

## **PRESIDENT FESTUS MOGAE, UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA ACADEMICS AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN BOTSWANA, 1998-2008**

**Christian John Makgala and Bongani Glorious Gumbo**

### **ABSTRACT**

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This piece fills an important gap in the literature of Botswana by providing a survey of issues which were highly topical in the public domain in Botswana at the turn of the twenty first century and the contribution by historians therein through activism, academic work and (un)popular public discourse. University of Botswana (UB) scholars (historians and others) were scathingly criticised by President Festus Mogae (1998-2008), the private media and members of the general public for *being noticeably „quiet“ in public debates on issues of serious national concern. They were accused of being preoccupied with „narrow issues“ of staff and personal welfare despite the huge amounts of money the nation had spent on their education and training.* This piece gauges the extent to which UB lecturers contributed to key though controversial national issues in Botswana from a historical perspective. The discussion also examines how this contribution enhanced the historiography of Botswana. *Issues raised here are „politics of recognition“, north-south regionalism, perceived erosion of the culture of consultation by government, xenophobia, significance of the country’s Pula currency, and the national brand debate.*

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**Keywords** :President, University of Botswana, academics, historiography, nationhood, tribalism, regionalism, patriotism, xenophobia, public debate, currency, national brand.

### **Introduction and Historiographical Background**

For many years Botswana was being praised internationally as a shining example of democracy and good governance in Africa. However, fears have been expressed by many on several occasions that civil liberties, among which is free speech, have been eroded in Botswana since the turn of the twenty first century. In recent years there have been strong allegations that the country’s intelligence service is used to spy on critical commentators by monitoring their electronic and telephone communication for possible victimisation. Contrary to Mogae’s accusations, this paper uses the example of historians to demonstrate that UB academics were even more vocal during the Mogae presidency (1998-2008). 1998-2008 is the period of Festus Mogae’s presidency in Botswana. Mogae was particularly more critical of academics than his predecessors and successor. Consequently, some commentators have either toned down or completely stopped commenting on public issues for fear of victimisation. Some of these commentators are University academics who have been singled out by among other people Festus Mogae for direct criticism when it comes to national issues.

In the 1970s there was an emergence of professional historians trained in American, Canadian and British universities. With a Motswana historian Thomas Tlou providing direction these historians

were determined \_to assert the African nature of Botswana's past', according to Neil Parsons,<sup>75</sup> himself an integral part of this movement. Tlou did a commendable job by initiating an undergraduate students' research essay programme at the University of Botswana.<sup>76</sup> These essays covered different aspects of the history of Botswana, among which were conflicts between the dominant Tswana speaking tribes and their subject or \_minority' tribes. Tlou and the archaeologist Alec Campbell published their national history compilation *History of Botswana* in 1984.

Economic history was a major focus during this period and was argued within the paradigms of \_Underdevelopment' and \_Dependence' of the country owing to colonial exploitation and migrant labour to South Africa. The most influential work being a 1977 publication edited by Neil Parsons and Robin Palmer titled *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*.<sup>77</sup> In the 1990s, however, the \_Underdevelopment' thinking in Botswana history was strongly challenged by Phillip Steenkamp, Jr. and Barry Morton.<sup>78</sup>

In recent years new themes have emerged in the historiography of Botswana in the areas of military history, pre-historical or archaeological studies (characterised by the \_Kalahari Debate'),<sup>79</sup> medicine, health, environment and conservation among others.<sup>80</sup> This paper does not go into the latter themes since they were not the focus of public discourse in the period under study. The paper does not discuss the extremely controversial deportation of UB's Political Science professor Kenneth Good even though it attracted a great deal of emotive response from some sections of the UB faculty<sup>81</sup> and the media. Whereas a few scholarly publications did appear on the deportation of Professor Good and raised the important issue of academic freedom in Botswana these do not necessarily contribute to the historiography of Botswana.<sup>82</sup>

We now shift focus to the themes of nationhood and \_politics of recognition', north-south regionalism, the erosion of the culture of consultation by government, cross-border migration and

<sup>75</sup>Neil Parsons, \_Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 4 (2006), p.675.

<sup>76</sup>For the topics covered see <http://www.thuto.org/ubh/ac/studrp.htm> accessed 10 June 2015.

<sup>77</sup>Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, (eds.), *Roots of Rural Poverty in Southern and Central Africa* (London and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

<sup>78</sup>See Phillip Steenkamp, Jr., \_Cinderella of the Empire? Development Policies in Bechuanaland in the 1930s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17, 2 (1991), pp.292-308, and Barry C. Morton, \_A Social and Economic History of a Southern African Native Reserve: Ngamiland, 1890-1966' (PhD dissertation, University of Indiana, 1996).

<sup>79</sup>Edwin N. Wilmsen, *Land Filled With Flies: Political Economy of the Kalahari* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989); Andrew B. Smith, \_Ethnohistory and Archaeology of the Ju'Hoansi Bushmen', *African Study Monograph*, Suppl. 26: March, (2001), pp.15-25 [http://www.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp/kiroku/asm\\_suppl/abstracts/pdf/ASM\\_s26/03\\_smith.pdf](http://www.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp/kiroku/asm_suppl/abstracts/pdf/ASM_s26/03_smith.pdf) and <http://foragers.wikidot.com/the-kalahari-debate> accessed on 20 March 2014.

<sup>80</sup>Rodgers K. K. Molefi, *A Medical History of Botswana, 1885-1966* (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1996); Julie Livingstone, *Disability and the Moral Imagination in Botswana* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005); Maitseo Bolaane, \_Chiefs, Hunters and Adventures: The Foundation of the Okavango/Moremi National Park, Botswana', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005), pp.241-259; Paul Landua, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African kingdom* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995); Bolaane, M.M.M. *Chiefs, Hunters and San in the Creation of the Moremi Game Reserve, Okavango Delta: Multiracial Interactions and Initiatives, 1956-1979*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2013 ; R.K.K. Molefi, \_Smallpox and History; the Example of Botswana', *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 17, 1 (2003), pp.20-36; R. K. K. Molefi, \_Of Rats, Fleas, and Peoples: Towards a History of Bubonic Plague in Southern Africa', *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 15 (2001), pp.259-267; and Ashley Jackson, *Botswana 1939-1945: An African Country at War* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1999).

