

A chronology of major events relating to the Central Kalahari Game Reserve

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Pre 1800s: Foragers and agropastoralists occupy the Central Kalahari region.

1849: Livingstone, Oswell, and Murray cross the eastern Kalahari Desert to the Botletle River.

1877: The Dorstland Trekkers cross the Kalahari (pass NE corner of the Reserve).

1898: Founding of the Ghanzi Farms by Cecil Rhodes and company.

1905: Some Bakwena cattle herded out of the Central Reserve to the Botletle River.

1910: First effort on the part of Ghanzi farmers to request a special piece of land for the Basarwa.

1919: Flu epidemic affects the Central Kalahari.

1928: Vemay Lang Expedition traverses territory.

1928: Data from Edirilwe Seretse on the Khwee area.

1928: The Imperial Secretary Bede Clifford crosses the Central Kalahari.
Tribute collection by Bakwena from area reported.

1933: Major drought in the Central Reserve.

1930s: Abortive attempt to drill for water.

1938-40: Letlhakane agricultural scheme in the eastern Kalahari (see Silberbauer 1981a: 15-16).

1947: Major drought in the Central Kalahari.

1950-51: Smallpox epidemic wipes out whole areas.

1952: (March 17) Dibete cordon fence work begins.

1953: Recruitment of San from western Kalahari (especially Kgagadi and Kweneng Districts, some groups may have been reached as far as Tsentseng and Dutlwe).

1954: Central Ngwato Cordon Fence built (Makoba Fence).

1955: Marshall expedition (see Marshall, Thomas 1958; Marshall 1976:11).

1958: Kuke fence constructed.

1958: (September) Silberbauer starts the Bushman Survey (Silberbauer 1981a:17) (also in this

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period Tobias and Silberbauer both noted major movements of 'desert' or wild San into boreholes or farms for access to water (Silberbauer 1965:121; Tobias 1962:808, 1964:83-840.

1958-59: Nuffield-Witwatersrand University Research Expeditions to Kalahari Bushmen (Ghanzi mainly).

1960: (April) Silberbauer begins to visit the G/wi in the CK.

1961: Declaration of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

1962: Drilling of the !Xade borehole.

1963: Control of Entry regulations passed.

1964: Bechuanaland Census, part of which is devoted to the Bushmen: Campbell and Silberbauer participate (Bechuanaland Government 1964).

1965: The latter stages of the 1961-66 drought; Campbell is made drought officer, *Ipelegeng* (food for work) and drought relief feeding schemes begin. (e.g. in Ghanzi, Kweneng, Central).

1966: Botswana Independence; beginning of major move to the eastern Kalahari as boreholes increase (e.g. the drought relief borehole drilling scheme at Makoba – see Hitchcock 1978).

1967: Discovery of diamonds at Orapa.

1971: The Orapa diamond mine comes on stream (DeBeers Botswana Consolidated Pty).

1974: Arrival of ecologists Mark and Delia Owens at Deception Pan on the Central Reserve (Owens and Owens 1984).

1975: Visits to Central Reserve by members of University of New Mexico Kalahari Project research team.

1975: Declaration of the TGLP.

1976: The Murray-Sheller CKGR Reconnaissance Survey; also visits by the UNM Kalahari Project personnel.

1977-78: Foot and mouth outbreak in Ngamiland and Central Districts.

1977-78: Survey of Western Central District sandveld (see Hitchcock 1978).

1978: Basarwa at Mabesekwa and Dimotswe in the Central District urge the government to consider allocating the two new areas exclusively for them and remove the cattle posts.

1978: Government closes region for hoof and mouth disease outbreak control.

1979: Unified Hunting Regulations passed, allowing for the use of Special Game Licenses (SGLs) by hunter-gatherers, including those in the Central Kalahari.

1979: The RADP re-drills the borehole at !Xade, a new pump and trained pumper are placed there, RADA placed there.

1980: Remote Area Development team from Ghanzi District including Clausses, Mark English, Jan Xhad, and Johnnie Swartz worked in the reserve March 15-April 7, 1980) (English *et al* 1980).

1980: (December) Jiro Tanaka observed 330 people at !Xade vs 530 in 1982-83 (Tanaka *et al* 1984).

1981: Completion of Owens Study at Deception Pan (see Owens and Owens 1981, 1984).

1981: Minister of Health Mr Lemme Makgekgenene addresses RADs of East Tonota Constituency, urging them to integrate into the main stream of society in order to dismantle feudalism (July).

1981: (September) Kweneng District Council is to undertake massive campaign to improve the living conditions of RAD's.

1981: Doug and Jane Williamson begin their Kalahari ungulate study based at Deception Pan.

