INITIATIVES IN STRATEGIC STUDIES: ISSUES AND POLICIES

THE BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR AN AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT

DAN HENK

The Botswana Defense Force in the Struggle for an African Environment

Initiatives in Strategic Studies: Issues and Policies

James J. Wirtz
General Editor

Jeffrey A. Larsen
T.V. Paul
Brad Roberts
James M. Smith
Series Editors

INITIATIVES IN STRATEGIC STUDIES provides a bridge between the use of force or diplomacy and the achievement of political objectives. This series focuses on the topical and timeless issues relating to strategy, including the nexus of political, diplomatic, psychological, economic, cultural, historic and military affairs. It provides a link between the scholarly and policy communities by serving as the recognized forum for conceptually sophisticated analyses of timely and important strategic issues.

Nuclear Transformation: The New U.S. Nuclear Doctrine
Edited by James J. Wirtz and Jeffrey A. Larsen

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East: Directions and Policy Options in the New Century
Edited by James A. Russell

The Last Battle of the Cold War: The Deployment and Negotiated Elimination of Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces in Europe
Maynard W. Glitman

Critical Issues Facing the Middle East: Security, Politics and Economics
Edited by James A. Russell

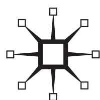
Militarization and War
Julian Schofield

Global Politics of Defense Reform
Edited by Thomas Bruneau and Harold Trinkunas

The Botswana Defense Force in the Struggle for an African Environment

Dan Henk

palgrave
macmillan



THE BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR AN AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT

Copyright © Dan Henk, 2007.
All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews.

First published in 2007 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN™
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 and
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England RG21 6XS.
Companies and representatives throughout the world.

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN-13: 978-0-230-60218-2
ISBN-10: 0-230960218-5

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Scribe Inc.

First edition: January 2008

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

Contents

List of Figures vii
Preface ix
Introduction 1
1 A Context for Biodiversity in Botswana 9
2 The Botswana Defense Force 31
3 Military Antipoaching in Botswana 49
4 Organizational Culture and Antipoaching Success 71
5 Government, Military, Society, and Antipoaching in Botswana 87
6 The Face of Environmental Security in Botswana 109
7 Lessons from Botswana 131
Notes 153
Bibliography 199
Index 221

This page intentionally left blank

List of Figures

Figure 1. Country map, Republic of Botswana, 2007 viii
Figure 2. Botswana's national parks and wildlife conservancies 19
Figure 3. Southern Africa in the 1970s 34
Figure 4. Botswana Defense Force garrison locations, 2007 45
Figure 5. The antipoaching operational area in northern Botswana 51
Figure 6. Botswana Defense Force antipoaching deployments in 2007 56
Figure 7. Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) transfrontier conservation areas, current and proposed 127

Figure 1. Country map, Republic of Botswana, 2007

Preface

Every author has a purpose and every book has an aim. This author has two: first, to tell an interesting story; and second, to offer an example for emulation. This book is about an African success. It is a narrative of accomplishment that speaks well for a government and an army on a continent where both are widely held in disrepute, demonstrating that Africans are contributing meaningfully to emerging global thinking on security. Some of that thinking involves the environment. These points are illustrated in the experience of one African country that for two decades has employed its capable, professional armed forces to secure its wildlife resources.

The information in this book is drawn from many sources. Some comes from the author's own observations in fifteen years of close contact with events in Botswana, first as a military attaché accredited to the country in the early 1990s and then in regular visits on a variety of security-related projects. Much of the data is derived from the author's interviews of individuals in Botswana between 2004 and 2006, including local scholars, government officials, private citizens, foreign diplomats, members of nongovernmental organizations, and individual members of Botswana's tourism and hunting industries. A substantial number of the people interviewed for this book were present or past members of the Botswana Defense Force, including its commander at the time, Lieutenant General Louis Matshwenyego Fisher, who greatly facilitated the research by granting open access to his subordinates and making them available for interviews.

Despite the support and openness of Botswana's senior military leadership, capturing the relevant details of the Defense Force's history proved a demanding task. The country's military history is short, its Defense Force having been founded in 1977. It might seem simple enough to reconstruct its brief past. And members of the military were eager to tell their individual stories, taking obvious pride in their service to the nation. But the Defense Force has never described its own evolution in any comprehensive medium available to the public. Uncovering

historical detail required the memories of many individuals, and these varied significantly on many points.

The difficulty in reconstructing Botswana's military history was compounded by two interesting tendencies among its citizens. The first was an inclination to regard all security-related issues as sensitive and beyond the realm of public discourse. In its first forty years of independence, Botswana's attentive public rarely debated security-related topics. Otherwise well-informed citizens were surprisingly uninformed about their own military and somewhat fearful of sharing opinions on security issues. A second obstacle to research was a pronounced hesitation among Botswana's citizens to offer points of view that they considered pejorative. Of course this was not true of everyone in the country. Some citizens were sharply critical of issues, individuals, and organizations. Others may have feared repercussions for their candor. But the author had the strong impression that the widespread aversion to criticism was related to local norms of good manners and personal modesty. Uncovering the story required a research approach that probed deeply, sought out the dark cloud behind the silver linings, and carefully compared the data from multiple sources. To reconstruct the origins and development of the Defense Force, and even to analyze government choices about the use of the military in antipoaching operations, the author was obliged to "connect dots" and make educated guesses about processes and dynamics.

The peculiarities of local political and cultural dynamics in Botswana may have posed a few obstacles to research, but these were far from daunting. Government workers, military officials, and private citizens were unfailingly gracious, even if some endeavored to avoid the author's questions. Many were sympathetic to the research. Most officials were articulate and apparently candid. The author found capable scholars both in the University of Botswana and in the local civil society who proved to be good sources of credible information. Nor did the physical environment impede the research. Botswana was a pleasant place to live and work. Infrastructure throughout the country was good, facilitating access to people and institutions.

Some individuals contributed so substantially that their assistance should be acknowledged here. The author is profoundly grateful to members of the Botswana Defense Force who offered information and encouragement. In addition to the Defense Force commander and many others who will remain unnamed, these included Brigadier E. B. Rakgole, Brigadier Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo, Colonel Gaolathe Galebotswe, Major Molefi Seikano, Major T. S. Makolo, Major Morogosi Baatweng,

and Major Max Nkgapha. Members of Botswana's environmentalist community generously assisted the research, including Sedia C. Modise, former director of the Department of National Parks and Wildlife and now a local coordinator for the Peace Parks Foundation; Felix Monggae, the chief executive officer of the Kalahari Conservation Society; and Masego Madzwamuse, country program coordinator for the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). Larry Patterson, a Gaborone-based veterinarian, wildlife specialist, and consultant, shared repeatedly from his long association with wildlife management in various African countries. Faculty and students at the University of Botswana offered information and perspective. Of these, Professors Ken Good and Shelley Whitman were particularly helpful. Current and former members of the official U.S. community in Botswana assisted the study in multiple ways. Dr. Judy Butterman, an Africanist scholar with a long experience on the continent who was the political and economic affairs officer at the U.S. embassy in Gaborone at the time, was particularly generous. Ingrid M. Otukile, the embassy's regional environmental assistant, also shared expertise. Ambassador David Passage had been an inspiring U.S. envoy to Botswana in the early 1990s and proved to be a particularly generous contributor to this study.

Several individuals assisted in other ways. Ken Good, David Passage, Larry Patterson, and Anthony Turton (of South Africa's Envirotek) read early versions of the manuscript, suggesting improvements and clarifications. Helpful reviews also were offered by Allison Faupel of Emory University, Steven Hearne of the Army Environmental Policy Institute, Jim Wirtz of the Naval Postgraduate School, Doug Lathrop of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, John Ackerman of the U.S. Air Command and Staff College, along with Amit Gupta, Ed Burkhard, Jim Lackey, Marcia Ledlow, and Carol Rattan at the U.S. Air War College. Officers of the Botswana Defense Force who offered valuable critiques included Colonels Odirile Mashinyana and Barobi Mosugelo. Daniel M. Armstrong of the Air University Press and Jack Durham of J. Durham Design drew the maps.

Overseas research is an expensive proposition. This study would not have been possible without the funding of the Institute for National Security Studies (U.S. Air Force Academy), the U.S. Army Environmental Policy Institute, and the Air University Foundation. These organizations asked only that the story be told accurately. Inaccuracies and faulty analysis are, of course, solely the responsibility of the author.

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

It was a hot, dry, early summer day in northern Botswana, weeks before the onset of the rains. The miombo woodland was desiccated and brown, the earth alternately baked hard and layered in dust. The Botswana Defence Force was conducting routine antipoaching patrols along the country's northeastern border, and Lieutenant T. S. Makolo was patrolling with his six-man commando team south of the Linyati River in the Chobe National Park. At approximately nine o'clock in the morning, Makolo's patrol picked up the spoor of three poachers. Guided by its "Bushman" tracker, the patrol carefully followed the poachers through the dry bush, hour by patient hour into the early afternoon. Suddenly, a small figure dropped from a treetop observation post and opened fire with an automatic rifle. Poachers resting in a nearby hideout scattered in all directions. The lieutenant quickly deployed his troops, returned fire, and swept through the poachers' camp. When the shooting stopped, three poachers lay dead, including the lookout. Without pausing, the patrol initiated a relentless chase of the fleeing poachers, four of whom managed to escape across the border into neighboring Namibia, barely ahead of their pursuers. Later, inspecting the abandoned poaching camp, Makolo and his men found two weapons: the dead sentry's Kalashnikov assault rifle and a bolt-action hunting weapon. They also found the tusks of two elephants along with game meat being cooked for an evening meal. Other abandoned items pointed to the poachers' origin in the country of Zambia.[1]

Lieutenant Makolo's encounter with the poachers occurred in October 1993. By that date, Botswana's military had been protecting the country's wildlife for six years, killing or capturing dozens of poachers and conducting its antipoaching role with commendable proficiency. When the Defence Force commenced that mission in late 1987, armed gangs from

neighboring countries were menacing Botswana's elephant herds and were threatening a growing tourist industry. However, two years later, the intervention had proven an unqualified success. Poaching no longer endangered any species and foreign tourists were flocking to Botswana's game parks. More importantly, suppression of the commercial poaching had become an enduring achievement by an African army on a continent where military competence in any role is all too rare.

Since the 1980s, Botswana has been widely touted as an African "miracle"—a tribute to the continent's political stability and economic performance. In contrast, militaries in Africa rarely get good press. A reader unfamiliar with regional affairs might well wonder what a story about an African army can possibly offer the rest of the human family. Even if they afford an inspiring tale, Botswana's military activities and its antipoaching success are remote from the common concerns of the developed world. Prospective readers probably will wonder how typical an African nation Botswana could actually be, and whether or not its experience is germane elsewhere. To be widely meaningful, this book must lay claim to a story with significance beyond the borders of one obscure country, and at the same time, it must explain why one small African army succeeded in an endeavor of surpassing significance where others failed. So to begin, a bit of context is useful.

Botswana is a landlocked, subtropical, and semiarid country in southern Africa with a land area roughly the size of the U.S. state of Texas or a bit larger than the country of France. It shares borders with four other African states. Despite its relatively large size, it has one of the lowest population densities on the African continent. Almost three quarters of its land falls within the dry expanses of the Kalahari Desert, and large portions of the country are very sparsely populated. Most of the Botswana's 1.7 million people live along a narrow corridor of better-watered land in the east, a settlement pattern evident in the string of towns along the eastern border.[2]

Botswana might not have a large or dense human population, but it does have a remarkable quantity and diversity of wildlife. In fact, it has been characterized as one of the earth's most prolific wildlife regions. Its natural environment draws tourists and scientists from all over the world to marvel at a natural habitat that is almost stereotypically bountiful and exotic. The country also is relatively unique in Africa for a political vision that accommodates local demands for economic opportunity by harnessing rather than destroying its biodiversity resources. Unlike many other African countries, Botswana has a conservationist ethic embedded

in public doctrine and reflected in published plans for its future. Still, the government's policies suggest a greater unanimity on environmental issues than actually is the case, and the notable success of Botswana's military antipoaching operations is all the more remarkable for the fragility of the national consensus on conservation.

