monson's (2009) monograph on the TAZARA railway project in Tanzania and Zambia draws together public and official discourse, recollections of workers, and responses of the general population.
39. For a succinct summary of the main debates and theorists, from the work of Frantz Fanon in the 1950s to the 'Holy Trinity' (Young 1995: 154) of postcolonial studies, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak, cf. Loomba (2005) and Childs and Williams (1997). The syntheses of the complex debates by Ashcroft et al. (2007) have become a standard. Robert Young (2001) provided a historical discussion of postcolonialism.
40. Compare Bhabha's (1994) essay collection *The Location of Culture*; Said (2003[1978]); Spivak (1988); Chakrabarty (2000). I will discuss these concepts more extensively in connection with the historical analyses in the respective chapters.
41. Cooper (2005: 114) questions the analytic value of concepts like 'multiple' or 'alternative' modernities, asking 'why an alternative modernity should be called modernity at all'. For summaries of modernity debates, on which this discussion is based, cf. Cooper (2005: 113–49); Bayly (2004: 9–12); Thomas (2011); Probst et al. (2002).
42. Cf. Thomas (2011: 734); Cooper (2005: 113–16); Comaroff and Comaroff (1993: xii).
43. This is following Robert Miles' (1989: 74) concept of 'racialization' or 'racial categorisation', 'a process of delineation of group boundaries and of allocation of persons within those boundaries by primary reference to (supposedly)

- inherent and/or biological (usually phenotypical) characteristics'. Racisms change over time; what physical traits are selected and what hierarchies are constructed depends on the historical context (Hall 2000: 7, 11; Miles 2000: 24, 27).
44. Discrimination manifested itself for instance in voting rights, political representation, government spending on welfare, differential wage structures, or colour bar practices in public buildings. Some of these aspects will be discussed in greater detail in the respective chapters.
 45. On the continuance of discrimination and new forms of racism in global capitalism, cf. Miles (1999: 22–4).
 46. Research commonly differentiates between biological and cultural racisms. While the former is based on a static understanding of culture, which is seen to be inextricably linked to a specific genetic identity of the respective group, the latter is – theoretically – more fluid, since dissimilarities between groups of people are conceived of as different stages on the same evolutionary scale. In practice, however, the various forms of racism were often blurred (cf. Schubert 2003: 25–7).
 47. This is based on Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an 'imagined community' and Said's notion of 'othering' (Sections 1.3 and 2.2).
 48. The Bibliography contains further information on the sources and archives consulted.
 49. An exception are the official hearings and reports of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, which was set up to investigate a violent clash between resisting resettlers and the police in 1958 (see Section 3.2).
 50. Here, however, systematic research was more difficult than in the British and Zambian National Archives, as labour files for the time period after about 1950 had not yet been catalogued and organised at the time of my archival studies in 2008, so that I had to work with inventory lists. Moreover, many of the relevant files could not be found.
 51. This includes personal interviews and e-mail correspondence. In total, I communicated with nine former Kariba employees from Italy and 13 Zambian informants.
 52. I systematically analysed the Northern Rhodesian *Northern News* (National Archives of Zambia) and the *Nyasaland Times* (National Archives of Malawi) from 1955 to 1960. Moreover, British officials filed newspaper clippings concerning Kariba from British and Rhodesian papers, including the (London) *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Rhodesian Herald*.
 53. British Pathé has a rich database. Apart from the newsreels produced by the Pathé service for British cinemas, there are also locally produced films: for example, the newsreel 'Rhodesian Spotlight' (homepage: <http://www.britishpathe.com>, date accessed 21 May 2012).
 54. Howarth (1961); Clements (1959); Harris (1960).
 55. That is, Southern Rhodesia-related material in the British and Zambian archives, published reports of the Southern Rhodesian Government, as well as a few notes from original records in the Zimbabwean National Archives which Brian Ngwenya, a Zimbabwean PhD student then based at Sheffield University, took for me (see Bibliography).
 56. By comparison, Isaacman and Isaacman's study (2012) is based on 300 interviews and fieldwork started in 1998.

1 Planning Kariba

1. Cf. Central Office of Information, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme', November 1959, PRO INF 12/878.
2. Cf. 'Power in Central Africa', *Financial Times*, 2 February 1956; Soils Inc. (2000: 8, 164); Butler (2007: 106–45).
3. The Kenyan Mau Mau uprising was a conflict between anti-colonial fighters and the British Army from 1952 to 1960, with enormous effects in the metropole and in other settler colonies (cf. Anderson 2005).
4. Cf. Cooper (1996: 110–70; 2002: 30–1, 135); Howe (1993); Cooper and Packard (1997: 6–7); van Laak (2004: 337–43). However, Hyam (1987: 152) judges the Cold War to have been less important than the white nationalist threat in the history of the Federation. Cold War issues are in fact barely reflected in the sources concerning Kariba.
5. Cooper and Packard (1997: 7) (quotation); cf. also van Laak (2004: 343–4); James (1994: 538).
6. Quotation taken from Kunkel (2008: 156); further: Tignor (2006: 32); Legendijk (2012); Hoag (2006).
7. According to Leslie (2005: 116), the expected output of the dam (1320 MW including a second stage which followed in the 1970s) was twice the amount available in the Federation in 1955.
8. This was most famously fleshed out in Walt Rostow's *Stages of Economic Growth* in 1960.
9. This is a very general description of what could be called a dominant view within modernisation theory. It was contested by other experts who stressed, for instance, that development also had to encompass broader social or even political changes.
10. On differences in outlook between the CRO, the Treasury, and the CO, see Butler (1999: 121–3, 127).
11. Blake (1983: 29) (quotation); Low and Lonsdale (1976: 8–11); Butler (2008: 319–20).
12. Cf. United Nations Information Centre, 'Loan for the Kariba Hydroelectric power scheme', 22 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/950.
13. On 'scientisation' and the 'knowledge society', see, for instance, Stehr and Ericson (1992); Szöllösi-Janze (2004) has shown how these concepts can be made fruitful for history.
14. The Central African Council was an advisory body to prepare the grounds for a closer cooperation between Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Rotberg 1965: 216). The first land surveys and hydrological assessments had even started during the Second World War and were continued in the mid-1940s under the auspices of the Southern Rhodesian irrigation department (Olivier 1975: 91–2).
15. The long-winded investigations and discussions are summarised in: Treasury, 'History of the Kafue and Kariba Projects', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Flett, 'Note for the record. International Bank and Kafue', 3 February 1954, PRO CO 1015/944; Wood (1983: 373–4, 407–14).
16. 'Aide memoire, Kariba power project', 26 November 1955, PRO CO 1015/947; Benson to Lennox-Boyd, 1 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/946; Wood (1983: 411).

17. CRO, 'Economic development programme and the Kariba and Kafue problem', 24 June 1954, PRO CO 1015/944 (quotation); 'Colony's government wants Kariba to be built before Kafue', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 May 1954.
18. 'World Bank may finance Rhodesian power projects', *Financial Times*, 11 May 1954.
19. Note of a meeting in Treasury, 21 June 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
20. UK High Commissioner to CRO, 18 June 1954, PRO CO 1015/944. Cf., out of many articles, 'Hydro-electric plans in Rhodesia. Difference of opinion', *The Times*, 6 May 1954; 'Which dam first?', *Daily Telegraph*, 9 May 1954.
21. 'Rhodesia power schemes. Board to study priority', *Financial Times*, 21 May 1954; Press release, Federal Government, 'Terms of reference for French Mission', 14 January 1955, PRO DO 35/4600; Memorandum by Halley, Treasury, 3 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944.
22. Treasury, 'History of the Kafue and Kariba Projects', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
23. SAPA message, Salisbury, undated, ca. January 1955, RHL MSS Welensky, 338/4 (quotation); Black to Huggins, 23 June 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
24. Coyne to Huggins, 30 November 1954, RHL MSS Welensky 338/3 (first quotation); Coyne, 'Kariba Gorge and Kafue Gorge Hydro-Electric Projects', 9 December 1954, PRO CO 1015/944 (second quotation).
25. MacLennan to Baxter, 22 December 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
26. Coyne to Huggins, 5 January 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/4.
27. Treasury 'Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Hydro-electric schemes', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
28. Coyne, 'Kariba Gorge and Kafue Gorge hydro-electric projects', 9 December 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
29. Inaugurated in April 1954, the Owen Falls Dam was an East African model for high-tech industrial development and based on very optimistic consumption projections. Eventually, however, the project failed to attract sufficient private investment, so that its surplus power had to be exported (Manry 2008: 51–3).
30. 'Memorandum on hydro-electric schemes', unsigned, certainly Welensky, undated, ca. 28 December 1954, RHL MSS Welensky 338/3.
31. Statement by Federal Minister of Finance, 3 January 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/4.
32. 'R.S.T. director's Kariba protest', *Financial Times*, 4 March 1955 (quotation); 'Kariba views and Kafue refusal', *Central African Post*, 21 January 1955.
33. 'M. Coyne's Kariba Dam proposals are brilliant', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 May 1955.
34. 'We cannot have both of them', *Sunday Mail*, 30 January 1955.
35. Press statement, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme chosen by Federal Government', including Huggins' speech in the Federal Parliament, undated, ca. 1/2 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
36. Cf. SAPA message, Salisbury, undated, ca. January 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/4; Malcolm Barrow to Lascelles, 3 March 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/4, Coyne and Tisé to Huggins, 28 April 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/5.
37. 'Kariba Power. Uncertainty over cost "delaying development"', *Manchester Guardian*, 12 May 1959. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, Kariba ensured

- that power prices stayed relatively stable while prices for other commodities rocketed up by more than 75 per cent (Soils Inc. 2000: sec. 2.4). Today, the dam supplies almost 60 per cent of the hydropower outputs in Zambia and Zimbabwe (Magadza 2006: 207).
38. Cf. Federal Power Board, 'Proposed increase of tariffs', 17 April 1962, RHL MSS Welensky 341/5; Ward to Barrow, 27 April 1962, RHL MSS Welensky 341/5.
 39. Press statement, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme chosen by Federal Government', including Huggins' speech in the Federal Parliament, undated, ca. 1/2 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
 40. Cf. also Hoag and Öhman (2008) on similar questions regarding expert knowledge production and hydropower development in Tanzania.
 41. On the groundnut scheme and the Gambia poultry scheme, two unsuccessful initiatives launched under the previous Labour government, cf., for instance, Cowen (1984); Scott (1998: 225–8).
 42. Percentage taken from: 'World Bank and the Kariba Scheme', *New Commonwealth*, 9 January 1956. This figure however refers to the costs of the entire Kariba project, including a second stage which was to follow later.
 43. On the concept of 'identification', see Brubaker and Cooper (2000).
 44. Veracini defines settler colonialism as a 'triangular system of relationships, a system comprising metropolitan, settler, and indigenous agencies' (2010: 6). The other side of this triangle – the links between settler nationalism and indigenous exclusion – will be discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2. For contemporaneous interpretations of Kariba as a symbol of white nation-building cf. Franklin (1963: 105–20); Lessing (1996[1957]: 165); Howarth (1961: 37). See also McGregor (2009: 105–10); Herbert (2002: 91–2).
 45. Cf. Mlambo (2002: 49); Mlambo (2000: 140); Oliver and Atmore (1994: 236–41); Murphy (2002: 133); Murphy (2005: lix–lxvii); Wood (1983: 407–11).
 46. Morgan to Gorell Barnes, 9 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
 47. MacLennan to Fowler, 2 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600 (quotation); Press statement, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme chosen by Federal Government', including Huggins' speech in the Federal Parliament, undated, ca. 1/2 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Federal Hansard, 1 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600.
 48. 'Kariba scheme is Federal choice', *Northern News*, 1 March 1955 (quotation). A flood of fiercely critical articles appeared in the *Northern News* in the first week of March 1955. Southern Rhodesia-based papers (*Rhodesia Herald*, *The Chronicle*), however, praised the decision.
 49. Cf. Reuter message, 4 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; 'Lusaka meeting asks Queen-in-council to intervene on Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 5 March 1955; 'Rhodesia protest', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 March 1955; Benson to Lennox-Boyd, 1 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/946 (quotation); Payne, 'Petition to Her Majesty the Queen', 11 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4602.
 50. MacLennan to Fowler, 9 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600.
 51. Extract Federal Hansard, statement by Joyce, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603; Federal Hansard, 7 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.

52. 'Power Switch', *South Africa*, 12 March 1955; 'Prime Minister on Kariba-Kafue decision', extract Federal Newsletter, 13 January 1955, PRO DO 35/4600.
53. Maclennan to Fowler, 9 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600.
54. Payne to Welensky, 7 March 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/4.
55. Northern Rhodesia Hansard, 15 (quotations) and 16 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
56. Northern Rhodesia's administration consisted of the governor, colonial officials, and locally elected members, the so-called unofficials (Herbert 2002: 87).
57. Maclennan to Fowler, 19 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
58. Benson to Gorell Barnes, 1 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/946 (quotations); Benson to Lennox-Boyd, 1 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
59. That is, the territorial governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, the administrators of the Federation and Southern Rhodesia in Central Africa, as well as the London-based groups of civil servants in the CO and the CRO (Blake 1983: 27).
60. Huggins to Benson, 30 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946 (quotation); Murphy (1995: 121).
61. Benson to Gorell Barnes, 1 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
62. Minute, Rumbold, 22 April 1955, PRO DO 35/4602.
63. Cf. CO to Curson, 19 May 1955, PRO DO 35/4602; Illegible author to Galsworthy, 10 May 1955, PRO CO 1015/946; Maclennan to Fowler, 14 April 1955, PRO DO 35/4602.
64. Statement by Huggins, Federal Hansard, 7 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
65. Broadcast by Huggins, 13 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
66. Similar hopes of 'whitening' the land accompanied the Cahora Bassa scheme, as authorities predicted that the dam's development prospects would attract white settlers to the Zambesi Valley (Isaacman and Isaacman 2012: chap. 3).
67. Principal private secretary to Prime Minister, 19 December 1958, RHL MSS Welensky 341/1.
68. Cf. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 April 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14; 'Benefits from Kariba Power Scheme', *New Commonwealth*, 5 September 1955; Extract from Northern Rhodesia political intelligence report, 3 May 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
69. Statement by Welensky, Federal Hansard, 7 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946 (quotation); concerning Prain, see 'Power supplies to copper mines', Extract Federal Newsletter, 8 December 1955, PRO DO 35/4602.
70. Cf. Ministry of Power to Prime Minister, 24 January 1956, NAM Federal Files 33/6.
71. Benson to Gorell Barnes, 23 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/943.
72. Some examples: 'Kariba power scheme. Extra cost not yet known', *Financial Times*, 5 January 1956; 'Central African power scheme. £30m. shortfall', *Manchester Guardian*, 5 January 1956; 'Federal Treasury faces 30m-shortfall on Kariba Plan', *Northern News*, 5 January 1956.
73. 'World Bank men in assembly to hear debate', *Rhodesia Herald*, 28 February 1956; Extract Federal Hansard, 21 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603 (quotation); Extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.

74. Extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.
75. Cf., for instance, 'The puzzle of Kariba costs', *Rhodesia Herald*, 29 February 1956.
76. 'Ever-dizzier heights of Kariba', *Northern News*, 20 December 1955.
77. 'No choice but Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 14 March 1956.
78. 'No choice but Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 14 March 1956.
79. CRO to UK High Commissioner in the Federation, 20 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/948.
80. Minutes of a meeting, CRO, 20 March 1956, PRO CO 1015/948.
81. Valedictory despatch from Sir G. Colby to Lennox-Boyd, 24 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/1002, quoted from Murphy (2005: 30) (quotation); Colby to CO, 11 July 1956, PRO CO 1015/950. In fact, Kariba also meant that Nyasaland's plans for a power scheme on the Shire would not be implemented as envisaged (Minute by Wilson, 1 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948).
82. Minute by Wilson, 1 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948.
83. Minute by Wilson, 7 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/949.
84. Federal Treasury, 'Further note on economic policy during construction of Kariba', 23 February 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 152/6; about the Federal Treasury's and the Finance Minister's reservations, cf. also Wood (1983: 427).
85. 'World Bank backs Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 24 April 1956; Minute by Poynton, 4 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948. Both fields required a high level of initial investment before becoming profitable (Minute by Gorell Barnes, 2 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948).
86. Treasury memorandum on Kariba Hydro-Electric Project, undated, ca. May 1956, PRO CO 1015/949.
87. Minutes of a meeting, Treasury, 30 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/949.
88. Welensky, 'Press statement following the announcement of the signing of the Kariba loan', 21 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/950.
89. Statement by Joyce, extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.
90. In 1959 alone, the writer Elspeth Huxley, British Labour MP John Stonehouse, and a team from the BBC came to see the dam site (Annual report on African Affairs, Gwembe District, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151). There is also a range of contemporary journalistic monographs on Kariba: Howarth (1961); Clements (1959); Harris (1960); Balneaves (1963); Lagus (1960); Robins and Legge (1959); cf. also Hughes (2006a: 829).
91. Cf. the *Northern News* especially from about 1954 to 1961.
92. Cf., for instance, Roy Welensky's article 'Kariba's impact on Rhodesia' (*New Commonwealth*, 6 August 1956), the monograph *Lake Kariba* (South African News Agencies 1959), or material on Kariba publicity in RHL MSS Welensky 285/1, 341/1, 341/2. Further, the database of the British Film Institute lists over 21 films on Kariba (homepage: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/filmtvinfo/ftvdb>, date accessed: 21 May 2012). British Pathé holds 31 titles (homepage: <http://www.britishpathe.com>, date accessed: 21 May 2012).
93. Cf. 'Record of a meeting to discuss the formation of a government controlled company to clear the future Kariba Lake Basin', 28 October 1957, NAZ SP 4/7/10; Bienniasz to Governor Hone, 10 July 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20.