<sup>81</sup>Among these are Taolo Lucas, \_Remembering an Insightful Academic Luminary', *Mmegi*, 17 August 2005, Christian John Makgala, \_Critical Commentators Can Save Botswana', *Sunday Standard*, 18-25 September 2005.

<sup>82</sup>Ian Taylor, \_The Limits of the -African Miracle!: Academic Freedom in Botswana and the Deportation of Kenneth Good', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 24 (1) 2006, pp.101-122 and Pegg, S., \_Presidential Succession and Academic Freedom: Botswana Departs Leading Political Scientist Kenneth Good', *PS: Political Science and Politics*, vol. 38 (4), 2005, pp.829-831.

xenophobia, the irony of History and cultural heritage in relation to the Pula currency, and the national branding logo controversy. This is done to demonstrate the paper's thesis, namely, that academics were vocal contrary to Mogae's diatribe.

### **Nationhood and 'Politics of Recognition'**

President Mogae's low opinion and condemnation of UB scholars, particularly the citizen members of staff (whom he described as mere academics and not intellectuals), first expressed in 1998<sup>83</sup> reached fever pitch in 2000 when a very strong perception emerged that the lecturers were promoting tribalism in the country. Various tribal associations representing the country's historically marginalised 'minority' tribes had been formed to promote their languages and culture. At independence in 1966 the government recognised only Setswana as the national language and English as the official language. The government argued that it was forging unity among the people and it was claimed that the population of Botswana was homogeneous. Sections 77, 78 and 79 of the Constitution of Botswana also recognised the existence of only eight Tswana speaking tribes as principal tribes, and their Chiefs became ex officio members of the House of Chiefs (now renamed Ntlo Ya Dikgosi). Other tribal groups in what were colonial Crown Lands had to periodically elect representatives to the House of Chiefs. Crown Lands were those territories under the British colonial government as opposed to chiefs.

Although this arrangement had in the past been viewed as unfair by politicians from the marginalised tribes, in 2000 the issue became extremely inflammatory and was spearheaded by the elite or leadership of tribal associations mostly based at UB. The Tswana speakers responded by hurriedly forming their own tribal association called Pitso-ya-Batswana whose leadership included Alinah Segobye and Phillip Monowe, an archaeologist and physicist based at UB's History and Physics Departments respectively. Pitso-ya-Batswana countered head-on and sometimes trashed the message of the minority tribes' associations. So explosive was the situation that President Mogae appointed a commission of enquiry to look into how the historical marginalisation of the minority tribes and the offending constitutional clauses could be redressed.<sup>84</sup>

Initially the Government of Botswana did not allow research into tribal issues and even prevented researchers from accessing files on tribal conflicts in the National Archives in Gaborone believing that this could cause tribal strife in the country. This only came to an end after one researcher Albert Malikongwa, who was writing on an aspect of Kalanga history, sued the government.<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, since 2000 senior government officials including the then Vice President Ian Khama Seretse Khama have encouraged research in the previously 'prohibited' archival material.<sup>86</sup>

In response to the campaign by the 'minority tribes' an international conference named 'Challenging Minorities, Differences and Tribal Citizenship' was organised by UB's Office of Research and Development (ORD) in May 2000 to debate the issue. Anthropologist Professor Richard Werbner of Manchester University provided a keynote speech, and referred to the

<sup>83</sup>The Botswana Guardian, 'Mogae Attacks UB Academics', 5 June 1998; Raphael Dingalo, 'State v UB: Accord Or Discord', Mmegi, 6-12 February 1998; Mmegi, 'UB Academics Reply Mogae', 20-26 November 2001; The Midweek Sun, 'Mogae Rebukes UB Staff, Students', 17 September 2003; Sunday Standard [Editorial], 'Our Academics Are A Disappointment', 29 May -4 June 2005; and Spencer Mogapi, 'Where Are the Academics as We Wallow in Madness', Sunday Standard, 4-10 September 2005.

<sup>84</sup>Republic of Botswana, Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Sections 77, 78 and 79 of the Constitution of Botswana (Gaborone: Government Printer, 2000).

<sup>85</sup> Albert Malikongwa, *History of the Nswazwi People: Struggles Against Tshekedi* (Gaborone: Author, 1996), p.ii.

<sup>86</sup> See Christian John Makgala, *Elite Conflict in Botswana: A History* (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2006), p.6.

minorities' debate as 'Politics of Recognition'.<sup>87</sup> Some papers delivered at the conference were published in 2002 in a book edited by Professor Isaac Mazonde (citizen scholar at UB) titled *Minorities in the Millennium*. The first chapter in this book was written by Bruce Bennett, a UB based historian from New Zealand. Bennett provided a historical overview of the settlement of various ethnic groups and tribes in Botswana. He wrote that what became colonial Botswana 'consisted principally of a cluster of Tswana-ruled *merafe* (kingdoms or proto-states). These were in most cases multi-ethnic kingdoms, though two (the Ngwato and Tawana states) were much more varied in composition than the others'.<sup>88</sup>

Bennett's chapter was informed *inter alia* by research essays written over the years by final year research students in the History Department of UB on the nature and dynamics of relations between Tswana tribes and the subject tribes in various parts of the country. In 1999, at the beginning of the 'tribal minorities' controversy Bruce Bennett compiled some of these students' essays into a special issue of UB's *Pula Journal of Africa Studies*.<sup>89</sup> In his chapter Bennett explains the origin and application of the terms 'tribe' and 'ethnicity' in terms of Botswana's political history. He goes on to say: 'the Constitution does not, formally, recognise any ethnicities. What the Constitution provides, in Section 78, is that the eight Chiefs who had the status of Paramount in the colonial era enjoy *ex officio* membership of the House of Chiefs. That is, the 'tribes' recognized are polities, not ethnic groups'.<sup>90</sup>