1981: Basarwa living in the remote areas of the Central District have applied for what they termed 'More social integration and equitable distribution of the national development projects in Botswana.'

1982: Setting up school and health post, construction completed in February 1983 (observed by Osaki, Sugawara and Tanaka 1984).

1982-83: Research in !Xade area by Tanaka, Sugawara and Osaki (1984).

1984: KCS-sponsored meetings between all government departments and non-government organisations concerned with potentially conflicting land use practices including ones in the CKGR.

1985: Two boreholes drilled and equipped in the CKGR near Deception Valley. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks commences drilling boreholes in the Central Kalahari to counter seasonal movements of wildlife out of the reserve.

1985: (June 24) KCS donates 4 vehicles to the Commissioner of Police to start an Anti-Poaching Unit (APU)

1985: CKGR Fact Finding Mission appointed (Government of Botswana 1985).

1985: (November) CKGR Fact Finding Mission presents a report to Government containing recommendations on the future of the CKGR.

1986: (July 15) Government White paper on RAD settlements in the CKGR makes it clear that the policy for the CKGR is that existing settlements should be relocated in areas outside the reserve.

1986: (October 12) Mr Moutlakgola Nwako, Minister of Commerce and Industry, announces the Botswana Government's decision to move the Basarwa community from one area to another.

1986: (December 30) The Ghanzi District Council rejects the Government's decision to move the Basarwa.

1986: The Ministry of Economic Affairs in Windhoek averts government plans to proclaim a section of Eastern Bushmanland a nature reserve, citing the situation that occurred in the case of the CKGR in Botswana.

1986: (November) DWNP approves idea of CKGR Management Plan preparation.

1987: (September) Two boreholes drilled and equipped, 5 more being drilled.

1987: Fieldwork on designing a management plan for the CKGR carried out.

1988: (January 28) Residents of Mothamelwa, Gope, and Metsiamonong reluctantly agree to move out of the reserve. Malapo residents tell the Ghanzi District Council that they would not 'give room for animals'. Borehole monitoring program begins in CKGR with Keith Lindsay working for DWNP. On February 22 Government announces P30 million plan for the construction of primary schools, clinics and other projects in remote area settlements (the ARADP). In March the Management Plan for CKGR and Khutse Game Reserve published (Kalahari Conservation Society 1988).

1988: Publication of article on the Central Kalahari Game Reserve population resettlement issue in the *Washington Post* by Blaine Harden (March 27, 1988). In May-June a visit is paid to CKGR by Ministers of Commerce and Industry and of Local Government and Lands. (May 20) Mr Peter Mmusi, Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning stresses need for regrouping of settlements. (May 26) Residents of Groote Laagte settlement in the Ghanzi District commended by Vice President Mmusi for having agreed to have permanent homes to make it easier for the Council to provide them with social services. (June 7) Cabinet Ministers of Local Government and Lands Mr P Balopi and Minister of Commerce and Industry Mr M Nwako ask RAD's to leave game reserve. (June 10) The Ministry of Local Government and Lands allocates over P1.3 million to the development of Gkhweshakini (new !Xade) settlement under the Accelerated RAD programme.

1988: (June 10) Vice president Mr P Mmusi says: 'Basarwa are entitled to demand a fair share of social services from the government like other communities.' He also states that 'They must move from a primitive way of life.'

1988: (June) Visit to Kutse Game Reserve residents by New York Times reporter Sheila Rule (see New York Times, June 20, 1988).

1988: (July) Mr J Thorsel executive officer for IUCN believes 'Traditional residents should have control over which of their people enter a reserve and the right to expel any which cut across their interests'.

1988: Government considers possibility of de-gazetting a portion of the reserve for mineral and other uses.

1988: Government lays out the conditions under which people can visit the CKGR, including (1) no taking of firearms, (2) no purchasing of animals from the Basarwa community, (3) no collecting of wild animals or plants, (4) no photography of Basarwa without their consent; (5) no stampeding of wildlife with vehicles; (6) no driving at night.