94. Such interlinks and debates have been traced, for instance, by Blackburn (2006); Mitchell (2002); Billington and Jackson (2006). Isaacman and Isaacman (2012) stress the 'persistent links between the post-colonial present and the colonial past' with respect to the modernist imagery surrounding the Cahora Bassa Dam (quotation taken from chap. 1).
95. Cf. also Hughes (2006: 270), on the connections between the conquest of nature and white nation-building in Zimbabwe.
96. Aspects of Rhodesian 'history-making' are discussed in: Shutt and King (2005); Hughes (2010: 32–7).
97. 'Economic aspects of the Kariba Project', Ministry of Power, 19 April 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 147/4.
98. Britain was asked to sanction or guarantee loans from the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) (£15 million), the Commonwealth Development Finance Company (CDFC) (£3 million), and the IBRD (£28 million) (Treasury, 'Memorandum on Kariba Hydro-Electric Project', undated, ca. May 1956, PRO CO 1015/949).
99. Treasury, 'Hydro electric schemes. Brief for discussions to be held with Sir G. Huggins', Treasury, undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
100. Rowan to Strachan, 30 July 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
101. Rowan, 'Note on visit to Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', 12 July 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
102. Benson to Gorell Barnes, 23 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/943; Morgan to Coe, 14 January 1955, PRO DO 35/4600.
103. Morgan to Gorell Barnes, 21 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
104. Swinton to Lennox-Boyd, 22 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945 (quotation); Swinton to Huggins, 29 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Lennox-Boyd to Benson, 29 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
105. CO, 'Brief for the Secretary of State', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Treasury, 'Hydro-electric schemes. Brief for discussions to be held with Sir G. Huggins', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Minute by Poynton, 4 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948 (quotation).
106. During the Second World War, however, colonial politics were extremely exploitative and targeted towards the metropolitan economy (Butler 1991: 120).
107. Memorandum, Benson, 'Financial and economic considerations surrounding decision to build Kariba hydro-electric scheme', undated, ca. April/May 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
108. Statement by Joyce, extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603 (first quotation); Statement by L'Ange, extract Federal Hansard, 15 March 1956, PRO DO 35/4603 (second quotation).
109. Mclennan to Rumbold, 14 September 1954, PRO CO 1015/1038 (quotation); Memorandum, Woodruff, 'Development plans in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', September 1954, PRO CO 1015/1038.
110. Minutes, 'Treasury meeting on the Federation's development plans from 1954/55 to 1956/57', 14 October 1954, PRO CO 1015/1038.
111. To name but a few examples: the Suez Crisis (1956), the Mau Mau insurgency (ca. 1951–6), Ghana's independence (1957).
112. Quotation from Colson (1971: 4).
113. Kamarck and Oliver (1961); Press release, IBRD, 'Loan of the Kariba Hydroelectric Power Scheme', 22 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/950; Treasury,

- 'History of the Kafue and Kariba Projects', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
114. For instance, in Chile in the late 1940s (Kapur et al. 1997: 81–2). Alacevich has recently shown that the Bank's narrow focus on infrastructure and economic growth until the late 1960s was not uncontested within the institution, as some experts argued in favour of more comprehensive development ventures (Alacevich 2009; 2011).
 115. Kamarck was the IBRD's Economic Advisor in the Department of Operations for Europe, Africa, and Australasia from 1952 to 1962 (Kamarck and Oliver 1961).
 116. IBRD Vice President, 'Address before Engineers Joint Council', New York, 18 January 1957, NAM Federal Files 33/1/2. Cf. also Kapur et al. (1997: 66).
 117. Black, 'The World Bank and Africa', *Corona*, January 1959.
 118. Hall-Patch to Playfair, 18 January 1954, PRO DO 35/5699. Generally speaking, however, Cold War rivalry was not a predominant concern in the planning of Kariba.
 119. IBRD, 'The economy of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', appendix Project Appraisal Report, 13 June 1956, PRO DO 35/5702.
 120. Minute by Curson, 17 May 1955, PRO DO 35/4602 (quotation); Mason and Asher (1973: 189–90).
 121. Cf. 'Washington' to Foreign Office, 5 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Note of a meeting in Treasury, 31 August 1954, PRO CO 1015/944; Huggins to Black, 4 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944; Note of a meeting in Treasury, 6 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
 122. Note of a meeting in Treasury, 31 August 1954, PRO CO 1015/944 (first quotation); IBRD Vice President, 'Address before Engineers Joint Council', New York, 18 January 1957, NAM Federal Files 33/1/2 (second quotation).
 123. Black to Huggins, 15 July 1955, NAM Federal Files 33/1/1.
 124. Secretary for Power, 'Kariba Project and Federal control of electricity general', undated, ca. June 1955, NAM Federal Files 33/1/1. The aspect of race relations will be treated more extensively in Section 2.1.
 125. Note on an IBRD meeting, 1 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/947.
 126. Morgan to Gorell Barnes, 20 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/943 (quotations); Note of discussion with IBRD mission in the CRO, 16 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.
 127. Black to Huggins, 15 July 1955, NAM Federal Files 33/1/1; IBRD Vice President, 'Address before Engineers Joint Council', New York, 18 January 1957, NAM Federal Files 33/1/2 (quotation).
 128. Taylor to IBRD, undated, ca. 25 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/950 (quotation); Federal Treasury, 'Further note on economic policy during construction of Kariba', 27 February 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 152/6.
 129. Aide memoire, 'Federal Government's attitude to the price of copper', undated, ca. November/December 1955, NAM Federal Files 33/9.
 130. Metcalf to Rumbold, 24 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/948.
 131. Record of conversation between Commonwealth Secretary and Prain, 24 February 1955, PRO DO 35/4600; UK High Commissioner Federation to CRO, 14 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/943 (last quotation).
 132. Colonial Secretary to Benson, 27 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/943; Cohen (2006: 4); Minute by Federal Treasury, 9 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/943

- (quotation). The copper companies' great financial obligation towards Kariba furthermore meant that Governor Benson did not obtain the necessary funds for a rural development scheme he had planned. According to Thayer Scudder, Kariba therefore 'precluded' an initiative that 'might have had a major impact on improving the living standards of the currently impoverished population' (Scudder 2005: 5).
133. Black, 'World Bank 1946–56', *Financial Times*, 25 June 1956.
 134. Halley to Wilson, 12 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/949; Makins to Foreign Office, 24 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/950.
 135. 'World Bank loan of £28.9m. for Kariba Scheme', *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 28 June 1956. The final loan shares were as follows (in millions): IBRD: £28.6; CDC: £15; CDFC: £3; Copper companies: £20; Standard Bank of South Africa: £2; Barclay's Bank: £2; British South Africa Company: £4; Federal Government: £5.4 ('The Kariba Project. A Brief Description of the Kariba Hydro Electric Project on the Zambezi River in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', undated, ca. before 1958, RHL MSS Welensky, 341/1).
 136. Armstrong to Rumbold, 10 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
 137. Cf., for instance, Armstrong to Rumbold, 10 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Chancellor to Huggins (draft), undated, ca. February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
 138. Armstrong to Rumbold, 10 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Treasury, 'Proposed loan of £50 million from Colonial Development Corporation', 14 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945 (quotation); Armstrong, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Project', 15 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
 139. Huggins to Butler, 17 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/946.
 140. Minutes of a meeting held in Treasury, 26 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Chisholm to Reed, 20 August 1955, PRO CO 1015/947 (quotation).
 141. Treasury, 'Proposed loan of £50 million from Colonial Development Corporation', 14 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945; Treasury, 'Discussions with Federal representatives', April/May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948; Armstrong, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Project', 15 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945. 'Imperial preference', which the IBRD disapproved of, meant that the exchange of goods within the Commonwealth was levied from customs duty (cf. Minutes of meeting in Board of Trade, 12 September 1955, PRO DO 35/4602).
 142. Cf. Reed to Curson, 10 August 1955, PRO CO 1015/946 (quotation); CRO to UK High Commissioner in the Federation, 21 April 1956, PRO DO 35/4603, 194; Chisholm to Reed, 20 August 1955, PRO CO 1015/947.
 143. 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Works', *Rhodesia Herald*, 12 August 1955.
 144. Reed to Curson, 10 August 1955, PRO CO 1015/946 (quotation); 'Details of Kariba contracts as at present known', May 1956, PRO CO 1015/949.
 145. Cf. Treasury, 'Kariba publicity guidance', 26 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/950; Chisholm to Baxter, 23 April 1956, PRO DO 35/5700; Chisholm to Reed, 12 April 1956, PRO DO 35/5700; Treasury, 'Draft background brief on the IBRD', May 1956, PRO DO 35/5701.
 146. 'World Bank has made loans of 2720 million dollars so far', *Rhodesia Herald*, 29 June 1956.

147. Export Group for the Construction Industries, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme', 14 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/949. See also: Costain, letter to the editor, *The Times*, 18 June 1956. Costain's firm Cementation, at that time engaged in the preliminary works, was part of a consortium which had also submitted an application ('Details of Kariba contracts as at present known', May 1956, PRO CO 1015/949).
148. Question by Braine, extract UK Hansard, 27 June 1956, PRO DO 35/4604.
149. 'Taming the Zambesi', *Daily Telegraph*, 10 July 1956 (first quotation); 'Dollars behind it', *Daily Express*, 7 October 1955.
150. *Daily Mail*, 20 July 1956.
151. 'Nationalistic nonsense', *Observer*, 22 July 1956.
152. 'The Kariba contracts', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 July 1956.
153. Cf. Kapur et al. (1997: 98), regarding the IBRD's 'distaste for colonialism'. Cf. Staples (2006: 6), about the post-war 'global community' and the 'loss of faith in the ability of the system of nation-states [...] to cope with modern problems'.
154. The Anglo-American company operated in Central Africa and South Africa, financed mainly through British sources, while the Rhodesian Selection Trust (RST) relied foremost on American finance (Cohen 2006: 3).
155. Reed to Curson, 10 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/948.
156. On the Bank's satisfaction with Kariba in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Kamarck and Oliver (1961); Federal Power Board, note on IBRD Visit, 5 June 1958, NAM Federal Files 33/1/2. Today, however, there is an increased awareness of the project's negative effects (cf. Introduction; Soils Inc. 2000).
157. Cf. Minute by Federal Treasury, 9 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/943; 'Big business aids Kariba', *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 1 February 1956 (first quotation); 'Kariba', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 February 1956 (second quotation).
158. Cf. Clarke (2007); Hyam (1999: 257–8); Kapur et al. (1997: 1163–9, 1174); Low and Lonsdale (1976: 53).
159. This term alludes to Ferguson's *Anti-Politics Machine* (Ferguson 1990, see Introduction).
160. The Bank's cautious policy was in fact criticised by the father of the 'Big Push' theory, Paul Rosenstein-Rodan (Kapur et al. 1997: 91–2, 127–9).

2 The Resettlement: Planning and Implementation

1. These were the estimates of 1955 (Statement by Northern Rhodesian Secretary for Native Affairs, Northern Rhodesia Hansard, 15 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946). According to Colson and Scudder, the final number of evacuees was about 57,000, 34,000 on the Northern Rhodesian side and 23,000 in the south (Scudder 2005: 27–8). The following section focusses on Northern Rhodesia, since the Southern Rhodesian resettlement was not the British Government's responsibility (see below).
2. Federal Hansard, 1 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600. In fact, Huggins had at first even forgotten to read out the resettlement-related part of his manuscript (Maclennan to Fowler, 2 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/945). He delivered the rest of his speech a few days later (Federal Hansard, 7 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946). Similarly, the planners of Cahora Bassa employed

- a rhetoric of 'African advancement' to justify the eviction of about 30,000 peasants from their homelands. Moreover, their interests were deemed marginal as compared to the 'national' gain of the project (Isaacman and Isaacman 2012: chap. 4).
3. Benson to Welensky, 21 January 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/4.
 4. Benson to Gorell Barnes, 31 December 1954, PRO CO 1015/944.
 5. Benson to Colonial Secretary, 'Appreciation of the resettlement problems involved if the Kariba Gorge Hydro-Electric Scheme were implemented', 29 January 1955, PRO CO 1915/952; Benson to Colonial Secretary, 'Appreciation of the possible political effects if the Kariba Dam is built', 17 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/952. Governor Benson had been a District Officer in Mazabuka ('Loyal address presented by the Gwembe Tonga Native Authority on the occasion of an Indaba at Gwembe', 6 January 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/43).
 6. Benson to Colonial Secretary, 'Appreciation of the resettlement problems involved if the Kariba Gorge Hydro-Electric Scheme were implemented', 29 January 1955, PRO CO 1915/952.
 7. Benson to Colonial Secretary, 'Appreciation of the possible political effects if the Kariba Dam is built', 17 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
 8. Gorell Barnes to Lloyd, 10 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/952. Native Reserves had been set up already under South Africa Company rule, so that the remaining land could be used for immigrant settlers. Land reforms during 1938–47 ostensibly strengthened indigenous 'protection'. However, Africans lived in constant fear of losing their land to European settlers (Macola 2010: 33–4).
 9. Cf. Colonial Secretary to Benson, 19 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944; Minute by Morgan, 9 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; 'Brief for the Secretary of State', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
 10. Morgan to Coe, 14 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944 (first quotation); Marnham to Morgan, 10 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944 (second quotation).
 11. Colonial Secretary to Benson, 19 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944.
 12. Treasury to Huggins, 17 February 1955, PRO CO 1015/945.
 13. Morgan to Marnham, 26 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944 (quotation); 'Brief for the Secretary of State', undated, ca. January 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
 14. Gorell Barnes to Lloyd, 10 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
 15. Huggins to Maclennan, 12 January 1955, PRO DO 35/4600 (first two quotations); 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme chosen by Federal Government, Sir Godfrey Huggins's survey of comparative factors in two projects', undated, ca. early March 1955, PRO CO 1015/952. Cf. also McGregor (2009: 112).
 16. Huggins to Maclennan, 12 January 1955, PRO DO 35/4600 (quotation); Minute by Morgan, 22 January 1955, PRO CO 1015/944; Curson to Rumbold, 30 April 1956, PRO DO 35/5716.
 17. Africa Bureau, 'Press statement by the Nyasaland African Congress', 8 March 1955, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365, Box 105/3.
 18. Statements by Kakumbi and Chirwa, extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603; Extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO

- DO 35/4603; 'More support for Kariba Scheme', *The Times*, 8 March 1955; Wood (1983: 441–2).
19. Maclennan to CRO, 9 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600; West (2002: 190–2).
 20. Northern Rhodesia Hansard, 15 and 16 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/946. The Northern Rhodesian LegCo Member for African interests, Harry Franklin, barely engaged with the resettlement problem and discussed it mainly as a cost factor (Wood 1983: 441–2). Cf. also McGregor (2009: 112).
 21. Cf. Windrich (1975: 43); Clegg (1960: 3); Rotberg (1971: 227). Prime Minister Huggins provided the most notorious definition, when he equated partnership to the relationship between rider and horse (cf. Coe and Greenall 2003: 100).
 22. 'Equal pay for equal work', *Rhodesia Herald*, 4 August 1955 (quotation); Wood (1983: 386), Rotberg (1971: 254–5). There was little progress with respect to political equality and the everyday discriminations of the colour bar, for instance, separate entrances in post offices, separate hospital services, different railway facilities, discrimination in stores and hotels, differential job opportunities and wages (Rotberg 1971: 255). On the decline of biological racism, cf. Cooper (2002: 37).
 23. Morgan, 'Memorandum on a meeting between the two Secretaries of State and Lord Malvern', 20 June 1956, PRO CO 1915/950.
 24. Prime Minister, 'Draft article for Progress', 18 December 1956, RHL MSS Welensky, 285/1.
 25. Extract Federal Hansard, 12 March 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.
 26. 'Enabled to play their part', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 March 1956.
 27. IBRD, 'The economy of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', appendix Project Appraisal Report, 13 June 1956, PRO DO 35/5702.
 28. IBRD, 'Report and recommendations on a proposed loan to the Federal Power Board', 14 June 1956, PRO DO 35/5702.
 29. There are again striking similarities with regard to the Cahora Bassa scheme. Here, too, official discourse described the land as harsh and remote terrain, so that a move could only be an advantage for its 'backward' inhabitants (Isaacman and Isaacman 2012: chap. 4).
 30. In her section 'Popular Writing & Popular Racism', McGregor describes how whites inscribed themselves into the river landscape (2009: 120–3). My own focus is on how development discourse fed into racial stereotypes and connected to white nationalism.
 31. Brochure, 'Gwembe Valley resettlement in Northern Rhodesia', undated, ca. 1958, unsigned, certainly Northern Rhodesia Information Department, PRO CO 1015/1486.
 32. 'Kariba project displaces 50,000', *The Scotsman*, 30 July 1956.
 33. Examples and quotations taken from: 'Kariba project displaces 50,000', *The Scotsman*, 30 July 1956; Brochure, 'Gwembe Valley resettlement in Northern Rhodesia', undated, ca. 1958, unsigned, certainly Northern Rhodesia Information Department, PRO CO 1015/1486; Clements (1959: illustration opposite page 65); Northern Rhodesia Information Department, photographs and explanation, undated, ca. November 1958, PRO INF 10/380, nos. 1, 4–10, 14, 18; 'Africans to move from Kariba land', extract Federal Newsletter, 20 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4605; 'Africans' enforced migration begins', *Observer*, 22 July 1956.

34. 'Moving a tribe to make way for the Kariba Lake', *The Times*, 21 October 1955.
35. 'How the Batonkas are being moved to make way for the white man's dam', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 September 1956; 'Only political agitation can bedevil move of Africans from Kariba site', *Northern News*, 3 November 1955.
36. Today it is difficult to assess whether Nyaminanyi was rooted in indigenous culture or a European invention of 'African tribal mores' (cf. Herbert 2002: 92).
37. 'White man's magic', *The Times*, 26 August 1955; 'How the Batonkas are being moved to make way for the white man's dam', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 September 1956; '50,000 tribesmen at Kariba start move to new homes in July', *Sunday Mail*, 3 June 1956; Comment: 'Human problem at Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 15 June 1955 (final quotation).
38. Cf., for instance, Ashcroft et al. (2007: 156–8); Loomba (2005: 42–61); Childs and Williams (1997: 97–156); Harrison (2003); Bhabha (1994[1987], 1994[1992]).
39. '50,000 tribesmen at Kariba start move to new homes in July', *Sunday Mail*, 3 June 1956; 'Uprooting 50,000 before a flood', *Public Opinion*, 11 August 1956.
40. Quotations: 'Tribes told of the white man's lake', *The Times*, 2 September 1955; Howarth (1961: 18); cf. also 'Africans' enforced migration begins', *Observer*, 22 July 1956.
41. Cf. also 'Looking ahead in Africa', *New Commonwealth*, September 1951.
42. Cf. Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis (1995: 11–12, 21); Elkins and Pedersen (2005: 2, 8); Dubow (2000: 3); Dubow (2006: 12). David Hughes has explored the connection between the 'empty land' and white nation-building in Zimbabwe with respect to farm dams, conservation, and Lake Kariba (2006; 2006a; 2010).
43. 'How the Batonkas are being moved to make way for the white man's dam', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 September 1956 (first quotation); Brochure, 'Gwembe Valley resettlement in Northern Rhodesia', undated, ca. 1958, unsigned, certainly Northern Rhodesia Information Department, PRO CO 1015/1486 (second quotation).
44. Some scholars even argue that settler colonies are 'inherently genocidal' (cf. Finzsch 2008: 253, and others in the volume Moses 2008).
45. Statement by Huggins, Federal Hansard, 1 March 1955, PRO DO 35/4600. At that time, a considerable increase of the African population in the previous few years was a matter of concern to white Rhodesians (Mlambo 2002: 68).
46. Elkins and Pedersen (2005: 4) (quotation); Veracini (2007: 4); Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis (1995: 7); Lawson (1995: 29–30).
47. Gwembe District in Northern Rhodesia's Southern Province was administered by District Commissioner (DC) H.A. d'Avray (later appointed 'Kariba Development Officer') and his successor A.St.J. Sugg. The implementation of the resettlement was in the hands of several resident District Officers (DOs), who came and went, and whose number as well as responsibilities varied. Each DO was in charge of one or more chieftaincies (Press communiqué, Northern Rhodesia Information Department, 'Resettlement

- in the Gwembe Valley', 25 November 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Kirk-Greene 2006: 5; Colson 1971: 176–7).
48. As Isaacman and Isaacman (2012) show, social engineering visions also accompanied the Cahora Bassa resettlement. Instead of being – as first purported – 'development villages', the aldeamentos instead became part of a violent counterinsurgency strategy. Isaacman and Isaacman (2012: chap. 4) describe in some gruesome detail how people were shifted – mostly by force and under great time pressure – to these villages, where they were locked-in by barbed wire-fence and subject to extreme sufferings, including overcrowding, lack of water, diseases, and starvation.
 49. Brochure, 'Gwembe Valley resettlement in Northern Rhodesia', undated, ca. 1958, unsigned, certainly Northern Rhodesia Information Department, PRO CO 1015/1486.
 50. Northern Rhodesian Government, 'Statement of the grounds on which the claim on the Federal Power Board is based', undated, ca. April 1960, NAM Federal Files 51/1/1.
 51. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 July 1953 and 25 October 1953, NAZ SP 1/3/3. See also: Chipungu (1987: 61–9); Colson (1971: 19).
 52. For example: Southern Province intelligence report, 25 July 1953 and 25 October 1953, NAZ SP 1/3/3 (quotations); Southern Province intelligence report, 25 January 1954, 25 February 1955, and 25 April 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/3; Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1953, NAZ SP 4/2/59; Tour report 2/1954, chiefs Chipepo, Simamba, Sinadambwe, 17 March 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87.
 53. Tour report 4/1954, Mwemba, 23 June 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87.
 54. Cf., for instance, Tour report 2/1954, chiefs Chipepo, Simamba, Sinadambwe, 17 March 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87 (first quotation); Tour report 6/1955, Simamba, 16 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103 (second quotation); Tour report 2/1955, Munyumbwe, 14 March 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103.
 55. For instance: Tour report 2/1954, chiefs Chipepo, Simamba, Sinadambwe, 17 March 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87; Tour report 5/1954, Sinazongwe, 18 August 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87; Tour report 4/1955, Sigongo, 26 May 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103.
 56. Cf., for instance, Tour report 6/1954, Chipepo, 23 September 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87.
 57. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/59.
 58. Extract from letter received from PC Livingstone, 5 August 1959, NAM Federal Files 51/1/1; also Colson (1971: 17).
 59. Benson to Colonial Secretary, 'Appreciation of the resettlement problems involved if the Kariba Gorge Hydro-Electric Scheme were implemented', 29 January 1955, PRO CO 1915/952; Benson to Morgan, 29 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/952.
 60. The Federal Government had merely advised Northern Rhodesia to plan for 1590 ft as a normal top water level (Stubbs to PC Southern Province, 31 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/952). However, accuracy was crucial: just a few additional feet could make a difference of hundreds of acres (Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Interim statement on plans for resettlement in the Gwembe District', 9 March 1956, PRO CO 1015/953).