Professor Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, a Moya and educationist at UB, who is also an activist in the Wayei campaign for recognition argued that the names of some of the tribal territories or districts reflect the dominant Tswana tribes such as Kgatleg District and Kweneng District Councils.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, in the districts there is Ngwato Land Board, Tawana Land Board, Ngwaketse Land Board, Kgatleg Land Board and Kweneng Land Board. Nyati-Ramahobo saw the system as 'fostering acculturation and assimilation of non-Tswana speaking tribes into Tswanadom':

Group rights are also not sensitive to who forms the majority. For instance, the North West District is referred to in popular discourse as Goo-Tawana, meaning the land of the Batawana, and yet the Batawana form the minority of the minorities in the district in numerical terms. Everyone in the district is officially a Motawana tribesmen, a political rather than a cultural definition of identity.<sup>92</sup>

By 2002 some members of the 'minority' tribes argued for change of the name 'Botswana'. They said it was discriminatory as it reflected only the dominant Tswana speaking groups.<sup>93</sup> Professor Neil Parsons, an Englishman and notable historian of Botswana at UB, wrote to a local independent, the *Botswana Gazette* newspaper arguing that there was no need to change the name of

<sup>87</sup> Richard Werbner, 'Conclusion: Citizenship and the Politics of Recognition in Botswana' in Mazonde, I. N. (ed.), *Minorities in the Millennium: Perspectives from Botswana* (Gaborone: Lentswe La Lesedi and University of Botswana, 2002), pp.117-134.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce S. Bennett, 'Some Historical Background on Minorities in Botswana', in Mazonde, (ed), *Minorities in the Millennium*, p.5.

<sup>89</sup> Bruce Bennett (ed.), *Essays on Twentieth Century Botswana History* (Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies, vol. 13, nos. 1 and 2, special issue, 1999). This is a special issue of the University of Botswana-based *Pula Journal*.

<sup>90</sup> Bennett, 'Some Historical Background', p.11.

<sup>91</sup> Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Ethnic Identity and Nationhood in Botswana', in Mazonde (ed.), *Minorities in the Millennium*, p.18.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Boitshwarelo Sangi Koosimile, 'The Country's Name, Botswana, Should Change', *The Botswana Gazette*, 6 February 2002.

the country because it was wiping out history:

Botswana, yes, refers to a tribe that came from South Africa. But France is named after a tribe that came from Germany, England after a tribe from Denmark, Scotland after a tribe from Ireland, Russia after a tribe from Sweden, Turkey after a tribe almost from China. In every case we are only talking about a minority of rulers who came and settled down among an indigenous majority.

No country has a perfect name. America is a name stolen by one country from a whole continent. India is named just after its north-west. The word Africa itself was originally the name of a province on the Mediterranean coast. Zambia is a shortened version Zambezia which includes Zimbabwe. Ghana is nowhere near ancient Ghana, and ancient Benin is not in modern Benin. Ancient Malawi was largely in Mozambique. The Congo people do not live in either of the two countries named after them, but in Angola.<sup>94</sup>

Parsons' historical explanation was harshly attacked by a certain Pedro Makhwaje who claimed that all countries have perfect names except Botswana.<sup>95</sup> Makhwaje went on to provide a version of how his Kalanga people and other minority tribes came to be dominated by the Bangwato whom he said imposed their sub-chiefs on the Kalanga. He alleged that these tribal minorities had invited their Tswana speaking buddies to form an alliance against the Transvaal Boers who were grabbing their land. In 1895 Chiefs Khama III of the Bangwato, Sebele of the Bakwena and Bathoen of the Bangwaketse sailed to Britain to plead with Queen Victoria not to hand over Bechuanaland Protectorate to the diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes of the British South Africa Company.

Whereas Professor Parsons has researched and published in 1998 a whole book on this subject called King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen,<sup>96</sup> Makhwaje gave his own version which he said he learned through oral tradition from his grandmother in 1974-1975. He stated that the three Chiefs had gone to England to seek protection against the marauding Boers. In England, alleged Makhwaje, the Chiefs called themselves Batswana and said that there were only eight main tribes, which is not correct. Therefore the name Botswana came into being.<sup>97</sup> A few weeks prior a certain Boitshwarelo Sangi Koosimile had claimed that the name Botswana first appeared in the mid-1960s coined by Seretse Khama (Botswana's first President, 1966-1980).<sup>98</sup> Makhwaje suggested a new name for the country, SHALIMOCOTA Republic cobbled together from names of rivers in the north and eastern part of the country namely, Shashe, Limpopo, Motloutse, Chobe and Tati.<sup>99</sup>

In responding to Parsons' view that history could be wiped out Makhwaje attacked history as a discipline arguing that he never heard of a country that made billions of money in foreign reserves as a result of history. He also claimed that sorrows, murders and persecutions in places such as Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo and even Botswana were a result of History.<sup>100</sup> He ended his contribution by saying please outsider leave everything to us, we will sought (sic) out our problems. We do not need doctors of philosophies and professors to teach us what we venerate or what we are.

<sup>94</sup> Neil Parsons, Why Wipe Out History, The Botswana Guardian, 6 February 2002.

<sup>95</sup> Pedro Makhwaje, All Countries Have Perfect Names Except Botswana, Monitor, 12-18 February 2002.

<sup>96</sup> Neil Parsons, King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain Through African Eyes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

<sup>97</sup> Makhwaje, All Countries Have Perfect Names.

<sup>98</sup> Koosimile, The Country's Name.

<sup>99</sup> Makhwaje, All Countries Have Perfect Names.

<sup>100</sup> Makhwaje, All Countries Have Perfect Names.