The richness of the African natural environment is a common stereotype, surfacing regularly in contemporary Western art, literature, and other entertainment media. It catches the imagination of people in all walks of life. Significantly, when U.S. presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush visited Africa in 1998 and 2003 respectively, each made time to admire Botswana's spectacular wildlife. Unfortunately, the opulence of the continent's biodiversity cannot be taken for granted. It has diminished dramatically since the mid-twentieth century, a time when Africa still had extensive herds of large wild animals. These simply vanished over the course of one generation. By the early years of the twenty-first century, a priceless human heritage had largely disappeared, victim to human population increases, injudicious destruction of habitats, predatory harvesting, war, and natural disasters. The continent's remaining large animals were now concentrated in the restricted spaces of national parks and game conservancies, where officials and environmentalists waged a desperate and often losing struggle to safeguard them. Few African states had the resources for elaborate conservation programs; hardly any had politically prominent environmentalist constituencies, and only a handful could muster the political will to emphasize wildlife in national planning.[3]

There were some bright spots in this otherwise dismal picture. Protecting biodiversity is a difficult proposition for almost any developing nation, but some African countries had been much more successful at it than others. By 2007, Africa's external partners had been very active—and surprisingly successful—in some environmentally stressed regions such as the Congo River Basin. A number of noteworthy conservation initiatives had gained traction in southern Africa, where a small but significant community of conservationists applied innovative thinking to the region's environmental dilemmas.[4] Even here, Botswana stood out as a state willing to categorize the security of its wildlife as an important national interest.

The story of military antipoaching in Botswana is the account of a government seeking to safeguard its resources and its population from vicious assault. It starts in the 1970s and 1980s, when the young nation faced a variety of external threats, many rooted in the violent decolonization of

the southern African region.[5] Armed groups from neighboring states regularly violated Botswana's borders, seeking sanctuary, targeting opponents, or simply stealing from the population. Continuing instability and flows of small arms plagued the entire region. These years also saw a dramatic increase in organized poaching. International criminal syndicates took advantage of the regional insecurity to poach elephant ivory and rhino horn. By the mid-1980s, Africa's elephants and rhinos were severely threatened. Rhinos faced the stark prospect of extinction altogether.[6]

Poaching was economically lucrative. Networks of criminals with links to the Persian Gulf and Far East sponsored much of the slaughter.[7] They could draw on a vast regional population of unemployed young men, many of whom had military experience and constituted a ready source of labor. Criminal syndicates thus had ready access to large numbers of disposable employees to do their most dangerous work, and they could equip them with impressive firepower. The resulting gangs had few moral scruples. They were not at all reluctant to assassinate opponents, intimidate vulnerable local villagers, or bribe poorly paid state agents. They responded flexibly to market and law enforcement pressures, changing their form, shifting their operations across borders, and appearing or disappearing seemingly at will. The commercial poaching syndicates relied on links of family and ethnicity to facilitate their transactions and shield them from penetration by law enforcement agents. Some had high-ranking government officials on their payrolls. They were patient and persistent and could easily outwait (and usually outwit) the sporadic responses of their African public-sector opponents.[8]

Botswana's wildlife—particularly its elephants and rhinos—was profoundly threatened by these events, and in 1987, the country elected to commit its military to secure its wildlife. Yet that decision was by no means foreordained by the circumstances it faced. Botswana's choice was fraught at the beginning with the real possibility of failure. At the time, its small Defence Force was a mere decade old. Antipoaching was a role for which it had neither been created nor trained. Nor was it inevitable that this small army would succeed in halting the poaching. The handful of countries in Africa that previously had tried to halt poaching with military force had seen virtually no success. For that matter, few African countries displayed Botswana's interest in safeguarding biodiversity, and even in Botswana, other priorities of national development were significantly at odds with wildlife conservation. In 1987, Botswana's small army still confronted the military forces of belligerent neighbors.

Saddling the Defence Force with additional missions like antipoaching was a risky choice.

In hindsight, the decision proved to be a sound one. Its effects were immediate and sustained. By 2007, Botswana's armed forces had effectively safeguarded the country's wildlife from poachers for two decades. Yet in retrospect, it seems odd that the country's cautious political leaders were willing to gamble on such an uncertain prospect, and it seems remarkable that they were able to achieve something that so few other countries had even attempted. This book explains Botswana's choices and accounts for the success of its small but capable armed forces in this very unconventional role.

It is tempting to see the antipoaching story largely in military terms, and if this were the sum of the case, this book might restrict itself to the technical and tactical competence of the Defence Force, its recruitment, training, cohesion and discipline, its skillful use of technology, or its leadership. Yet without detracting from very real military accomplishments, even a superficial assessment of the antipoaching experience quickly points to other important contributing factors. The story would be incomplete without accounting for some of the most significant of these variables.

The book argues that the use of military force had a reasonable prospect of success because Botswana's leaders made a long-term national commitment to a clear biodiversity end. These leaders were able to establish a widely understood and clear linkage in the public mind between biodiversity and economic opportunity, and they enjoyed a powerful public-sector advocate for conservation. In addition, they had the benefit of a supportive civil society (including a private-sector conservation constituency with good international linkages), succeeded in achieving interagency cooperation, and were able to field a competent army that could restrict the application of coercion to the exact amount required.

At one level, this is an account of wildlife conservation, but it is also far more than that. It is a story about human options and choices. At another level, it is an examination of state capacity. All communities make collective decisions with long-term implications. Some choices are characterized by a defective strategic vision, saddling succeeding generations with deeply regretted lost opportunities; others display foresight and wisdom and are remembered by succeeding generations with admiration and gratitude. History alone will provide an ultimate vindication for Botswana's policy decisions, but in 1987, the national leaders made a deliberate choice to secure a priceless and perishable human heritage.

They then effectively mobilized the necessary resources to implement that decision. Any country that serves as a good steward of mankind's riches deserves the commendation and support of the rest of the human family, and that label certainly applies here. Botswana's antipoaching success is important to communities inside and outside Africa in at least the following three ways: the country is a preserver of world treasure, it serves as a moral example, and it proves there are solutions to most common human problems. But the reader is asked to review the record and make up his own mind on the validity of these assertions.

Many significant questions are not analyzed in this book, including the contentious issue of whether or not African armies should be committed to internal security and law enforcement roles. Also, in the absence of an unambiguous, near-term economic return, it may be asked why any state with pressing human needs and limited resources should place a high priority on biodiversity. Botswana's experience may inform the debate on such issues, but the ramifications are not analyzed at length here. Instead, the study briefly explores the reasons why Botswana's policy makers came to emphasize the preservation of the country's megafauna, and it describes the chain of events that led to the commitment of the Defence Force in an environmental protection role.[9] The book, then, is more interested in determining why this approach succeeded than in assessing how it happened to be chosen.

The study would be incomplete if it failed to locate the antipoaching role of Botswana's military within a larger matrix of domestic issues that bear on the natural environment in Botswana. That context is an important feature of this story. Poaching is not the only threat to wildlife. Even during the height of the armed poacher incursions in the 1980s, poaching did not seriously threaten the viability of most animal species. Botswana faces a common African problem: development has been far more damaging than poaching. Complicating the country's dilemma is a long trend in southern Africa of decreasing rainfall and increasing drought that is eroding the carrying capacity of the land for all species. The problem is worsened by a traditional emphasis on domestic livestock. When wildlife competes with cattle in a deteriorating habitat, the choices for African policy makers are difficult indeed and not as obvious as single-issue advocates may wish. So the story of military antipoaching in Botswana acquires meaning when it is embedded in the details of human relations, environmental circumstances, and economic choices.

The book is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 offers a context to Botswana's antipoaching story, answering the questions, what is the

nature of the state in Botswana, and what are some of the relevant features of the country's natural and cultural environments that relate to biodiversity policy? The chapter provides very brief historical, economic, and political backgrounds to contemporary security issues in the country. It traces Botswana's development choices as an independent nation and accounts for the government's incentive to emphasize conservation in its political agenda. The chapter notes the politics of biodiversity in Botswana. It also provides a brief description of the life and role of Ian Khama Seretse Khama, the country's preeminent environmentalist.

Chapter 2 turns to the Botswana Defence Forces itself. It briefly outlines the regional security environment in the 1960s and 1970s that led to the establishment of the Defence Force. It traces the evolution of that force over the subsequent thirty years, seeking answers to the questions, what kind of military does Botswana have, how has it evolved since its founding, and why would this be the nation's agency of choice for antipoaching operations? The chapter provides a succinct history of the various roles and missions of the Defence Force.

Chapter 3 examines Botswana's employment of military force in antipoaching operations since their inception in 1987, answering the questions, what was the nature of the poaching threat in the mid-1980s, how did the Botswana Defence Force go about its antipoaching operations, and how did these evolve over time? This chapter examines the operational environment of antipoaching in Botswana and the way in which the Defence Force accommodated the unique demands of that environment. It traces the history of the mission from its origin to the present day, noting changes in approach. This chapter also considers the technique and technology of military antipoaching.

Chapter 4 examines the organizational culture of the Botswana Defense Force (BDF), seeking clues from its origins, training, and leadership that explain its antipoaching success. The chapter examines BDF processes of socialization and the resulting norms and values, particularly those relating to the antipoaching mission. It briefly examines the military commitment to professional standards of ethical behavior in Botswana. The chapter concludes with an overview of the organizational culture in the BDF, including some features that might provide cause for concern in the future.

Chapter 5 analyzes the web of relationships between the government, military, and civil society in Botswana, seeking clues in these relationships to the performance of the military. It examines intersector and

civil-military relations, considering some of the cultural factors that play into the country's antipoaching success.

Chapter 6 assesses the meaning of environmental security in Botswana. It examines the government's commitment to the protection of the environment and considers some of the pressures for and against this commitment. It describes how Botswana currently manages its wildlife and identifies the constituency for wildlife conservation. This chapter highlights the accomplishments of Botswana's environmentalist community, but it also portrays the divisions in that community and the fragility of the consensus for biodiversity, bringing into sharper relief the uniqueness of the government's long-term military commitment to biodiversity.

Chapter 7 summarizes Botswana's antipoaching accomplishment, drawing insights from the preceding discussion to review the factors that account for its success. It offers a preliminary assessment of the usefulness of Botswana's experience as a case study. It suggests ways in which external partners can help African countries committed to such programs. The chapter concludes with a discussion of several concerns about the use of African military forces in antipoaching roles.

1

A Context for Biodiversity in Botswana

Introduction

The year 1885 was a sad benchmark for Africans, as it was a year that marked a massive loss in their control over their own affairs. A conference in Berlin, hosted by Germany's imperial chancellor, finalized the ground rules in an escalating European scramble to acquire African colonies. The French and British were jostling each other suspiciously in their rush to dominate west Africa. European agents were busy in the Horn of Africa, grasping for control of the strategic approaches to the Red Sea. Leopold, king of the Belgians, had already dispatched the notorious Henry Morton Stanley to fulfill his dream of a huge personal fiefdom in central Africa. The psychopathic Karl Peters, just back from an African expedition, was busily scheming to add east African lands to the German Empire.[1]

By now, southern Africa also was a theater of intense colonial competition. The Portuguese, whose presence in the region dated back to end of the fifteenth century, raged impotently at the intrusion of other Europeans into African lands they had long claimed as their own but never effectively governed. The British were well entrenched in two southern African colonies, and imperialists like John Cecil Rhodes, premier of Cape Province, were scheming for new territories in the north. European settlers of mainly Dutch descent had moved into the southern African hinterlands a generation earlier. Many of these lived as seminomadic stock farmers, and they were now expanding to the northwest. The Germans, arriving late on the African scene, were busily acquiring desert

lands on Africa's southwest coast. They soon would make up for their tardy arrival with ferocity unmatched by the other colonial powers.

In 1885 there was growing European interest in the dry, remote interior lands that someday would become the Republic of Botswana. The London Missionary Society had been there for over forty years, having in 1840 dispatched the man destined to become Britain's most famous missionary—David Livingstone—to a local mission. It seemed but a matter of time before British, Germans, or Boers would add this area to their African possessions. Yet in circumstances unusual for late nineteenth-century Africa, local indigenous leaders took events into their own hands and intercepted an otherwise inevitable colonial trajectory. Khama III, paramount chief of the Ngwato, led a delegation of fellow chiefs to petition Queen Victoria's government to administer their possessions as a protectorate. Khama, a shrewd and gifted leader, Christian convert, and modernizer, clearly foresaw the unappealing future offered by the encroaching Europeans. In accepting British rule, he significantly compromised his autonomy and that of other indigenous authorities, but he also largely safeguarded himself and his fellow chiefs from further colonial aggrandizement.[2]

These circumstances of origin endowed Botswana with features that are important to its present and essential to the story in this book. Khama founded a political dynasty that still plays a political role. The Bechuanaland Protectorate, made up largely of culturally similar Tswana-speaking peoples, preserved an unusual cultural homogeneity for the future state of Botswana.[3] There would be very little European settlement and, compared to neighboring colonies, no significant urbanization. Traditional elites continued to enjoy a special status, a situation that preserved many of their prerogatives and maintained their leading role beyond the colonial era. The European footprint would be relatively light and the political establishment of a later, independent Botswana would for decades reflect the values of its conservative traditional communities.[4]

This chapter briefly examines the nature of the state that emerged in 1966 as the Republic of Botswana, noting the roots of its political dynamics, tracing its development choices, and accounting for the role that the natural environment ultimately would come to play in its economy. The chapter also calls attention to the continuing roles in the country played by descendants of the formidable Khama III.