1988: (July 11): Letter by Sedia Modisa to the Private Secretary to the President in the Office of the President and a response to a letter from the O'Grogan family in British Columbia, who had written to Botswana about the situation of the Basarwa in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. The

letter stated the following: (1) the rights of Basarwa citizens are protected by the Botswana Constitution; (2) the Government of Botswana is guarantor of these rights; (3) it is not the intention of the government to usurp the right rights of its citizens; (4) the article by Harden in the *Washington Post* is 'objectionable in terms of its blatant colonialist overtones towards other cultures'; (5) a false impression is created that forcible relocation is occurring; the Government of Botswana does NOT forcibly relocate people; (6) the GOB has made and will continue to refine its plans for land use following exhaustive national consultation; these plans will include preservation of wildlife in national parks and game reserves. 'The boundaries of these parks and reserves have been agreed to by the Government of Botswana' [Note: if this is the case, why are there disputes over the boundaries of Chobe National Park near Mababe and around Makgadikgadi Game Reserve (now part of Nxai Pan National Park and Makgadikgadi Pans National Park)?]; (7) the government does not intend to provide services to settlements in the CKGR. It will not provide utilities, schools, hospitals, and feeder roads. It recommends that citizens who wish to enjoy these facilities will have to relocate. 'No one is going to relocate citizens against their will.' Discussion continued, saying that GOB drilled a borehole and established a distribution center at Made. Some Basarwa congregated at its settlement and lived there. They did so because the drought had scored their wild plants, fruits, roots and wildlife so that subsistence on a nomadic basis was more difficult. The Made community subsisted on drought relief handouts. 'The Government does not encourage this kind of subsistence, but had to offer drought relief in order to save their lives. Now that the drought has abated people are expected to resume normal lives, and those who want to follow their nomadic subsistence are free to do so. 'Unlike you, the government of Botswana does not encourage nomadic subsistence for it wants children to go to school and drink clean water and these services cannot be provided to nomads. The government's unpreparedness to provide services is not a question of money but one of the 'uncompatability' (*sic*) of large permanent settlements with wildlife preservation. (8) I have been instructed to inform you that the GOB will not forcibly evict or relocate citizens residing in the CKGR.

1988: (September) Airstrip constructed at Xaxa in the CKGR

1988: The Central Kalahari Game Reserve Management Plan mentions that traditional hunting will be allowed in the CKGR. These rights will continue AFTER the relocation of people out of the reserve. (Recommendation)

1988: The Regional Wildlife Officer, Ghanzi, sees the main factor for resource depletion in the reserve as poaching and drought. 'The RADs residing in the reserve are also causing the depletion of wildlife by hunting for commercial (purposes) and by using horses and chasing animals.' Over-allocation of boreholes for watering livestock around the area has disrupted the migration of wild animals. 'Another factor is the expansion of the RAD settlements, and RADs hunting camps within and around Khutse.'

1989: (April) Issuing of the Survival International *Urgent Action Bulletin* on the Central Kalahari

1989: (July 31) Government of Botswana officials meet with officials from Survival International in London, UK (Mrs M Nashwa, Botswana High Commissioner, Messrs Stephen Corry and Marcus Colchester, Survival International): discussion about concerns of SI and Botswana government policy concerning game reserves

1989: (Savingram from DC, Ghanzi, N Rozemeijer, for DC, Ghanzi, to PS, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 22 March, 1989): In November-December 1988 a resources survey in the southeastern portion of the CKGR by Ghanzi District Officer (Lands). Issues identified: (1) fluctuations in numbers and distribution of people (1,000-2,000 depending on the season), (2) in-

creased pressure from outside (including livestock being brought in, hunting in the CKGR, buying of meat, (3) increased numbers of services, especially around !Xade, where there is permanent water and social services, (4) medical and drought relief services at seasonal water supply places (Molapo, Metseamonong, and Menoatse) (5) at Bape, Gope, and Motlhomelwa camps (mining camps) with 'an insatiable demand for game meat and wildlife by-products' (see conflict between people and the environment, which includes tourism, mining, livestock keeping, and DWNP activities). There is strong resistance of the residents of the CKGR to move out of the reserve. One recommendation was that consolidation should occur of people from the reserve in the southeast corner of the reserve (Minister of LGLH asked the Ghanzi Council to consider this idea). The southeastern corner of the reserve is used as a hunting area by G//olo and Gculu bushman who have long used the area with Bakgalagadi and are related to people in Khudumelapye and Salajwe in Kweneng District. Residents of the CKGR are to be found in the following settlements: !Xade 600-800; Kikao and Motlhomelwa 200-250; Molapo 100-150; Menoatshe/Metseamonong 100-200 (1989 data). If the situation of Ghanzi District is taken as a standard, then 1,300 square kilometres would be sufficient for a population of 400-500 people. The report noted that people prefer "to be developed within their own environment". Since 1962, only one functional borehole in the CKGR - !Xade [Note: this is not actually the case. Prior to 1979 the !Xade borehole was operated irregularly].

1990: Continued discussion of the situation of the CKGR; tourists continue to enter the area; continued work by the DWNP at Xaxa.

1991: (February 28) Issue raised as to whether people entering the CKGR to seek the help of traditional healers and seeking traditional medicine have to pay the normal entry fee for the CKGR. 'Often they say it is their right to seek traditional medicine, and they should therefore NOT be required to pay entry fees.' (Eric Hopson, Game Warden, CKGR).