Makhwaje's response to Parsons was rubbished by Thapelo Otlogetswe, a Motswana Lecturer at UB's English Department, as 'heavily loaded with prejudice and his SHALIMCHOTA Republic dream laughable'.<sup>101</sup> Otlogetswe also argued that Makhwaje dodged an argument with Parsons on the nature of the evidence he provides relating to the etymology of country names like France, Scotland, England, Russia and Turkey'.<sup>102</sup>

Christian John Makgala, a citizen historian at UB and a colleague of Professor Parsons, joined the debate defending his fellow historian. He dismissed Makhwaje's reasoning by arguing that 'money is not necessarily everything' as Makhwaje portrayed it. Makgala argued that history together with languages and culture, were more important than money. He also mentioned that much of the crimes committed against humanity in the world were largely a result of greed for money and political power not history, which was just being used as a smokescreen by unscrupulous leaders.<sup>103</sup>

In 2002 Richard Werbner, who has done extensive research among the Kalanga, published a book he titled *Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana*. Werbner argued that while many elites in Africa turned their countries into kleptocracies, vampire states, and failed states which led to the phenomenon of Afro-pessimism, the Kalanga elite have contributed to the prosperity of Botswana as senior civil servants, politicians, business people and in other capacities while at the same time peacefully campaigning for equality with Tswana speakers.<sup>104</sup>

The hostility between the Tswana speakers and 'minority' tribes, mainly the more economically and educationally successful Kalanga, had led to some Tswana speakers accusing these groups as unpatriotic. The Kalanga countered by arguing that criticising discriminatory practices was the highest act of patriotism. The controversy of 'politics of recognition' was further analysed by Christian John Makgala in his 2006 book *Elite Conflict in Botswana: A History*.<sup>105</sup> He provides a detailed examination of the notions of 'ethnicity', 'tribalism', 'nationalism' and 'patriotism' from a deeper historical perspective. In his book Makgala argues that ethnicity refers to the material culture, customs and language of a given group while tribalism is the political mobilisation of ethnicity by the elites for their own personal economic gain.

### North-South Regionalism

The north-south regionalism is one issue over which academics were accused of being silent and we cite it to demonstrate their activism, and that they were vocal. In addition to responding to the issues of politics of recognition Makgala's *Elite Conflict* was also heavily inspired by the now common fierce factional fighting within the country's major political parties. This internal fighting took a very tribal and economic dimension on a number of instances. The desire for political office is largely a result of attempts at accumulation of wealth and attainment of influence, argues Makgala. In the process members of different factions were marginalised by intolerant wielders of power in the political party such as the ruling Democratic Party (BDP) and the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF). Factions coalesced around regionalism of north versus south. Interestingly, factional membership was fluid as some people in the 'north faction' come from the south of the country while others in the 'south faction' come from the north. Some people also argued that the top most

<sup>101</sup>Thapelo Otlogetswe, 'SHALIMCHOTA For Botswana? What a Dream!' *The Botswana Gazette*, 20 February 2002.

<sup>102</sup>Otlogetswe, 'SHALIMCHOTA For Botswana?'

<sup>103</sup>Christian John Makgala, 'A Plea For Protection From -Historians!', *The Botswana Gazette*, 13 March 2002.

<sup>104</sup>Richard Werbner, *Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Kalanga Elites* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004).

<sup>105</sup>Christian John Makgala, *Elite Conflict in Botswana: A History* (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2006).

positions in government and Cabinet were heavily dominated by the northerners.

Some parliamentarians from the north who felt marginalised by being dropped from Cabinet claimed that the southern part of Botswana enjoyed more infrastructural developments than the north. The discourse of north-south regionalism has recently been analysed from a historical perspective by Christian John Makgala in a paper submitted to the *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. In this piece he borrows a leaf from Bruce Bennett by arguing that in Botswana pure ethnic identities are almost non-existent, what obtains are layered and multiple identities. High levels of inter-tribal marriages and child bearing have also contributed to this. As Bennett puts it in an example, one can be a Motawana, a Northerner and a Motswana.<sup>106</sup> Makgala traces the north-south divide to the colonial period when it was used merely as an administrative convenience but was politicised in the post colony.

It is believed that since 1998, when Mogae became President, the leadership became desensitised to tribal balance in the composition of Cabinet. After the 2004 general election it was argued that Cabinet was dominated by the Bangwato from the Central District. A certain Molefhi Kalaota argued that 'With the southern region of the country in the hands of the opposition, it was obvious that northerners, primarily Bangwato, would dominate the cabinet'.<sup>107</sup> However, Wellie Henderson the biographer of Botswana's first president, Sir Seretse Khama, wrote in 1990 that 'Seretse gave no special political influence to Central District politically, his cabinets, when he did come to power, were balanced. (It must be remembered that the Central District contains approximately 37 per cent of the total population and must therefore be expected to have considerable political significance)'.<sup>108</sup>

### **Erosion of the culture of consultation by government**

Critics of the government in Botswana argue that the country's tradition of consultation in major decision making has in recent years faced steep decline as government made decisions unilaterally. This became an issue of major and controversial debate in 2005 after Cabinet overturned a decision by a Presidential Task Force to locate the country's envisaged second university in the ailing mining town of Selebi-Phikwe, and decided to relocate it at the President's home village of Palapye (Central District). 'It is clear that government has ignored expert advice on the location of Botswana's second university with arrogance and impunity', lamented the daily and independent Mmegi newspaper.<sup>109</sup> Some politicians and members of the public saw this as an act of unbridled tribalism and regionalism by top leaders in government. Critics of the Cabinet decision also questioned the country's internationally celebrated democratic credentials. Bangwato tribal leaders argued that it was time major infrastructural developments were located in their tribal territory (Central District) and even formed a committee to ensure that the Cabinet decision was not 'hijacked'.

A Mongwato historian and journalist Metlhaetsile Leepile argued that the Cabinet decision was a 'welcome paradigm shift in development' as focus was being shifted from urban areas to the hitherto 'neglected' rural areas.<sup>110</sup> Another Mongwato royal and freelance journalist, Reverend

<sup>106</sup>Bennett, 'Some Historical Background', p.12.

<sup>107</sup>Molefhi Kalaota, 'Here is the Future', Mmegi, 26 November 2004.

<sup>108</sup>Wellie Henderson, 'Seretse Khama: A Personal Appreciation', *African Affairs*, vol. 89, 354 (1990), p.37.

<sup>109</sup>Mmegi, 'Editorial: -Did the Task Force Fail So Miserably?' 10 December 2004.

<sup>110</sup>Monitor, 'University Location Debate Rages On', 10 January 2005.