61. Extract from Stubbs' quarterly newsletter to PC, 6 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/953.
62. Extract from Stubbs' quarterly newsletter to PC, 6 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/953.
63. Agricultural Officer, 'Report on the agricultural conditions in the proposed resettlement areas', December 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65 (quotation); Extract from Department of Agriculture annual report of 1956, PRO CO 1015/1484.
64. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/59.
65. Agricultural Officer, 'Report on the agricultural conditions in the proposed resettlement areas', December 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65; Scudder (2005: 32).
66. Stubbs to PC Southern Province, 31 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
67. Benson to Colonial Secretary, 23 September 1955, PRO CO 1015/952 (quotation); Benson to Morgan, 23 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/952; Baxter to Caston, 28 September 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
68. DC Mumbwa to d'Avray, 3 June 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
69. PC to DC Gwembe, 3 January 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/65; cf. also Colson (1971: 38–9).
70. Tour report 4/1956, Sinazongwe, March 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125.
71. DC Mumbwa to d'Avray, 3 June 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
72. Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Interim statement on plans for resettlement in the Gwembe District', 9 March 1956, PRO CO 1015/953; 'Valley Tonga get ready to leave their homes', *Northern News*, undated, ca. September 1955; cf. also Comment, Tour report 4/1959, Chipepo, 15 June 1959, NAZ SP 1/3/8.
73. Clay to DC Gwembe, 3 January 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/65 (first quotation); Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Note on the effect of Kariba on the population of the Gwembe District', 6 April 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11 (second quotation).
74. DC Gwembe to PC, 12 July 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11; Minutes of the Provincial Development Team, Southern Province, 16 August 1955, annexure C: Kariba re-settlement, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
75. DC d'Avray, First (preliminary) resettlement report, 7 July 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
76. A range of minutes of such meetings and related documents from between 1955 and 1962 can be found in: NAZ SP 4/4/11; NAZ SP 4/2/145; NAZ SP 4/1/61; NAZ SP 1/4/22. The role of the GTNA will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.1.
77. For instance: Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 26/27 July 1955, NAZ SP 4/1/61; Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 26/27 June 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/61; Kariba monthly resettlement report, November 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
78. Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 27/28 March 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/61. African leaders were also sent to Lake Mweru to study the fishing industry there and develop similar ideas for Lake Kariba (Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 13/14 December 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/61; GTNA, Annual report, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151).
79. Kariba monthly resettlement report, November 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
80. Kariba monthly resettlement report, October 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65 (first quotation); Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Report on work undertaken in connection with the resettlement of Africans in the Gwembe District', 1 June 1957–31 October 1957, PRO CO 1015/1491 (second quotation); Tour report 1/1957, Sigongo, 4 March 1957, NAZ SP 4/2/134.

81. Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 27/28 March 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/61. See also: Chief Muwezwa, Namwala, 'Report on my visit to Kariba', 31 July 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
82. On Foucault's notion of governmentality and discipline, cf. Lemke (2008: 260–3); Bublitz (2008: 275); Finzsch (2002: 258–60).
83. In many cases, these traditions first had to be invented (cf. Cell 1999: 232–42; Eckert 2007: 39–50; Ranger 1993).
84. DC Gwembe to PC, 12 July 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
85. Agricultural Officer, 'Report on the agricultural conditions in the proposed resettlement areas', December 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
86. 'Government decides on higher dam wall', *Sunday Mail*, 15 July 1956; Scudder (2005: 28); Colson (1971: 36). Moreover, the Federal Government decided to close the flood gates one year earlier (Colson 1971: 36).
87. Cf. Colson (1971: 32–3); Scudder (2005: 34, 37–8). A few examples of the numerous administrative records reflecting the mentioned shortcomings: Tour report 5/1959, Simamba, undated, ca. August 1959, NAZ SP 1/3/8; Tour report 5/1962, Mwemba, undated, ca. December 1962, NAZ SP 1/3/35; Kariba Development Officer, 'Note on the Gwembe resettlement scheme', 22 September 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20.
88. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1958, NAZ SP 4/2/59 (quotation); Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1957, NAZ SP 4/2/59; Economic Secretary, 'Report on work undertaken in connection with the resettlement of Africans in the Gwembe District', 1 March 1958–30 June 1958, PRO CO 1015/1491; Minister of Native Affairs, 'Report on work undertaken in connection with the resettlement of Africans in the Gwembe District', 1 November 1958–31 March 1959, PRO CO 1015/1486; DC Prior to PC Southern Province, 28 December 1959, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
89. Colson (1971: 38–9); Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1958, NAZ SP 4/2/59.
90. Kariba Development Officer, 'Note on the Gwembe resettlement scheme', 22 September 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20; Colson (1971: 11, 29–35); Scudder (2005: 31).
91. Economic Secretary, 'Report on work undertaken in connection with the resettlement of Africans in the Gwembe District', 1 March 1958–30 June 1958, PRO CO 1015/1491.
92. The entire case will be discussed in greater detail in Section 3.2.
93. Kariba Development Officer, 'Note on the Gwembe resettlement scheme', 22 September 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20 (quotation); DC Prior, 'Kariba resettlement: Mwemba Area', 9 October 1958, NAZ SP 4/4/23; Tour report 6/1959, Mwemba, August 1959, NAZ SP 1/3/8.
94. Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 26–28 September 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/61; DC Butler, 'Comments on a report entitled "Resettled Tonga face starvation"', 15 July 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/22; 'Resettled Tonga face starvation', *Central African Post*, 1 July 1959.
95. DC Butler, 'Comments on a report entitled "Resettled Tonga face starvation"', 15 July 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/22 (first quotation); District Assistant to DC Gwembe, 18 March 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/22 (second quotation).

96. DC's comment, Tour report 3/1956, Simamba, September 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82 (first quotation); Tour Report 6/1955, Simamba, 16 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103 (second quotation). Cf. also Howarth (1961: 32, 41, 53–4).
97. PC Clay to DC Gwembe, 3 January 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
98. DC's comment, Tour report 8/1954, Simamba, 18 December 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87 (first quotation); Tour report 7/1955, chiefs Sinazongwe, Mwemba, Chipepo, 23 September 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103 (second quotation); Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 22/23 March 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/61.
99. Cf. Scudder (2005: 30); Colson (1971: 35–7); GTNA Second Annual Report 1956, Habanyama, 2 January 1957, NAZ SP 4/2/118.
100. DC Sugg to the Rev. Jinkin, Kanchindu Mission, 22 October 1956, NAZ SP 4/4/15.
101. DC Facey to PC Central Province, 16 January 1950, NAZ SP 4/4/3. Further examples of local officers' interventions, which seem to have been largely ignored, are: DC Bourne to PC Livingstone, 7 October 1949, NAZ SP 4/4/3; DC Bourne, 'Problems of resettlement of displaced Gwembe Africans', 13 March 1952, NAZ SP 4/4/2.
102. DC Bourne, 'Problems of resettlement of displaced Gwembe Africans', 13 March 1952, NAZ SP 4/4/2.
103. Harry Franklin, for instance, had quit the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia because he 'could not conscientiously support the new policy' of the Federation (1963: 116–17).
104. Tour report 1/1958, Sinazongwe, 2 June 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/20.
105. Scudder has evaluated the various measures for the Tonga's rehabilitation. I here leave aside efforts in terms of agriculture, schools, infrastructure, and tsetse control (see Scudder 2007: 311–23) to focus on the fishery programme.
106. Between late 1958 and 1960, the Gwembe Tonga were recompensed for their abandoned huts and loss of production due to the resettlement. Moreover, the GTNA received a cheque of £200,000. Indirect compensation came in the form of the 'Gwembe Special Fund' (£1,115,000), administered by members of the provincial administration and the GTNA. The fund was used for public services (e.g., education, agriculture, water, fisheries) and financed mainly through revenue accruing from leases and rents on the northern shore of Lake Kariba (cf. Soils Inc. 2000: 32–3; Minutes of the trustees of the Gwembe Special Fund, 25 January 1961, NAZ SP 4/1/87; The Northern Rhodesia (Gwembe District) Order in Council, 1959, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 8, 6/6/3).
107. Memorandum by Ministry of Economic Affairs, 16 May 1960, NAM Federal Files 51/1/1.
108. Kariba Development Officer, 'Gwembe resettlement. Relations with the Federal Government', 22 September 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20 (first quotation); Record of a meeting in Ministry of Native Affairs to discuss the Federal Government's offer of compensation, 23 April 1959, NAZ SP 4/12/96.
109. Record of a meeting held at Livingstone in the office of the PC Southern Province, 15 May 1959, NAZ SP 4/12/96.
110. Agricultural Supervisor's comment, Tour report 3/1961, Sinazongwe, NAZ SP 1/3/35 (first quotation); DC's comment, Tour report 3/1961, Sinazongwe, NAZ SP 1/3/35.

111. GTNA chief councillor, 'Tour of Sinazongwe area', 12 February 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/27.
112. Cf. DC's comment, Tour report 2/1962, Sinazongwe, 23 July 1962, NAZ SP 1/3/35; Tour report 3/1961, Sinazongwe, 28 May 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35; Tour report 3/1960, Sinazongwe, undated, ca. August 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
113. Tour report 3/1960, Sinazongwe, undated, ca. August 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
114. Tour report 3/1961, Sinazongwe, 28 May 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35.
115. Notes from a meeting held in Secretariat, Lusaka, 18 July 1957, NAZ SP 4/2/145. See also Chapter 5.
116. Tour Report 8/1961, Chipepo, 27 December 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35 (quotation); further examples: DC's comment, Tour report 3/1961, Sinazongwe, NAZ SP 1/3/35; Tour report 3/1960, Sinazongwe, undated, ca. August 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24; cf. also Scudder (2007: 314–16).
117. Cf. Tour report 2/1961, Sinadambwe, 21 May 1961, NAZ, SP 1/3/35; Tour report 8/1961, Chipepo, 27 December 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35; Tour report 1/1962, Simamba, 13 March 1962, NAZ SP 1/3/35.
118. Cell (1999: 248–9) even compares indirect rule with segregation and the South African bantustan policy.
119. Benson to Colonial Secretary, 'Appreciation of the resettlement problems involved if the Kariba Gorge Hydro-Electric Scheme were implemented', 29 January 1955, PRO CO 1915/952.
120. Benson to Morgan, 23 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/952.
121. Tour report 7/1961, Mwemba, September 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35 (first quotation); Tour report 8/1959, Sinazongwe, December 1959, NAZ SP 1/3/8 (second quotation); Tour report 6/1961, Mwemba, September 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35; Tour report 5/1960, Mwemba, October 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
122. This notion is central in Howarth's monograph (1961) and constituted, as McGregor points out, 'an important strand of official discourse' (2009: 117).
123. Quotation: Tour report 1/1956, Sinazongwe, 18 January 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125.
124. Minister of Native Affairs' comment, Tour report 2/1960, Sinadambwe, 26 March 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
125. DC's comment, Tour report 5/1960, Mwemba, October 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
126. Tour report 4/1961, Simamba, including DC's comment, 18 September 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35.
127. Tour report 5/1960, Mwemba, October 1960, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
128. In total, £3.98 million were spent on the resettlement (out of a total final project cost of £77.61 million (Soils Inc. 2000: 39).
129. When Britain granted Southern Rhodesia self-government in 1923, it reserved some powers, for instance the right to veto legislation which discriminated against Africans (Elkins 2005: 209). For an excellent summary of Southern Rhodesian native policy, see Alexander (2000).
130. Unlike Section 2.3, the focus here is contrastive, discussing the Southern Rhodesian resettlement in comparison with the Northern Rhodesian one. This section rests to a greater degree on academic literature and published sources than the previous ones. The resettlement in Southern Rhodesia has been discussed in greater detail in McGregor (2009: chap. 6).

131. The NLHA assigned land to African farmers under individual tenure on the one hand and endeavoured to establish a permanent black urban workforce on the other (Alexander 2000: chap. 2).
132. Informed by Social Darwinism and a biological notion of race, Huggins in his earlier years maintained that Africans were essentially different from Europeans. He later distanced himself from his segregationist approach (Steele 1972: v, 10, 33).
133. IBRD, 'The economy of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', appendix Project Appraisal Report, 13 June 1956, PRO DO 35/5702.
134. Federal Ministry of Power, 'Memorandum on Kariba Project', 6 October 1955, NAM Federal Files 33/6; Morgan to Gorell Barnes, 21 October 1955, PRO CO 1015/952 (quotation).
135. Minutes of a conference held in Secretariat, 24 November 1955, NAZ SP 4/12/73 (quotation); Reed to Chisholm, 24 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/952; Minute to Webster, unsigned, undated, ca. September 1956, PRO CO 1015/953.
136. Baxter to Coe, 18 November 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
137. Cf. McGregor (2009: 110); Morgan, 'Cost of Kariba resettlement', 1 May 1959, PRO CO 1015/1486.
138. 'Kariba Africans to receive compensation of £330,000', *Northern News*, 21 September 1956.
139. 'Two years tax free, food, compensation for Africans leaving Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 27 September 1956; McGregor (2009: 110, 139–40). For the Tonga's awareness of the differences between north and south, see Chapters 3 and 5.
140. McGregor (2009: 111); Reed to Chisholm, 24 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4605.
141. Cf. '6,500 Africans are on the move from Kariba site', *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 August 1956; Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development, 1958, Morrell Library: 11; Dick Hobson, 'Kariba', 1961, NAZim, MS 889/2; Soils Inc. (2000: 29).
142. Soils Inc. (2000: 29, 37–8); McGregor (2009: 112); Scudder (2005: 28–9); Colson (1971: 20).
143. William-Powlett to Crookshank, 17 October 1955, PRO DO 35/4605.
144. Quotation within quotation from: Soils Inc. (2000: 29). Further: Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development, 1955, Morrell Library: 6; Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development 1958, Morrell Library: 12. Cf. also Scudder (2005: 28); McGregor (2009: 110–11).
145. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development for the Year 1958, Morrell Library: 8.
146. '6,500 Africans are on the move from Kariba site', *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 August 1956.
147. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development 1958, Morrell Library: 14.
148. Cf. Soils Inc. (2000: 28–9, 37); Tremmel (1994: 31); Scudder (2005: 28); Extract from Hunt's diary, October 1957, PRO DO 35/4606; Cockcroft,

- 'Kariba', Native Affairs Department Annuals (NADA) 9/4, 1967, NAZim, MS 889/2: 25.
149. Kariba monthly resettlement report, September 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
 150. Cockcroft, 'Kariba', NADA 9/4, 1967, NAZim MS 889/2: 25.
 151. Interview with H.J. Quinton, May 1977 – May 1978, NAZim Oral/Qu2.
 152. Cockcroft, 'Kariba', NADA 9/4, 1967, NAZim MS 889/2: 26.
 153. Only 5–8 per cent of the land was considered suitable for agriculture (cf. Frazer to Secretary of Mines, Lands and Surveys, 26 January 1956, NAZim, S 3599/389; see also McGregor 2009: 111).
 154. Cf. Interview with R.J. Powell, 3 July, 21 August, and 5 September 1978, NAZim Oral 227.
 155. Gann (1965: 249) (quotation); Alexander et al. (2000: 72); Alexander (2006: 22).
 156. Interview with R.J. Powell, 3 July, 21 August, and 5 September 1978, NAZim Oral 227; McGregor (2009: 114); Tremmel (1994: 31, 33). Tremmel documents the recollections of a range of Kariba contemporary witnesses.
 157. For instance: '5,000 moved from the Kariba area', *Rhodesia Herald*, 4 October 1956; 'Africans moving from Kariba Dam area', Federal Newsletter, 8 September 1956; 'Big trucks starting evacuation of 22,000', *Sunday Mail*, 22 July 1956.
 158. Cockcroft, 'Kariba movement: reaction of the two Wankie chiefs', 20 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11; Cockcroft, 'Kariba movement: reaction of natives', 4 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
 159. Cf. Kaunda to DC Gwembe, 3 February 1957, UNIPA ANC 9/40; 'Tribal opposition to Kariba Dam is dying', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 August 1956; Interview with R.J. Powell, 3 July, 21 August, and 5 September 1978, NAZim Oral 227; McGregor (2009: 112).
 160. 'Chiefs protest at Zambesi migration', *Observer*, 15 July 1956.
 161. Statement by Ntensha/Munkonde, Chief Moola, Gogwe District, undated, ca. August 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/63; Fox-Pitt to Commonwealth Secretary, 23 August 1956, forwarding statement by Siantumbu, Southern Rhodesia, UNIPA ANC 7/63; Statement by Siabeza, Chief Siamupa, Gogwe District, 20 December 1957, UNIPA ANC 7/71.
 162. 'Tribal opposition to Kariba Dam is dying', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 August 1956 (quotation); similar: Cockcroft, 'Kariba movement: reaction of the two Wankie chiefs', 20 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11; Cockcroft, 'Kariba movement: Chief Sinagatenke', 20 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
 163. Interview with R.J. Powell, 3 July, 21 August, and 5 September 1978, NAZim Oral 227; McGregor (2009: 113).
 164. McGregor argues that resistance was strongest in those parts which were better connected to political centres in Northern Rhodesia. At the same time, she concedes that 'direct nationalist influence was not necessary to provoke opposition to the move' (McGregor 2009: 113).
 165. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development, 1958, Morrell Library: 5.
 166. 'African leaders from north trying to stir black nationalism', *Northern News*, 10 September 1954.
 167. 'Tribal opposition to Kariba Dam is dying', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 August 1956.

168. See for instance: Extract from *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 11 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484.
169. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development, 1958, Morrell Library: 5 (quotation); Interview with H.J. Quinton, May 1977–May 1978, NAZim Oral/Qu2.
170. 'How the Batonkas are being moved to make way for the white man's dam', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 September 1956.
171. Extract from *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 11 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484; 'Future of tribe in Kariba lake area being examined', *Rhodesia Herald*, 14 June 1955.
172. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development, 1955, Morrell Library: 8.
173. Extract from *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 11 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484.
174. Cockcroft, 'Kariba', NADA 9/4, 1967, NAZim MS 889/2: 26–7.

3 Intervening in the Kariba Dam Project

1. According to a source from 1958, the GTNA comprised the seven Gwembe chiefs, five departmental councillors (with specialist functions, for example, responsibility for education, agriculture, finance) nominated by the chiefs, seven councillors who were chosen by the people, and one chief councillor ('Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the circumstances leading up to and surrounding the recent deaths and injuries caused by the use of firearms in the Gwembe District and matters relating thereto', Northern Rhodesia Government, November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485: 7; the report will henceforth be referred to as: Gwembe Commission report 1958).
2. In some sources, Habanyama's first name is also spelled 'Ezechie' or 'Hezechie'.
3. Interview with Nancy Habanyama Hanchabila, Lusaka, 29 January 2008; also Colson (1971: 1). At Cahora Bassa, too, local intermediaries (*régulos*) came under pressure and finally lost authority due to the conflicting pressures upon them (Isaacman and Isaacman 2012: chap. 4).
4. I have published some of the aspects discussed in this section in an earlier article, cf. Tischler (2011).
5. There is a comprehensive literature on the role of indigenous elites, cf. Dülffer and Frey (2011); Lawrance et al. (2006); Eckert (2006); see Eckert (2007) for a comprehensive monograph on the role of African bureaucrats in colonial and post-colonial Tanzania.
6. Cf. also Cooper (1996: 12); Crehan (1997: 205); Eckert (2007: 11).
7. Annual report on African affairs 1951–1952, North-Western Area, quoted from Crehan (1997: 203). Cf. also Dülffer and Frey (2011: 2); Eckert (2007: 20, 45, 111–24); Lawrance et al. (2006: 29). Seminal texts on the issue of colonial inventions are: Ranger (1983); Ranger (1993); Vail (1989).
8. Cf. Pearce (1982: 132–61); Kirk-Greene (1999: 59; 2006: 14); Herbert (2002: 51); Posner (2005: 37); Eckert (2007: 114); Colson (1971: 181). On local government with respect to the GTNA, see Chipungu (1987: 159–60).
9. Hall to Morgan, 24 December 1956, PRO CO 1015/1491.