A Colonial Backdrop

Britain oversaw its Bechuanaland Protectorate for eighty-one years as a territory that provoked little interest in London. The protectorate's natural resources were meager. Few Britons made their home there, and the United Kingdom already was heavily invested in neighboring South Africa. Given both the depth of the British-South African relationship and the vicissitudes of the local geography, it was inevitable that Bechuanaland would be something of a neglected appendage to South Africa during the colonial era. The colonial administration was based in South Africa, not in the protectorate itself, and the territory enjoyed little infrastructural investment. It served the regional economy mainly as a labor pool, providing migrant labor for South African farms and industries.[5]

Yet while the economies of South Africa and the Bechuanaland were closely connected throughout the colonial era and beyond, their race relations and political evolution took distinctly different paths. South Africa's white minority strove in the twentieth century to exclude nonwhites from political life, while the protectorate implemented directly opposite policies. In 1920 its government set up separate advisory councils for Europeans and indigenous Africans. It combined these into one in 1951. A protectorate constitution in 1961 established a multiracial consultative legislative council—the same year that South Africa left the British Commonwealth in a growing dispute over the country's policies of racial exclusion.

In 1964, as most of the rest of Africa was breaking free of European control, the United Kingdom accepted an agenda for Botswana's independence, approving a finalized constitution in 1965. The seat of government then moved from Mafeking, South Africa, to the planned city of Gaborone. Following national elections in 1965, the Bechuanaland Protectorate became the Republic of Botswana on September 30, 1966. The new government entered independent nationhood with an administration run by a small but competent multiracial civil service inherited from the colonial establishment.[6]

Origins of Botswana's Party Politics

Botswana's contemporary political culture still reflects a legacy of the country's politics in the years just before independence. The earliest political party, the Bechuanaland People's Party (later the Botswana

People's Party, or BPP), emerged in 1960. Like many other political parties in Africa at the time, it was vociferously anticolonial, espousing a sweeping agenda of national liberation and social change. However, its constituency was very small, its adherents were generally found among the indigenous urban intellectuals, and migrant laborers radicalized during their sojourn in neighboring South Africa. This party's agenda was not attractive to the colonial administration and was even less so to Botswana's rural population with its conservative traditional chiefs. By the eve of national independence in 1965, the BPP had splintered into squabbling factions.[7]

In 1962, Seretse Khama founded the Bechuanaland Democratic Party (later Botswana Democratic Party [BDP]). Unlike the earlier, radical BPP, this new party reflected the interests of the traditional chiefs, their rural constituents, and the important cattle industry. It also enjoyed the strong support of the colonial administration. The BDP advocated a democratic state, emphasizing customary social and economic values and (in contrast to the racial segregation enforced by white minority regimes elsewhere in southern Africa) a nonracial polity that guaranteed political access without respect to race. Khama's BDP won decisively in the national elections in 1965 and was still in power in Botswana in 2007. Seretse Khama himself served first as Prime Minister in 1965, then as Botswana's founding president after 1966, continuing in office until his death of natural causes in 1980.[8]

By 1966, still another party had emerged, the Botswana National Front (BNF). It ultimately became the primary focus of opposition to the ruling BDP. The new party reinvented its agenda and platform significantly over the years, but it consistently positioned itself to the left of Khama's BDP. It initially expressed an admiration for the Soviet bloc and espoused a vaguely socialist agenda. It later drifted to a spirited defense of the traditional chiefs, as these began to lose their prerogatives.[9] Over the years, the BNF was joined in opposition by a constantly changing kaleidoscope of other parties with motivations based as much on personality and regional (or ethnic) identity as on political and economic issues. Throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, these various opposition parties proved unable to present a unified challenge to the ruling BDP. National politics became essentially the story of how the Botswana Democratic Party maintained its incumbency in the face of the shifting panorama of its opposition.[10]

A Political and Economic Miracle

When the Republic of Botswana received its independence from the United Kingdom in 1966, its political and economic prospects were very uncertain. Eight decades of uninspired colonial oversight had left it poor and undeveloped. The protectorate had managed to pave a mere twelve kilometers of the country's roads, and the new nation's six hundred thousand citizens included only twenty-two college and one hundred high school graduates. The country had a population that was largely illiterate, sparsely distributed, and rural. Its paltry natural resources and dry climate seemed to preclude any real potential for economic success. It also was situated in a dangerous neighborhood. Independence came at the very moment that white minority governments in neighboring colonies were facing the initial stirrings of liberation wars that would wrack the entire region. Neither those regimes nor their opponents subsequently hesitated to use Botswana's soil as a venue for their struggles.[11]

The country remained singularly dependent on South Africa in its early years. Then as now, South Africa's economy dominated southern Africa. As a member of the South African–dominated Southern African Customs Union, Botswana was obliged to transship most of its imports and exports through South Africa. Much of Botswana's infrastructure was also connected to the latter, where many citizens still migrated for employment, and where Botswana's population had cultural and family ties. South Africa also maintained the region's most powerful security establishment. It did not hesitate to use all these circumstances for political advantage, a fact that obliged Botswana's new government to be very circumspect in its foreign and domestic policies.[12] In any event, Seretse Khama's administration was cautious and moderate. He deliberately rejected the radical social and economic policies popular in much of the rest of Africa at the time. He also refused to allow anticolonial insurgents to base themselves in Botswana (although his government did quietly facilitate the transit of South African dissidents).

Despite its poverty at the time of independence, its dependence on South Africa, and the subsequent regional trauma, Botswana's legacy became one of surprising political and economic success—so much so that scholars had by the late 1970s dubbed it the "African miracle."[13] By 2007, it had functioned for over forty years as a multiparty democracy, maintaining a tradition of free and fair parliamentary elections. When the rest of southern Africa seethed with civil war and political trauma, it remained stable and democratic, ultimately playing a low-key leadership

role in regional affairs. Its human rights record has been generally good by the standards of the developing world, and it has been widely admired for its success in combating graft and corruption. Its moderate, conciliatory foreign policies and growth-oriented economy have been frequently commended and widely praised.[14]

Economic achievement has been a touchstone of Botswana's reputation. Its economy grew at an astonishing rate of 7.7 percent per year in the first thirty years of independence, and by the end of the twentieth century Botswana had a per capita income almost four times the African average. Its growth in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) from 1970 to 1997 was the world's highest.[15] While a detailed exploration of these remarkable achievements is well beyond the scope of this book, several factors are important for understanding Botswana's political and economic choices. Given the country's limited prospects at independence, its accomplishment a mere generation later begs the question of how it was possible. It also raises the question of inevitable downsides to the "miracle."

Economic Development

Scholars have attributed Botswana's political and economic successes to a number of different factors. John D. Holm and Patrick P. Molutsi cite Botswana's universalistic government, meritocratic civil service, and a profusion of state-society linkages, along with effectual measures to diffuse ethnic competition.[16] Kenneth Good emphasizes the durability of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party, attributing the party's success to the "skillful mobilization of leading social forces and the distribution of resources to them."[17] Scott Beaulier cites the quality of technocratic policy making and the sound political and economic decisions of the postindependence leadership.[18] Other scholars have credited the preservation of precolonial institutions that constrained the power of political elites, a colonial experience that did not destroy indigenous political norms, a government committed to the institutions of private property, and an equitable distribution of wealth that produced a breadth of stakeholders in the status quo.[19]

Although a variety of factors are cited in these analyses, one consistent theme is the "bottom line": Botswana's ruling party has been able to deliver services and benefits to the country's population, and, more importantly, it has crafted coalitions that provide tangible benefits to any actors with real potential to mobilize effective domestic opposition. The

party's hold on power has been facilitated by the state's leading and generally astute role in economic development. It has accommodated the interests of its primary constituents—traditional authorities, the rural electorate, and the cattle and minerals industries.[20] The government has provided the stability requisite to economic growth, the vision to make good use of available opportunities, and, by African standards, a substantial amount of access and opportunity for its population.

Botswana's success would have been difficult to foresee in the 1960s. At the time of independence, its modest economy was based largely on foreign aid and remittances from migrant labor and livestock—the latter anchored in the country's history and indigenous culture.[21] These were hardly indicators of future prosperity. It was the discovery of diamonds in the early 1970s that fundamentally transformed the country's economic options.[22] By the mid-1980s, Botswana had become the world's leading producer of gem diamonds, and mineral revenues had risen to comprise fully a third of the GDP, while agricultural revenues had fallen to a mere 4 percent.[23] A decade later, the minerals sector had grown even further to account for almost half of the country's GDP.

The government proved to be shrewd both in its relations with the mining companies and in its use of mineral wealth, which it largely invested in national infrastructure, including education.[24] Yet the benefits of the new-found diamond wealth posed something of a dilemma. Botswana's economy remained relatively undiversified through the 1980s, and its leaders foresaw significant dangers in their country's growing dependence on diamonds. They were acutely aware of the risks of single-commodity dependence, a cause of economic trauma elsewhere in Africa.[25]

In the 1990s, the government of Botswana embarked on a concerted effort to diversify the economy. By the middle of that decade, it was accentuating a climate friendly to foreign investment, eliminating restrictions on foreign ownership of local enterprises, applying a low corporate tax, and (since 1999) resisting pressures to impose controls on foreign exchange.[26] This approach was particularly characteristic of the administration of Festus Mogae, who acceded to the presidency in 1998. Mogae himself, with a long career as a financial administrator in the public and private sectors, was well qualified to oversee economic development. Given this president's background, it should not be surprising that his administration has screened virtually all policy decisions through the filter of prospective economic returns.[27]

Downsides to the Miracle

Despite its diamond wealth, progressive economic policies, and growing prosperity, Botswana has faced a variety of serious problems. The international acclaim for Botswana's "miracle" is based largely on the country's economic performance, and even that has provoked warnings of future troubles. Then, praise for the country's stability tends to overlook features in its political culture that are significantly at odds with the norms of liberal democratic governance, and scholars have called attention to the government's unusually authoritarian nature, an issue discussed further in Chapter 5.[28]

The country suffers from many of the dilemmas common to the developing world, including severe limits on its ability to satisfy the expectations of its growing population. Its expanding economy and investment in infrastructure have never been able to equally benefit all sectors and regions. Its society reflects a variety of tensions in which race, class, and ethnicity all play some part. Urban-rural differences are matched by generational differences that find expression in a variety of complaints, including dissatisfaction with the authoritarian inclinations of the government and lack of political access. These frustrations result in occasional eruptions of protest by students, labor unions, and service-sector employees.[29]

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, opposition parties increasingly exploited the frustrations of citizens who did not share the priorities of the ruling party's conservative rural base. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) had seen an erosion of its support over the years, to the point that it polled a mere 52 percent of the popular vote in the 2004 parliamentary elections despite the considerable advantages of incumbency. Had the opposition presented a united front in that election, the ruling party may well have lost it altogether.[30]

If economic and social strains were not enough, Botswana's development options have been significantly retarded by the prevalence of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Botswana has one of the highest rates of infection in the world. The problem of HIV and its associated acquired immunodeficiency deficiency syndrome (AIDS) impacts the country in many ways, some subtle and others less so. In 2007, the government was engaged in a commendable national effort to combat the scourge with some early, promising signs of success, but one clear impact had been the diversion of resources otherwise available for development.

By 2004, Botswana's spending on HIV programs had exceeded its development spending on either the police or military.[31]

Botswana also has regularly suffered from the effects of violence in neighboring states. In the 1970s and 1980s, southern Africa was plagued by vicious liberation wars against white minority regimes. These ended in 1994, but internal violence persisted in neighboring states as indigenous actors struggled for political advantage. Since the 1990s, Botswana has been the unfortunate recipient of recurring waves of economic refugees, particularly from Zimbabwe, as that country unraveled economically and politically after 1998. The earlier liberation wars and the more recent regional insecurity have resulted in populations of foreigners in Botswana that compete with local people for jobs and are locally blamed for rising rates of crime. From the government's perspective, an important key to addressing all of these problems is further economic growth.

Environment and Resources

Although Botswana's economic achievements have been facilitated by its diamond wealth, mineral riches in Africa are no guarantee for national prosperity. Scholars have pointed to recurring negative correlations in Africa between mineral industries and sustained economic development, while competition over resources has fueled vicious civil wars in a number of countries.[32] In fact, Botswana is conspicuously lacking in many of the natural resources taken for granted elsewhere on the continent, and its mineral endowment is limited. Its known assets include modest deposits of copper and nickel, and quantities of commercially exploitable soda ash and some coal and natural gas, but these do not offer the prospect for large-scale commercial exploitation in the foreseeable future. The absence of exploitable hydroelectric resources means that the country must import electricity and burn fossil fuels for its power requirements.