Gasebalwe Seretse, suggested that the planned University be named Tshekedi Khama, Bangwato regent (1926-1949) who was a leading figure in Botswana public life.<sup>111</sup> A certain Michelle Morongwe-Gulubane, who said she belonged to Seretse's congregation, wrote that she was shocked by the Cabinet decision and also lambasted Seretse's excitement as against the spirit of his church message. Writing from Selebi-Phikwe she questioned the country's democracy and felt that the Cabinet decision was influenced by corruption.<sup>112</sup> It is not clear which tribe Michelle Morongwe-Gulubane comes from but her double barrelled surname has a combination of Setswana and Ikalanga names.

Christian John Makgala joined the debate from a historical perspective by producing a paper presented at the History Department's seminar series.<sup>113</sup> The revised version of this article later appeared as a chapter in a book *Governance and State Delivery in Southern Africa* edited by Henning Melber for Nordic Africa Institute's project 'Liberation and Democracy in Southern Africa'.<sup>114</sup> The thesis of Makgala's contribution was that the Cabinet decision was not based on tribalism and regionalism as some suggested, but was a case of *realpolitik* for purposes of survival of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). 'It appears that by locating the university in the Serowe/Palapye area instead of the recommended Selebi-Phikwe the government was trying to counter the growing opposition support in this traditional stronghold of the BDP', he wrote. He concluded by stating that the BDP government's decision was, however, likely to boomerang because historically the university has been the breeding ground for opposition activists and support in Botswana.

Makgala further argued that from time immemorial to the late colonial period the Chiefs and later the colonial officials in Botswana consulted the masses in making major decisions. This, he said, contributed to the peaceful co-existence and political stability the country is renowned for. On the other hand, political scientist Leroy Gunderson in his 1970 PhD thesis had argued that tribal meetings at the *kgotla* (village/public assembly) were mere window dressing by Chiefs and their supporters/relatives because they simply set the agenda and agreed on decisions before presenting the issues to the tribe.<sup>115</sup> He says that during the *kgotla*, meeting they would manipulate public opinion into accepting predetermined decisions. A chapter co-authored by an American political scientist with a Motswana sociologist Patrick Molutsi also share the same sentiment.<sup>116</sup> Another political scientist Mahmood Mamdani writes in his famous book *Citizen and Subject* that 'in the colonial period this public assembly [*kgotla*] was turned into a forum where decisions were announced but not debated'.<sup>117</sup> The American political scientist, John Holm, buys this line of argument as he 'believes that even the post-independence government has never been consultative'.<sup>118</sup> Ironically, the

<sup>111</sup> Gasebalwe Seretse, 'I Support the Serowe/Palapye Choice', *The Midweek Sun*, 15 December 2004.

<sup>112</sup> Michelle Morongwe-Gulubane, 'Are We Still A Democracy?' *The Midweek Sun*, 12 January 2005.

<sup>113</sup> Christian John Makgala, 'A Home Town Decision? II: The Politics of the Location of Botswana's Second University, 2004-2005' (a paper delivered at the University of Botswana's History Department Seminar Series, 8 February 2005).

<sup>114</sup> Christian John Makgala, 'A Home Town Decision': Location of Botswana's Second University', in Henning Melber (ed.), *Governance and State Delivery in Southern Africa: Examples from Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2007), pp.21-42.

<sup>115</sup> Leroy G. Gunderson, 'Nation Building and the Administrative State: The Case of Botswana'. (PhD dissertation, University of California, 1970), p.75.

<sup>116</sup> John Holm and Patrick Molutsi, 'State-society Relations in Botswana: Beginning of Liberalisation', in G. Hyden and M. Bratton (eds.), *Governance in Africa*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), also (personal e-mail communication with John Holm, 8 February 2005).

<sup>117</sup> Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (London: James Currey, 1996), p.46.

<sup>118</sup> Makgala, 'Home Town Decision', p.23.

ruling BDP's (which has been in power since independence in 1966) literature and propaganda are coloured with assurances to consultative governance. For instance, the party newsletter which first appeared in 1963 is called *Therisanyo* ('Consultation').<sup>119</sup>

The West Indian historian Harold Robertson in his 1978 PhD dissertation argued that Gunderson's comment is rather harsh.<sup>120</sup> Makgala in his 2001 PhD dissertation strongly argued that tribal governance under British Indirect Rule was highly consultative and this prevented uprisings and confrontations experienced in those colonies where consultation was scarce or non-existent.<sup>121</sup> In the final analysis the government decision on the location of the second university defies BDP's long held pledge to consultative rule. However, it is consistent with other decisions in recent years which were made out of political expedience and survival as opposed to upholding tradition and promoting democratic culture.

### **Cross-border Migration and Xenophobia**

Xenophobia in Botswana has been on the rise since the late 1990s owing to the influx of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants into the country escaping economic hardship in their country. These immigrants have been accused of causing various crimes such as house breaking, rape, murder and many others. Very strong feelings against Zimbabweans have been expressed by Botswana through the media, especially the newspapers and radio. In 2002 the Cameroonian sociologist Francis Nyamnjoh, who was based at UB, analysed Botswana's attitudes towards foreigners as expressed in the newspapers.<sup>122</sup> Xenophobia is also rife in South Africa where it has taken a rather violent form against Zimbabweans and other black foreigners.<sup>123</sup> So serious has been xenophobia in Southern Africa that it has been the subject of numerous substantial studies by demographers or migration specialists among other scholars. Specifically the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in collaboration with the Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) has been spear heading the cross-border migration project in Southern Africa and produced numerous reports and books.<sup>124</sup>

Cross-border migration and xenophobia are new areas of study and have not yet attracted a strong historical dimension. Although Wazha Morapedi, a history lecturer at UB, presented a paper titled *'Post Liberation Xenophobia Tendencies Towards Zimbabweans in Botswana'* at CODESRIA's 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference held in Gaborone in October 2003, this was not historicised.<sup>125</sup> Morapedi's paper has since been published in the *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*.<sup>126</sup> Most of the reports and books published by SAMP had not been written from a historical

<sup>119</sup>Parsons, N, Henderson, W and Tlou, T, *Setsekhama, 1921-1980*. (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1995), p.221.