10. Conversation with Jairo Mazambani (himself a Tonga), Northmeads, Lusaka, 29 January 2008; see also Colson (1971: 22).
11. For a summary of the aims and content of these courses, see Eckert (2007: 107).
12. Cf. for the entire paragraph: Stubbs to Morgan, 10 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/953; Gwembe District newsletter, November 1960, NAZ SP 4/1/65; Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1953, NAZ SP 4/2/59; Tour report 6/1956, Sigongo, 9 May 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125; Howarth (1961: 44–6); Colson (1971: 187). The Provincial Council was a body of chiefs, councillors, and European administrators in charge of development at the provincial level (cf. Billing 1959).
13. Cf. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 July 1953, NAZ SP 1/3/3 (quotations); DC Gwembe to NRANC headquarters, 14 February 1959, UNIPA ANC 9/32; Reeves to Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Influence of Congress on Native Authorities', 28 December 1955, NAZ SP 1/14/18.
14. Tour report 2/1954, chiefs Chipepo, Simamba, Sinadambwe, 17 March 1954, NAZ SP 4/2/87. Repression against 'Congress subversion' in the area will be discussed more comprehensively in Section 3.2.
15. Cf., for instance, Southern Province intelligence report, 25 May 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
16. The local administration often hesitated to transfer as many powers to the Native Authorities as the policy of 'local government' demanded (cf. Rotberg 1971: 50; Eckert 2006: 250–1).
17. Howarth (1961: 43–9); Record of the third meeting of the Southern Province African Provincial Council, 5/6 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
18. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 April 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
19. 'Questions asked by the GTNA', Annexure A, Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 26/27 July 1955; NAZ SP 4/1/61.
20. Cf. Replies of the Northern Rhodesian Government to questions asked by the GTNA, 22 February 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/61. The question of lake rights will be taken up again in Chapter 5.
21. Cf., for instance, Minutes of District Team meeting, Gwembe Boma, 9 February 1962, NAZ SP 1/4/22; GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118.
22. Cf., for instance, Habanyama, 'Tour of Sinazongwe area', 12 February 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/27; Habanyama, 'Tour of Chief Simamba's area', 22–24 July 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82; Notes on a meeting between the DC and some members of the GTNA, 3 October 1955, NAZ SP 4/4/11.
23. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118; GTNA, Annual report, 1957, NAZ SEC 2/143; Habanyama to DC Gwembe, 26 November 1957, NAZ SP 4/4/6 (final quotation).
24. Minutes of District Team meeting, Gwembe Boma, 9 February 1962, NAZ SP 1/4/22.
25. DC's comment, Tour report 6/1956, Sigongo, 9 May 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125.
26. Morgan to Hall, 24 January 1957, PRO CO 1015/1491. Habanyama's name appears in numerous reports and letters which were forwarded to the Colonial Office; there was also some direct correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and Habanyama (cf. particularly files PRO CO 1015/1484 and PRO CO 1015/1491).

27. Hall to Morgan, 24 January 1957, PRO CO 1015/1491.
28. GTNA to d'Avray, 10 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16 (quotations); cf. also Southern Province intelligence report, 25 April 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
29. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118.
30. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118. Cf. further Habanyama, 'Tour of Chief Simamba's area', 22–24 July 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82; Southern Province intelligence report, 25 July 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14; Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1954, NAZ, SP 4/2/59.
31. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118 (first quotation); Habanyama, 'Welcome address for the Native Affairs Secretary on his visit to the Native Authority headquarters', 25 October 1956, PRO CO 1015/1484.
32. Cf. Howarth (1961: 44–5); similar: Interview with Nancy Habanyama Hanchabila, Northmeads, Lusaka, 29 January 2008.
33. Cf., for instance, Tour report 2/1962, Sinazongwe, 23 July 1962, NAZ SP 1/3/35.
34. Quotations from GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118; Annual report, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151.
35. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118.
36. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1960, NAZ SP 4/2/59.
37. Record of views expressed at the GTNA meeting, 1 April 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17.
38. See, for instance, Notes of a meeting held in Secretariat, Lusaka, 18 July 1957, NAZ SP 4/2/145.
39. Record of discussion between Minister of Native Affairs, Habanyama, and d'Avray, 17 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16. See also Chapter 5.
40. This can be derived from his later political engagement for the Central Africa Party, see below.
41. Cf. Hughes (2003); Phiri (2006; 1991). Hughes (2003), himself a former member of the movement, is not entirely uncritical, but very sympathetic. Phiri (1991) even alludes to multiracial liberalism as an ideal middle road not taken. A critical evaluation of Capricorn can be found in Rotberg (1977: 296–305).
42. 'Race relations policy of the Capricorn Africa Society', undated, UNIPA ANC 7/67.
43. Cf. Dixon-Fyle (2007: 116); Phiri (2006: 46, 51, 73–5); Hancock (1978); West (2002: 203–5).
44. Record of discussion between Minister of Native Affairs, Habanyama, and d'Avray, 17 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16.
45. Cf. Annual report on African affairs, Gwembe District, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151.
46. Franklin, CAP, to 'Voter', 24 February 1960, NAZ HM 73/CAP/1/Circulars (first quotation); Franklin, CAP, 'Memorandum to the Monckton Commission', 11 February 1960, NAZ HM 73/CAP/2.
47. Quotations from: GTNA, Annual report, 1957, NAZ SEC 2/143; Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118; Annual report, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151; Welcome address to his Excellency the Governor, February 1960, NAZ SP 4/12/91.
48. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118.

49. Evidence of Habanyama, Record of the hearings of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, morning session, 31 October 1958, NAZ SP 4/11/15.
50. GTNA, Annual report, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151.
51. Habanyama, 'Tour of Chief Simamba's area', 22–24 July 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82.
52. Cf. DC Gwembe to PC Southern Province, 24 October 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/61; Colson (1971: 185–8).
53. Fox-Pitt, Letter to the editor, 'The evictions in Kariba. "Unfulfilled promises"', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 September 1958. That Fox-Pitt refers to Habanyama becomes evident from the following correspondence: Fox-Pitt to Monckhouse, 17 September 1958, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563.
54. After long negotiations, Benson's plans were finally approved against settler pressure (cf. Wood 1983: 467–84; Murphy 1999: 182–3).
55. Cf. Southern Province intelligence report, 20 September 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18.
56. Cf. Annual report on African affairs, Gwembe District, 1960, NAZ SP 4/2/159; Gwembe District newsletter, November 1960, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
57. Annual report on African affairs, Gwembe District, 1960, NAZ SP 4/2/159; also Wood (1983: 815). Chirwa was a politician from Nyasaland with an educational background not dissimilar to that of Habanyama. As a member of the Nyasaland Congress, Chirwa had campaigned against Federation; once Federation was a fact, however, he decided to fight against it 'from within', as a member of the Federal Assembly (Segal 1961: 56–7; Wood 1983: 723, 725–6). The minority report was annexed to the main report (Wood 1983: 816). All page numbers in the following refer to the minority report (Chirwa and Habanyama 1960).
58. ANC, 'Petition to His Excellency Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of Great Britain', 21 January 1960, NAZ HM 70/2 (quotation); Wood (1983: 774–5).
59. D'Avray to Minister of Legal Affairs and Minister of Native Affairs, 16 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16; Sugg to Secretary of Native Affairs, 'Gwembe Tonga Native Authority complaint', 15 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16.
60. GTNA, Annual report, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151.
61. Colson (1971: 189–90, 199). UNIP had been formed in 1959, as a merger of several splinter parties which had cut loose from the NRANC in 1958 (Macola 2008: 20–1). Ironically, Habanyama was discredited in the 1962 election for his collaboration during the resettlement (Mulford 1967: 275). In many respects, Habanyama's career was typical of African colonial bureaucrats, who often became 'important protagonists of anticolonial nationalism' (Eckert 2006: 249). On the changes of 'liberal multiracialism', see: Hughes (2003: 29–31, 35–6, 55, 285).
62. Drawing on V.S. Naipaul's novel *Mimic Men*, the term is often used in a derogatory sense to describe colonial compradors' attempts to emulate their masters (cf. Eckert 2006: 252).
63. Record of the third meeting of the Southern Province African Provincial Council, 5/6 April 1955, PRO CO 1015/952. There was no rural electrification until years after resettlement; when it did come, it reached less than 20 per cent of the formerly displaced population (Scudder 1993: 146–7).
64. The incident made the news in Central Africa and Great Britain in 1958 and is also referred to in the existing literature on Kariba: McGregor (2009: 114–17); Herbert (2002: 92–3); Soils Inc. (2000: 29); Colson (1971: 40–1).

65. While earlier historiography overlooked peasants' resistance altogether, strands of scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s addressed the lives of the marginalised with a sense of political self-consciousness (Lee 2005: 5; Berry 1993: 23). In trying to account for subaltern agency, however, historiography has tended to interpret peasants' defiance all too swiftly as part of the nationalist struggle (Cooper 1994: 1520–1; Schmidt 2005: 981–4).
66. Most prominently, the historians of the South Asia-centred Subaltern Studies Group have tried to re-inscribe the marginalised into history. Their insights have also been made productive for African studies (see, for instance: Chaturvedi 2000: vii; Cooper 1994; Lee 2005). At the same time, Gayatri Spivak and others have criticised the term 'the subaltern' as homogenising and essentialising; moreover, they question to what extent privileged academics are able to speak for the subaltern (Spivak 1988). The term 'agency' is similarly problematic, resurrecting the idea of an autonomous subject (Ashcroft et al. 2007: 6–7).
67. 'Reading against the grain' or 'contrapuntal reading' is a strategy emanating from literary criticism which has resounded among historians working on contexts of extreme power asymmetries. It implies deliberately adopting a perspective that is different from that of the author (cf. Ashcroft et al. 2007: 49).
68. Mainly: Colson (1960, 1971); Scudder (1962); the Gwembe Tonga Research Project is summarised in Scudder and Colson (2002).
69. Interview with court assessor Simambile, in 'Verbatim reports of interviews with various individuals in the Gwembe Valley', by Noah Matongo, undated, ca. November 1955, NAZ SP 4/12/73.
70. Cf. Tour report 8/1955, Sinazongwe, Mwemba, 14 November 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103; Tour report 4/1956, Sinazongwe, March 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125.
71. Cf., for instance, GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118; Scudder (2005: 37; 1993: 131); Soils Inc. (2000: 30).
72. Tour report 1/1956, Sinazongwe, 18 January 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125; GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118; Rev. Jinkin, Kanchindu Mission, to DC Gwembe, 16 October 1956, NAZ SP 4/4/15 (last quotation).
73. Banda had spent most of his life outside Nyasaland (in the USA, the United Kingdom, and the Gold Coast). He had fought against Federation from abroad and, having shortly withdrawn from active politics, returned to Nyasaland in mid-1958 (Power 2010: 127–35). Concerning the political crisis of 1958, see also Section 4.2.
74. Cf., for instance, 'Tragedy in Zambezi Valley', *Northern News*, 11 September 1958; further section 2.4; McGregor (2009: 114–17).
75. Abu Mayanja, Letter to the editor, *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1958.
76. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/59.
77. 'Report on the disturbances in Gwembe Valley', by headmen Chilimanzi and Chatugwa, Chief Simamba, and several villagers, 14 December 1953, UNIPA ANC 9/39.
78. Cf., for instance, Southern Province intelligence report, 25 April 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
79. 'Report on the disturbances in Gwembe Valley', by headmen Chilimanzi and Chatugwa, Chief Simamba, and several villagers, 14 December 1953, UNIPA ANC 9/39 (quotation); Kaunda to Native Secretary, 'Re: Gwembe

- disturbances', 18 December 1953, NAZ HM 70/5. Many of these complaints seem to have been recorded by the headquarter staff on the basis of oral evidence from Gwembe headmen. It is difficult to assess to what extent they can count as verbatim documentations of the grievances expressed.
80. Reeves to Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Influence of Congress on Native Authorities', 28 December 1955, NAZ SP 1/14/18.
 81. Nkumbula to Brockway, 17 February 1956, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 13, 6/7/2. Orders were mainly enforced by messengers, who, working like police forces for a DO or a chief, often exploited their powers (Colson 1971: 177).
 82. 'Complaint brought by people living in Gwembe District', 30 November 1956, UNIPA ANC 9/40.
 83. Cf. Statement by Mabula Siansale, Gwembe, 26 February 1957, UNIPA ANC 7/57; Statement by Sinamwenda Kaniamba and Kaniamba Amos, Sialuselwo Village, Chief Chipeco, undated, UNIPA ANC 7/57; Statement by January Siakanka, Gwembe, undated, ca. October 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/57; Statement by Harrison Syiasimuna, Shasongo Village, Chief Chipeco, 18 August 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/57; Leonard Musako to ANC Head Office, 24 April 1957, UNIPA ANC 7/66.
 84. Statement by Shin Sianzeme and Siangome, Nashongo Village, Chief Chipeco, 22 July 1957, UNIPA ANC 3/20; similar: Statement by Muembe (? illegible), Chilonda Village, Chief Simamba, and Andisoni Siamulumbo (? illegible), Chief Chipeco, undated, ca. May 1958, UNIPA ANC 7/69.
 85. Statement by Kangwilima Makekenya, Chief Munyumbwe, on forced labour in Gwembe District, undated, UNIPA ANC 7/57 (quotation); 'Complaint brought by people living in Gwembe District', 30 November 1956, UNIPA ANC 9/40.
 86. For instance: Statement by Chiyaba (? illegible), Zambesi Valley, undated, UNIPA ANC 7/107. The vast majority of these complaints came from the Lusitu area (see below).
 87. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 January–25 June 1956, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
 88. Among those headmen were: Siamulumbu, Simonga, Chabuka, Mulangwa, Siasuntwe, Nashongo, Sialusilo, Sialyombwe, Siakalila Matondo (all Chief Chipeco); Chilimanzi, Chatugwa (both Chief Simamba); see Southern Province intelligence report, 25 August 1956, NAZ SP 1/3/18; 'Report on the disturbances in Gwembe Valley', by headmen Chilimanzi and Chatugwa, Chief Simamba, and several villagers, 14 December 1953, UNIPA ANC 9/39.
 89. Cf. Tour report 6/1955, Simamba, 16 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103; Tour report 7/1955, Sinazongwe, Mwemba, Chipeco, 23 September 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103; Southern Province intelligence report, 20 July 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18.
 90. This included an inspection tour for villagers and headmen to Lusitu (Gwembe Commission report 1958: 9).
 91. Kariba monthly resettlement report, March 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/65; Kariba monthly resettlement report, January 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/65.
 92. Southern Province intelligence reports, 20 April (quotation), 20 May, 20 June, 20 July, and 25 August 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18; Gwembe Commission report (1958: 11–12).

93. Cf. also Beinart and McGregor (2003: 21); Alexander (2006: 4–6); Mitchell (2002: 79, 77–8).
94. Gwembe Commission report (1958: 11–13).
95. Evidence by Prior, Record of the hearings of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, 1 November 1958, NAZ SP 4/11/15.
96. Cf. Bhabha (1994[1987]); Ashcroft et al. (2007: 125); Chakrabarty (2000: 474). See also Cooper and Stoler (1997: 7): ‘... the otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained’.
97. The following analysis of Benson’s talk with the villagers is based on a ‘verbatim record’ of the indaba. This record sheds such an unfavourable light on the governor that it is probably not entirely fabricated (Verbatim record of indaba, Chisamu’s Village, Chief Chipepo, 7–8 September 1958, appendix N to Northern Rhodesia Government memorandum for Gwembe Commission, undated, ca. October/November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485). However, DO Smith later conceded that the record might not contain everything that had been said (Evidence of A.J. Smith, Record of the hearings of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, 31 October 1958, morning session, NAZ SP 4/12/89).
98. This is how the Provincial Commissioner had explained earlier signs of unruliness among the Gwembe Tonga (Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/59).
99. Cf. a statement of headman Namukungulu: ‘the Governor says my words are foolish because I am black’.
100. For the entire indaba, see: Verbatim record of indaba, Chisamu’s Village, Chief Chipepo, 7–8 September 1958, appendix N to Northern Rhodesia Government memorandum for Gwembe Commission, undated, ca. October/November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485.
101. Jones to Morgan, 3 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484.
102. Cf. ‘Operation order’, appendix P to Northern Rhodesia Government memorandum for Gwembe Commission, undated, ca. October/November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485.
103. The commission consisted of a (white) member of the Uganda Legislative Council, a priest from Lusaka, and Chief Shimumbi from Luwingu District (Lennox-Boyd to Stonehouse, 7 November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484).
104. For instance: ‘Gwembe commission of inquiry opens’, Federal Newsletter, 7 November 1958; ‘Gwembe incident inquiry ends’, Federal Newsletter, 14 November 1958. Among the witnesses were police officers responsible for the operation, government staff, deputy Chief Chipepo, Habanyama, several headmen and villagers. The hearings took place between 28 September and 5 November 1958 (Gwembe Commission report 1958: 25).
105. ‘Statement about Gwembe trouble caused by the government’, Lice Siamubi, Chisamu’s Village, and Langson Mwemba, Moyo’s Village, 13 September 1958, UNIPA ANC 7/70.
106. A medical examination of the dead bodies, for instance, showed that no victim had been shot from behind. This was taken as proof that police officers had only fired at people who directly attacked them (Gwembe Commission report 1958: 37–8).