The country has diamonds in abundance. These were discovered in the early 1970s, the first mine began production in 1972, and by the mid-1990s, diamonds had become an essential foundation of the national economy.[33] Yet even this commodity is subject to the vagaries of a world market and fluctuations in currency exchange rates over which Botswana has little control. And despite their importance, the gems have provided limited direct or subsidiary employment—involving at most several thousand of Botswana's 1.7 million citizens.

Cattle have played a key role in southern African political and economic dynamics for centuries. Ownership of cattle has been an unambiguous marker both of wealth and political clout in Botswana since well before the colonial era. With the advent of modern borehole technology, Botswana's rural communities can now exploit deep underground water in areas that previously were too dry to sustain agricultural activity. As a result, much of the countryside has become suitable for raising domestic livestock.[34] However, most citizens do not own livestock and have little prospect of doing so.[35] And though cattle are still culturally important, their contribution to the national economy has been dwarfed by industries that offer much greater opportunities for employment and income. By 2005, it even appeared that Botswana's cattle industry was in a gradual decline.[36]

Crop agriculture is a difficult proposition in much of Botswana. Rainfall is erratic and unreliable. Precipitation is marginal for nonirrigated crop agriculture. Southern Africa as a whole—and Botswana in particular—suffers from increasingly frequent and severe droughts. This appears to be part of a very long-term cycle and is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. The economic impact of the sparse rainfall and periodic drought is magnified by the infertile Kalahari sand soils that cover almost 80 percent of the country. This combination makes it difficult to practice nonirrigated crop agriculture.[37]

Though its mineral riches are limited and its soils and climate are far from ideal for dense human habitation, Botswana is gloriously endowed with wildlife, containing fully a quarter of Africa's elephants and vast herds of other wild animals.[38] Paradoxically, given that most of the country is desert, Botswana also contains the world's largest and most intact pristine wetland ecosystem (in the Okavango Delta). Among Botswana's options for economic development, exploitation of the natural environment for tourism is among the most promising.

Although wild animals are found throughout Botswana, the most significant concentrations are located in the country's national parks, conservation areas, hunting concession areas and game ranches, with the largest animals being found almost exclusively in the far north. The concentration of the large animals in the northern conservancies means that this region is the center of Botswana's wildlife tourist industry, and most of its foreign tourists are keen to visit the that region of the country.

Still, the country has set aside vast areas for wildlife protection – some 37 percent of its entire land area; and these form a large, interrupted belt of land from southwest to northeast across the entire country. (Just for

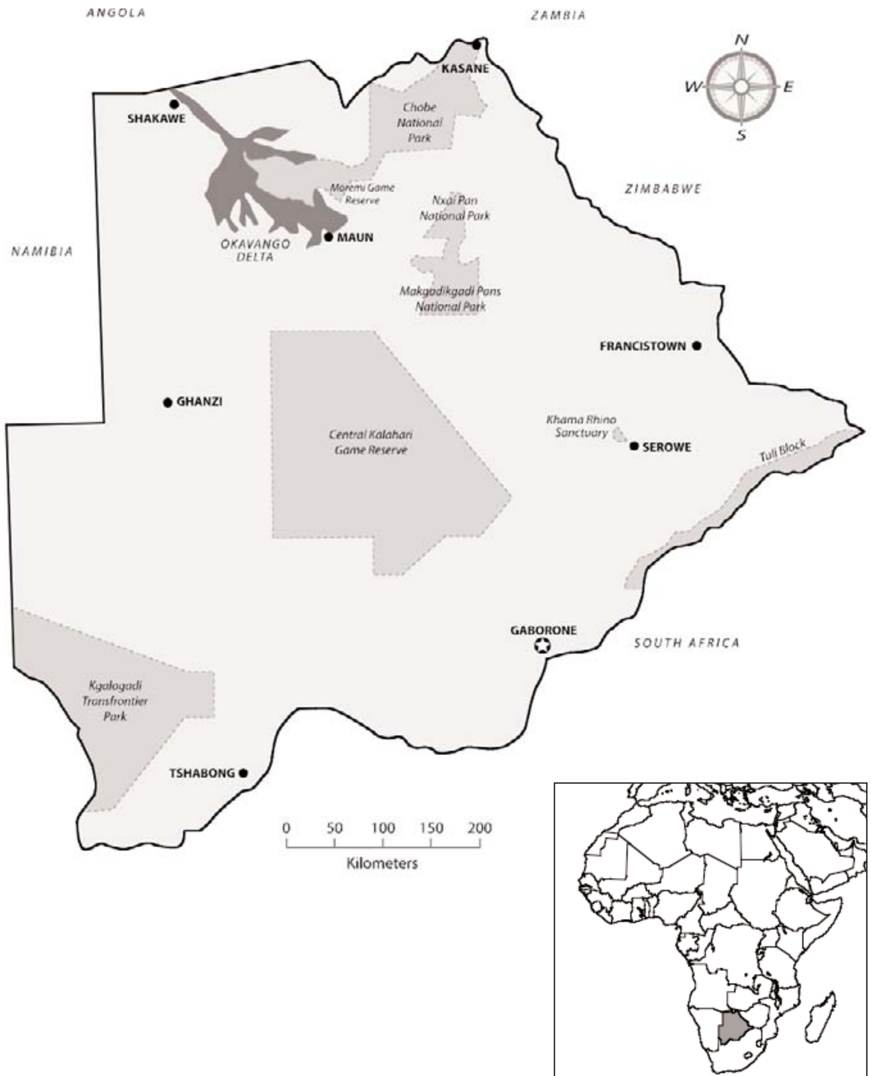


Figure 2. Botswana's national parks and wildlife conservancies

purposes of comparison, if Botswana happened to be the same size as the continental United States, its parks and game reserves would roughly equal the combined land areas of the states of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina – essentially the entire southeastern United States.)[39]

Until the 1980s, Botswana did not pay much official attention to the economic potential of its wildlife. As late as 1990, a National Conservation Strategy identified five major environmental problems, none of which specifically involved wildlife conservation.[40] But the official focus changed dramatically in the 1990s, as Botswana embarked on a concerted effort to diversify the economy, reinvigorating its efforts to develop a wildlife-based tourist industry. That effort soon saw gratifying results. By 2003, tourist-related activity had risen to account for fully 12 percent of the country's GDP. Two years later, tourism became the centerpiece of Botswana's efforts to diversity its economy. The government's interest displayed sound business sense by a growth-oriented leadership, and it made the security of wildlife a virtue of necessity. Botswana's leaders now had considerable incentive to protect the country's wildlife and the natural environment in which it is found—both being critically important foundations of a large and growing industry. More importantly, an increasing proportion of the population was beginning to develop some connection to the tourist industry.[41]

An important condition for the expansion of tourism in Botswana has been the security of the foreign visitors arriving to view the wildlife. On a continent notorious for arbitrary violence by criminals and security forces alike, the viability of a tourist industry depends on a reputation for a safe experience, so the country has great incentive to portray its game parks as marvelous natural environments filled with exotic animals and at the same time free from criminals and conflict. In Botswana, the importance of biodiversity and the health of wildlife thus overlap the need for the physical safety of persons and property, a fortuitous conjunction of national interests that does much to explain Botswana's present commitment to antipoaching.

While the government of Botswana has considerable reason for emphasizing the commercial potential of its spectacular wildlife and was vigorously attempting to do so by the end of the twentieth century, this fact does not explain why it would commit military force to protect those resources, nor does it explain why the military would necessarily succeed in such an endeavor. In fact, there are aspects of the local cultural background that call into question the government's political

judgment in emphasizing biodiversity at all and the use of military power to secure it.

Biodiversity as a Political Issue

Among the citizens of Botswana, there is considerable ambivalence about the merits of biodiversity, about any official emphasis on protection of wildlife, or about the security of large wild animals. For those relatively few citizens living in rural communities in close proximity to the megafauna, the animals comprise a dangerous nuisance that can threaten lives, crops, and homes. Tourist money is not always visible, nor does it compensate for the disruptions caused by the large, destructive beasts.

Most of Botswana's citizens live some distance from the megafauna, and wild animals just do not constitute a significant issue in their daily lives. The average citizen is not motivated by an interest in game viewing or hunting. Access to firearms is very limited, and even for the rural citizens living on communal lands, the once plentiful plains animals have become relatively scarce.[42] Botswana's citizens can legally hunt some species of game, but only by award of a lottery license, and possession of a license by no means guarantees hunting success to its owner. For the 50 percent of the country's population living in urban areas, the costs of hunting and the limited access to hunting areas make this activity prohibitively difficult.

True enough, some of Botswana's entrepreneurial farmers have engaged in game ranching—raising wild animals for the specific purpose of hunting. Another small group of professional hunters runs the country's safari industry, bringing their clients to concession areas leased from the government. Yet even with their employees and staff, these activities comprise small communities, and they cater to a select clientele, mainly foreign. To put it simply, any advocacy for biodiversity in Botswana does not come from a nation of conservationists or hunters.

Wildlife even has played into Botswana's national politics. It has been one of several defining issues of race and class. The country generally has avoided the intense racial strains of colonial southern Africa, but in 2007, there still were lingering memories of the colonial past and continuing resentments against the economically privileged position of the small white community. Botswana's citizens harbored a strong stereotype that wildlife conservation is a "white" fixation, perhaps evidence of a continuing colonialist mentality that values wild animals above indigenous people. During the intense political campaigning prior to national

elections, some politicians have cynically exploited a popular stereotype that portrays rich white expatriates as obsessed with wild animals. This can easily be manipulated into a powerful political distinction for an unsophisticated rural electorate. Ironically, there is also a strong (if very misinformed) view in Botswana that the disappearance of the country's wildlife over the past decades is the fault of expatriate safari hunters who engage in wasteful extermination.[43]

A related political issue is the local cultural emphasis on the ownership of cattle. Cattle have played a central role in the life of the region since precolonial times, and they remain a powerful symbol of traditional value.[44] They were a prominent feature in the region's precolonial economy and contributed significantly to the political evolution of the indigenous states prior to the colonial era. Pauline Peters has argued that cattle in contemporary Botswana remain a "source of identity . . . store of wealth, and means of production." She observes that cattle still connect important "production and consumption, economic and social ends."[45]

In Botswana, the social value of cattle far exceeds their objective economic value, and the cattle constituency continues to exert substantial political clout. Politicians find it relatively easy to draw a contrast between the cattle owner as the "little guy" or "native" whose interests are endangered by rich, white expatriates infatuated with wildlife. Regardless of whether they maintain livestock or not, there still is a strong aspiration on the part of many citizens to own cattle, and there is also a surprising tendency of settled townsfolk to accumulate livestock tended by relatives or low-paid rural employees in their rural home areas. (The author noted with some amusement in the early 1990s the exodus from Botswana's capital on Friday afternoons as citizens, great and small, ended the work week by flocking to the rural areas to check on their herds.[46])

For those citizens that maintain domestic livestock in the vicinity of the game reserves, wild animals can be a considerable annoyance. The wildlife has access to lucrative grazing areas that are off limits to ordinary citizens, a situation that provides a constant reminder of preferential treatment. Even more significantly to the cattle owners, the wild animals are vectors for diseases that threaten domestic livestock. Just the potential for such disease is a source of discontent: when Botswana's cattle owners seek to market their animals, the closer they have lived to the wildlife sanctuaries, the more quarantine is required to assure the livestock are safe for local consumption or export (and the more trouble and expense experienced by the owner). The total disappearance of the wild animals

conceivably would improve the convenience, profits, and conditions of life for many citizens—or so it probably appears to them.[47]

The central role in traditional Tswana society once played by cattle is preserved in part by a ruling party that still caters to the cattle interests. For example, the government has constructed a number of very long game fences across northern and central Botswana, intended to intercept the movement of wild animals and (thus) prevent the transmission of disease to domestic livestock. While the fences apparently accomplished their intended purpose, they have been bitterly criticized by environmentalists who argue that biodiversity is severely disrupted and distressed by the fences. During periods of drought, it reportedly is common to find large numbers of animal carcasses along the fences, as wild animals make desperate, unsuccessful efforts to migrate to water sources.[48]

Ironically, the prominence of the cattle industry probably benefits wildlife in one way. Botswana's citizens have ready access to domestic animal products at relatively low prices, products that are all the more accessible because of the country's relative economic prosperity. These factors reduce the incentive for commercial meat poaching. The diets of ordinary citizens contain a fairly high level of meat from domestic livestock, and contemporary culture in Botswana does not particularly encourage the consumption of "bush meat" (e.g., wild animal meat), a craving that has doomed wild animal populations elsewhere in Africa.[49]

Still, Botswana's commitment to wildlife conservation does not rest on any strong supporting foundation of cultural factors in the general population. The ambivalence toward wildlife and the inherent conflicts between biodiversity and the cattle industry would seem in themselves significant obstacles to effective, long-term national programs. In fact, the radical nature of Botswana's commitment to biodiversity stands in sharper relief when it is added to the government's use of military force to back its environmental agenda, an issue explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

The Persona of Ian Khama

No discussion of politics, the environment, or military affairs in Botswana can avoid mention of Seretse Khama Ian Khama (identified from this point simply as Ian Khama), the individual who played the single most important role in Botswana's decision to use military power to secure its wildlife. Ian Khama was present as a senior officer at the foundation of the nation's military in 1977, and he ultimately served as its commander

for almost a decade before retiring to enter politics in 1998. Cynics in Botswana have even suggested that his father (the country's founding president) created the Defence Force to give Ian a national role, though this suggestion seems unfair in view of the regional insecurity at the time. But in 2007, he was vice president of the country, chair of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), and almost certain to be the next president. By the time of his retirement in 1998, he had left an indelible mark on the nature and roles of Botswana's armed forces. In 2007, his prominence and continuing interest seemed likely to influence the use of the nation's military well into the foreseeable future.