<sup>120</sup> Harold Robertson, *'From Protectorate to Republic: The Political History of Botswana, 1926-1966'*. (PhD dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1978), p.20.

<sup>121</sup> Christian John Makgala, *'Policy of Indirect Rule in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1926-57'* (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge), pp.85-115, 156-171, 186-217, and 254-285 and Christian John Makgala, *'Taxation in the Tribal Areas of Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1899-1957'*, *Journal of African History*, 46 (2004), pp.279-303.

<sup>122</sup> Francis Nyamnjoh, *'Local Attitudes Towards Citizenship and Foreigners in Botswana: An Appraisal of Recent Newspaper Stories'*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28, 4 (2002), pp.755-775.

<sup>123</sup>See Francis B. Nyamnjoh, *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa* (Dakar and New York: Codesria Books and Zed Books, 2006).

<sup>124</sup>See <http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationnews/index.php> accessed 21 May 2014.

<sup>125</sup>W.G. Morapedi, *'Post Liberation Xenophobia Tendencies Towards Zimbabweans in Botswana: With Reference to the -Influx of Undocumented Zimbabwean Immigrants into the Country'* (paper delivered at CODESRIA 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Gaborone, The Grand Palm Hotel, 18 October 2003).

<sup>126</sup> W.G. Morapedi, *'Post Liberation Xenophobia Tendencies Towards Zimbabweans in Botswana: With Reference to the -Influx of Undocumented Zimbabwean Immigrants into the Country, c. 1995-2004'*, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 23, 2 (2007) , pp.229 - 250.

perspective.<sup>127</sup> This is a view expressed by Christian John Makgala in his review of a 2002 book edited by Jonathan Crush and David McDonald, *Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa*.<sup>128</sup> Makgala's review appears in volume 19 of *European Journal of Population*.<sup>129</sup> He later discovered that other studies on cross-border migration in Botswana, mainly on illegal Zimbabwean immigrants, also lacked a comprehensive historical approach.<sup>130</sup>

As part of SAMP's National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS) initiative, members of the Internal Training Programmes in Population and Sustainable Development (ITPPSD) at UB conducted research in Botswana. Their study resulted in a report by Eugene Campbell and John Oucho named *Changing Attitudes to Immigration and Refugee Policy in Botswana*.<sup>131</sup> Campbell and Oucho state that xenophobia in Botswana began in the late 1990s, the Botswana previously having been the most tolerant to foreigners in Southern Africa.<sup>132</sup> They write: 'The history of the formation and development of Botswana tribes does not indicate previous existence of xenophobic attitude or behaviour among Botswana'.<sup>133</sup>

In addressing this deficiency Makgala researched and published an article in 2006 in a historical journal *Kleio* on attitudes of the Bangwato tribesmen towards Zimbabwean/Rhodesian (immigrants) in Botswana in the 1950s.<sup>134</sup> He showed that resentment, not necessarily xenophobia, towards Zimbabwean immigrants in Botswana had a historical precedent contrary to the views held by population studies and cross-border migration researchers. This resentment was caused by almost the same accusations and allegations being levelled against Zimbabweans in Botswana at the turn of the twentieth century.

### **The Irony of History and Cultural Heritage: The Pula Currency**

Pedro Makhwaje's attitude towards academic historians is part of a general indifference and marginalisation of academic history and culture by members of the public and government in Botswana. The government's approach has been one of encouraging commercialisation and entrepreneurship for what Neil Parsons refers to as the 'heritage industry'.<sup>135</sup> This is opposed to promotion of culture and history for development of a responsible, compassionate, tolerant, morally upright, exemplary and cultured citizenry emphasised in the much talked about but not followed

<sup>127</sup>D. Macdonald, J. Gay, L. Zinyama, R. Mattes and F. de Vletter, *Challenging Xenophobia: Myths and Realities about Cross Border Migration in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, Southern African Migration Project, 1998) and D.A. McDonald, (ed.), *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa* (Ontario, Southern African Migration Project, 2000).

<sup>128</sup>J. Crush and D. McDonald (eds.), *Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa* (Toronto, Southern African Migration Project and Canadian Association of African Studies, 2002).

<sup>129</sup>See C. J Makgala's review of J. Crush and D. McDonald (eds.), *Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa* (Toronto, Southern African Migration Project and Canadian Association of African Studies, 2002), in *European Journal of Population*, 19, 4 (2003), pp.439-440.

<sup>130</sup>E.K. Campbell and J.O. Oucho, 'Changing Attitudes to Immigration and Refugee Policy in Botswana' (Southern African Migration Project, Policy Series No. 28, 2003, <http://www.queensu.ca/samp/sampresources/samppublications/policyseries/Acrobat28.pdf>); J. Oucho, E. Campbell and E. Mukamaambo, 'Botswana: Migration Perspectives and Prospects' (Southern African Migration Project Policy Series No. 19, 2000, <http://www.queensu.ca/samp/sampresources/samppublications/policyseries/Acrobat19.pdf>) accessed 26 April 2015; and Nyamnjoh, 'Local Attitudes'.

<sup>131</sup>Oucho and Campbell, 'Changing Attitudes', p.1.

<sup>132</sup>Oucho and Campbell, 'Changing Attitudes', p.1.

<sup>133</sup>Oucho and Campbell, 'Changing Attitudes', p.29.

<sup>134</sup>Christian John Makgala, 'Ngwato Attitudes Towards Zimbabwean Immigrants in Bechuanaland Protectorate in the 1950s', *Kleio: Journal of Historical Studies from Africa*, 38, 2 (2006), pp.191-206.