1991: A formal proposal to make the CKGR a biosphere reserve to be submitted to the Man in the Biosphere Program in 1991

1992: Airstrip construction at the Matswere borehole in the CKGR

1992: (March 16) Record of Assistant Minister Hon B Mokgothu's address to the Gantsi District Council. Decision was made to require people to resettle at !Xade. Some individuals were apparently opposed to the relocation programme, but government wished that all residents would comply with the request to resettle at !Xade. The speech also indicated that efforts to find potable water along the Okwa Valley were negative. Residents asked to be given land stretching 30 km east of !Xade as conditions for accepting to resettle at !Xade. "On economic incentives to support the relocation program the Assistant Minister informed the councillors that the DWNP would develop programs to involve CKGR residents in realising tangible benefits from the natural resources of the Game Reserve. These programmes would (be) in line with government policy not (to) involve using any ethnic group as tourist objects." The Assistant Minister requested the Council to provide quantified data on the residents of the CKGR and also inform those presently residing away from !Xade of the decision to resettle all CKGR residents at !Xade. Land Board secretariat was requested to ensure that the emigrants to !Xade are allocated plots on which to build their new homes. CKGR covers 44% of the Ghanzi District. MLGLH and DWNP consensus to resettle all CKGR residents was received positively. (Notes by S Modise, 18 February, 1992)

1992: Information on DWNP indicates that the department has never been consulted by MLGL and it has never agreed to the resettling of all the residents at !Xade. To the contrary, the Ministry did not commit !Xade as a permanent settlement for all residents. They are opposed to the allocation of land stretching 30 km east of !Xade, as it would lead to *de facto* recognition that this area

could be used for full scale village development. This would increase livestock and wildlife conflicts, and such a development could seriously threaten the wildebeest drought migration from Matlhoaphuduhudu and the northeastern part of the CKGR (use Okhwa Valley as a main funnel). This would harm the Department's Wildlife Conservation Policy (GOB 1986) to restore this wildlife population so that it becomes a viable base for community wildlife programs. 5. 'The CKGR/RAD issue is a very, very sensitive one in the international forum. A major thrust of the environmental campaign against Botswana is that cattle will cause the demise of wildlife.' The perception of the MLGL decision will be that an area of CKGR will in reality be given to cattle farmers, thus confirming that even a gazetted game reserve is not very safe. This perception will be fuelled by articles as in the *Daily News* which quotes as follows: 'He said currently arrangements are being made at the GR to seek more water for the new inhabitants and their cattle, which would be given to farmers under the cattle scheme. . . . It has taken much effort and money by the Botswana government to roll back the environmental antagonists. This has partly been achieved because we have been able to demonstrate that the consequences to wildlife have been considered, and wildlife will not be harmed (as can be seen, for example, in the case of the buffalo fence).'

1992: (March 6) Letter from PS, MLGL to Director, DWNP: 'The remote area dwellers who reside within the CKGR have agreed to be resettled at !Xade in the Gantsi District.'

1992: *Botswana Daily News*, March 18, p.5) "!'Xade Now Permanent Settlement". Government has now decided to recognize !Xade as a permanent settlement

1992: (March 20) Calls issued for exclusive safari camp proposals in CKGR [Note: this places tourism above the needs of CKGR residents].

1992: (March 25) MCI's strategy did not propose resettlement of all CKGR residents at !Xade (PS, P L Mokone)

1992: (*Botswana Daily News*, April 27) "Ghanzi District Forms Seven-Person Task Force". This task force is going around the CKGR advising people of the need to resettle, and looking at logistical issues of relocation of RADS at !Xade, no major developments have taken place since 1986 at !Xade after the government decided to move the residents outside the game reserve. 'The settlement has 460 temporary destitutes as a result of a freeze on development projects, but there are hopes that the situation would improve with the coming of more people into the area.'

1992: (May 5) Report of the tour of the CKGR, Savingram by A B Modo, Principal Game Warden, Gantsi, WP/NAT 2/2 1 (267). The people were told that !Xade was declared a village 'He told the gathering that all settlements within the GR shall move to !Xade and they should be humble minded and receive them with a pensive mood. The !Xade residents were perturbed by this great news and received the message with an alarming applause, they thought Heaven was open for them. Visited also Modhomele, Kokao, Gugama, Gope, Molapo and Xaka settlement there are different. Among the settlements as far as the eviction is concerned Kikao and Gope agree to quit the reserve and prefer to move to Kweneng and Central Districts respectively. The other settlements were totally reluctant to move. At Molapo, for instance, the issue of eviction heated up in such a way that they became obstinate, argumentative and finally obstreperous; they indicated that even the barrel of a gun will not make them move from the land of their ancestors. Council is supplying all the other settlements with water, food and medical aid by vehicles except for !Xade. For those reluctant to move, they were told they would be denied all aids provided to them by Council and further to that the Wildlife Officers will stop all special Game Licenses with the Game Reserve legislation timidly enforced. 'At Xaka the Council Chairman strongly criticized the residents for reacting in such a bad manner and warned them to quit the place before they sustain any embarrassment at any moment when the DVW closes the borehole.'