107. Some examples: 'Police absolved from criticism by Gwembe Commission', Press Communiqué, 26 November 1958, NR Information Department, PRO CO 1015/1484; 'A guide to the Kariba resettlement riots', *The Times*, 29 September 1958; 'Unfair to put blame on Colonial Service', *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12 September 1958.
108. Statement by Donald Malilwe, Munyati Village, Mazabuka District, 15 September 1958, UNIPA ANC 7/70; see also: 'Sinazongwe Case', Jeremiah Manyonga, undated, ca. end of 1958, UNIPA ANC 7/70; 'An unsworn affidavit', Solomon Mutima, 22 November 1958, UNIPA ANC 7/70.
109. People were moved on government lorries, lacking water and becoming sick. They were shocked to see they were being dumped in a wilderness, as the new areas were hardly prepared. The old villages were left to be looted and burned down (Colson 1971: 44–5).
110. 'Lusitu case', Juda Siabilo, Simangodolwa Village, and Shadreck Shipangulwa, Simaundu Village, 16 February 1959, UNIPA ANC 7/0.
111. 'Lusitu case', Juda Siabilo, Simangodolwa Village, and Shadreck Shipangulwa, Simaundu Village, 16 February 1959, UNIPA ANC 7/0; see also Colson (1971: 54–5).
112. 'Lusito case', January Siakunka, Chisamu Village, Mwinde White, Shamutumbu's Village, Ng'andu Shamboko, Shamutumbu Village, and others, 22 January 1959, UNIPA ANC 7/70; 'The Lusito case', Simaundu Siamisini, 22 January 1959, UNIPA ANC 7/70 (last quotation).
113. Verbatim record of indaba, Chisamu's Village, Chief Chipepo, 7–8 September 1958, appendix N to Northern Rhodesia Government memorandum for Gwembe Commission, undated, ca. October/November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485.
114. Statement by Harrison Syiasimuna, Shasongo Village, Chief Chipepo, 18 August 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/57.
115. Statement by ex-Chief Moyo, Headman Nashongo, Headman Sialuselo, Headman Siakalima Matondo, Headman Simsuntwe, and others, undated, UNIPA ANC 7/70.
116. 'Statement of conditions in Chief Simamba's area', Langson Mwemba, Chilonde Village, 20 November 1958, RHL MSS Afr. S. 1681 Box 245/12.
117. Leonard Musako to NRANC headquarters, 22 April 1956, UNIPA ANC 9/40.
118. Cf. Evidence of Habanyama and Chipepo, Record of the hearings of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, 31 October 1958, morning session, NAZ SP 4/11/15; Southern Province intelligence report, 25 October 1956, NAZ SP 1/3/18.
119. Gwembe Commission report (1958: 9–10). Cf. also 'No acceptable evidence has been presented to establish that activities of Congress agents [...] had the authority or direction of the higher organisation of the African National Congress' (Gwembe Commission report 1958: 23).
120. Report on incidents in Chief Chipepo's area, Barber, appendix R to Northern Rhodesian Government memorandum for Gwembe Commission, undated, ca. October/November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485.
121. Evidence of Habanyama, Smith, and Barber, Record of the hearings of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, 31 October 1958, morning session, NAZ SP 4/11/15 and NAZ SP 4/12/89; Report on incidents in Chief Chipepo's area, Barber, appendix R to Northern Rhodesian Government

- memorandum for Gwembe Commission, undated, ca. October/November 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485. On the importance of songs in rural resistance, see Isaacman (1993: 245).
122. Habanyama, 'Tour of Chief Simamba's area', 22–24 July 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82.
 123. Habanyama, 'Tour of Chief Simamba's area', 22–24 July 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82 (first quotation); Acting Secretary for Native Affairs to Morgan, 11 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484 (second quotation).
 124. 'Statement about Gwembe trouble caused by the government', Lice Siamubi, Chisamu's Village, and Langson Mwemba, Moyo's Village, 13 September 1958, UNIPA ANC 7/70.
 125. Cf. also Hobsbawm (1973); Scott (1985: xv); Beinart and Bundy (1987: 32); Dixon-Fyle (2007: 14).
 126. Some examples: 'Resettling Africans from the Gwembe Valley', *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 9 October 1958; also the *Manchester Guardian* published a series of letters to the editor, often highly critical of the Kariba resettlement (esp. Fox-Pitt, 'The evictions in Kariba', 22 September 1958). Critical reactions will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.
 127. Cf. Evidence given by Headman Chisamu and Headman Mazulu, Record of the hearings of the Gwembe Commission of Inquiry, 3 November 1958, morning and afternoon session, NAZ SP 4/11/15; Kariba monthly resettlement report, Simamba area, September 1958, NAZ SP 4/12/82; Colson (1971: 41).
 128. DC's comment, Tour report 6/1955, Simamba, 16 August 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103 (quotation); DC Butler, 'Comments on a report entitled "Resettled Tonga face starvation"', 15 July 1959 NAZ SP 4/4/22; Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1958, NAZ SP 4/2/59.
 129. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 May 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
 130. Agricultural Officer, 'Report on the agricultural conditions in the proposed resettlement areas', December 1956, NAZ SP 4/1/65; Tour report 3/1955, Chipepo, 19 April 1955 (quotation), including DC's comment, NAZ SP 4/2/103.
 131. Tour report 3/1955, Chipepo, 19 April 1955, NAZ SP 4/2/103.
 132. Southern Province intelligence report, 20 April 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18; see also Soils Inc. (2000: 30).
 133. Tour report 4/1956, Sinazongwe, March 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/125. It remains an open question, however, whether officers reported about incidents like these in a manner to express their own disapproval of the operation.
 134. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1958, NAZ SP 4/2/59; cf. Section 3.1.
 135. 'Verbatim reports of interviews with various individuals in the Gwembe Valley', by Noah Matongo, undated, ca. November 1955, NAZ SP 4/12/73 (quotation); D'Avray to PC, 8 November 1955, NAZ SP 4/12/74.
 136. DC Butler, 'Comments on a report entitled "Resettled Tonga face starvation"', 15 July 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/22.
 137. Some examples: Tour report 2/1962, Sinazongwe, 23 July 1962, NAZ SP 1/3/35 (quotation); Tour report 7/1962, Simamba, 6 December 1962, NAZ SP 1/3/35; see also Scudder (2007: 314–16).

138. Tour report 3/1961, Sinazongwe, 28 May 1961, NAZ SP 1/3/35 (quotation); Tour report 8/1959, Sinazongwe, December 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/8.
139. Tour report 8/1961, Chipepo, 27 December 61, NAZ SP 1/3/35.
140. Tour report 8/1959, Sinazongwe, December 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/8.
141. Minutes of a meeting of the GTNA, 27/28 March 1957, NAZ SP 4/1/61.
142. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118.
143. Mwemba headmen to Provincial Commissioner, 21 June 1958, NAZ SP 4/4/22.
144. Tour report 3/1960, Sinazongwe, undated, ca. August, NAZ SP 1/3/24.
145. Tour report 8/1959, Sinazongwe, December 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/8.
146. Colson (1971) explores these changes with a focus on kinship patterns (chap. 4), the family (chap. 5), material gains and losses (chap. 6), political changes (chap. 7), and changes regarding ritual, religion, and medicine (chap. 8).
147. Cf. Scudder (1993: 131–2, 140, 145–7); Scudder (2005: 45–7); Colson (1971: 59).
148. Cf. Bhabha (1994[1987], 1994[1985]); Cooper and Stoler (1997: 7); Ashcroft et al. (2006: 137–8); Young (1995, esp. 26–8).
149. I have published some of the aspects discussed in this section in an earlier article: Tischler (2011).
150. Giacomo Macola (2010) convincingly deconstructs some of the narratives projected in the main authoritative studies of Zambian nationalism appearing in the 1960s and 1970s (Mulford 1967; Macpherson 1974; Rotberg 1971; Kaunda 1962), which Macola shows to be biased towards, or even actively manipulated by, the winners of the nationalist struggle, Kenneth Kaunda and his UNIP (2–3; 53–60). In a similar endeavour, Miles Larmer (2011) has recently provided a nuanced revision of Zambian politics, focussed on UNIP, which goes beyond the earlier ‘the struggle for the nation’ storyline to take account of the divisions and diversity within the movement.
151. Mau Mau, a bloody guerrilla war against the colonial government and European settlers, was a frequent issue in Central African papers in early 1955 (cf., for instance, numerous articles in the *Northern News* at that time).
152. ‘Tribes may resist move from Kariba dam area, says Nkumbula’, *Northern News*, 9 March 1955.
153. ‘List of Telegrams sent to Secretary of State for the Colonies and Governor-General of the Federation on various subjects affecting the Africans of Northern Rhodesia’, 7 March 1955, UNIPA ANC 7/90.
154. Nkumbula, ‘Petition to Her Majesty’s Government on the Kariba Gorge decision’, 4 March 1955, UNIPA ANC 7/90.
155. Morgan to Gorell Barnes, 8 March 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
156. Nkumbula, ‘Petition to Her Majesty’s Government on the Kariba Gorge decision’, 4 March 1955, UNIPA ANC 7/90.
157. Surprisingly, while many studies refer to the fact that Nkumbula petitioned the Queen on Kariba, the document itself has not been analysed in detail (cf., for instance, Macola 2010: 70 and 178 n. 84; McGregor 2009: 109, Herbert 2002: 93).

158. Nkumbula, 'Petition concerning the evacuation of the people from the Zambezi Valley to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II', 17 November 1955, UNIPA ANC 3/39.
159. Nkumbula, 'Petition concerning the evacuation of the people from the Zambezi Valley to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II', 17 November 1955, UNIPA ANC 3/39.
160. Cf. Michael Scott, Africa Bureau, to Lennox-Boyd, 15 August 1956, PRO CO 1015/953.
161. Extract, Note for record of a meeting between the Colonial Secretary and a Labour Party delegation, 16 December 1955, PRO DO 35/4605 (first quotation); Benson to Morgan, CO, 23 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/952 (second quotation).
162. Nkumbula, Circular letter to 'dear friends', 12 February 1956, including the Kariba petition, UNIPA ANC 9/39 (quotation); 'Kaunda claims 3000 Congress members in the Gwembe area', *Central African Post*, 4 November 1955.
163. Michael Scott, Letter to the editor, 'African land', 15 May 1956, *New Statesman and Nation*.
164. On the rather gradualist and reformist positions adopted by the Fabians, see Eckert (2007: 106–7); on the disagreements between the Fabian Colonial Bureau and different factions of the Labour Party concerning colonial issues, also regarding the speed of constitutional change, cf. Goldsworthy (1971: 113–64, 330–40).
165. Murphy (1995: 49–52, 76); Herbert (2002: 130–1, 138); Goldsworthy (1971: 123, 261–2). On the relationship between the Fabian Colonial Bureau and the Labour Government, 1945–1951, cf. Milburn (1958); Callaghan (1996); Owen (1999: 203–4). For an overview of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, its networks, and modes of operation regarding colonial reform politics, see Finsterhölzl (2010).
166. The Africa Bureau, founded by the cleric Michael Scott in 1952 to foster a more informed public opinion on colonial affairs, did not differ greatly in its aims from the Fabian Colonial Bureau, but addressed wider sections of society and held contacts with most political parties (Goldsworthy 1971: 154, 264–78). The Anti-Slavery Society had its roots in the nineteenth century abolition movement (cf., for instance, Miers 2003: 7–11).
167. 'Rhodesia ban on former official', 4 July 1958, *The Times*.
168. The petition was drafted in the office of the Anti-Slavery Society. A first version was then passed on to be revised by a lawyer and by the Africa Bureau, by Labour MP Arthur Creech Jones, and the Fabian Colonial Bureau (Fox-Pitt to Mary Benson, 15 November 1955, RHL MSS Afr. S. 1681 Box 244/4; Betts to Mary Benson, 12 December 1955, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 102/1).
169. Cf. Creech Jones to Mary Benson, Africa Bureau, 23(?) November 1955, RHL MSS Afr. S. 1681 Box 244/1; Extract, Note for record of a meeting between the Colonial Secretary and a Labour Party delegation, 16 December 1955, PRO DO 35/4605.
170. Nkumbula passed on several revealing documents from the Northern Rhodesian administration. How he had obtained them in the first place remains an open question.

171. Nkumbula to Brockway, 17 February 1956, NAZ HM 70/5.
172. Creech Jones to Lennox-Boyd, 13 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/953.
173. Morgan to Benson, 16 August 1955, PRO DO 35/4206.
174. Creech Jones to Lennox-Boyd, 13 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/953. Two of these 'European sources' were Harry Franklin, a Northern Rhodesian colonial servant and opponent of Federation, and the Rev. Jinkin from the Kanchindu Mission in the Southern Province (cf. Franklin to Creech Jones, 5 May 1956, RHL MSS Afr. S. 1681 Box 244/4; Jinkin to Betts, 14 June 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1; see also Franklin 1963).
175. Creech Jones to Selwyn-Clarke, 21 February 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1.
176. Cf. 'Zambesi River dam African evacuation', *The Times*, 24 November 1955; Lennox-Boyd to Benson, 3 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Lennox-Boyd to Swingler, 6 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/952; Lennox-Boyd to Benson, 1 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/952; Benson to Morgan, 23 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/952; Colonial Office, 'Notes for supplementary question', 13 April 1956, PRO CO 1015/952 (quotation).
177. Cf. Questions by John Griffiths, 29 February 1956 and 25 April 1956, House of Commons debates, quoted from: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com> (home page), date accessed 22 May 2012; Lennox-Boyd to White, 20 March 1956; PRO CO 1015/953.
178. As a direct reaction to the Labour MPs' queries, for instance, Governor Benson was asked to supply a comprehensive survey on the resettlement (cf. Morgan to Benson, 3 January 1956, PRO CO 1015/952; see also below).
179. There were established collaborations between the Fabian Colonial Bureau and a range of members of the Labour Party, who brought Fabian concerns into the British Parliament (Finsterhölzl 2010: 1001).
180. Betts, 'The Kariba Hydro-electric scheme. Evacuation of Africans', 27 March 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1; Betts, 'Summary of a resettlement report submitted by DC Gwembe on 7 July 1955', 3 April 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1 (all except final quotations); Betts, 'Notes on petition regarding the Kariba Gorge Hydro Electric Scheme', undated, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1 (final quotation). The latter file contains the Bureau's collection of Kariba-related documents. It is highly probable that the memoranda produced on this basis were for the MPs who attacked the Colonial Secretary in 1955/56 on the Kariba resettlement.
181. Betts, 'Exodus with a difference', *Venture*, April 1956. On the significance of *Venture* both in Britain and within the colonies, see Finsterhölzl (2010: 1002).
182. The *New Statesman* was founded in 1913 by members of the Fabian Society and had reached a circulation of 70,000 by 1945 (cf. Hyams 1963; Smith 1996).
183. Cf. Lessing (1996[1957]); on Kariba, see 165–77; Lessing, 'The Kariba Project', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 June 1956.
184. Lessing, 'The Kariba Project', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 June 1956; see also Lessing (1996[1957]: 172).
185. After she returned to Great Britain, Lessing was banned from Southern Rhodesia (Pickering 2003: 27).

186. Fox-Pitt to Wedgwood Benn, 30 December 1956, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 6, 6/4/6.
187. Fox-Pitt to Fenner Brockway, 8 March 1956, UNIPA ANC 5/9.
188. Memorandum, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, undated, ca. March/July 1956, no author, most likely NRANC, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S. 365 Box 103/1.
189. Fox-Pitt to John Rankin, 13 June 1956, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 13, 6/7/4; Extract, House of Commons, parliamentary debate, 15 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/953 (quotation).
190. Fox-Pitt to Rankin, 1 August 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 558; similarly Fox-Pitt to Nkumbula, 10 October 1956, UNIPA, ANC 5/9.
191. Examples of these reports, reaching the CO from about late 1956, can be found in: PRO CO 1015/1484, CO 1015/1486, CO 1015/1491, CO 1015/149.
192. Most of the Kariba-related debates were connected to questions of finance and contracts. The resettlement question was a parallel debate, initiated by the previously mentioned group of Labour MPs. After the main controversy in June 1956, they asked further questions on compensation, progress with the resettlement, and problems related to the floods (cf. Question by Rankin, 1 August 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 102/1; Questions by Rankin, Swingler, Brockway, Johnson, and Stonehouse, House of Commons debate, 31 October 1956, 13 March 1957, 25 March 1957, 8 May 1957, 16 July 1957, 26 November 1957, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>).
193. Hall to Morgan, 11 June 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484.
194. Morgan to Gorell Barnes, 11 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1485.
195. Cf. questions asked during House of Commons debates on 26 June 1958, 20 November 1958, 25 November 1958, 1 December 1958, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>.
196. Cf., for instance, Lennox-Boyd to Benson, 25 September 1958, PRO CO 1015/1484.
197. Fox-Pitt to Monckhouse, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 October 1958, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563.
198. Fox-Pitt, Letter to the editor, 'The evictions in Kariba. "Unfulfilled promises"', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 September 1958.
199. Cf. Parliamentary questions by Stonehouse and Rankin, answers by Amery, House of Commons debates, 10 February 1959, 12 February 1959, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>; Rex, 'The evictions from Kariba', *Manchester Guardian*, 9 February 1959 (quotation). This is very likely the British-South African sociologist John Rex, who intervened on numerous occasions against white supremacy in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Rex collaborated with the Africa Bureau (cf. Martins 1993).
200. House of Commons debate, 24 November 1959, quoted from: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com> (quotation); 'Gwembe Valley mystery disease', *Manchester Guardian*, 28 November 1959; 'Tribesmen's deaths a mystery', *The Times*, 1 December 1959, 'Lusito mystery deepens as more die', *Central African Post*, 28 December 1959.
201. Metcalf, 'Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: public opinion on the recent disturbances', 17 April 1959, PRO DO 35/7533.
202. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

203. There was another exchange in March/April 1957, when Nkumbula invited the Labour MP James Johnson to a 'fact-finding' tour through Northern Rhodesia, including discussions with the District Commissioner and a few Gwembe Tonga. The NRANC was however disappointed by the visit (Johnson, Letter to the editor, *Venture*, 13 July 1957; NRANC, 'Brief notes on the activities of Mr. James Johnson', undated, ca. April 1957, UNIPA ANC 2/15).
204. Kaunda to Lennox-Boyd, forwarding memorandum on matters 'that we were asked by our people to put before you', July 1957, UNIPA ANC 2/1.
205. Amongst others, one reason was that Nkumbula wanted to undermine inner-party conspiracies against him happening at that time (Macola 2010: 67).
206. Fox-Pitt to Creech Jones, 28 October 1959, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 8, 6/6/3; similarly Lessing (1998: 183). Cf. also Macola (2010: 54).
207. There is a short section on Kariba in Kaunda's autobiography, in which he briefly states that Africans were opposed to Kariba but could not do anything about it (Kaunda 1962: 71, 73). Moreover, there was never much support for Kaunda among the people in Gwembe and the Southern Province generally, who remained loyal to Nkumbula (Macola 2010: 48, 51, 69).
208. Note for record of a meeting between the Colonial Secretary and a Labour Party delegation, 16 December 1955, PRO CO 1015/952 (first quotation); Scott to Lennox-Boyd, 15 August 1956, PRO CO 1015/953 (second quotation). Cf. also a comment in the *Observer*: 'Congress acknowledges that the Kariba project must now inevitably go forward, and that people must be moved' ('Chiefs protest at Zambesi migration', *Observer*, 15 July 1956).
209. Extract Northern Rhodesian press résumé, 28 June 1955, PRO DO 35/4605; Extract from Northern Rhodesia intelligence report, September 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
210. Congress Circular 1/VIII, 18 October 1955, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 13, 6/7/2; see also above.
211. Cf. 'Move of Africans from Kariba Area', Extract Federal Newsletter, 11 November 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Congress Circular 1/VIII, 18 October 1955, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 13, 6/7/2; '300 Gwembe headmen to petition Queen says Harry Nkumbula', *Central African Post*, 10 October 1955; 'Kaunda claims 3000 Congress members in the Gwembe area', *Central African Post*, 4 November 1955 (quotation). However, Nkumbula did make the petition public by including it in one of his circulars (Nkumbula, Circular letter to 'dear friends', 12 February 1956, UNIPA ANC 9/39).
212. Extract from Northern Rhodesia intelligence report, January 1956, PRO DO 35/4605 (first quotation); Nkumbula to Brockway, 17 February 1956, NAZ HM 70/5 (second quotation).
213. Cf. Nkumbula to Gwembe Valley chiefs, 7 January [1956], UNIPA ANC 2/1 (quotation); Southern Province intelligence report, 25 June 56, NAZ SP 1/3/14.
214. Reeves to Secretary for Native Affairs, 'Influence of Congress on Native Authorities', 28 December 1955, NAZ SP 1/14/18 (first quotation); Fox-Pitt,