Ian Khama is one of those public figures that tends to inspire either the highest praise or greatest criticism. A complex individual, he is by nature introverted and taciturn and does not readily share his confidence. As a leader, he is variously described by his detractors as enigmatic, harsh, and inflexible and by his admirers as firm and decisive. Foreign diplomats have characterized him as aloof, moody, and even "prickly." He does not conceal his views behind an obsequious façade. However, the few foreign diplomats that have been able to cultivate good relations with him also describe him as thoughtful and open to alternative views. Critics have suggested that Khama lacks the tolerance and flexibility for political life, failing to relinquish the authoritarian inclinations of the senior military command he once enjoyed. Whatever the validity of these views, his twenty-two years of military service marked him as an energetic military leader, popular with the military rank and file, with a reputation as one who got things done.[50]

Ian Khama has consistently been a dedicated conservationist, unwaveringly backing a variety of environmental causes and using his position both in the military and in politics to support a conservationist agenda. The commitment of the Defence Force to antipoaching operations in 1987 was almost certainly his initiative, and he subsequently reinforced that decision with the full weight of his authority, continuing to do so even after leaving the military for national political office.

Ian Khama is the most eminent current member of what might be called Botswana's "first family." His great-grandfather, Khama III, was a leading figure among the paramount chiefs who defined the borders of the future state. His father, Seretse Khama, was a national hero, prominent in the struggle for full national independence from the United Kingdom, and founder of the party that subsequently governed the country for at least half a century.[51] (Queen Elizabeth II knighted him in 1966.) Seretse also was heir to the paramount chieftaincy of the Ngwato,

the largest Tswana subgroup in the country—a position later inherited by his son, Ian.[52]

Ian Khama's mother was a working-class British citizen (Ruth Williams) whom Seretse married in 1948 while studying law in the United Kingdom. The mixed-race marriage scandalized white-ruled southern Africa at the time. South Africa tried unsuccessfully to block it. Seretse's uncle Tshekedi, the Ngwato regent, also professed outrage at this marital choice, requiring Seretse's immediate return from the United Kingdom to account for his behavior. The regent also tried unsuccessfully to have the marriage annulled, and when that failed, he endeavored to have himself proclaimed paramount in place of Seretse. The latter's refusal to renounce either his marriage or his rights to the paramountcy seemed to resonate with his country's common citizens, and after a singular appeal to his people in 1949, Seretse Khama was popularly proclaimed paramount.

However, when Seretse returned to the United Kingdom to continue his studies in 1950, the British government bowed to South African pressure, forbade his return to the protectorate, and required him to renounce the chieftainship. It later relented under international pressure and allowed him to return to his native land, where he arrived in 1956 with his British-born wife and growing family. After dabbling in several economic ventures, he discovered his métier in politics in the early 1960s, founding the Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP). He subsequently worked for an independent, nonracial democracy. Seretse Khama seems to have borne little personal animus over the earlier slights, and his political party worked in close harmony with the colonial authorities.

Ian Khama was born into this family in the United Kingdom in 1953. Following his family's return to the protectorate in 1956, he spent some of his early years in the traditional family home at Serowe and also attended schools elsewhere in southern Africa, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. As a youth, he was described as athletically inclined, serious, and somewhat driven. He probably did not enjoy a close relationship with his father, who was heavily involved in business and politics throughout Ian's youth. However, he seems to have been strongly influenced by his mother, a woman of strong personality.

Ian Khama displayed an early interest in military matters, an inclination reluctantly indulged by his parents. In 1972 at the age of eighteen, he entered the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in the United Kingdom—the first citizen of independent Botswana to do so. Upon completing his studies, he undertook a year of police training in Nigeria

before joining the closest thing Botswana had to an army in 1974—the Police Mobile Unit.[53] Three years later, Botswana created its Defence Force and Ian immediately transferred from the police into the new military and was appointed its deputy commander with the rank of brigadier. He was twenty-four years old at the time. Twelve years later, in 1989, he acceded to the command of the Defence Force with the rank of lieutenant general, a post he subsequently held for nine years.

Ian Khama's service as deputy commander and commander of the Defence Force spanned the formative period of its evolution, and he played a definitive role. A strict disciplinarian, he put the stamp of his personality on the developing organization by insisting on high standards of professionalism, efficiency, and discipline. Though his own formal military education was limited, he sent many of his officers to high-quality military training programs abroad.[54]

Ian Khama is widely credited in Botswana as the driving force behind the programs to acquire sophisticated military equipment for the Defence Force in the 1980s and 1990s. It also seems to have been largely his decision to construct Botswana's largest military installation, the sprawling, well-equipped air base at Thebephatshwa, which began in 1989. He apparently also played key roles in his country's decision to deploy military force against poachers in 1987 and to participate in regional peacekeeping operations in the 1990s.[55] During his military service, Ian earned a reputation as a "hands-on" leader who took good care of his troops.

In 1998, the ruling BDP, hoping to shore up its dwindling political fortunes, enticed him into its active ranks, hoping the "Khama" name would provide a political advantage. Ian Khama retired from the Defence Force and won a parliamentary seat from his home area. The country's new president, Festus Mogae, quickly appointed him to the positions of vice president and minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration. (In his new role, he was responsible for supervising the police and the Defence Force.) Khama now found himself somewhat of a celebrity in Botswana, and his presence energized his party in the general elections of October 1999. Immediately after those elections, he surprised the local political world by taking an unexplained eight-month sabbatical from public duties. Upon his return in late 2000, still serving as vice president, he was reappointed to the president's cabinet as minister without portfolio. In 2003, Khama was selected to serve as chair of the Botswana Democratic Party.

By 2007, Ian Khama's positions as vice president and party chair were widely understood to guarantee his accession to the presidency when the

incumbent, Festus Mogae, stepped down. (Under Botswana law, presidential terms are limited to ten years and the vice president automatically inherits the presidency. This presumably would result in a Khama presidency no later than 2008.) Mogae, for his part, had clearly expressed his intention that Khama succeed him, and had even threatened to dissolve parliament if it disagreed with his appointment of Khama to the vice presidency. By 2007, a transition appeared already underway, as Khama was installing his own choices in Botswana's senior policy-making positions.[56]

Ian Khama's activities over the course of his military and political career have provoked controversy. Of all the prominent officials in high office in Botswana in 2007, he was by nature the least inclined to the traditional cultural characteristics of consultation and conciliation. He had never been renowned for geniality and had a pronounced tendency to sound self-righteous. His role in the acquisition of military equipment and his decision to construct a sprawling new military air base at Thebephatshwa, along with his obdurate refusal to publicly justify such expenditures, had raised eyebrows inside and outside of Botswana. In 2003, he admonished his (no doubt shocked) fellow parliamentarians to renounce personal ambitions and seek only the public interest in selfless service. Yet at the same time, he has been criticized for continuing to use military resources to further his own political activities (piloting a military aircraft to political rallies, for instance). His siblings—and by extension, Ian himself—had been disparaged for privileged access to lucrative government contracts.

Ian Khama is prone to gaffes. While still BDF commander, he accompanied a presidential visit to postapartheid South Africa in 1996 and was asked to explain the rationale for Botswana's ongoing arms acquisitions. His rather clumsy response insinuated a fear of "left-wing" revolution in South Africa. Shortly after his appointment to the position of vice president in 1998, he informed an incredulous interviewer that politics did not concern him. He has openly characterized members of his own party as "unprincipled, intolerant, selfish vultures and monkeys." In 2004, he announced that he expected his younger brother to inherit his parliamentary seat.[57]

Ian Khama's personal characteristics have raised questions within Botswana itself. Like his great-grandfather Khama III and his great-uncle the regent Tshekedi, he is a teetotaler in a society with a considerable affinity for intoxicating beverages.[58] Traditional Tswana culture also puts a premium on heterosexuality and fecundity. The middle-aged,

unmarried Ian has had several public "girlfriends" and even a South African fiancé, but his apparent disinclination to marry and his lack of children are potential political liabilities.

In 2006, Botswana's attentive public was deeply divided on the prospects of another Khama presidency.[59] Predictably, opposition parliamentarians and many academicians were appalled at the prospect. These detractors feared Ian Khama for his alleged authoritarian personality and continuing linkages to the Defence Force. Other citizens commended him as a man of principle and vision, able to rise above the petty parochialisms of government departments, feuding politicians, and competing advocacy groups.

By 2007, Ian Khama's personal interests had long been matters of public record. He was a sports and fitness buff and worked hard to keep himself in excellent physical condition. He was a patron of a variety of sports organizations, including the Botswana Football Association, the Motor Racing Club, and the Kalahari Flying Club. Whatever his other likes and dislikes, Ian's best-known passion was wildlife conservation, with his zeal for wildlife reportedly occupying a significant amount of his time. He was vice chair of the Kalahari Conservation Society, a member of the National Conservation Advisory Board, a board member of the local chapter of Conservation International, and a patron of the Mokolodi Wildlife Foundation. He was the founder and chief patron of the Khama Rhino Sanctuary, instituted in the 1980s near his home area to save Botswana's few remaining rhinos from extinction.

Ian Khama's environmentalist inclinations also set him apart from his fellow citizens. Many of his countrymen found his concern for the environment an odd fixation, and even his fellow conservationists in Botswana distanced themselves from some of his environmental perspectives. Unlike many that were keen hunters, Ian was alleged to have a strong personal aversion to that sport and a personal animus against some of the country's professional hunters.[60]

Ian Khama's role in the decision to deploy military forces in antipoaching operations has been subject to varying opinions in Botswana. A somewhat hagiographic video assembled for National Geographic in the late 1990s attributed most of that initiative to Ian, an opinion shared by individuals in Botswana that know him well and are familiar with the circumstances of the time. On the other hand, Botswana's president in 1987 (Quett Masire) has attributed the antipoaching decision to the Office of the President, asserting that Ian Khama had relatively little to do with it.[61] Despite the conflicting testimony, the author believes

that Khama played a decisive role, though it may have been very much behind the scenes and may have involved a variety of subtle pressures on various senior political actors. Ian Khama clearly was prepared, once the decision had been made, to move quickly in its implementation. Absent Khama, the Defence Force might never have been committed to this role. Without his close personal interest, it seems unlikely to have achieved the level of success it actually enjoyed.

Thinking about Policy Options

Botswana's decision in 1987 to deploy military forces in support of wildlife conservation was a dramatic initiative, and one that might seem out of character for Botswana's government and society. The safety of wildlife was hardly a key concern for the majority of the nation's citizens. At the time of commitment, the country's small military establishment was a mere decade old and largely untested. Neighboring countries had failed in similar initiatives in the recent past and there was little reason to expect that Botswana could do any better. The country had no track record of offensive military operations against any threat. In fact, it had a reputation more for consultation and accommodation than for use of lethal force.

Yet the government's decision to use the Defence Force for this novel mission, while unprecedented, was neither irrational nor unpredictable. Botswana already had began to invest in an industry—tourism—that was directly threatened by the poaching. Moreover, armed gangs of foreigners were posing a threat that could not be deterred either by the unarmed police or the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. The military was the only security agency of the state with the firepower and capability to confront the poaching gangs, and the poachers' foreign origins and predatory behavior significantly diminished any sympathy that citizens might otherwise have felt for them. The country's senior leaders made a deliberate choice to emphasize economic security as a vital national interest, demonstrating the depth of that emphasis by committing military power to protect it.

The government's ability to make this decision and stick with it, however, rested on several unique features in Botswana's civil-military relations that are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The concentration of policy-making power in the executive branch spared the government from having to rely on wide consultation prior to making the decision. Despite the public's ambivalence to wildlife conservation, the government

could easily frame the issue as one of a "foreign threat" and thereby wrap it in the legitimacy of a national security initiative. The government was pressured informally by a small but influential environmentalist lobby and most specifically by the deputy commander of the Defence Force, himself the country's preeminent wildlife conservationist. And while the Defence Force still was not well known inside or outside the country, the government of Botswana seems to have recognized by 1987 that it had a well-disciplined, well-led, and competent military that stood a good chance of succeeding in its antipoaching mission.