1992: DWNP policy is to encourage people to move voluntarily to New !Xade outside the CKGR and to keep all livestock outside the CKGR

1992 letter: Africa Evangelical Church Botswana was granted a plot in !Xade Settlement in 1984. Began to develop it but then were told to stop until a decision was made on the future of !Xade.

1992: 'In 1991 the Gantsi District Council passed the following resolution: (1) that !Xade be declared a permanent settlement, (2) that a 30 km zone should be created around !Xade, (3) all residents of the CKGR should be resettled at !Xade. This was not necessarily agreed upon by DWNP and MLGL in 1992. Creating one permanent settlement would have the advantage of consolidating the provision of social services by Council. But these services themselves do not create income and employment. Simply withdrawing facilities such as the provision of water could be misread as coercion. These issues led to an agreement in June 1992 that the two ministries would be wise to combine a team of people to go and develop a strategy that could be implemented while keeping a balance between the need to provide the opportunity of choice to the residents without impairing the wildlife resource and the ecological integrity of the CKGR. Another aspect to be kept in mind is that there are international interest groups watching closely to see how these issues are resolved. If the right decisions are not made, then either the human rights groups or the animal welfare groups will use the opportunity to attack Botswana. Lack of an EIA in the area excised will lose credibility for Botswana in regard to the NCS as well as feed the lobby who believe livestock will oust wildlife and their protected areas. There is obviously a need to chart the best strategy. It has already taken too long. Recommendations: (1) solutions have to be phased, (2) forcing or holding CKGR residents to ransom is not acceptable, (3) economic opportunities through wildlife will be located across the CKGR, (4) there are limits to human developments in the CKGR, (5) the location of economic opportunities need not be confined to Gantsi District.

1992: (July 10) The status of settlements in the CKGR (Savingsgram from Embassy of Botswana, Brussels to PS, MLGLH and PS, MCI, 10 July 1992). The savingsgram takes note of the current campaign directed at Botswana. 'Up to now, groups which campaign on behalf of Basarwa and those interested in wildlife and the Okavango Delta have worked closely together. This was because the latter were made to believe that Basarwa would remain largely nomadic and that therefore their presence in the game reserves would have no impact on game resources. If it is correct that government's decision would allow the introduction of cattle farming, we will soon be dealing with two unsatisfied groups. Those groups interested in the welfare of Basarwa will see government's decision as further marginalisation of the Basarwa, and those interested in wildlife will consider the decision as lack of concern on the Govt's part for the welfare of wildlife. It will be noted that the latter groups do not only want permanent settlements removed from the game reserves but also some villages along the Boteti River which they consider as being on the migration routes of wildlife. The Mission is of the opinion that while the reasons behind the Government's decision are appreciated, internationally the decision may prove to be costly.

1992: (July 16 data): Metseamonong, Molapo, and Mothomela have a total population of 900 people according to the last census. We believe (at MLGLI4) that schools and clinic services for these residents at !Xade provide a reasonable alternative, since we do not believe that the services should be provided in the CKGR (Note: MLGL and DWNP working somewhat at cross-purposes on these issues, MLGLH was the one to push for relocation to !Xade, and for allocating extra land to !Xade, DWNP much more cautious on this issue.)

1992: (November 12) Issue: farming close to a game reserve. Borehole in Central District 100 metres from the boundary, poses a problem of 'incompatibility of land uses' according to DWNP: (1) grazing into the reserve by cattle, and (2) destruction of livestock by predators. The depart-

ment would not allow him to hunt any predator that may have destroyed his stock, and he cannot keep the trophy.

1992: Afro Ventures markets the CKGR and provides a fairly good percentage of the park fees generated for this area. They want a tented camp in the Passarge Piper Pans or Deception area

1992: (November 23-28) Minutes of a five-day seminar held in !Xade. The DC said that 'Basarwa are reluctant to unite with other people.' He said this hinders development as (these) people can't work alone compared to those early years whereby they lived as gatherers. These days it is difficult for them to live as gatherers because of drought. He said further that residents 'do not attend meetings.' Another problem he was aware of was lack of cooperation between the police officers and wildlife officers with the residents of the CKGR. He said the residents do not come when there are meetings but later claim to be oppressed because they will not be aware of the acts concerning wildlife.