- Letter to the editor, 'The evictions in Kariba. "Unfulfilled promises"', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 September 1958 (second quotation).
215. Cf. Southern Province intelligence report, 25 June 1956, NAZ SP 1/3/14; Southern Province intelligence report, 20 April 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18. Cf. also Section 3.2.
 216. Extract, Note for record of a meeting between the Colonial Secretary and a Labour Party delegation, 16 December 1955, PRO DO 35/4605.
 217. Cf., for instance, 'Kaunda claims 3000 Congress members in the Gwembe area', *Central African Post*, 4 November 1955; 'Only political agitation can bedevil move of Africans from Kariba site', *Northern News*, 3 November 1955; 'Exodus with a difference', *Venture*, April 1956.
 218. Fox-Pitt to Brockway, 15 December 1955, SOAS Library PPMS 6, Box 13, 6/7/3.
 219. Yamba to Fox-Pitt, 11 February 1957, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 752.
 220. Cf. Fox-Pitt, Letter to the editor, 'The evictions in Kariba. "Unfulfilled promises"', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 September 1958. Fox-Pitt later assisted Habanyama with his minority report for the Monckton Commission (Section 3.1). By contrast, Nkumbula was either unaware of or preferred not to mention the Native Authority's efforts, for instance the '24 Points', in his writings.
 221. Nkumbula to Brockway, 17 February 1956, NAZ HM 70/5. The other 'intelligent African' was probably finance councillor Jonah Ncite.
 222. Sugg to NRANC, 19 January 1956, UNIPA ANC 9/15; Mungoni to DC Gwembe, 26 November 1955, UNIPA ANC 7/57 (first and second quotation); Kaunda to DC Gwembe, 20 July 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/57 (final quotation).
 223. Cf. Extract from Northern Rhodesia intelligence report, September 1957, PRO CO 1015/1484; Southern Province intelligence report, 20 January 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18.
 224. 'Kaunda claims 3000 Congress members in the Gwembe Area', *Central African Post*, 4 November 1955; Southern Province intelligence report, 25 October 1956, NAZ SP 1/3/18 (quotation); Howarth 1961: 92–3.
 225. Southern Province intelligence report, 20 September 1957, NAZ SP 1/3/18. Cf. also Southern Province intelligence report, 25 December 1955, NAZ SP 1/3/14; Southern Province intelligence report, 20 May 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18.
 226. In January 1955, Nkumbula and Kaunda were sentenced to two months of imprisonment for possessing 'subversive' publications (Macola 2010: 54).
 227. Cf. Kaunda to DC Gwembe, 3 February 1957, UNIPA ANC 9/40; Kaunda to Native Commissioner, Gokwe, Southern Rhodesia, 9 August 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/63.
 228. Southern Province intelligence report, 20 May 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18; 'Spearmen were "misguided or fantastically reckless", says Commissioner', *Central African Post*, 31 October 1958 (quotation).
 229. Cf. Section 3.2; Wood (1983: 611); Murphy (2005: lxvii–lxix); Macola (2010: 57).
 230. Cf. Southern Province intelligence report, 20 September 1958, NAZ SP 1/3/18.
 231. Nkumbula to Secretary of Native Affairs, 31 December 1958, UNIPA ANC 9/38 (quotation); 'Congress members area leaving the Gwembe Valley',

- Central African Post*, 23 January 1959; Annual report on African affairs, Gwembe District, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151.
232. Nkumbula to 'headmen and villagers, Lusito resettlement', 4 March 1959, UNIPA ANC 7/70.
 233. Nkumbula to 'headmen and villagers, Lusito resettlement', 4 March 1959, UNIPA ANC 7/70 (quotation); Annual report on African affairs, Gwembe District, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/151.
 234. Cf. Fox-Pitt, 'The Kariba evictions', May 1959, MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563; Colson (1971: 54).
 235. Annual report of Congress activities, September 1960 to September 1961, UNIPA ANC 9/36.
 236. The NRANC first pleaded for continued Colonial Office rule as a preparation for self-government. By the mid-1950s, Nkumbula's claims for greater African participation grew more urgent, while he wavered between demanding parity of representation or full adult franchise (Macola 2010: 16–17, 32, 64–6).
 237. As there is no up-to-date and comprehensive study about Nkumbula's views on modernisation, the following is based on a somewhat eclectic combination of Macola's biography (2010) and several primary sources.
 238. GTNA, Annual report, 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/118 (quotations); Benson to Colonial Secretary, 23 September 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; 'Move of Africans from Kariba area', Federal Newsletter, 11 November 1955, PRO CO 1015/952; Minutes of regional Pan-African Council, Lusaka, 10–11 December 1953, NAZ HM 70/6.
 239. 'Congress defines vote sought by N.R. Africans', *Northern News*, 21 August 1954.
 240. Cf. Nkumbula, 'Immigration and progress of the Protectorate of N.R.', 1950, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/2; Kaunda, 're: The Five Year Development Plan', Congress circular, 26 September 1954, UNIPA ANC 7/91; Nkumbula's speech at chiefs and delegates conference, 19–25 August 1952, UNIPA ANC 7/90; Nkumbula to all chiefs and people of Northern Rhodesia, 22 December 1952, UNIPA ANC 9/49.
 241. The Central African Council, an advisory body established to make suggestions for the joint development of both Rhodesias and Nyasaland, had discussed the possibility of damming the Zambesi already in the mid-1940s (Rotberg 1965: 216–17).
 242. Nkumbula, 'Statement on the imposition of Federation', 6 March 1953, NAZ HM 70/5 (emphasis added). Larmer's (2011) recent study of UNIP has also shown how development models of the mid-twentieth century, which focussed on the state as the motor of economic growth, and the conflicts these approaches caused with local communities were continued in independent Zambia.
 243. Nkumbula, 'Statement on the imposition of Federation', 2 June 1953, UNIPA ANC 9/49.
 244. Cf., for instance, Finsterhölzl (2010: 1005–6); Hübinger (1994: 252–60). Hübinger discusses the visions of Beatrice and Sydney Webb, leading figures of Fabianism and founders of the LSE (1994: 252–60).
 245. Without going into detail, it should be noted that what is subsumed under 'socialist' or 'left-wing' criticism here was in fact a wide spectrum of

- political beliefs. Doris Lessing was an active member of Southern Rhodesia's (banned) Communist Party, which she left disillusioned in the mid-1950s (Ridout and Watkins 2009: 10). Fabian thinking, furthermore, was not identical to the Labour Party's philosophy, nor did the latter body represent a monolithic block of opinion (Milburn 1958; Callaghan 1996; Owen 1999).
246. Fox-Pitt to Brockway, 8 March 1956, UNIPA ANC 5/9.
247. Fox-Pitt to Brockway, 8 March 1956, UNIPA ANC 5/9.
248. Cf. also: '[S]o much of what develops there [in Africa] is a repetition of the European nineteenth century' (Lessing 1996[1957]: 16).
249. Betts, 'Summary of a resettlement report submitted by DC Gwembe on 7 July 1955', 3 April 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1 (first quotation); Betts to Jinkin, 19 June 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1 (second quotation); Jinkin to Betts, 14 June 1956, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/1 (third quotation).
250. This alludes to Kwame Nkrumah's famous proclamation: 'Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all things shall be added unto you' (quoted from Mazrui 1993: 105).
251. As Terence Ranger summarised in 1963: 'African leaders were playing not the politics of prosperity but the politics of dignity' (Ranger 1963: 285). See further: West (2002: 207–35); Mazrui (1993); Falola 2001: (97–142).
252. Cf., for instance: 'I do not want us to be accused [of] racialism' (Nkumbula's speech at chiefs and delegates conference, 19–25 August 1952, UNIPA ANC 7/90). Or: 'If it is right and proper for other races to rule themselves what is wrong in Africans ruling themselves? This is no expression of racialism; it is an expression of nationalism' (Nkumbula, 'Address delivered to the 4th study conference', 3 October 1959, NAZ HM 70/5).
253. Nkumbula's speech at chiefs and delegates conference, 19–25 August 1952, UNIPA ANC 7/90; Nkumbula, 'Address delivered to the 4th study conference', 3 October 1959, NAZ HM 70/5 (first and second quotation); Nkumbula, 'Immigration and progress of the protectorate of N.R.', 1950, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 101/2 (final quotation).
254. Statement by Hastings Banda and Harry Nkumbula, 'Federation in Central Africa', 1 May 1949, UNIPA NAZ 70/4. Cf. also the NRANC's appeal to the United Nations: 'It is our belief that the progress of the African people [...] would be retarded and obstructed by the proposed federation and the reinforcement of colour barriers which already exist in the political, economic and social spheres' (Nkumbula and others, 'Petition to the Secretary-General of the United Nations', 20 April 1953, NAZ HM 70/2).
255. This is one of the main themes of Macola's study (for a summary of his argument, see Macola 2010: 72).
256. Nkumbula's speech at the seventh annual conference, 8 October 1956, NAZ HM 70/5. Cf. also: 'I do not accept Welensky's or Huggins' Governments. They are, to me, foreign and foreign they shall remain' (Nkumbula's statement at a public meeting at the Mapaloto African township, 26 June 1952, NAZ HM 70/5).
257. Forms of essentialism or 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak) were prevalent in many anti-colonial liberation movements which, in their attempts to create a common self-image, used rigid dichotomies themselves (Ashcroft et al. 2007: 73–5; Grosz and Spivak 1984/1985).

258. Cf. also the description of Nkumbula in Fraenkel (2005: 212).
259. Nkumbula, 'Statement on the imposition of Federation', 2 June 1953, NAZ HM 70/5 (first quotation); Nkumbula, 'Statement on the effects of the national days of prayers', 11 April 1953, NAZ HM 70/5 (second quotation).
260. Cf., among others, Bhabha's seminal essay 'Interrogating identity: Frantz Fanon and the postcolonial prerogative', which builds on Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon 1967[1952]; Bhabha 1994[1990]; Childs and Williams 1997: 123).
261. Gilmore to Kirkness, 6 May 1960, PRO DO 35/7719.

4 Building the Kariba Dam

1. Welensky, 'Kariba's impact on Rhodesia', *New Commonwealth*, 6 August 1956.
2. Lessing, 'The Kariba Project', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 June 1956. As Isaacman and Isaacman (2012) show, the Cahora Bassa Dam was also built under gruesome conditions, including extreme exploitation, segregation, coercion, and physical violence. Here, the situation for African labourers seems to have been even harsher than at Kariba, as the Cahora Bassa authorities made fewer, or no, pretences at 'African advancement' or 'labour stabilisation' like those discussed here (chap. 3).
3. However, work at Kariba was also special in several respects, combining typical features of both industrial and rural-agricultural labour. While the tasks performed were primarily industrial (building, cement pouring, stone crushing, excavation), the construction took place in a remote rural area. Moreover, Kariba was a temporary project; labourers usually did not stay longer than for one to two years.
4. Most central for this study, regarding the interplay between employers and labourers, are Harries' monograph on Mozambican migrant workers in South Africa (1994) and van Onselen's seminal book *Chibaro* (1976), which discusses systems of coercion in the Southern Rhodesian mine industry and workers' responses.
5. In this discussion, I use terms like 'worker', 'employee', 'staff', or 'labourer' interchangeably in order to not reproduce the rigid categorisations of the colonial government.
6. 'The Kariba contracts', *The Times*, 16 July 1956 (quotation); Ginsborg (1990: 188).
7. That is, the companies Imprese Italiane all'Estero (a firm owned by Fiat which financially assisted Italian contractors in overseas ventures), Impresa Umberto Girola, Impresa Ing. Lodigiani SpA, and Dott. Ing. Giuseppe Torno & Co. SpA (Baldassarrini, 26 January 2008; South African News Agencies 1959: 19).
8. 'Realist', Letter to the editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1956.
9. Eldred Hitchcock, Letter to the editor, *The Times*, 28 July 1956.
10. 'Britain and Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 July 1956.
11. Export Group for the Construction Industries, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme', 14 June 1956, PRO CO 1015/949 (first and second quotation); 'Kariba is only one of many Italian successes', *Rhodesia Herald*, 8 August

- 1956 (third quotation); 'The Kariba contracts', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 July 1956; Reed to Curson, 20 April 1956, PRO DO 35/5714.
12. Board of Trade, Minutes of meeting, 27 June 1956, PRO DO 35/5714.
 13. Extract, Northern Rhodesia intelligence report, January 1956, PRO DO 35/4605.
 14. R.H. Clarke, Letter to the editor, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme', *The Times*, 2 August 1956.
 15. 'Disappointed would-be immigrants are bitter about having to leave Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 11 August 1956.
 16. 'Disappointed would-be immigrants are bitter about having to leave Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 11 August 1956.
 17. There was a long tradition of deploring the supposed fall of the former nucleus of civilisation and of contrasting Italy's poverty, 'agrarianness', and alleged political immaturity with the industrialising northern nations (Moe 2006: 1–9; Agnew 1997; Petri and Stouraiti: 151–2, 163–72).
 18. 'Divergent views in Britain on Kariba contracts', *Rhodesia Herald*, 17 July 1956; R.H. Clarke, Letter to the editor, 'Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme', *The Times*, 2 August 1956.
 19. 'Italians muscle in on Empire's biggest dam', *Daily Express*, 5 July 1956. On stereotypes about Italian corruption cf. Agnew (1997: 23); Petri and Stouraiti (2007: 171).
 20. 'Italians muscle in on Empire's biggest dam', *Daily Express*, 5 July 1956.
 21. Cf. Memorandum on points raised by Trade Union Congress of the Federation in its letter of 10 December, RHL MSS Welensky 339/2; 'Kariba Italians are paid £57 p.m. less than others', *Northern News*, 26 April 1957; Union News, Kitwe, March 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52; 'Kariba Dam contracts', *The Times*, 19 July 1956; '£25 wages at Kariba denied', *Northern News*, 31 July 1956. Low wages were also one of the suspected reasons for the 1959 strike at the Kariba construction site, which will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.2.
 22. Cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 12 June 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (quotation); R.W. Stanton, Letter to the editor, 'The Kariba Dam contract', *Financial Times*, 20 July 1956.
 23. Carr, Industrial Officer Kariba, to SR Secretary for Labour, 10 December 1957, MLSS 1/9/57 (quotation); Deputy Director of Medical Services to Commissioner of Native Labour, 30 July 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; see also below.
 24. Bill Jones, Letter to the editor, 'Ministers must defend the rights of the poor', *Northern News*, 3 April 1959.
 25. 'Disappointed would-be immigrants are bitter about having to leave Kariba', *Rhodesia Herald*, 11 August 1956.
 26. 'Kariba Project taking shape', *The Times*, 28 December 1956.
 27. Labour Officer, Confidential record, 4 August 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52.
 28. NR Labour Department, Annual report, 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/23/15.
 29. 'Enabled to play their part', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 March 1956.
 30. Film, 'Harnessing the waters', Pathé News, 18 September 1957 (see Bibliography).
 31. 'The Great Kariba Dam', *Nshila*, 9 December 1958. *Nshila* was published by the Northern Rhodesian Information Department and targeted towards an African readership (cf. Heinze 2010).

32. 'Kariba Project taking shape', *The Times*, 28 December 1956.
33. Quotation: 'Zambesi Dam work in full swing', *Birmingham Post*, 29 February 1956.
34. Extract from work contract with Impresit, Milan, 27 September 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54 (quotation); Employment of Natives (Kariba) Regulations, 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51.
35. Gibb, Coyne, Sogei to Federal Power Board, 1 August 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 339/2; Memorandum, unsigned, 31 July 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 339/2 (quotation).
36. Following Lessing, white artisans in Southern Rhodesia were paid an average monthly wage of £80. Copperbelt wages were significantly higher, ranging between £150 and 200 per month (Lessing 1996[1957]: 85). The Rhodesia and Nyasaland pound was pegged with the British pound. One pound was subdivided into 20 shillings (s), respectively 240 pence (d) (Krause and Mishler 2004: 1686).
37. Gibb, Coyne, Sogei to Federal Power Board, 1 August 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 339/2; Impresit to Gibb, Coyne, Sogei, undated, RHL MSS Welensky 339/2; Extract from work contract with Impresit, Milan, 27 September 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
38. These were two instruments of similar legislation which had been set up to align the different labour regulations north and south of the Zambesi ('Labour laws in line', *Northern News*, 28 January 1956).
39. Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 'Draft Kariba Regulations', undated, ca. 3 December 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51. The specific situation of contract labour and recruitment will be discussed in greater detail below.
40. Quotation: Labour Commissioner to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 20 December 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51.
41. Cf. Labour Commissioner to Labour Officer, 31 May 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52; Kenny to Labour Commissioner, 27 February 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Statement by the Nyasaland Government, 25 September 1956, NAM 19/3/E; Crawford to Assistant Labour Commissioner, Kitwe, 'Rates of pay - Kariba', 10 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57. There are slight variations in the sources as to the exact figures.
42. Cf., for instance, Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, Southern Area, 'Visit to Kariba', 29 May 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
43. Cf., for instance, Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 12 June 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Tribes live and learn in peace: police know Judo - in case', *Sunday Mail*, 2 February 1958. As regards *lapalapa*, or *fanakalo*, see also Adendorff (2002: 180); Moodie (1991: 45).
44. Cf. NR Labour Department, Tour report 1/1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (quotations); NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 2 March 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153.
45. Labour Department, Tour report 1/1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; 'Heat is the only moan', *Nyasaland Times*, 22 November 1957; generally on the question of alcohol: Ambler (1990: 297); De Roche (1998: 213).
46. The number of residents indicated includes the workers' families. According to official publications, the peak number of persons employed at Kariba was 8500, 7000 Africans and 1500 Europeans (cf. Brochure, Federal Power Board, 'Kariba. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', undated, ca. after 1958, RHL MSS Welensky 341/1; Brochure, Federal Power Board, 'Kariba.

- Opening by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother', 17 May 1960, RHL MSS Welensky 340/5).
47. Hamutale, 30 January 2008; Baldassarrini, 17 January 2008; Film, 'Kariba becomes more pleasant', *Rhodesian Spotlight*, 1959 (see Bibliography).
 48. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 25 June 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, 7 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57; Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 5 May 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54; Record of meeting, Federal Ministry of Power, Federal Power Board, Welensky, consultants, 14 November 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/5.
 49. NR Labour Department, Annual report, 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/23/15; Dick Hobson, 'Kariba. Notes compiled in 1961 and 1971', NAZim MS 889/2.
 50. 'Italian labour at Kariba', Extract Federal Newsletter, 29 September 1956, PRO DO 35/4604. Until about mid-1957, there was not even a school for African children at all (cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 13 February 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50).
 51. This is a main theme in Cooper (1996).
 52. The role of the RNLSC will be discussed in more detail below.
 53. Cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 19 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Benson to Colonial Secretary, 6 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/958.
 54. The file NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 contains minutes of Kariba labour meetings from 1955 to 1959. Further, I refer to a range of the mentioned inspection reports in the following.
 55. Northern Rhodesia's 'Employment of Natives (Kariba) Regulations, 1956' and Southern Rhodesia's 'Kariba Native Labour Regulations, 1955'; see above.
 56. Telegram from CRO to UK High Commissioner, Federation, 17 February 1956, PRO CO 1015/958 (first quotation); Labour Commissioner to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 20 December 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51 (final quotations).
 57. Senior Labour Officer to Labour Officer, Lusaka, 28 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
 58. The stereotype of the 'lazy/irrational/backward native' is discussed for instance in: Johnson (1992: 117); van Onselen (1975: 234–9).
 59. 'Grievances at Kariba – but allegation of slavery preposterous', *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 July 1956 (emphasis added).
 60. Cf. Kariba Native Labour Regulations, 1955 (Southern Rhodesia), NAZ MLSS 1/9/51.
 61. Record of meeting, Federal Ministry of Power, Federal Power Board, Welensky, consultants, 14 November 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/5 (first quotation); Gibb, Coyne, and Sogei to Anderson, 28 November 1955, RHL MSS Welensky 338/5 (second quotation); Merz and Maclellan, Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, Coyne and Bellier to Anderson, 16 September 1955, NAM Federal Files 33/6.
 62. Senior Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 26 September 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (first quotation); NR Labour Department, Tour report 1/1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (second quotation); Record Senior Labour Officer, undated, ca. end of March 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.