2

The Botswana Defence Force

Introduction

By the late 1970s, the pariah southern African state of Rhodesia was in its death throes. The white minority regime was fighting grimly for its life against two large and growing insurgent armies. Rhodesia's small, potent military, increasingly strained by the magnitude of the conflict, was endeavoring to maximize the advantages of its mobility and combat power by striking its enemies in their external bases. Neighboring Botswana was caught in the spillover of the Rhodesian civil war, as insurgents flowed across its borders and Rhodesian security forces regularly crossed into Botswana pursuit of their opponents, often catching uninvolved local bystanders in the crossfire. Citizens living near the border were outraged by their government's incapacity to deal with the foreign intruders. Their outrage was encouraged by Botswana's political opposition seeking advantage against the ruling party.

The public outcry ultimately prodded Seretse Khama's government to action. By the start of 1978, the country had created and fielded a tiny army, but it still was less than a year old, hurriedly formed out of its small contingent of paramilitary police. That original nucleus had been augmented with a few hundred raw recruits and provided a modicum of training by British military advisors. Almost immediately, the untested new force was dispatched to the country's long borders. It was hardly a match for Rhodesians.

On February 27, the commander of Botswana's small military force stationed in the northeast border town of Kasane was informed that the Rhodesians had once again crossed the border, this time near the village of Lesoma. He quickly dispatched a thirty-three-man patrol in several light vehicles to investigate. The patrol probed the area around the site of

the reported intrusion for several hours but found no evidence of the intruders. It gradually relaxed its guard. Then, at midday, the patrol's unsuspecting troops drove directly into the killing zone of a devastating Rhodesian ambush. The intense fire lasted seconds. The shattered remnants of the Botswana force recoiled back down the road from which they had just come, leaving burned-out vehicles and the charred bodies of fifteen dead comrades. The Rhodesians withdrew unscathed.

It was at once a humiliating tragedy and a harsh lesson for the new Defence Force. Botswana's military would ultimately come to regard Lesoma as a key event in its history, and it honors the memory of the massacred soldiers in a moving annual ceremony.[1] The disaster was a grim testimony to the dangers of unprotected borders and inadequately prepared troops. It galvanized a determination among Botswana's national leaders to improve the country's combat capabilities, and they set about immediately to assure that future foes would pay a high price for violating the country's sovereignty. Within a decade, Botswana had developed a potent Defence Force with a highly skilled special forces component. The first enemies to feel the weight of these improvements were gangs of armed poachers in the late 1980s. They paid dearly.

Botswana succeeded in its struggle against the poachers. Some of the reasons for this success are external to the military. The government was able to identify biodiversity as a distinct national interest and proved willing to support its policy decision over the long term. The momentum of the operations was sustained by a supportive civil-military environment. Despite whatever else accounts for the country's antipoaching achievements, the nature and capabilities of the Defence Force itself simply cannot be overlooked. These features flow out of its unique history and are embedded in its organizational culture. They include its successful quest for tactical and technical competence—the ability to conceive, plan, and conduct military operations and to sustain them over the long term. They extend to the skills required to identify and exploit the vulnerabilities of opponents. Also noteworthy are the professional ethics of officers and men. The Defence Force has benefited from all of these, as well from the qualities of its past and present leadership. To better frame these factors and consider how they apply to antipoaching in Botswana, it is useful to review the history of the Defence Force.

This chapter describes Botswana's military establishment, tracing its evolution from its founding in the late 1970s to its nature in the early years of the twenty-first century. Of particular interest here are the roles and missions that the government of Botswana has assigned to its

military over the years and the motivations behind these roles. This chapter is designed to provide a general backdrop to the antipoaching operations before turning to the operations themselves in the next chapter.

Origins

When Botswana gained independence in 1966, it had no army. Its only national security agency was a small police force with deep roots in the colonial era.[2] The country's leaders initially considered the police adequate to assure the new nation's modest security needs, and they deliberately rejected the opportunity to establish an army, opting instead for a very modest paramilitary capability in the Police Mobile Unit.[3] At the time, the country's limited resources reinforced the wisdom of that decision: there was little money for a larger public sector.

That choice, however, was soon challenged by widespread conflict in southern Africa, a consequence of the decolonization of the region. This traumatic process directly involved most of Botswana's neighbors. Military and insurgent forces involved in regional liberation wars typically were significantly larger and better armed than Botswana's small police force, and none of the warring parties in neighboring states was particularly inclined to respect Botswana's borders.

Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) posed the most pressing security challenge in the early years. Its white settler government made desperate efforts to avert black majority rule, beginning with a unilateral declaration of independence from the United Kingdom in 1965. By the late 1960s, Rhodesia was facing escalating insurgencies. These conflicts drove Rhodesian insurgents to seek safe haven outside their country and produced a steady flow of refugees into northeastern Botswana. By the mid-1970s, the insurgents had established lines of communication and routes of infiltration through northern Botswana, where the population generally was sympathetic to their struggle. Botswana's government, for its part, studiously refrained from involving itself in Rhodesia's conflict and refused permission for the liberation armies to base themselves on its soil, but it could not seal the border against the belligerents. Rhodesian security forces soon were making regular incursions into Botswana seeking out their enemies, and they took few pains to limit collateral damage.[4]

Rhodesia was not the only threat. The South Africans kept tabs on antiapartheid activists that had fled to Botswana. They also maintained significant combat forces in close proximity to Botswana's population centers. After the late 1960s, the conflict between the South African and

Figure 3. Southern Africa in the 1970s

insurgent opponents in the neighboring Trust Territory of Southwest Africa (now Namibia) also increased, threatening Botswana's northern and western border regions with flows of refugees and armed groups. The Botswana Police were hard-pressed to cope, and citizens victimized by cross-border violence increasingly clamored for protection from their government in Gaborone.[5]

In April 1977, the government of Botswana reversed its earlier decision to eschew an army. By act of Parliament, it founded the Botswana Defence Force (BDF), an unambiguous military establishment. The nucleus of the new military—132 men—was drawn from the British-trained Police Mobile Unit. Botswana's deputy police commissioner, Mompati S. Merafhe, was appointed a major general and given command of the new force. His second-in-command, holding the rank of brigadier, was Ian Khama, the twenty-four-year-old, Sandhurst-trained son of Botswana's founding president.[6]

By the end of 1978, the new Botswana Defence Force numbered some six hundred men. It contained five light infantry companies, a reconnaissance company, and a variety of small support units. Its headquarters had been established at a military installation just outside Botswana's capital city. The Air Arm, based at a small facility within the capital itself, was equipped with several older British-made transport aircraft. The Defence Force was a genuinely "joint" military establishment—its ground combat elements and air assets were integrated into a single national service. (Landlocked Botswana had no need for a navy, though ultimately it would equip its ground forces with light boats for use on the nation's northern waterways.)[7]

The creation of this new military was clearly a reaction to the deteriorating regional security of the 1970s, but Botswana's options also had been fundamentally transformed by the discovery and exploitation of diamonds several years earlier. When the Defence Force was founded in 1977, the newfound mineral wealth already was flowing into government coffers, enabling Botswana's leaders to fund their security priorities in a manner unthinkable just a few years before.[8] Still, the government of Botswana resisted the impulse to invest immediately in a large, new military. The growth of the Defense Force was a cautious and deliberate process.

The Early Years

When it was first founded in 1977, Botswana's new military was quite popular among the country's citizens. However, its capabilities were very

limited. Its numbers were small, its equipment was very light, and it soon proved unable to protect the population from Rhodesian and South African raids. The BDF lacked the personnel to maintain a significant presence along the country's borders and did not have the experience necessary to confront the special forces of Botswana's belligerent neighbors, as the Lesoma incident in February 1978 had clearly demonstrated.[9]

Yet, a decade later, the BDF had seen substantial improvement. It had expanded by a factor of ten, to approximately six thousand personnel. By 1988, its ground forces had been reorganized into two maneuver brigades, one based in Gaborone and one in Francistown.[10] It now included a Commando Squadron—the small reconnaissance company of the early years had grown into a well-trained special forces unit of well over one hundred personnel. Also by this time, the BDF had acquired greater firepower and mobility, with U.S.-made light wheeled fighting vehicles and Soviet-designed armored personnel carriers. The Air Arm had grown to include British light attack jets, U.S. utility helicopters, and Spanish light transport aircraft.[11] But the expansion of the force does not tell the whole story. The BDF also had begun to develop productive relations with foreign partners.

The new partnerships ranged across a spectrum of training and matériel acquisitions. By the mid-1980s, British forces were conducting small-scale annual combined exercises with the BDF in Botswana.[12] At the same time, the country engaged in a vigorous effort to broaden the expertise of its military officers, sending them en masse to military schools in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and India.[13] Among these were the first BDF personnel to attend command and staff colleges and war colleges, essential steps in training senior leaders for any modern army. Along with equipment acquisitions in the 1980s, the government of Botswana also invited India to send a sizable advisory contingent—initially to maintain Botswana's growing inventory of military matériel—in a relationship that seems to have expanded in scope over time. (The bilateral defense connection with India was still intact in 2007.)[14] These military links to external partners contributed to a growing professionalism that was clearly evident in the BDF by the end of the 1980s. But military capability was neither quickly nor easily achieved.

The 1980s were very troubled years in southern Africa, and the BDF struggled during this period to define itself and its roles. Its continuing inability to protect the country's long and porous borders eroded public confidence, and several well-publicized acts of egregious indiscipline by BDF personnel in the mid-1980s tarnished the BDF's image in

Botswana.[15] Military incursions from neighboring Rhodesia continued until that country's transition to majority rule in 1980, and the shared border remained tense well into the 1980s as competing parties in newly independent Zimbabwe struggled for ascendancy.[16] Meanwhile, the threat from South Africa persisted, and Botswana could never match South Africa's might nor deter South African attacks.[17]

A brazen, large-scale South African raid in June 1985 dramatically illustrated the country's vulnerability. The South Africans launched a ground attack against African National Congress (ANC) targets in Gaborone, leaving a trail of wounded and dead residents. Elements of the South African Army drove into Botswana along the main road, accomplished their objectives, and drove out of the country without sustaining casualties.[18] The incursion was followed by humiliating rumors—vigorously denied by the BDF leadership at the time—that the South Africans had given notice of an impending raid and had warned the BDF not to interfere.[19]

In the 1980s, the South Africans were heavily engaged in a counterinsurgency war in neighboring Southwest Africa (now Namibia) and were also intervening regularly in a civil war in Angola on the side of Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebels.[20] These conflicts were waged in close proximity to Botswana's western and northern borders, sending waves of refugees into Botswana. Groups of armed men circulated through the entire region, some connected to the warring parties, others simply engaged in predatory criminal behavior. The BDF was conducting sporadic patrolling of the border in efforts to provide some security and limit the regional flow of armed groups and weapons. But the small scale of its operations, the primitive infrastructure in the northern areas, and the length of the ill-defined border posed considerable challenges. The foreign intruders were not particularly deterred.

One other significant threat escalated in the region throughout the 1980s: the poaching of rhino and elephant. Botswana's prolific wildlife conservancies were a natural target of this criminal activity, and the sanctuaries in the north were particularly threatened. Well-armed criminal gangs from neighboring countries, secure in the knowledge they would not be pursued beyond the country's frontiers, took advantage of regional instability and poorly patrolled borders to attack Botswana's animals. The gangs also robbed local citizens, tourist lodges, and safari companies.[21]

In 1987, the government of Botswana decided to deploy the BDF against the poachers, an issue explored in more detail in the next chapter. This new mission was risky. Two of Botswana's neighbors (Zambia and Zimbabwe) had tried to use their military forces in antipoaching roles in the 1980s without success.[22] Failure of the mission in Botswana, or mistakes in its execution, could seriously have discredited a force only a decade old, viewed now with some reservations by Botswana's citizens. The antipoaching mission came at a time when the country's long borders still were threatened by an aggressive South Africa, and Botswana's six thousand–man army clearly lacked the numbers, mobility, or combat power to deter the South Africans. Yet, in hindsight, the gamble paid off. The BDF performed its antipoaching duties with notable success, achieving results that enhanced its reputation and built local confidence in the capacity of the state.[23]

The late 1980s ushered in a time of change in southern Africa, as the cold war drew to a close and its proxy conflicts began to dissipate. This also was a time of productive ferment in worldwide thinking about military roles and missions. By the late 1980s, Botswana's military had entered its own era of transformation. A significant milestone in the evolution of Botswana's military occurred in 1989, when its first commander, Mompati Merafhe, retired from the Defence Force to enter politics.[24] His deputy, Ian Khama, was elevated to command.