1992: Quote on SGL data: The Director of Management and Utilization told them about different licenses issued within the DWNP and emphasised that these are given to different people, e.g. special game license which is given to Basarwa who are not working but depend on game meat. The license contains so many animal species to enable the user to hunt easily within his location. The license's purpose is not extinction of animal species. The license tends to give problems as the people who use it tend to misuse it. He said they give it to people who are not supposed to use it to hunt for them and later share meat with them.

1993: (January 12) Fencing of NE boundary of CKGR, 57 km fence, have only done 4 km since September 1992. Elephant spoor seen in the CKGR between Deception and Piper Pans this year. Construction of 15 medium cost houses for staff at !Xade and Matswere, including offices at !Xade and Matswere and a gate house at Matswere brick moulding project in !Xade and Matswere done.

1993: (CKGR Hunting) Hunting with rifles is not allowed, have to use spears and bows and arrows; younger people do not use bows and arrows. Sometimes it takes a month to make a kill. We have to get a permit and it often expires before we are able to kill one animal.

1993: !Xade Issue. Briefing notes: MCI circular of 1986. Between 1986 and 1990, the District Planning officers liaised with the !Xade settlement in particular on possible alternative locations. MLGL also worked on reshaping of the RADO to see what economic incentives could be developed to facilitate the RADO ability to have a wider choice of opportunity. Evaluation of the existing program highlighted the provision of social facilities (not sufficient in and of themselves).

1993: (March 10) Minutes of the meeting of the Working Group on the CKGR, held on 10 March.

1993 in DTRP conference room, Gaborone: The DWNP is not pushing for relocation of people out of the CKGR what they want relates to income generation for the people which is that those people who remain in the GR should benefit from activities of wildlife utilization in relation to the objectives of having the reserve. Those interested in livestock and agricultural activities should do so outside the CKGR.

1993: Working Plan for the Management of the CKGR, included recommendations on employment such as trackers, tourist escorts, labourers, camp keepers, income generated activities, should all be promoted in the CKGR.

1993: (April 7) Meeting on the CKGR. DWNP noted that people were not to be forced to move to !Xade, they had the right to move to other districts (e.g. to Salajwe in Kweneng). Warning that

they should be careful not to mix groups or there would be tribal conflicts as occurred at Bere.

1993: Gomme from Nxai Nxai was killed when a government car turned over (he was a leader and one of the founding members of Kgeikani Kweni, First People of the Kalahari).

1993: (March) There are 12 boreholes in the CKGR and 8 are in good condition.

1993: (mid-August) Report that 40-year-old hunter Gaolikwe of !Xade died from injuries inflicted upon him by officers from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. The case had not come to court by April 1994.

1993: (October 11-13) Second Annual San Conference held in Gaborone, Botswana, attended by Basarwa from many parts of Botswana as well as ones from Namibia and South Africa; at the conference, charges were made by Basarwa of people being abused by officers from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

1993: (late in year) Alleged rape of five underaged Basarwa women from Kuke by white farmers from Gantsi.

1994: Seismic surveys were done in CKGR in 1994; prospecting license issued in northern part of CKGR to Kalahari Exploration (Pty) Ltd.

1994: Tourist statistics (letter, January, 1995) citizens 10 people 4 days, 32 Pula collected residents 7 people 4 days 288 non-residents 5 people, 5 days, P676 collected April is usually the highest (189 people total number of tourists from January 1994 to December 1994 is 838 tourists. Total fees collected is P73 359.00.

1994: Total rainfall in 1994 was 561 mm.

1994: Groundwater Recharge and Evaluation Studies (GRES) Phase 11, carried out in CKGR

1994: (March) 60(?) people from !Xade were involved in a serious car accident, riding a truck to Kuke. Five people were killed and several others were injured severely.

1994: (early April) Saikuta from !Xade, one of the founding persons of the organization Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari) died suddenly.

1995: (January) Staff of DWNP: !Xade has 1 game scout, 3 game attendants, 2 camp keepers, Matswere has 1 game warden, 4 game scouts, 4 gate attendants, 4 camp keepers, 3 plant operators, 2 builders, 1 TSP and 1 borehole mechanic. 9 boreholes are operating currently in the CKGR.

1995: (August 1) De Beers prospecting operations in the Gope area being done

1995: Research done by Kgeikanai Kweni (First People of the Kalahari) and Paul Sheller of Aodi on place names and land and resource rights at Molapo in the eastern part of the CKGR, reported on by John Hardbatt at the Workshop on Basarwa Research in Botswana, Gaborone, August 24-25, 1995.