63. Federal Hydro-Electric Board, 'Native housing at Kariba', 9 March 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
64. Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, undated, ca. 9 March 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
65. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 25 August 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
66. Cf., for instance, Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 2 July 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54; '£3,500,000 Kariba Township ready this month', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 June 1957; Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 5 May 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
67. Cf. Kariba Native Labour Regulations, 1955 (Southern Rhodesia) and Employment of Natives (Kariba) Regulations, 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51.
68. Cf., for example, NR Labour Department, Tour report 1/1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 2 March 1959 and 25 July 1960, both: NAZ SP 4/2/153; Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 25 August 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
69. SR Chief Inspector of Factories to Secretary for Labour, 7 February 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52.
70. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 13 February 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (quotations); Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 12 June 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (regarding the death toll).
71. In case of a serious accident, a worker or his family were entitled to compensation payments from a government fund (Southern Rhodesia) or an insurance company (Northern Rhodesia) (cf. Philpott to Kenworthy, 1 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57; Minute of the Labour Commissioner, 30 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57).
72. Cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 September 1957 and 11 June 1958, both: NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; NR Labour Department, Annual report, 1956, NAZ, MLSS 1/23/15; Provincial Labour Officer to Commissioner for Labour, 27 July 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
73. 'Moves to cut low Kariba accident rate still lower', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 February 1957 (quotation); 'Workers' health at Kariba is exceptional', *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 January 1957.
74. Cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 10 December 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; NR Financial Secretary to Labour Commissioner, 14 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57 (quotation).
75. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 December 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
76. Cf., for instance, Northern Rhodesia Information Department, Press communique, 'Kariba coffer dam submerged by Zambezi in flood', 15 March 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52; Minute by Acting Labour Commissioner, 28 May 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57 (quotation).
77. NR Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, 14 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
78. Cf. Labour Commissioner to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 18 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54; Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, 7 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57; Summary, Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 20 July 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Minutes of a

- meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 December 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (quotation).
79. Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 5 May 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
 80. Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 5 May 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54 (quotation); Senior Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 5 July 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
 81. Carr, Industrial Officer, Kariba, to SR Secretary for Labour, 10 December 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57.
 82. Carr, Industrial Officer, Kariba, to SR Secretary for Labour, 10 December 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57; cf. also Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 19 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50. On the 'target worker' and the way this stereotype was used to justify mismanagement and exploitative wage structures, see van Onselen (1975: 237–8).
 83. Summary, Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 20 July 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; SR Chief Inspector of Factories to Secretary for Labour, 7 February 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52 (quotations).
 84. NR Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, 14 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
 85. Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 5 May 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
 86. For discussions of the compound system see: van Onselen (1976: 128–57); Harries (1994: 66–71); Phimister (1988: 86–8).
 87. Cf., for instance, Crush (1993: 306–7; 1992: 828–33); Moodie (1991: 39–40); Variava (1989: chap. 6).
 88. This angle of analysis, ignoring the workers' response to the controlling apparatus, has its blind spots, which I address in Section 4.2.
 89. Closed compounds were typically rectangular structures that were easily observed. Moreover, workers leaving or entering the compound had to go past the manager's office (Crush 1993: 308–9). By contrast, photographs appearing in newspapers or government publications show that the Kariba African compound was an open structure.
 90. Quotation: Tour report 6/1956, Chief Sigongo, NAZ SP 4/2/125.
 91. Lessing (1996[1957]: 175–6); 'Tribes live and learn in peace: police know Judo – in case', *Sunday Mail*, 2 February 1958; Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 2 July 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54 (quotation). Ironically, this compound on the northern shore, 'the cleanest' one the reporting officer had ever come across, was managed by an Italian (Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, 2 July 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54).
 92. Labour Officer to A.G. Burton Limited, 29 June 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153.
 93. Lessing (1996[1957]: 175–6) (quotation); NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 4 May 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153; NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 28 October 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54. Van Onselen (1976) discusses a range of similar 'incentives' in detail, for instance, meat, alcohol (159–61; 166–74), prostitution, education, dances, and sports (174–94).
 94. On scientisation trends within colonial labour policy and new disciplines and skills like 'industrial psychology' or 'personnel management', see Crush (1993: 313).
 95. 'Interim notes on preliminary investigation of the French Mission's estimates', 6 March 1955, unsigned, probably Cooper Brothers, NAM Federal Files 32/2.

96. NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 4 May 1959, NAZ, SP 4/2/153.
97. A few European women, however, were themselves professionals, employed as typists or secretaries (Clements 1959: 68).
98. In the case of Kariba, for instance: Major Burden, the Nyasaland labour representative; Major Tysoe, Northern Rhodesian Labour Officer; Major Soltau from the RNLSC; Industrial Officer Bryant who was stationed at Kariba was a former British South Africa Police and Colonial Police member (cf. Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 22 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57; Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 19 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50).
99. Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 22 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57.
100. 'Tribes live and learn in peace: police know Judo – in case', *Sunday Mail*, 2 February 1958.
101. Cf. Labour Officer, Confidential record, 4 August 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52; Labour Department, Tour report 1/1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
102. 'Heat is the only moan', *Nyasaland Times*, 22 November 1957. After the strike in early 1959, however, Pearson fell from grace (see Section 4.2).
103. RNLSC, Summary of minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, 20 July 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
104. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 6 October 1956 and 21 November 1956, both: NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Provincial Labour Officer to Commissioner for Labour, 27 July 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
105. Labour Officer to Northern Rhodesian Police, 5 April 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54; Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 15 September 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (quotation); Record by Senior Labour Officer, 1 April 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54. For similar reasons, the allegedly primitive Gwembe Tonga were carefully shielded from the more urbanised Kariba workers (cf. Labour Commissioner to PC Southern Province, 6 June 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52).
106. Record of a meeting of the Kariba Development Committee, 10 October 1957, NAZ SP 4/7/8.
107. Brochure, Federal Power Board, 'Kariba. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', undated, ca. after 1958, RHL MSS Welensky 341/1.
108. This problem was characteristic of colonialism, as most Africans retained links to rural economies and were hence not fully separated from means of production (this argument is summarised by Eckert 1999: 502).
109. Cf. also Datta (1988); Vickery (1989); Johnson (1992).
110. 'Urgent request for more Kariba workers', *Rhodesia Herald*, 25 January 1956.
111. Cf., for instance, Minutes of a meeting held in the Federal Assembly, 8 October 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 164/3; Nyasaland Acting Commissioner for Labour to Chief Secretary, 25 September 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
112. '291 sign on for Kariba work', *Northern News*, 23 February 1956; Abstract from 'African News Service' no. 21, 28 February 1956, MLSS 1/9/54; Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 6 October 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (quotations). Some examples reflecting government propaganda: 'Heat is the only moan', *Nyasaland Times*, 22 November 1957; 'Africans "well housed"', *Rhodesia Herald*, 18 August 1956; 'Workers' health at Kariba is exceptional', *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 January 1957.

113. While it is impossible to give exact figures, the fragmented record suggests that contract labour made up well above 50 per cent of the workforce most of the time (cf. Nyasaland Government Representative, Salisbury, Report for August 1956, NAM Labour 12/3.VI; Extract from September 1958 report of the Nyasaland Government Representative, NAM 19/3/E II). In the final stages of the project, however, the percentage of recruits declined (see Section 4.2). In total, the RNLSC recruited well above 10,000 men for Kariba (RNLSC, Chairman's report and balance sheet, 31 December 1959, NAM 19/3/J; also Clarke 1974: 39–48).
114. Senior Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 5 July 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54.
115. Cf. RNLSC, Kariba contract, NAM 19/3/E; Employment of Natives (Kariba) Regulations, 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51; Labour Commissioner, 'Draft Kariba Regulations', undated, ca. 3 December 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51.
116. Report by a party of Nyasaland African Members of Legislative Council and chiefs on their visit to Kariba on 23 July 1956, NAM 19/3/E (emphasis added).
117. Cf. also Palatema, 8 March 2008, Sindeke, 17 March 2008, Munsanje, 28 January 2008.
118. Impresit's former chief engineer, Mario Baldassarrini, confirmed this view: 'Most of them [the African workers] were "recruited", almost as slaves, through special agencies' (17 January 2008).
119. 'Interim notes on preliminary investigation of the French Mission's estimates', 6 March 1955, unsigned, probably Cooper Brothers, NAM Federal Files 32/2 (first quotation); Labour Commissioner, 'Draft Kariba Regulations', undated, ca. 3 December 1955, NAZ MLSS 1/9/51 (second quotation).
120. Notes on visit of Commissioner for Labour, Nyasaland, 12 October 1956, NAM, 19/3/E; Minutes of a meeting held in the Federal Assembly, 8 October 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 164/3.
121. Paton (1995: 93–7); General Manager RNLSC to Labour Department, 19 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/10/2.
122. Cf. 'Recruiting stations closed', 2 June 1959, *Rhodesia Herald*; Paton (1995: 95); Inter-Territorial Consultative Committee on Migrant Labour, 'Unemployment and recruiting', 10 February 1958, NAZ SP 2/2/3.
123. SR Industrial Officer, Kariba, Labour report, July 1960, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57.
124. Evidence does not suggest that Masters and Servants legislation was vigorously enforced. Generally, however, penal sanctions against 'deserters' were still common in Southern Africa in the 1950s (Cooper 1996: 367).
125. Various studies have shown how slavery and similarly coercive structures persisted in many African regions long after abolition (this extensive debate is summarised in Eckert 1999: 515, 518, 522–4).
126. Minutes of meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 June 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
127. Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, 7 March 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57.
128. Cf. NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 2 March 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153 (quotation); Lessing (1996[1957]: 174).

129. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 12 June 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50. There are no reliable figures as to how many African workers were accompanied by their families, but by mid-1957, the Federal Power Board was said to have provided accommodation for 500 families (Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 12 June 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50).
130. There is no reliable data on the total number of deaths. The numbers indicated are derived from: Dick Hobson, 'Kariba. Notes compiled in 1961 and 1971', NAZim MS 889/2 and Soils Inc. (2000: vii, 172) (their figure however does not include fatalities due to disease).
131. This emerges from a debate between Northern and Southern Rhodesian officers on the issue of silicosis (cf. correspondence between Southern Rhodesian and Northern Rhodesian officers, mainly in 1956, in NAZim S3599/389).
132. 'African worker must go 'right to top' in skilled industrial work – Todd', *Northern News*, 9 August 1956.
133. NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 30 June 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153 (quotations); Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for May 1959, NAM MP 97 (a); SR Labour Department, Monthly report for March 1959, NAM 13/16/III.
134. NR Labour Officer, 'Visit to Kariba', 30 June 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153.
135. From a range of publications, most relevant for this study: Harries (1994); Penvenne (1995); Luig (1996); Monson (2009); see also Eckert (1999: 525–8).
136. Cf. Nyasaland Government, Draft Kariba permit, 1956, NAM 19/3/E; RNLSC to Acting Commissioner for Labour, Zomba, 20 September 1956, NAM 19/3/E (quotation).
137. Cf. Inter-Territorial Committee on Labour in the Federation, Minutes of the third meeting, 27/28 November 1957, NAZ SP 2/2/3; RNLSC to Acting Commissioner for Labour, Zomba 16 April 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
138. Quotation: RNLSC to Acting Commissioner for Labour, Zomba, 20 September 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
139. Cf. van Onselen (1976: 234–7); Mather (1997: 70–3), who describe systems of 'market intelligence', that is, hidden exchanges of knowledge, by which workers informed each other about conditions on individual mines or farms.
140. Southern Province Labour Officer, Monthly report, 15 August–15 September 1956, NAM 12/2/III (first quotation); Provincial Labour Officer to Commissioner for Labour, Zomba, 6 November 1956, NAM 12/2/III (second quotation).
141. Nyasaland Representative, Salisbury, to Central and Northern Province Labour Officer, 10 April 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
142. NR Labour Department, Monthly report, October 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/15/63.
143. SR Chief Inspector of Factories to Secretary for Labour, 7 February 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52.
144. Siakanyanga, 30 January 2008; Siamukanyu, 12 March 2008; Chimuka, 30 January 2008. There were rumours – not confirmed by archival evidence, however – that convict labour was being used underground (cf. Lessing

- 1996[1957]: 175). African witnesses, too, almost invariably talked about prison labourers in this respect.
145. Munsanje, 28 January 2008; Sindeke, 17 March 2008. All the African informants are Zambians from around the Kariba area, who had come to the construction site voluntarily.
 146. Cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 September 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 12 June 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
 147. The rate is significantly higher if one counts recruited workers only. Throughout 1958, 23 per cent of all RNLSC men ran away from Kariba, which was higher than the Commission's average desertion rate (17 per cent) (Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 10 December 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; RNLSC report for the financial year 1958, NAM MP 40/IX).
 148. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 June 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
 149. Quotations and information from: Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for August 1958, NAM 12/3/VIII; SR Chief Inspector of Factories to Secretary for Labour, 7 February 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52; Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 3 September 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for March 1956, NAM Labour 12/3.VI; Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for April 1956, NAM Labour 12/3.VI.
 150. Commissioner for Labour to Ministry of Health, Zomba, 5 September 1958, NAM 19/3/EII.
 151. Cf. SR Labour Department, Monthly report, January and February 1959, both: NAM 13/16/III; Acting Director of Medical Services, Federal Ministry of Health, to Commissioner for Labour, Zomba, 12 September 1958, NAM 19/3/EII; Commissioner for Labour to Ministry of Health, Zomba, 8 August 1958, NAM 19/3/EII.
 152. Report of the Labour Officer, Kariba, January and February 1957, both: NAM 13/5/VI.
 153. Nyasaland Government Representative, Salisbury, Report for August 1957, NAM 12/3/VII (quotation); Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 11 September 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
 154. Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for September 1956, NAM Labour 12/3.VI (first quotation); Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for March 1957, NAM 12/3/VII (second quotation).
 155. Izidore Paulo, Impresit, to District Commissioner, Zomba, 23 August 1958, NAM MP 40/IX (quotation); Izidore Paulo, Impresit, no addressee, probably DC Zomba, 11 September 1958, NAM MP 40/IX; RNLSC Chief Inspector to Pearson, 9 October 1958, NAM MP 40/IX.
 156. Medisoni Kasauka to 'Bwana' [Labour Officer at Mlanje/Cholo], NAM 19/3/E.
 157. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 3 September 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
 158. Cf. RNLSC, Chairman's report and balance sheet, 31 December 1957, NAM 19/3/J; Acting Commissioner for Labour to Chief Secretary, Zomba,

- 12 March 1956, NAM 19/3/E; Chief Secretary to Commissioner for Labour, Zomba, 14 March 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
159. Cf. Provincial Labour Officer to Commissioner for Labour, 27 July 1956, NAM 19/3/E; Carr, Industrial Officer Kariba, to SR Secretary for Labour, 10 December 1957, MLSS 1/9/57.
160. Cf. Africa Bureau, 'Press statement by the Nyasaland African Congress', 8 March 1955, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 105/3; Paton (1995: 43–8); Rotberg (1971: 257).
161. Compared with the Northern Rhodesian ANC, the record regarding its Nyasaland counterpart is more fragmented – not least because many documents concerning political unrest were destroyed in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Rotberg 1971: 325–7). On the Northern and Southern Rhodesian nationalist movements' take on Kariba's labour issues, see below.
162. Extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.
163. The landmark study on vampire rumours in colonial Africa is White 2000 (see particularly chap. 4, 6, and 9). For similar extinction rumours in the Federation, see Musambachime (1988); Fraenkel (2005: 217–34); Gewalt (2009: 43–8).
164. Extract Federal Hansard, 27 February 1956, PRO DO 35/4603.
165. Related debates took place in the Federal Parliament in mid-1956 as well as in the Nyasaland Legislative Council (cf. 'Full galleries for Kariba debate', *Rhodesia Herald*, 13 March 1956; 'The press annoys Kumbikano', *Rhodesia Herald*, 26 July 1956).
166. RNLSA to Commissioner for Labour, Zomba, 7 March 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
167. Cf. 'Journalist sees 3400 Africans working at Kariba', *African Weekly*, 30 May 1956; 'The Herald looks at Kariba: conditions not "horrible"', *Rhodesia Herald*, 28 July 1956; 'Labour conditions at Kariba. Nyasaland chief's opinion', *The Times*, 4 October 1956.
168. Report by a party of Nyasaland African Members of Legislative Council and chiefs on their visit to Kariba on 23 July 1956, NAM 19/3/E; see also Boeder (1977: 310–12).
169. Cf. the statement the Nyasaland Government issued in defence: Statement by the Nyasaland Government, 25 September 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
170. Cf., for instance, 'Chief Kachere says: Conditions are generally good at Kariba', *Nyasaland Times*, 2 October 1956; 'Kariba conditions are good, says chief', *Rhodesia Herald*, 3 October 1956; see also McGregor (2009: 109).
171. Discussions took place for instance in the Provincial Councils of Nyasaland's Central and Northern Provinces (Boeder 1977: 313).
172. Lessing had been an active member of the Southern Rhodesian Communist Party but became disillusioned with communism and ended her relationship with the party in 1954 (Ridout and Watkins 2009: 10).
173. Lessing (1996[1957]: 174, 176) (first and second quotation); 'The Kariba Project', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 June 1956 (third quotation).
174. Lessing, 'The Kariba Project', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 June 1956.
175. Lessing, 'The Kariba Project', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 June 1956.
176. Lessing was constantly reminded of 'pre-revolutionary Russia' and witnessed in Central Africa 'a repetition of the European nineteenth century' (1996[1957]: 15–16).

177. There were also intellectuals contributing to international labour debates from within Central Africa, for instance at the Rhodes–Livingstone Institute (Cooper 1996: 369–82).
178. House of Commons debate, 22 February 1956, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>.
179. House of Commons debate, 10 March 1959 (first quotation) and 3 March 1959 (second quotation), <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>.
180. Anti-Slavery Society to Felicity Bolton, 10 July 1959, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563 (quotation); Fabian Colonial Bureau, ‘Suggested questions for the meeting between Sir Roy Welensky and the Commonwealth Group of the Labour Party’, 14 July 1959, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 365 Box 21/2.
181. ‘The challenge behind the Kariba Dam’, *Observer*, 7 December 1958.
182. Cf. the quotation from Cooper (1996) at the beginning of the passage ‘Labour and politics’; see also Raftopoulos (1995: 79–80); Eckert (1999: 502–3).
183. Extract Federal Hansard, 23 August 1956, PRO DO 35/4604 (first quotation); Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 28 May 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50. African trade unionism was generally permitted and even supported in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (although unions required official recognition), whereas the Southern Rhodesian Government did not recognise African rights of collective bargaining (cf. Malaba 1980: 22–3; Raftopoulos 2000: 56–7, 72–5; Cooper 1996: 328–9; Mothibe 1996).
184. Records, particularly non-governmental ones, related to Southern Rhodesia and informants in Zimbabwe (where I did not conduct original research) may have had more to say about trade union activity at Kariba. At the same time, one would expect significant occurrences in this respect to appear in the Federal and Northern Rhodesian sources as well.
185. Cf. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 6 October 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50; Testimony of J. Maluleke, quoted in Raftopoulos (2000: 73–4); McGregor (2009: 126 n. 34); Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 6 October 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50. In 1962, Maluleke became head of the Southern Rhodesia African Trades Union Congress, after he had served as General Secretary in the organisation’s forerunner (Raftopoulos 1995: 91; Mothibe 1996: 160).
186. Maluleke and others, African Butcher Workers Union, Harare, to Malcolm Barrow, 3 September 1956, RHL MSS Welensky 339/2 (first quotation); Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 21 November 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50 (second quotation).
187. SR Labour Officer, Kariba, Report for February 1957, NAM 13/5/V. McGregor refers to an attempt by the Southern Rhodesian African Trade Union Congress to entice the British Trade Union Congress and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to investigate the working conditions (2009: 126 n. 39). Correspondence in Thomas Fox-Pitt’s papers suggests furthermore that the Northern Rhodesian Trade Union Congress planned to send a member to the Kariba area (Letter to James Johnson, unsigned, probably Fox-Pitt, 14 August 1956, SOAS Library PPMs 6 6/7/4).