The new commander brought a different leadership style and new priorities to this role. Like his predecessor, Ian Khama was a strict disciplinarian, bordering on the puritanical.[25] But he also had high social standing in traditional Tswana society, along with a charisma and a star quality lacking in the staid, reserved Merafhe. Khama worked diligently to build a reputation as a "hands-on" leader who cared about his troops, inspected them frequently, and lobbied effectually for troop benefits. This reputation made him popular among the rank and file. He also strove to improve the country's military capabilities, launching various equipment acquisition programs.

One of his first initiatives was to break ground for the construction of a major new military facility—Thebephatshwa Airbase—near the town of Molepolole, some fifty kilometers northwest of the capital. This base ultimately would house Botswana's growing fleet of military aircraft and its Commando Squadron. Thebephatshwa was a massive project that began in 1989 and completed only in the mid-1990s.[26] Ian Khama was very secretive about his new base and about military acquisitions in

general—a fact that generated some unease in neighboring countries and unanswered questions within Botswana itself.[27]

New Roles and Missions in the 1990s

Since its independence in the mid-1960s, Botswana had consistently seen its security held hostage to the internal struggles of its regional neighbors. That particularly was true of South Africa. However, the end of the cold war and the advent of the F. W. de Klerk government in 1989 accelerated a process of South African political reform that culminated in a transition to majority rule in 1994 that significantly attenuated regional tensions. Years of tortuous negotiations had by 1988 finally resulted in a South African military withdrawal from Angola and Southwest Africa, the latter arriving at nationhood as independent Namibia in 1990.[28] By the early 1990s, the threat of South African military intervention in Botswana had dissipated, although there still was a possibility that the future transition to majority rule could send waves of South African refugees across Botswana's border.[29] Meanwhile, neighboring Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia remained troubled.[30]

Botswana's relationship with newly independent Namibia was particularly problematic in the 1990s. Despite good progress in resolving difficult bilateral issues like access to shared Okavango River water resources, relations between the two countries were continuously beset by various security-related squabbles. In 1992 a crisis erupted over ownership of a small, seasonally inundated island in the Chobe River along the ill-defined northern border when a Namibian military force occupied the island.[31] This act resulted in a small-scale military buildup in the area and a propaganda campaign fueled by the media of both countries, though tensions subsided when the two parties submitted the dispute to arbitration in 1995. (In 1999, the International Court of Justice awarded the island to Botswana.[32])

By 1998 a new problem had erupted between the two countries. A low-intensity secessionist insurgency had sputtered to life in Namibia's Caprivi Strip (the narrow strip of Namibian territory bordering Botswana on the north). Namibian refugees and insurgents subsequently sought safe haven in Botswana. The latter, with a tradition of clemency for political refugees, had since the 1970s maintained a refugee camp at Dukwe. It directed asylum seekers and displaced persons to the camp. In 2000, Namibia's leaders accused Botswana of harboring Namibian insurgents at Dukwe and demanded their repatriation, an issue that

troubled relations until it was settled in 2003 after several years of bilateral negotiations.[33]

The continuing problems with Namibia obliged Botswana to pay particular attention to the northern border, a delicate balancing act that required sufficient military force in the area to maintain security without incurring Namibian suspicions of ulterior motives. Botswana's political leaders successfully met this challenge and their policies ultimately saw success. In the early years of the twenty-first century, relations between the two countries improved significantly and both increasingly were drawn into productive regional consultations over development projects and the joint management of regional resources. These consultations also drew Botswana's military into bilateral relations with its regional counterparts, including those in Namibia.

The roles and missions of the BDF expanded dramatically in the 1990s. One major new role was regional peacekeeping, which began in 1992 when Botswana participated in its first external operation, the U.S.-led intervention in Somalia.[34] Initially, the BDF troops were attached to a U.S. Marine battalion in Mogadishu and performed peacekeeping duties alongside the Marines, earning gratifying respect for their professionalism. By March 1993, the U.S.-led operation had transitioned into a UN operation, and the BDF contingent now operated in a more autonomous role. Botswana's commitment outlasted that of the United States, with the BDF remaining until the UN operation ended in August 1994. During the two years of peacekeeping in Somalia, Botswana rotated four separate troop contingents through the peacekeeping force. It earned considerable respect from its coalition partners for its excellent relations with the Somalis and for its insistence on supplying its forces using its own military transport aircraft in regular flights from home.[35] Despite the unresolved situation in Somalia when the UN departed in 1994, the experience was positive for Botswana, providing the BDF with new experience, excellent public relations, and greater confidence in its own abilities. The deployment proved popular with officers and men.[36]

After the initial deployment to Somalia in the early 1990s, Botswana also began to dispatch military personnel to peace support operations elsewhere in Africa. This included a BDF observer team in Rwanda in 1993 and two military officers assigned to the National Peacekeeping Force deployed in South Africa to facilitate that country's first democratic, multiparty elections in 1994.[37] Perhaps as a consequence of the positive experience in Somalia, Botswana also contributed forces in 1993 to the UN peacekeeping mission in Mozambique. In a year-long

commitment in that country, the Botswana furnished the UN Command with a battalion-sized infantry contingent that provided security along Mozambique's troubled Tete transportation corridor and also engaged in local humanitarian relief projects. These BDF operations, too, were regarded as a considerable success both by the BDF participants and by external observers.[38]

The year 1994 was significant for security in southern Africa. South Africa transitioned to majority rule in April when an Africa National Congress government came to power under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Relations between South Africa and Botswana improved immediately. However, the peaceful transition in South Africa coincided with a political crisis in the small southern African kingdom of Lesotho (a country wholly enclosed within the borders of South Africa), resulting in local instability and violence. Reacting to the crisis, several southern African countries (including South Africa and Botswana) readied a military operation to restore order. The crisis ebbed without an intervention, though the situation in Lesotho remained unstable.

In September 1998, order again broke down in Lesotho when elements of the country's small army mutinied. South Africa and Botswana quickly built a task force and intervened under a somewhat questionable mandate from the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The South African–led operation soon turned into a messy peace enforcement action. Order ultimately was restored and the task force was withdrawn by May 1999.[39] Botswana, together with South Africa and Zimbabwe, then contributed personnel to a combined military training program in Lesotho—which lasted until May 2000—followed by a small BDF advisory presence within the Lesotho Ministry of Defence that persisted until 2003.[40]

After 1998, Botswana began to resist regional and international pressures to participate in other peacekeeping missions, and the Lesotho intervention marked the last BDF external operation for seven years.[41] However, by 2005, Botswana was once again sending its troops abroad for peacekeeping duties, though on a smaller scale than before. In that year, it dispatched two officers to the UN mission along the Ethiopian and Eritrean frontier and a small contingent to the Africa Union operation in Sudan's Darfur region.[42]

The 1998 intervention in Lesotho reflected a new direction in the evolution of southern African security affairs. Majority rule in South Africa in 1994 had led quickly to a redefinition of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), an organization originally founded

in large part to reduce the regional impact of South African hegemony. Ironically, South Africa joined that community almost immediately after achieving majority rule in 1994 and quickly began to play key roles in the organization. With the inclusion of a new, democratic South Africa, the SADC now displayed greater regional commitment to collective security, providing a new forum for consultation on security issues.[43] The addition of South Africa also energized an interest in cooperation among regional military establishments, evident in a series of joint military exercises began in 1997. The BDF participated in these regional exercises and by June 2005 had hosted its own.[44]

The peacekeeping operations abroad were not the only new roles played by the BDF after the mid-1980s. Botswana's government also committed its military to a recurring series of operations within Botswana itself. In addition to the antipoaching operations (began in 1987), these included two separate programs to assist the national police in urban anticrime patrolling, flood relief during years of particularly heavy rain, and participation in national efforts to control livestock diseases (under the purview of the Ministry of Agriculture).[45] In all these activities, the BDF displayed good planning and competent execution, performances that it was able to exploit with good public relations coverage in the local media.

Participation in anticrime patrols in Botswana's cities was the longest term and most visible of these new internal security roles. Through at least 2006, this role had been surprisingly free of problems, generally avoiding accusations of human rights abuse and being (in the public mind) responsible for attenuating the level of violent urban crime in the country. The BDF leadership apparently accepted the internal security roles with equanimity, and in 2007, the country's government appeared to be very satisfied with the performance of its military. BDF officers stressed to the author that the internal security operations were constitutionally sanctioned activities "in support of civil authority" and indicated that these were roles that the Defence Force likely will continue to perform.[46]

Expansion and Modernization in the 1990s

The 1990s were a period of growth for Botswana's military. By the end of the decade, manpower totals had grown beyond nine thousand. The BDF also had seen substantial increases in its equipment inventories and military capabilities, particularly its firepower and mobility. Ian Khama,

whose nine-year tenure as commander ended in 1998, oversaw much of this upgrading and seems to have been a prime mover behind the expanding capacities. The matériel acquisitions appeared to have been a personal passion.[47] Some detail is illustrative.

The capabilities of the BDF Air Arm were significantly enhanced in 1996 by the acquisition from Canada of 15 CF-5A/D *Freedom Fighter* combat jets, Botswana's first modern combat aircraft.[48] This was followed in 1997 by three surplus U.S. Air Force C-130B transport aircraft.[49] The two new kinds of aircraft represented a quantum increase in Botswana's air combat and airlift capability. Botswana also acquired new ground force equipment, including new howitzers and light tanks from the United Kingdom and other light tanks from Austria. Botswana tried at about the same time to purchase surplus (German-made) main battle tanks from the Netherlands, but this failed when Germany blocked the sale.[50] The negotiations nonetheless indicated a continuing BDF interest in possessing a credible armored force.

By the late 1980s, Botswana's senior military leaders had began to make public references to "transformation" in the BDF—a topic much in vogue in the military establishments of the developed West. This process in Botswana appeared to have at least two dimensions. Part of it involved the expansion in the size of the military, the deployment of more modern equipment, and the creation of a new structure. The second, perhaps more significant, change was a clearer definition of roles and missions. This redefinition might have been related to a broad, government-wide initiative to define Botswana's social and economic development "resulting in the formal publication of a national vision document in 1997 (*Vision 2016*). Whatever the other incentives, the new concern for a more precise definition of military roles seemed to be a personal preoccupation of the third BDF commander, Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, elevated to the command of the Defence Force in 1998.

As commander of the Defence Force, Fisher carved out a personal role more as a manager than as a charismatic leader. A serious, avuncular individual, he was well educated and articulate, holding two master's degrees from U.S. universities. During the course of his military career, he also had acquired as much U.S. military education as most U.S. generals.[51] Fisher was intimately conversant with U.S. thinking on issues of national security strategy and national military strategy. He might have lacked his predecessor's charisma, but he had a much more nuanced understanding of the role of military power in pursuing the interests of the state and a much greater interest in developing military strategy. His

personal interest and involvement in environmental issues was distinctly less evident than that of his predecessor.[52]

Fisher's tenure coincided with a continuing dramatic expansion of the Defence Force that began under Ian Khama. However, his particular contribution as BDF commander seems to have been the redefinition of organizational roles and missions, and he clearly had devoted considerable attention to the formulation of a national military strategy.[53] Fisher apparently had intended to retire from the Defence Force in late 2004 but was persuaded by his country's senior political leaders to delay that retirement until December 2006, when he was succeeded by his deputy (and BDF Air Arm commander) Major General Tebogo Carter Masire.

The career of the new commander had largely spanned the history of the Botswana Defense Force and his selection for the position of commander was an unambiguous indication of his strong connection to senior policy makers in Botswana. A taciturn individual, Masire's impact within the BDF during his career was not readily evident to outsiders and his inclinations for the future of the force were unknown outside the small group of his immediate subordinates. Still, like his predecessor, Masire had a solid professional military education that included substantial schooling in the United States.[54] While it was still too early in 2007 to see if his command heralded significant change for the Botswana Defence Force, the greater likelihood was an emphasis on stability, continuity, and incremental improvement.

