

みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

SES no.083; 表紙,目次ほか

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| メタデータ | 言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2013-08-30 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: メールアドレス: 所属: |
| URL | http://hdl.handle.net/10502/5008 |

Senri Ethnological Studies 83

Chiefs, Hunters and San in the Creation of the Moremi Game Reserve, Okavango Delta

Multiracial Interactions and Initiatives,
1956-1979

Maitseo M. M. BOLAANE

SES 83

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Moremi Game Reserve, Okavango Delta**

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ISSN 0387-6004
ISBN 978-4-906962-08-2
C3039

2013



National Museum
of Ethnology

Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka, Japan
Phone 06-6876-2151

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Published by the National Museum of Ethnology
Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565-8511, Japan

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Publication Data

Senri Ethnological Studies 83
Chiefs, Hunters and San in the Creation of the Moremi Game Reserve, Okavango Delta
Multiracial Interactions and Initiatives, 1956-1979
Maitseo M. M. BOLAANE. P.294
Includes bibliographical references.

ISSN 0387-6004

ISBN 978-4-906962-08-2 C3039

1. Okavango Delta 2. Moremi Game Reserve 3. Botswana 4. Ba Tawana 5. San 6. Chiefs

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|----------|--|
| BBP | Bechuanaland Border Police |
| BDP | Botswana Democratic Party |
| BIDPA | Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis |
| BIP | Botswana Independence Party |
| BNA | Botswana National Archives |
| BNB | Botswana National Bibliographies |
| BP | Bechuanaland Protectorate |
| BPP | Botswana People's Party |
| BSAC | British South Africa Company |
| CAMPFIRE | Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources |
| CBNRM | Community Based Natural Resource Management |
| CBO | Community Based Organisation |
| CCHA | Community Controlled Hunting Area |
| CCTA | Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa |
| CHA | Controlled Hunting Area |
| CKGR | Central Kalahari Game Reserve |
| CO | Colonial Office, London |
| DC | District Commissioner |
| DWNP | Department of Wildlife and National Parks |
| EAAFRO | East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization |
| EU | European Union |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organisation |
| FCS | Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland |
| IIED | International Institute for Environment and Development |
| IUCN | International Union of the Conservation for Nature and Natural Resources |
| IWGIA | International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs |
| JVA | Joint Venture Agreement |
| KDT | Khwai Development Trust |
| LMS | London Missionary Society |
| NDP | National Development Plan |
| NGO | Non Government Organisation |
| NRP | Natural Resource Management Programme |
| NWDC | North-West District Council |
| ORI | Okavango Research Institute |
| OWLS | Okavango Wildlife Society |
| PRO | Public Record Office, Kew Gardens |
| PS | Permanent Secretary |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| QEH | Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford |
| RHO | Rhodes House, Oxford. |
| S. | Secretariat Series |
| SAVINGRAM | Memorandum/letter that is read over a two-way radio. |
| SGL | Special Game Licence |
| SPWFE | Society for the Preservation of Wild Fauna of the Empire |
| UNESCO | United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UB | University of Botswana |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| VDC | Village Development Committee |
| WENELA | Witwatersrand Native Labour Agency |
| WMA | Wildlife Management Area |
| WWF | World Wildlife Fund |

Glossary of Setswana Terms

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Baemedi</i> | Representatives. Baemedi ba Kgosi are the ‘chief’s representatives’ |
| <i>Bagakolodi</i> | Trusted men or advisors |
| <i>Bana ba rona</i> | ‘Our children’ or the next generation |
| <i>Basimane ba Kgosi</i> | Provincial governors, or simply those who took orders from a chief |
| <i>Bomasupatsela</i> | Hunting guides |
| <i>Boswa</i> | Inheritance/Heritage |
| <i>Botlhanka</i> | Serfdom; a form of servitude or dependence |
| <i>Diphologolo</i> | Wildlife |
| <i>Ipelegeng</i> | Self-reliance |
| <i>Khuduthamaga</i> | Secret or private meeting |
| <i>Kgamelo</i> | Cattle given to a King’s servant in return for service; derived from ‘ <i>kgamelo</i> ’, meaning milk pail because the servant milked the cows for his own use |
| <i>Kgosi</i> (pl. <i>Dikgosi</i>) | The ruler of Tswana society; a king/ chief |
| <i>Kgotla</i> | A court or venue for public business; a ward; public assembly/ meeting |
| <i>Letsholo</i> | Communal hunt |
| <i>MmaKgosi</i> | A chief’s wife |
| <i>Mohumagadi</i> | The senior-ranking wife of the Kgosi |
| <i>Mokolwane</i> | Fan palm/ <i>Hyphaene petersiana</i> |
| <i>Mokoro</i> | Dug-out canoe |
| <i>Morafe</i> (pl. <i>merafe</i>) | Nation or tribal group |
| <i>Motlhanka</i> (pl. <i>batlhanka</i>) | serf, dependent, servant |
| <i>Mosimane</i> (pl. <i>basimane</i>) | Provincial governor (literally, boy or young man) |
| <i>Ntlo Ya Dikgosi</i> | House of Chiefs |
| <i>Rra tau</i> | Father of lions |
| <i>Sehuba</i> | Tribute; derived from the term ‘ <i>sehuba</i> ’, meaning breast meat, which was invariably given to the king as tribute |
| <i>Setswana</i> | The language of the BaTswana |
| <i>Tshitla</i> | Tubers commonly gathered by foragers |
| <i>Tshomarelo</i> | Conservation |
| <i>Tswii</i> | Water lily |