<sup>135</sup>Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage'.

national Vision 2016 document.<sup>136</sup> So bad has been the situation that President Festus Mogae in his 2003 Independence Speech complained that Batswana do not show pride in the national symbols, but foreign ones instead.<sup>137</sup>

Interestingly, in December 2005 when Mogae ‘casually’ suggested change of the name of the country’s Pula (Rain) currency he was quickly and strongly criticised in the name of the country’s history, culture and national pride. Mogae was talking to Bishop Malebogo Mashaba of the Lutheran Church in South Africa who had paid him a courtesy call.<sup>138</sup> The President’s concern was that when Batswana shouted the mantra ‘Pula’, a national salute which is also a call for rain, visitors could get confused thinking that the locals were bragging about the perceived strong economy of the country. He was therefore reported to have suggested the change of name for the currency before his term of office expired. Whereas agriculture, which was the mainstay of the economy during the colonial era, has declined in the post-colony and many Batswana do not want to partake in agricultural work, Mogae’s suggestion was also reviled on the grounds that the ‘Pula’ was a symbol of agricultural success.<sup>139</sup>

Botswana adopted the Pula currency in 1976 to replace the South African Rand. This move was met with great elation since it was seen as a significant historical, political, economic and cultural development. The Pula currency depicted the cultural, historical and geographical scenery of Botswana. It was viewed as a break with the much hated South African apartheid system and domination, even though this was just a nominal break since the landlocked Botswana depended on South Africa for economic survival. After independence Seretse’s government pledged to develop the country economically and culturally by promoting its history. Hence, his famous 1970 statement that ‘We were made to believe that we had no past to speak of, no history to boast of.... We should write our own history books, to prove that we did have a past... We must do this for the simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul’.<sup>140</sup> This thinking became a mere slogan as government marginalised historical and cultural studies in its over-determination to promote science, technology and vocational courses as they were given more resources.

Response from the private media and some members of the public to Mogae’s suggestion was vitriolic. The editorial of the private Mmegi newspaper argued that the major issue was not the name but value of the Pula. The currency had been devalued by 12% in May 2005, unannounced, which sparked a huge and controversial public debate.<sup>141</sup>

We are yet to be convinced that it would be more costly to explain the other meanings of Pula to our visitors than trash our history and culture. We shudder to think the costs that are likely to accompany Mogae’s envisaged currency change. ...Is Mogae’s mission to leave this

<sup>136</sup>Presidential Task Force, Long Term Vision for Botswana: Towards Prosperity for All (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1997), pp.2-3, 27.

<sup>137</sup>Makgala, *Elite Conflict*, p.65.

<sup>138</sup>Daily News, 2 December 2005.

<sup>139</sup>Christian John Makgala, ‘Historical and Politico-Cultural Significance of Botswana’s Pula Currency’, *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 22 (2008), pp.41-55, p.51.

<sup>140</sup>Neil Parsons, *A New History of Southern Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1993), p.v.

<sup>141</sup>Christian John Makgala, ‘Public Debates on the Foreign Exchange Policy in Botswana, 1976-2005’, *Botswana Journal of Business*, vol. 2, (2), 2007, pp.57-69.

great nation devastatingly impoverished? What a legacy for a supposedly world-renowned economist!<sup>142</sup>

‘There is nothing confusing about our currency, in fact we are unified and peaceful because of it’, said Maeze Maeze of Seronga deep in the Okavango Delta.<sup>143</sup> He also said that the Pula was ‘a constant reminder of the country’s culture and roots’. The Mmegi Monitor argued that ‘Rain has a great significance in the lives of Batswana, it is a sign of prosperity, as it is believed to bring new life.... For the past 29 years, Batswana have held closely the currency that they easily identify with as it is named in the native language which most of them are familiar with’.<sup>144</sup> Nora Mogakolodi in Chicago, Illinois wrote, ‘I have never heard of a country that has adjusted something which is part of the country’s history and culture to better suit people who it were never the intended beneficiary’.<sup>145</sup> ‘[W]e are morally, psychologically, traditionally and culturally attached to our currency. The word Pula remind[s] us of Rain seasons, Agriculture, Letlhafula [harvesting season]. While –Thebell [Botswana’s decimal coin] the –Shield|| remind[s] us of the protection fought for by our three Chiefs [who went to Britain in 1895]. –A nation without a past is a Nation without a futurell. The late president [Seretse] was for the idea that we keep our history’, argued a certain Elijah Motsamai.<sup>146</sup>

The Office of the President responded through a press release to the condemnation of Mogae’s suggestion on 17 December 2005.<sup>147</sup> The message stated that there was no intended change of the name of Pula currency and described the public debate elicited as a ‘misconception’ which resulted from Mogae’s ‘offhand comment’ to Bishop Mashaba in the context of a casual discussion between the two leaders. This was interpreted by a Mmegi editorial as a hasty retreat beaten by Mogae and was portrayed as victory for the people.<sup>148</sup>

The name of the Pula currency debate culminated in a history seminar paper by Christian John Makgala at UB. He traced the significance of traditional ritual of rain-making by Batswana Chiefs which had key political and economic functions in years gone by. He exposed the irony that characterised some Batswana and government’s attitude of marginalising history and culture as a school subject but hastily embracing it when they felt that their history and culture were being undermined.<sup>149</sup> However, negative perceptions and ridicule of history continued. For instance, in February 2008 after St. Valentine’s Day an obscure and controversial ‘Loose Canon’, a satire columnist in the Sunday Standard newspaper, wrote an article he titled ‘Blame it on History’. He claimed to have gone to a local restaurant on St. Valentine’s Day and met some of his former school mates who were giving treat to their white girlfriends whom they had met while studying overseas. He argued that only those school mates of his who had studied science instead of history at secondary school went on to study overseas where they had opportunities to date white girls and even bring them back home. ‘Loose Canon’ claimed to have missed the same opportunity, and as far

<sup>142</sup>Mmegi, ‘Editorial’, 8 December 2005.

<sup>143</sup>Monitor, 5 December 2005.

<sup>144</sup>Monitor, 5 December 2005.

<sup>145</sup> Nora Mogakolodi, ‘Do Not Change the Currency Name’, Mmegi, 7 December 2005.

<sup>146</sup> Elijah Motsamai, ‘Pula is Just Fine’, Mmegi, 9 December 2005.

<sup>147</sup>Republic of Botswana, ‘TAUTONA TIMES: The Weekly Electronic Press Circular of the Office of the President’, no 45, 17 December 2005.