1995: (October) Information received by Ditshwanelo that the Botswana Defense Force was involved in anti-poaching operations at Molapo and elsewhere in the CKGR (see Ditshwanelo 1996:3)

1995: (November) Discussions of CKGR and other Basarwa-related issues in the United States by John Hardbatt of Kgeikani Kweni, sponsored by the First Nations Development Institute.

1996: (January) Interest expressed in the current situation in the CKGR by Cable News Network (CNN) and Dateline NBC American news networks based on the press conferences of John Hardbattle.

1996: (February 5-6) Meetings held in Ghanzi with the Ghanzi District Council and the Ghanzi Land Board with central government officials attending to discuss the decision that residents of the CKGR be 'regrouped and new alternative settlements be established outside the CKGR.'

1996: (February 7) Kgotla meeting held at !Xade in the CKGR concerning the future of the residents of the CKGR, with Hon. Ministers Balopi, Kgoroba and Mokgothu addressing the meeting; there are mixed reports about the results of the meeting, with some saying that people spoke out against the proposed move outside of the reserve, and the government saying that the majority of the people who spoke were in favour of settling outside the reserve; the government said that the general consensus of the people of Xade was to move (see 'Ministry Clarifies Xade Issue', *Daily News*, February 14).

1996: (February 9) *Radio Botswana* reports that the majority of the residents of !Xade refused to move to new settlements outside of the reserve.

1996: (February 14) Representatives of communities in the CKGR visited the proposed site of New !Xade in the Ghanzi District.

1996: (March 17-April 3) John Hardbattle and Roy Sesana of Kgeikani Kweni and Rebecca Adamson of the First Nations Development Institute participate in the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) meetings in Geneva, Switzerland.

1996: (April 4) Press Conference in London with John Hardbattle and Roy Sesana, followed by meetings with Prince Charles and Laurens van der Post.

1996: (April 10-14) Fact-finding mission of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve by Ditshwanelo (the Botswana Centre for Human Rights), which concluded that the majority of the residents of the CKGR did not wish to be resettled.

1996: (April 28) Lucia van der Post wrote an article entitled 'Who Will Guard the Land When We Are Gone?' that was published in the *Financial Times* on 28 April, 1996.

1996: (May 17) Lady Chalker, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, told the *Daily Telegraph* that she had 'been reliably informed by the Botswana government that those people who wished to remain in the reserve could do so.' But peers in the House of Lords urged that the British government formally protest Botswana's plans and that the government should send an emissary to Botswana to investigate whether the Botswana Government or the San were telling the truth

1996: (May) John Hardbattle and Roy Sesana of First People of the Kalahari met with President Ketumile Masire in May 1996 in Washington, D.C. A request was made by FPK that Botswana agree to support the proposed Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, something that the President would not agree to.

1996: (June 2-9) visit by Russel Barsh of the Four Directions Council and the University of Lethbridge to Botswana to meet with John Hardbattle and other members of First People of the Kalahari and with attorney Rahim Khan to discuss possible legal strategies for defense of Khwe rights in the CKGR. The trip included a visit to Made and other settlements in the CKGR (June 7-8, 1996). The trip was sponsored by First Nations Development Institute (FNDI)

1997: (March) The Minister of Local Government, Lands, and Housing requested that the Botswana Parliament approve a vote of 6,000,000 Pula to help develop the settlements of New Xade in Ghanzi District and Kauduane in Kweneng District where the residents of the CKGR and Khutse would be resettled

1997: (May) The government began resettling the residents of Made in the CKGR to a settlement known as New !Xade in Ghanzi District, 68 km west of their former home. Approximately 485 people moved out of !Xade. There were 300 residential plots reportedly demarcated at New !Xade, and about 60 of them had been allocated as of May 20, 1997. There were supposed to be temporary classrooms established at New !Xade for the 105 pupils whose parents indicated that they wanted to move to the new settlement. There was no borehole at the site. The resettlement operation included the trucking of people and their belongings to the new site. Compensation payments were made in cash to move who were moved, which, according to the Ghanzi District Commissioner, Geoffrey Serebelo, ranged from P300 to P24,000. People at the new settlement complained that there were few wild fruits to exploit in the area (see Moreri Moesi, "!Xade Residents Begin to Move Out of Game Reserve," *Daily News*, May 20, 1997, p.3)

1997: (May) A meeting was held at Ghanzi by various San NGOs and support groups to consider actions to be taken regarding the resettlement of people out of the CKGR

1997: (May 29) San non-government organizations sent representatives to visit New !Xade to assess the situation. It was reported that people were living in an area with no trees, little, if any, wild resources, and most of the social services that had been promised by the government were not in place. Some 300 people in small, scattered villages were reportedly still in the central Kalahari.