Bibliographical Note

Comparative historical literature on hunting, reserves and national parks

The most important literature for this study was comparative historical work on hunting, reserves and national parks in Africa, especially in South Africa and Kenya. There are also many published sources on the political economy of Botswana, and some literature on the history of Ngamiland. Another group of sources consisted of edited books resulting from international conferences held on African environments, local natural resource management and policy processes in Africa.

Such meetings brought together a number of scholars in African studies on an interdisciplinary basis, discussing case studies in a broader context. There are also ecological and hydrological surveys of the Okavango and printed reports including some on tourism development from consultants initiated by the government of Botswana and recently through the Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis. Popular travel and guidebooks including tourist literature cannot be underestimated as they also provide details on game species, vegetation and give descriptions of the landscape. The books by June Kay and Jeremy Mallinson are useful as source material and they add an important personal dimension to government archives on the formation of the game reserve in Ngamiland.

National parliament debates, colonial official reports, newspapers and magazines and international conservation bulletins

The Oxford libraries, particularly Rhodes House, also hold primary sources such as the Botswana National Assembly (Hansard) debates and reports on veterinary services and game matters in the 1950s and 1960s. Newspaper and magazine articles with relevance to the Okavango were found in the Rhodes House, Queen Elizabeth, Radcliffe Science and Zoology libraries. The Zoology Library houses a huge collection of the wildlife journals and publications such as *Oryx*, and IUCN and WWF Bulletins which carried some relevant articles on northern Botswana at this time. Some of the papers and writings by former colonial officials, for example, N.E. Nettleton, (1910s–1920s), Charles Rey (1920s–1930s), Anthony Sillery (1940s–1950s), George Winstanley, (1950s–1960s) and Peter Fawcus and Alan Tilbury (1950s–1960s) were of relevance in providing background to Botswana during the period under study. There are several published and unpublished reports on the tsetse fly.

Archives

Extensive archival investigations enabled me to elucidate the history of Moremi Game Reserve, and to assess the complex issues and politics regarding its establishment in the early 1960s. I had recourse to the debates of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Advisory Councils (1920s–1960s), which on several occasions dealt with game matters. Some of the

debates that took place in the later Native Advisory Council discussions are particularly illuminating with respect to Batswana attitudes towards game. Clive Spinage draws heavily from these sources in his analysis of Botswana conservation law.

Material in the Public Record Office in London consists of Colonial Office confidential prints referred to as African (South) series 879, and Parliamentary Papers (P.P.), also known as Command papers (Cd.), and consist of accounts, papers, correspondence, etc., in respect to the affairs of South Africa in general, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate (including the other former High Commission Territories, Lesotho and Swaziland). The files contain some reports from Resident Commissioners through the High Commissioner to the Secretary of State. The original correspondence between the High Commissioner in South Africa and the Secretary of State for the Colonies are in the series C.O.417. The government archives in Gaborone have copies of the original correspondence between the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office in London.

The bulk of the material I have cited comes from the Botswana National Archives, especially from the Secretariat files and Botswana National Bibliographies, labelled as BNA S and BNB respectively. These include, for example, files on the general preservation of natural fauna and flora in Africa, on the economic development of Okavango, surveys of the area and reports by IUCN consultants, and correspondence on safari hunting parties. The Botswana National Archives also holds unpublished consulting engineers' reports on plans for the utilization of the riverine environment of the Okavango. The most important reports are on disease control for either the colonial administration or organisations such as WHO and IUCN. I concentrated on trypanosomosis and foot-and-mouth control measures. The Secretariat files on cattle ranching schemes, crocodile hunting, the fishing industry, birdlife and development plans provided a good background to the complex issues surrounding the establishment of a game reserve in the region. There are also specific archival files (1957–1964) on the national park and game reserve system including Chobe and Central Kalahari.

The collections of the Divisional Commissioner North files (cited in the footnotes as Div. Com. (N)) provide a detailed and quite frank discussion of the views of local commissioners and their interaction with the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland. The correspondence between Divisional Commissioners, District Commissioners and specialist officials such as the Game Ranger, tsetse fly control officer, veterinary officers, medical officers and agricultural officers are also extant. The National Archives are surprisingly dense on meetings held at this time, including those on the establishment of Moremi reserve. These include records of *kgotla* tribal council meetings and protests about the position of subordinate ethnic groups in Ngamiland, notably the Yei/Wayei. I should mention that the archives on Bechuanaland Protectorate use term Savingram in reference to official memo, but these were more forceful and carried more weight than a memo. Normally they carried a seal or stamp, issued by an officer with authority.