188. That is, after the formation of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC) in late 1957 (Raftopoulos 1995: 89; McGregor 2009: 109).
189. Southern Province monthly intelligence report, 25 August 1957, NAZ SP 1/3/18 (quotation); Neba to NRANC General Secretary, 14 September 1956, UNIPA ANC 2/15; Neba to Nkumbula, 24 September 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/63.
190. Chimenya, Eastern Province African Association, 'My visit to Kariba', undated, ca. late 1959/early 1960, UNIPA ANC 3/3. African associations, proliferating in various colonies in the early twentieth century, were voluntary organisations through which Africans were supposed to improve their situation by constitutional means (cf. Rotberg 1971: 115–34).
191. Statement by Kangwilima Makekenya, Chief Munyumbwe, on forced labour in Gwembe District, undated, UNIPA ANC 7/57.
192. Neba to NRANC General Secretary, 14 September 1956, UNIPA ANC 2/15.
193. Chimenya, Eastern Province African Association, 'My visit to Kariba', undated, ca. late 1959/early 1960, UNIPA ANC 3/3.
194. Neba to Nkumbula, 24 September 1956, UNIPA ANC 7/63.
195. 'Vice Secretary' Joseph S'chitambala and H. Kapolo, John Laing company, to Nkumbula, 31 August 1956, UNIPA ANC 5/57. Cf. further J.Z. Chiswat [? illegible], Costain company, to Kaunda, 21 December 1956, UNIPA ANC 3/3; 'Chairman Kariba Branch' to Kaunda, 28 March 1956, UNIPA ANC 3/3 (letter in Bemba, translated for me by the UNIPA staff); Raphael Funda Funda, Impresit, to NRANC, 15 September 1958, UNIPA ANC 9/48; Lawrence Kapembwa Hulbek to NRANC, 16 December 1958, UNIPA ANC 9/48.
196. Cf. Raphael Funda Funda, Impresit, to NRANC, 15 September 1958, UNIPA ANC 9/48; Lawrence Kapembwa Hulbek to NRANC, 16 December 1958, UNIPA ANC 9/48. In one response, a Congress official merely thanked the men for the money they had sent and congratulated them for their bravery (Chimba, for Secretary General, to Kapolo, John Laing company, undated, UNIPA ANC 5/57).
197. Extract Northern Rhodesia press résumé, 28 June 1955, PRO DO 35/4605; Extract Northern Rhodesia political intelligence report, September 1955, PRO CO 1015/952.
198. Record of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 10 December 1958, NAZ MLSS 1/9/58; Labour Commissioner to Administrative Secretary, Lusaka, 17 February 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/58.
199. Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for February 1959, NAM MP 97 (a); SR Department of Labour, Monthly report, February 1959, NAM 13/16/III. See also above.
200. Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for February 1959, NAM MP 97 (a) (first quotation); Industrial Officer, Kariba, to Commissioner for Labour, Lusaka, 'Industrial unrest, Kariba: February 1959', 4 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/58 (second quotation).
201. An underground intake tunnel to regulate the water flow.
202. Industrial Officer, Kariba, to Commissioner for Labour, Lusaka, 'Industrial unrest, Kariba: February 1959', 4 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/58.

203. Nyasaland Government Representative, Report for February 1959, NAM MP 97 (a) (quotation); NR Labour Officer, 'Report on the strike at Kariba (official version)', 2 March 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153; Senior Labour Officer to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, Report and comment, 9 March 1959; NAZ SP 4/2/153; Industrial Officer, Kariba, to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 'Industrial unrest, Kariba: February 1959', 4 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/58. See also Boeder (1977).
204. Numbers of dismissals are not completely congruent in the different documents (cf. Telegram from 'External Salisbury', 27 February 1959, NAM Federal Papers CX 27/3/1; SR Labour Department, Monthly report, February 1959, NAM 13/16/III; Benson to Colonial Secretary, 6 March 1959, PRO CO 1015/1529).
205. Cf. SR Labour Department, Monthly report, March 1959, NAM 13/16/III and the introduction to this section.
206. NR Labour Officer, 'Report on the strike at Kariba (confidential)', 2 March 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153 (first quotation); Labour Officer to Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, 'Visit to Kariba', 29 August 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/54 (second quotation); SR Labour Department, Monthly report, November 1958, NAM 13/16/II.
207. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 18 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
208. Industrial Officer, Kariba, to Commissioner for Labour, Lusaka, 'Industrial unrest, Kariba: February 1959', 4 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/58.
209. Governor of Salisbury, Fortnightly summary, 'Strike at Kariba', 25 February–10 March 1959, PRO DO 35/4607 (quotation); this dictum was repeated in the press, for instance: 'Kariba news is welcome', *Evening Standard*, 27 February 1959; 'Strike at Kariba', Federal Newsletter, 6 March 1959, PRO CO 1015/1529.
210. NR Labour Officer, 'Report on the strike at Kariba (confidential)', 2 March 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/153 (quotation); Benson to Colonial Secretary, 6 March 1959, PRO CO 1015/1529.
211. Minutes of a meeting to discuss labour at Kariba, Ministry of Power, 18 March 1959, NAZ MLSS 1/9/50.
212. Cf. 'Strike at Kariba', Federal Newsletter, 6 March 1959, PRO CO 1015/1529; RNLSC, Chairman's Report, 31 December 1960, NAM 19/3/J.
213. Cf. Fox-Pitt, 'The Kariba evictions', May 1959, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563; see also above, for similar comments made by Kariba's critics in the British Parliament.
214. Banda had spent most of his life outside Nyasaland, obtaining his education in, amongst other places, the United States and working as medical doctor in the United Kingdom and the Gold Coast. He had fought against Federation from his base in London and, having temporarily withdrawn from politics, returned to Nyasaland in mid-1958 (Power 2010: 127–35).
215. SR Labour Department, Monthly report, February 1959, NAM 13/16/III. One of the arrested trade unionists was Joshua Maluleke.
216. During the Emergency, 1322 people were arrested, 51 lost their lives, and at least 79 were injured. These incidents also triggered considerable controversy in the United Kingdom (Murphy 2005: lxxiii).

217. This view is confirmed by the fact that resignations were by far the highest among underground workers, despite the higher wages offered, and that the vast majority of those who left were contract labourers (cf. Telegram 'External Salisbury', 28 February 1959, NAM Federal Papers 27/3/1; Benson to Colonial Secretary, 6 March 1959, PRO CO 1015/1529).
218. Cf. Sinangwemu, 31 January 2008; Hamutale, 30 January 2008; Chindima, 12 March 2008; Chimuka, 30 January 2008.
219. Clements (1959: 200), too, reported that African victims were shifted to 'unmarked low graves' while '[t]he bodies of the Italians who died there were all flown back to their home country'.
220. Cf. Siamukanyu, 12 March 2008; Siakanyanga, 30 January 2008; Chimuka, 30 January 2008; Hamutale, 30 January 2008; Siangwemu, 31 January 2008; Sindeke, 17 March 2008; Chindima, 12 March 2008; Luciani, 26 November 2007; Cassano, 10 March 2008; Baldassarrini, 27 August 2009.
221. In this monograph on the TAZARA project and its impact in rural areas, Monson makes use of life histories (amongst other sources) of workers employed at the project in the early 1970s. Her ongoing research project investigates even more fully the individual experiences of Tanzanian and Chinese TAZARA labourers, cf. Monson (2010).
222. There is now a substantial literature on the opportunities and difficulties of oral history, highlighting, amongst other things, the significance of the interviewees' present situation and the relation between the researcher and his/her informant (cf., for instance, Portelli 1998; Cohen et al. 2001; Tonkin 1992: especially 1–17).
223. Provincial Labour Officer to Commissioner for Labour, 27 July 1956, NAM 19/3/E.
224. Carr, Industrial Officer, Kariba, to Secretary for Labour, Southern Rhodesia, 10 December 1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/57.
225. Similarly, Siakanyanga (30 January 2008) and Hamutale (30 January 2008) reported increased job opportunities.
226. NR Labour Department, Tour report 1/1957, NAZ MLSS 1/9/52.
227. Vendrame, whose father had come to South Africa as a prisoner of war, was one of the few Italians Impresit recruited from within Africa (Vendrame, 12 January 2008).
228. Baldassarrini remembered that most of them had come from the northern regions of Italy, where the four partnering companies usually recruited their workers (Baldassarrini, 6 March 2010; 8 April 2010).
229. Similar: Cassano, 5 February 2008.
230. Baldassarrini, for instance, was put in charge of the construction of the Akosombo Dam in 1961, where Cassano joined him in 1962 (Baldassarrini, 1 June 2010). Rossatti said Kariba enabled him to 'work all around the world for all my life', including projects in Ghana, Iran, Pakistan, South America, the USA, and China (Rossatti, 19 March 2008). Vendrame followed his employer to Ghana and later to Pakistan; he also went to Venezuela, Argentina, and Jamaica (Vendrame, 15 January 2008).
231. This however refers to housing at Kariba Heights, not the very simple temporary quarters in the beginning.
232. Cf. Luciani, 26 November 2007; Vendrame, 15 January 2008; Cassano, 15 February 2008.

233. Cf. Leto, 28 January 2008; Baldassarrini, 13 February 2008; Luciani, 26 November 2007; Cassano, 15 February 2008. Cassano (15 February 2008) remembered several 'episodes' when Impresit took over from the preliminary contractors, for instance finding 'oil instead of water in the radiators of some heavy equipment and water in the engines', missing keys, or African workers who had been told that 'the Italians were bad people beating them for nothing'.
234. Secretary of Federal Power Board to Member for Lands and Local Government, Lusaka, NAZ SP 4/4/6.
235. NR Labour Department, Monthly report, November 1956, NAZ MLSS 1/15/63.
236. Manyepa, 31 January 2008 (quotations); Siangwemu, 31 January 2008; Chimuka, 30 January 2008; Palatema, 8 March 2008; Munsanje, 28 January 2008; Mashonga, 17 March 2008.
237. Hamutale, 30 January 2008 (first quotation); Siangwemu, 31 January 2008 (second quotation); Palatema, 8 March 2008.
238. Clements (1959: 173–6); cf. also Leto, 20 January 2008.
239. The term was originally coined by Mary Louise Pratt to refer to places 'where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominance and subordination' (Pratt 1991: 33). The concept has been widely used in post-colonial studies (cf. Ashcroft et al. 2007: 49).
240. Chimuka, 30 January 2008 (quotation); Munsanje, 21 January 2007; Sindeke, 17 March 2008; Palatema, 8 March 2008; Siangwemu, 31 January 2008; Hamutale, 30 January 2008; Mashonga, 17 March 2008.
241. Similar: Vendrame, 15 January 2008.
242. This seems similar to how Chinese authorities presented their role in Tanzania's and Zambia's development in connection with the TAZARA (cf. Monson 2009: 6).
243. Cf. Leto, 28 January 2008; Baldassarrini, 13 February 2008, 9 March 2008.
244. Cf., for instance: 'I do not think Kariba was a political matter. Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia needed the project for electricity supply and not for political aggrandisement' (Welsh, 21 January 2008). A lack of political interest was also expressed by Luciani, 26 November 2007, and Piccinini, 30 January 2008.
245. Similar comments about hopes of 'helping Africa' and later disappointments were made by Piccinini, 30 January 2008; Rossatti, 19 March 2008; Vendrame, 15 January 2008.
246. Similar: Mashonga, 17 March 2008.
247. Interviewing former migrant labourers in Gwembe Valley, who had worked in Southern Rhodesian mines or cities, Luig (1996) stumbled over ambivalences that are not dissimilar to the recollections discussed here. Despite their experiences of hardship and oppression, her informants chose to highlight the good old days.
248. For instance: Hamutale, 30 January 2008; Mashonga, 17 March 2008; Siangwemu, 31 January 2008; Sindeke, 17 March 2008.
249. Kariba was also central to Hapunda's political engagement as Member of Parliament for Siavonga (1978–2001), he said. In a similar vein, several informants argued that Kariba was generally beneficial but that their own

communities' gains have been extremely limited (Zuze, 31 January 2008; Mashonga, 17 March 2008; Siamukanyu, 12 March 2008).

5 The End of Joint Development: Planning Lake Kariba

1. Development prospects other than electricity generation had not been discussed in the initial planning phase (Soils Inc. 2000: 10).
2. Welensky, 'Kariba's impact on Rhodesia', *New Commonwealth*, 6 August 1956.
3. Federal Information Department, 'The Kariba Project. A brief description of the Kariba Hydro Electric Project on the Zambezi River in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland', undated, ca. 1956/57, RHL MSS Welensky 341/1. Rather unusually for a big dam scheme, the question of irrigation received very little attention in the planning process (Soils Inc. 2000: 48).
4. On the 'wedge between nature and culture' which became 'an essential part of the landscape concept', see Bollig (2009: 3–4).
5. Hughes 2010: particularly 29–69; see also Hughes (2006a).
6. Fishing came to constitute a major source of capital for hundreds of Tonga households. This changed in the 1960s (Scudder 2005: 13; see also the end of this chapter).
7. Hunt to Henry Lintott, 18 September 1957, PRO DO 35/4606. Officials considered the requested neutralisation a departure from a central principle of Southern Rhodesian legislation, that is, the 'allocation of land by race or use' (Shannon to Sykes, Deputy UK Commissioner Federation, 8 August 1957, PRO DO 35/4606).
8. 'Submission. Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Amendment Bill', 18 June 1958, PRO DO 35/4607.
9. Cf. Baxter to Hunt, 12 June 1957, PRO DO 35/4606 (quotations); Sykes to Hunt, 16 June 1958, PRO DO 35/4607.
10. Metcalf to Shannon, 23 May 1957, PRO DO 35/4606.
11. Lintott to Commonwealth Secretary, 18 September 1957, PRO DO 35/4606.
12. 'World-beating tourists' paradise is Kariba plan', *Sunday Mail*, 20 October 1957.
13. 'Memorandum on the development and utilisation of the Kariba Lake', 21 March 1958, NAZ SP 4/1/73; Benson to Todd, 7 December 1956, PRO DO 35/4606.
14. The Kariba Lake Committee was set up in late 1955 to investigate possible uses for the future lake (Benson to Lennox-Boyd, 1 May 1957, PRO DO 35/4606; 'Kariba Lake Development', *Federal Newsletter*, 21 October 1955, DO 35/4602).
15. Benson to Lennox-Boyd, 1 May 1957, PRO DO 35/4606.
16. Welensky to Lennox-Boyd, 30 April 1957, PRO DO 35/4609.
17. Secretariat, Internal minutes, 26 September 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/109; Ward to Jones, 9 October 1956, NAZ SP 4/2/109; Joint Kariba Development Committee, Record of a meeting, 11 October 1957, NAZ SP 4/4/19.
18. Report by Hickling, April 1956, NAZ SP 4/3/13.
19. Maar, Memorandum on Dr Hickling's report, undated, ca. after April 1956, NAZ SP 4/3/13. Moreover, Maar's estimates on the fishing potential were

- much higher, at 25,000 tons per year, as compared to Hickling's figures of 9000 tons (Chief Fisheries Research Officer to d'Avray, 23 December 1959, NAZ SP 4/1/81).
20. Kariba Lake Co-ordinating Committee, 'Development and utilisation of the Kariba Lake', 21 March 1958, NAZ SP 4/1/73 (quotation); cf. also Bienniasz to Governor Hone, 10 July 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20; 'Chamber of Commerce prods government on Kariba facilities', *Central African Post*, 13 July 1959.
 21. D'Avray to Morgan, 23 December 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/146; cf. also Kariba Lake Co-ordinating Committee, 'Control of net fishing by Africans on North Bank', 23 February 1960, NAZ SP 4/1/80.
 22. Record of views expressed at the GTNA meeting, 1 April 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17.
 23. D'Avray to Minister of Legal Affairs, 17 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16. The Gwembe Special Fund was part of the northern Tonga's compensation package, set up in 1960 and administered by the Native Authority for development purposes (Scudder 2005: 47–8).
 24. Record of views expressed at the GTNA meeting, 1 April 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17 (quotation); Executive Council, Extract from conclusions of the 41st meeting, 28 September 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17.
 25. The idea was to give the Tonga only one-third of the northern part of the lake in the shallow waters for subsistence fishing and place the rest in the hands of the proposed lake company, which would sell licences to entrepreneurs from anywhere (Discussion between d'Avray and Habanyama, 15 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16).
 26. GTNA to d'Avray, 10 March 1960, NAZ, SP 4/7/16.
 27. Draft letter to Federal Minister of Economic Affairs, undated, ca. March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17 (quotation); cf. further Record of discussion between Minister of Native Affairs, Habanyama, and d'Avray, 17 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16; D'Avray to Minister of Legal Affairs, 15 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16.
 28. Eldridge, 'Kariba Lake development. Relationship between the Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Federal Government', 8 August 1959, NAZ SP 4/4/20.
 29. PC Sugg to Ministry of Native Affairs, 13 January 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/13 (first quotation); Governor to Administrative Officer, Kariba, 19 June 1958, NAZ SP 4/7/11 (second quotation).
 30. This proposal had met with considerable opposition from Southern Rhodesians (Secretary for Finance to Kariba Development Officer, 19 November 1958, NAZ SP 4/7/11; Memorandum by D'Avray, 13 November 1958, NAZ SP 4/7/11; Kariba Lake Development Company, Minutes of meeting, 22 September 1958, NAZ SP 4/7/11).
 31. Cf. Hone to Welensky and Whitehead, 20 October 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17.
 32. 'Notes on the exploitation of the Kariba Lake', undated, unsigned, certainly GTNA, SOAS Library, PPMS 6 Box 8, File 6/6/3 (quotations); Ncite, Chairman GTNA, to District Commissioner, Gwembe, undated, ca. October 1960; NAZ SP 4/7/17.

33. See, for instance, the numerous newspaper clippings on Lake Kariba in SOAS Library, PPMS 6, Box 8, File 6/6/3. The fact that the abovementioned GTNA memorandum was found in Fox-Pitt's papers suggests that there was some form of contact. Moreover, Fox-Pitt spoke to Habanyama in 1957, as discussed in Chapter 3.
34. Anti-Slavery Society to Stonehouse, 24 June 1958 (quotation); Anti-Slavery Society to Stonehouse, 2 December 1958, both: RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563.
35. Parliamentary question by Rankin, Extract from Official Report, 3 March 1959, PRO DO 35/4607.
36. Fox-Pitt, 'The Kariba evictions', May 1959, RHL MSS Brit. Emp. S 22 G 563.
37. Hone to Welensky and Whitehead, 20 October 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17.
38. Minister of Legal Affairs, 'Kariba Lake: Development organisation', 3 June 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17 (first quotation); Hone to Ministry of Legal Affairs, Kariba Lake Development Company, 19 October 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/17 (second and third quotation).
39. GTNA to Provincial Commissioner, 10 March 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16.
40. Office of Federal Prime Minister, Memorandum on discussions on the formation of a Kariba Development Company, 8 February 1960, NAZ SP 4/7/16 (first quotation); Hickling to d'Avray, 1 December 1958, NAZ SP 4/7/9 (second quotation).
41. African Representative Council, Extract from 6th session, 5–8 June 1957, NAZ SP 4/7/9.
42. The Lake Committee, however, was kept intact to ensure a minimum degree of co-ordination (Inter-ministerial meeting to discuss the future of the Kariba Lake Co-ordinating Committee, undated, ca. 1961, NAZ SP 4/1/90). Scudder (2005: 11–12), too, summarises the failure of the proposed lake company.
43. Report of the Working Party on Gwembe District/Kariba Lake Development, undated, ca. 1961, NAZ SP 4/2/162.
44. The animal rescue is discussed in some detail in McGregor (2009: 117–20); Soils Inc. (2000: ix, 38, 66, 91–2); Leslie (2005: 124–5). The issue of drowning animals was taken up in the local and international media in 1959. The London Fauna Preservation Society and Rhodesian interest groups were able to raise considerable funds over the issue, making possible a spectacular rescue programme and the creation of game sanctuaries along the southern embankment. On the significance of landscape as 'an antidote to modernity', cf. Bollig (2009: 9).
45. Annual report on African affairs, Southern Province, 1959, NAZ SP 4/2/59. Also Native Commissioner Cockroft found that the great concern over animals was 'misplaced' (McGregor 2009: 119).
46. Scudder (2005: 13–15); Scudder (2007); Magadza (2006: 213); Leslie (2005: 191–200). Regarding the Mozambican Cahora Bassa Dam, Isaacman and Isaacman (2012) draw out similar continuities in lopsided development planning – to the detriment of the rural population – between the colonial and post-colonial period.

Conclusion

1. This is following the annotated changes. Originally, the draft read: '... quickly adapted themselves to tasks wholly unfamiliar to them and, for many, clouded by superstitious doubts'.
2. Second draft, 'Opening of the Kariba Dam, Tuesday, 17 May 1960', PRO DO 35/7719. This is a draft; the final version could not be located.
3. Minute by Poynton, 4 May 1956, PRO CO 1015/948.

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JB Morrell Library, University of York – Morell Library

Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and
Director of Native Development for the Years 1955 and 1958

Zambia

National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka – NAZ

- SP Southern Province (SP)
- MLSS Northern Rhodesian Labour Department (MLSS)
- NR Northern Rhodesian Secretariat (NR)
- SEC Northern Rhodesian Secretariat (SEC)
- HM Historical Manuscripts, Northern Rhodesian African
 National Congress (HM)

United National Independence Party (UNIP) Archives, Lusaka – UNIPA

- ANC Northern Rhodesian African National Congress

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