<sup>148</sup>Mmegi, ‘Editorial: The People have Spoken’, 20 December 2005.

<sup>149</sup>Makgala, ‘Historical, Politico-cultural Significance of the Botswana’s Pula Currency’, pp.41-55.

as he was concerned having studied history was the cause of his ‘unfortunate’ situation.<sup>150</sup> Although ‘Loose Canon’s’ piece is humorous and not really a serious critique of History it does make a semi-serious point about the lower rewards available to arts graduates.

### The National Branding Logo Controversy

Interestingly, in 2007 Botswana Export Development and Investment Authority (BEDIA), whose mandate is to attract the elusive Foreign Direct Investment to Botswana, released to the public the national branding logo which had ‘Opportunity and Tranquillity Beckons’, as a motto. This was quickly dismissed by some members of the public as unattractive and not reflecting the country’s history, culture, diamond wealth, and important geographical features.<sup>151</sup> Even Cabinet was reported to have been divided.<sup>152</sup> Botsalo Ntuane, a young Member of Parliament, argued that a good brand ‘must just hit you and say this is Botswana. But with the Botswana brand, no, something must have gone wrong because it is unappealing to the eye. It is uninspiring’.<sup>153</sup> This view was further stressed by Mmegi which condemned the logo as ‘an eyesore’. Mmegi argued that a good logo should be plain and clear like South Africa’s ‘Proudly South African’ or the American sports wear giant, Nike, which simply uses the motto ‘Just do it!’<sup>154</sup>

Dorcus Makgatho-Malesu, BEDIA Chief Executive Officer was quite irked by the resentment towards the brand and said it was misguided and would die out with time.<sup>155</sup> Makgatho-Malesu was accused of being intolerant to the healthy and needed criticism on the brand.<sup>156</sup> She was also said to be accusing and casting aspersion on radio on people she differed with on non-brand issues and branded them ‘unBrand’.<sup>157</sup> One Mpho Motlhabane (a graphic designer) argued that even the ‘Buy Botswana’ logo, which was common in the 1980s, was poorly designed and failed to have the desired impact.<sup>158</sup> Mmoloki Kimo argued that culture must be central to the branding and suggested a ‘Cultural Heritage Day’ for Botswana.<sup>159</sup> A motto that seems very appropriate to a nation’s history and culture appears to be that of the Mediterranean nation of Croatia that appears as part of a jingle on CNN: ‘The Mediterranean as it once was’.

As the controversy raged on the Professor Neil Parsons joined the debate by writing to Mmegi suggesting a design for a new brand.<sup>160</sup> He suggested two catchy alternative slogans namely ‘Botswana-At the Heart of Southern Africa’ and ‘Botswana-Put a Sparkle in Your Life’. Parsons said the first alternative suggested ‘the warm heart of the people and romance, as well as Botswana’s opportunities within the region’ while ‘the second one suggests not only diamonds, the clear water and flashing fish of the Okavango, but also novelty and excitement’. He also wrote that ‘The logo for either, a heart or a sparkle, could be easily superimposed on an outline map of Botswana’. Although Parsons’ slogan resembles that of Malawi, Bruce Bennett believes that Parsons’ ‘sparkle’ suggestion is brilliant. ‘The official slogan doesn’t work because it suggests two very different ideas, tranquillity

<sup>150</sup>Loose Canon, ‘Blame it on History’, Sunday Standard, 17-23 February 2008.

<sup>151</sup>Resego Morakanyane, ‘Why Not e-Brand Botswana?’, The Botswana Guardian, 28 March 2008.

<sup>152</sup>Monitor, ‘Cabinet Divided Over National Branding Logo’, 4 January 2004.

<sup>153</sup>Mmegi [editorial] ‘Botswana Brand is An Eyesore’, 14 February 2008.

<sup>154</sup>Mmegi, ‘Botswana Brand is An Eyesore’.

<sup>155</sup>The Botswana Guardian, ‘Brand Resentment Misguided’, 14 March 2008.

<sup>156</sup>Thapelo Ndlovu, ‘Botswana Brand Uninspiring’, Mmegi, 11 January 2008 and Mpho Motlhabane, ‘Debating the Botswana Logo’, Mmegi, 30 April 2008.

<sup>157</sup>Ndlovu, ‘Brand Uninspiring’.

<sup>158</sup>Motlhabane, ‘Debating the Botswana Logo’.

<sup>159</sup>Mmoloki Kimo, ‘Make Culture Central to Branding Strategy’, The Botswana Gazette, 16-22 January 2008.

<sup>160</sup>Neil Parsons, ‘Sparkling Botswana’, Mmegi, 15 February 2008.

and opportunity (i.e. dynamism) and does not resolve the tension, leaving it a contradiction. –The tranquil opportunity| would have been better, by making the two an oxymoron instead of a contradiction, or how about –Tranquil dynamism||? (Reminds me of Chinese wu-wei (actionless-action)‘ (personal communication with Bruce Bennett, 2 May 2008).

## Conclusion

This historiographical survey focused only on issues which were a result of serious debate in the public domain in Botswana and in which Botswana or UB based scholars (mainly historians) participated. The participation by UB historians enhanced the historiography of Botswana in the sense that issues of national identity, tribalism, ethnicity, nationalism and patriotism have been revisited and redefined in light of issues discussed in the public domain. A recent journal article by Christian John Makgala has also traced public debates between members of the public and later UB academics in 1981 and 2002. This has been a new addition to the historiography of Botswana.<sup>161</sup>

Incidentally, it should be noted that the decline of history as a school subject in Botswana has seen the rise of cultural and developmental studies attracting history teachers and students. The rebound of cultural and developmental studies in higher education in Botswana contrasts with the growth of what is known as ‘patriotic history’ in Zimbabwe and a similar but even more rapid decline of history in South Africa.

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<sup>161</sup> Christian John Makgala, ‘Nation-Building and Debates on a ‘Perfect’ Country Name: An Appraisal of Letters to Newspapers in Botswana, 1981 and 2002’, *Botswana Notes and Records*, vol. 40 (2008), 40, pp.88-99.

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