Pete Smith Collection and Hans Heinz Collection:

Since 2001, the University of Botswana, Okavango Research Institute (ORI) (formerly HOORC: Harry Oppenheimer Research Centre) in Maun has been producing research output

in areas of hydrology, ecology, botany, conservation of natural resources, and a few on tourism, traditional knowledge systems and the peoples of the Okavango Delta. This research (which will appear in the bibliography) has been very helpful in updating some information on the Okavango wetland ecosystems and community based natural resource management. ORI currently holds two collections that were of vital importance for this research: the papers of Pete Smith and Hans-Joachim Heinz. I had the opportunity to meet and interview both Smith and Heinz several times in Maun between 1997 and 1998. Both were very knowledgeable about the Okavango environment and the foundation of the reserve. Pete Smith died on 20 May 1999. A herbarium was established in 1995, officially known as the Pete Smith University of Botswana Herbarium. The Pete Smith Collection (PSC) was catalogued by the ORI library in 2005. Hans Heinz died on 22 August 2000 and a library collection has since been catalogued at the ORI library.

The Smith papers focus on the meetings held by members of the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland, prior to the establishment of the game park in 1963, including their correspondence with South African supporters, the World Wildlife Fund and IUCN. Although some are duplicates of what appears in the Botswana National Archives, some of the detailed records of *kgotla* and Fauna Conservation meetings are not covered in the BNA. Smith came from (then) Southern Rhodesia in the 1950s to work for government in the Departments of Tsetse Fly Control and Water Affairs. He became a resident of Maun, and accumulated a large library of relevance to the Okavango, including his own correspondence and research – especially on water, plants and tsetse. Heinz documented the social history of the San/BaSarwa with focus on the Ghanzi district. However he also collected useful preliminary sketch notes of //Anekhwe and Bugakhwe.

The primary focus of my fieldwork was on the San of the Okavango. Prior to my doctoral studies at Oxford I carried out fieldwork research in the Okavango on the settlement history of the San and their neighbours in the Okavango Delta. My focus was on the San communities of Khwai and Mababe villages, and the Wayei (Yei) community of Sankuyo village. These three communities are located some 35–40 kms from one another. During the fieldwork, in addition to a few of the University of Botswana undergraduates serving as research assistants, some members of the local communities were also used as cultural assistants. Interviews, material culture studies and participant observation were used to collate information about indigenous views of the past and concepts of space, time and being. This was contrasted with epistemologies employed in Western scientific accounts of the history of the area. In addition, a study was made of how different audiences such as wildlife and conservation groups, safari lodge owners, tourists and, neighbouring non-San people perceived and represent San culture and history. For gathering data for Chapter 7 interviews focused specifically on the establishment and impact of the Moremi Game Reserve and tourist game lodges on the communities of the area.

Interviews

In 2000–2001, 2008–2009 and 2010 extensive follow up interviews were conducted with the key persons in the study area, with the help of research assistants. The interviews provided data on the seasonal movement of the Bugakhwe, their settlement patterns and

relations with their neighbours. Following my archival research, I was able to focus in more detail on the history of the reserve. On these visits, interviews were conducted among the BaTawana who spearheaded the formation of the game park, the Wayeri and some local whites including those who were involved in the setting up the safari industry in northern Botswana. The interviews gave me a broader perspective of the ideas and politics of managing a game park in the early 1960s. I was also able to do interviews in Gaborone with former officials of the department of wildlife and national parks, and in the UK with former members of the colonial administration. Interviews on contemporary issues focused on communities bordering Moremi and their perspectives about the contemporary community-based natural resource management programmes. The aim was to assess local communities understanding of a developmental approach aimed at promoting their resource use rights to encourage sustainable development.

The BaSarwa interviews were particularly important for this book because their views are largely excluded from, or unrecorded in, the archival record, despite their richness. They have enabled me to expand on the role of the BaSarwa in the formation of the park as well as to write a final chapter that goes some way to presenting a BaSarwa history of Moremi.

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For enquiries about the series, please contact:

Publications Unit, National Museum of Ethnology

Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565-8511, Japan

Fax: +81-6-6878-8429. Email: hensyu@idc.minpaku.ac.jp

Free copies may be requested for educational and research purposes.

平成25年6月10日 発行

Senri Ethnological Studies 83

著 者 Maitseo M. M. BOLAANE

編集・発行 人間文化研究機構
国立民族学博物館

〒565-8511 吹田市千里万博公園10-1
TEL. 06(6876)2151(代表)

印 刷 株式会社 遊文舎

〒532-0012 大阪市淀川区木川東4-17-31
TEL. 06(6304)9325(代表)