1997: (June) The Botswana Council of Non-Government Organizations (BOCONGO) issued a report critical of the way in which the CKGR resettlement issue was being handled. As the BOCONGO report states, 'The removal of these Basarwa communities is aimed at paving the way for the development of tourist resorts inside the game reserve.' BOCONGO went on to describe what it saw as inadequate consultation and that there were concerns among the affected communities that 'people do not really understand why they should be resettled and what the implications of the resettlement will be'. In addition, it was noted in the BOCONGO report that the graves of people's forefathers, which have some spiritual relevance to their livelihoods, are being ignored and not considered as part of the compensation process. It concluded that Basarwa have been denied their democratic right of free choice. (See 'Basarwa Resettlement Criticized', *Mmegi*, vol. 14, no. 22, p. 1, June 6-12, 1997)

1997: (June) A Negotiating Team for the Central Kalahari Game Reserve was established which included two representatives from each of the villages in the reserve along with representatives of San organizations (First Peoples of the Kalahari) and Ditshwanelo (the Botswana Centre for Human Rights).

1997: (July) Fact-finding mission of ambassadors to the CKGR, including ones from the United States, Great Britain and Sweden, along with Botswana government officials. They visited the settlement of !Xade which is scheduled to be resettled.

1997: (July 8) A letter was sent by the Negotiating Team of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve to the Ministry of Local Government, Lands, and Housing which requested a meeting with the President of Botswana

1997: (August 21) DeBeers and Anglo-American mining interests are engaged in mining operations in the southeastern portion of the CKGR. DeBeers claimed that it was not involved in any

way in the forced resettlement of the people of Xade and that indeed, it was not aware of the resettlement (in spite of the press coverage of the issue). There were claims by some San NGOs and lawyers that the removals were done in such a way as to ensure that the reserve residents had no claims to the reserve's mineral wealth (*The Sunday Independent*, August 31, 1997).

1997: (October) A reporter who visited the Central Kalahari Game Reserve noticed people scurrying away when they saw the vehicles in which his party was travelling because of fear that they would be taken away from their homes. People at Mothomane said that the mobile clinics used to come every month, but that they had not been there for three months. In Gugama the water had dried up and people were thirsty; there were reports that government officers had been there recently with a water tank but had 'opened the tank and let the water run into the ground,' saying 'we should move out of the reserve because it is for animals'. As the reporter departed he could see the white government trucks outside Mothomela where government officials were preparing to evacuate the residents of the village (See Outsa Mkone, 'Basarwa Lose Removal Battle', *The Botswana Gazette*, October 29, 1997, p.8)

1997: (October 29) Roy Sesana of First People of the Kalahari told a reporter that he turned down a proposal to stand for district councillor because he wanted to dedicate his life to defending the Basarwa culture. The new settlements of New !Xade and Kauduane are 'flush with money', but the settlements have 'become a breeding ground of violence and alcoholism', according to Agreement Tamohla of BOCONGO. There were also fights over leadership in both New !Xade and Kauduane and reportedly 'traditional leadership structures have broken down'. In addition, the relocation of CKGR residents is also 'breaking down Basarwa traditional clans' and kinship units are being divided (see Outsa Mokone, 'Displaced Basarwa at Odds with Each Other in Strange Lands', *The Botswana Gazette*, October 29, 1997).

1997: (September 3) Some of the Basarwa who were resettled at New !Xade complained that they had not been paid the compensation that was promised them by the Botswana government. There were also statements by Basarwa to the effect that people longed to return to their old homes where the graves of their ancestors are in the Central Kalahari. (See Judith Matloff, 'Rootless in the Kalahari', *Christian Science Monitor*, September 3, 1997, pp.10-11).

1998: (February) Communique released by the Negotiating Team of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve based on a meeting held on 11-13 February 1998 at D'Kar, Ghanzi District, Botswana. This meeting consisted of the Negotiating Team, FPK, Kuru Development Trust, Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), Ditshwanelo, and the Botswana Christian Council (BCC). The meeting reiterated its request for a meeting with the President and also said that if the Botswana government continued to refuse to negotiate, that the Negotiating Team would support direct action by residents of the CKGR to secure rights to their land.

1998: (March 23) Planning meeting held at the Ditshwanelo offices in Gaborone which was attended by members of the Negotiating Team.

1998: (March 24) Meeting held between the Negotiating Team of the CKGR with out-going President Sir Ketumile Masire concerning the Central Kalahari Game Reserve issue.