The Botswana Defence Force in 2007

By 2007, the BDF manpower totals exceeded ten thousand (heading toward a planned ultimate level of about fifteen thousand). Its ground forces were being restructured into three infantry brigades and an armor brigade, the latter stationed near Gaborone. One of the infantry brigades also was headquartered near Gaborone, while another was located near Francistown in the north. The headquarters of the third was being organized at Ghanzi in the west of the country. Each of the three infantry brigades was intended to oversee the security of its particular region of the country. The Defence Force had also grown to include an artillery brigade and an air defence brigade, both headquartered in the vicinity of the national capital.[55]

The BDF Air Arm had grown into a force of about five hundred personnel organized into five squadrons, and was headquartered at Thebephatshwa Airbase.[56] It had an inventory of about forty-five

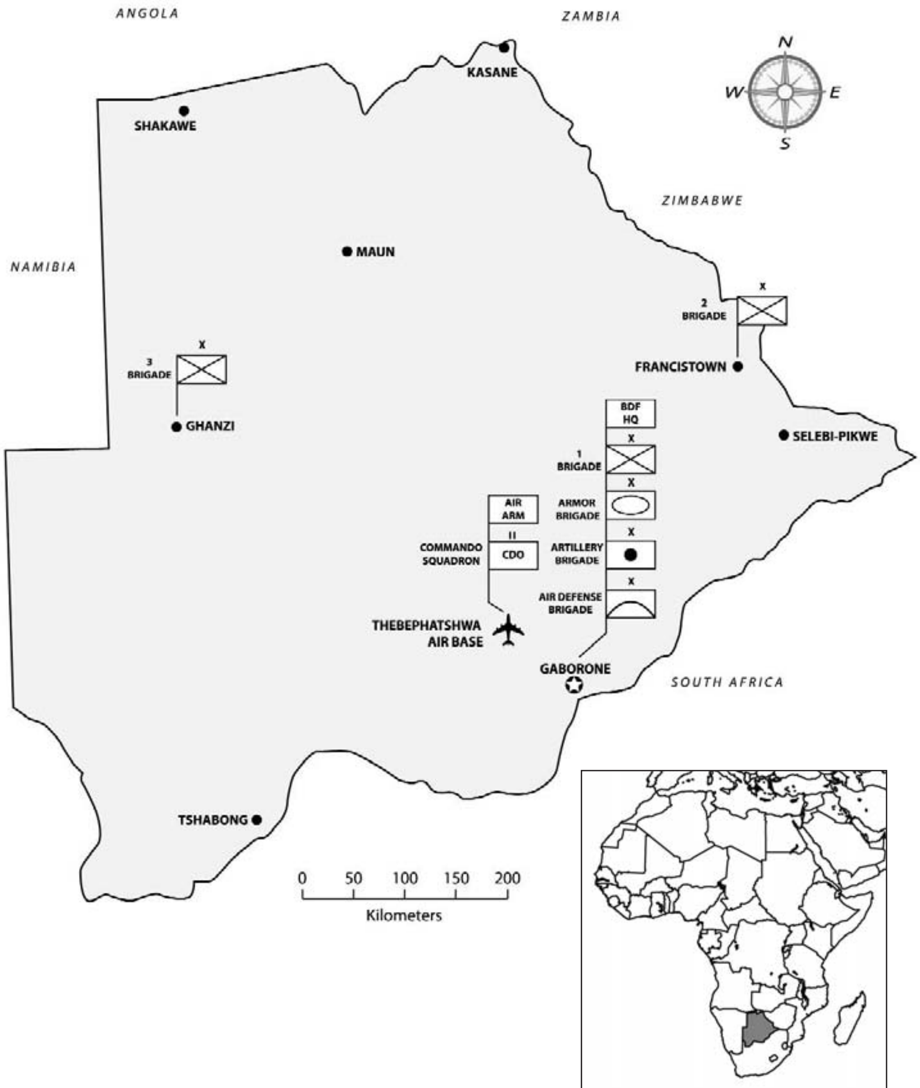


Figure 4. Botswana Defence Force garrison locations, 2007

operational aircraft, the most sophisticated being its Canadian-made jet fighters and its U.S.-made C-130 air transports.[57] Since the mid-1990s, its upgrading had given it the ability to rapidly airlift significant numbers of ground force troops throughout the country (and throughout the region). It was able to provide aerial reconnaissance and logistic support to ground forces, but its ability to provide air defense or close air support was less certain.

Annual military expenditures in Botswana rose steadily after the mid-1980s, from a relatively modest US$34.3 million in 1985 to an impressive US$228 million in 2003. Military spending almost tripled in the mid-1990s, averaging 3.8 percent of GDP per annum and standing at fully 4.6 percent of the GDP in 1994.[58] Until the early years of the twenty-first century, the BDF had been much more generously funded than any other agency of the state—including the national police. It had been able to realize many of its infrastructural and equipment priorities.[59] It had become the country's second largest employer, exceeded only by the Civil Service.[60] The weapons acquisitions programs in the 1990s resulted in significant increases in military matériel and a substantial enhancement of combat power.

Motivation for Military Upgrading

Botswana's military spending in the 1990s raised questions within the region and sparked some political controversy in the country itself. Botswana's executive branch refused to explain its rationale to Parliament or the public.[61] Still, it is not difficult to identify several likely motivations. The country's citizens are prone to cite the personal ambitions of the influential Ian Khama, but other explanations for the growth are equally plausible. Senior policy makers still have vivid memories of the nation's military weakness in the 1970s and 1980s, when bellicose neighbors violated Botswana's sovereignty with casual impunity. Those memories still rankle.

Within the military establishments of southern African countries in general (which now engage in constant communications and exchanges), there is a crude categorization of prestige in military affairs. The military leaders of countries that underwent a liberation struggle allegedly see themselves as technically and morally superior to others, having supposedly proved their mettle in the tough conditions of their wars for independence. They tend to denigrate the military qualities of countries (like Botswana) that achieved independence without a liberation war

experience. The BDF quest for excellence might partly relate to a psychological need on the part of its senior leaders to demonstrate quality through results rather than through liberation war mythology.

Despite the growing regional cooperation in the 1990s, Botswana has unresolved security issues with all proximate states. With the exception of Zambia and Namibia, virtually all the near neighbors have much larger military establishments. In 2007, Botswana's leaders did not seem to consider any other country an immediate military threat and were not bent on aggressive use of their military. The BDF was manifestly not large enough to pose a significant offensive threat to any of the neighbors, but it was much more capable of rapid deployment to defend Botswana's borders and airspace than it had been a mere decade earlier.

This page intentionally left blank

3

Military Antipoaching in Botswana

Introduction

In 1987, southern Africa was convulsed in conflict, much of it connected to the proxy struggles of the cold war. Zimbabwe, independent since 1980, had just brutally suppressed a rebellion against the government of Robert Mugabe. A large Cuban expeditionary force in Angola was assisting the Marxist government of that country in a desperate struggle against a growing insurgency now being supplied with sophisticated U.S. weapons. The South Africans had began backing those same Angolan insurgents long before the Americans, and they now were regularly intervening in Angola to beat back government offensives. At the same time, on the other side of the continent, they were aiding Mozambican dissidents locked in a vicious civil war against still another Marxist government. The South Africans were also fighting insurgencies of their own—one in occupied Namibia and another in South African itself. Weapons, rebels, and predatory criminals flowed freely across the region's borders.

Not surprisingly, the 1980s saw a dramatic increase in organized poaching in southern Africa. The well-watered, game-rich wildlife conservancies of northern Botswana were an especially inviting target for increasingly bold and heavily armed gangs of poachers, drawn by the lucrative proceeds of illegally acquired ivory and rhino horn. The commercial poachers not only targeted Botswana's wildlife but also preyed on the country's ordinary citizens.[1] The peril to the continent's large wild animals was well known among the world's environmentalists, where it had provoked mounting concern for years, but local governments were

driven by other priorities, and the megafauna in most African countries appeared to be well on the road to extinction.

It was at this critical junction that a single individual stepped forward to make a dramatic difference in Botswana. The country's preeminent environmentalist also happened to be the deputy commander of its Defence Force, Major General Ian Khama. Outraged at the depletion of his country's wildlife, disgusted and exasperated with government inaction, and personally humiliated by his country's feeble response to its flouted sovereignty, Khama offered to deploy his decade-old Defense Force against the threat. The government gratefully agreed. In late 1987, Botswana threw its military at the poachers, striking them with crushing force, and shattering the impunity they had enjoyed for years. This chapter describes military antipoaching in Botswana.

The Setting

Three rivers in northern Botswana define the border near those wildlife sanctuaries most attractive to poachers: the Kwando, the Linyati, and the Chobe. While they flow year-round, these rivers are easily crossed by poachers and are themselves a natural magnet to wildlife, particularly during the dry regional winter, as large animals come to the riverbank to drink and graze. A considerable amount of wildlife is always present along Botswana's northern rivers.

Botswana's Chobe National Park lies on the eastern end of this area, while the western side is an unpopulated safari concession area. By the 1980s, most of the people on the Botswana side of the border were concentrated in local population centers, like Maun and Kasane, and did not live along the border itself. However, just across the rivers in neighboring Namibia, the patterns of human settlement were very different. A substantial population of Namibian subsistence farmers and fishermen lived in small villages along the river banks. These villages offered a sympathetic base to the commercial poachers, who came to rely on them for intelligence and logistical support.[2]

Ordinary Namibian citizens living near the common border had long been guilty of a limited amount of the poaching in Botswana, though their activity generally involved small numbers of plentiful animals like antelope or buffalo. Likewise, some of Botswana's own local citizens also poached, again typically killing antelope or buffalo for meat. However, the growing problem in the 1980s was the large-scale slaughter of elephants and rhinos by the well-armed foreign gangs.[3] And while the

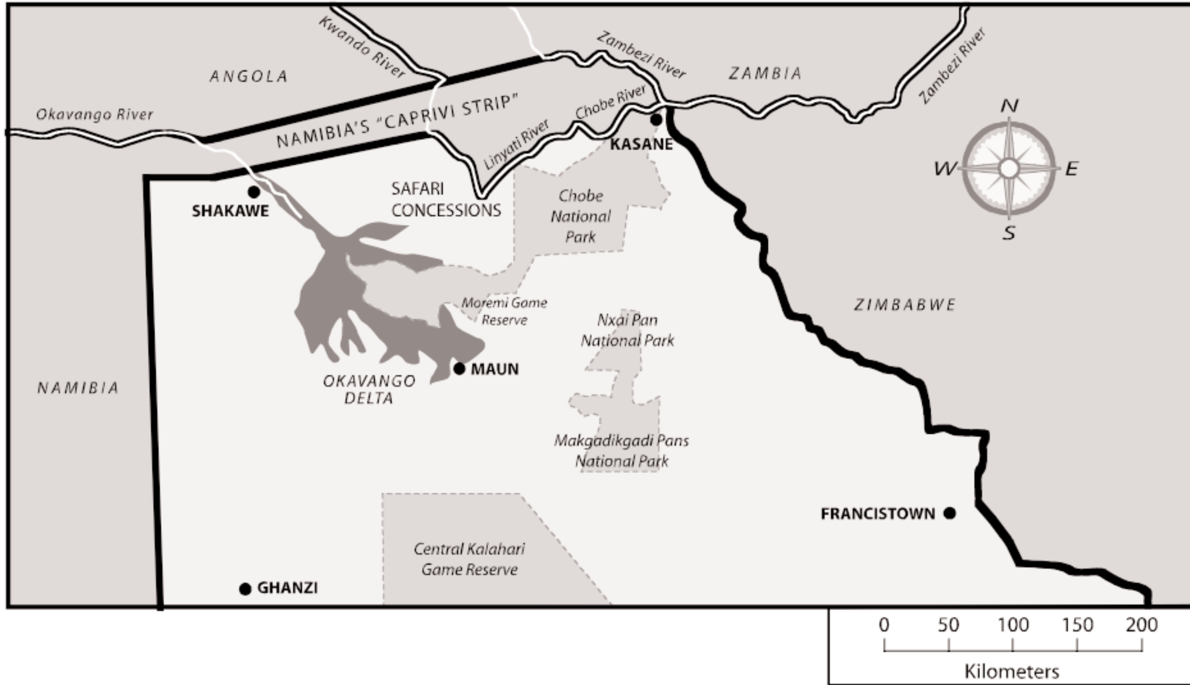


Figure 5. The antipoaching operational area in northern Botswana

poaching syndicates regularly recruited small numbers of local citizens in Namibia and Botswana to assist in this criminal activity, the gang members themselves tended to be from elsewhere, particularly Zambia. Many appeared to have military experience.[4]

The poachers posed an escalating security threat in northern Botswana through the 1980s. The increasing rate of violent crime called into question the capacity of the state to protect its citizens, and the insecurity jeopardized the reputation of Botswana's growing tourist industry. The crimes perpetrated against ordinary citizens, combined with the obvious foreign origins of the most violent gangs, significantly reduced any sympathy the population in Botswana might otherwise have felt for the poachers.

Commencing Military Antipoaching

In the early 1980s, the security of Botswana's northern border was shared among three different government agencies. Responsibilities were poorly defined, and none of Botswana's government agencies was deterring cross-border poaching or countering the increasing lawlessness. The Botswana Police performed general border and immigration control duties. However, their numbers and mobility were very limited, and they tended to stay close to population centers. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks was responsible for controlling the poaching throughout the country, including the northern border area, but its antipoaching forces were lightly armed, poorly resourced, inadequately trained, and weakly motivated. The National Parks wildlife officers were badly outgunned by the well-equipped commercial poachers and were very reluctant to confront them. The Botswana Defence Force also sporadically patrolled the border, but it did not conduct antipoaching operations and did not penetrate deeply into the wildlife sanctuaries.[5]

The government's decision in 1987 to use military force against the poachers was a novel development for Botswana, but it was no surprise to its military high command. Ian Khama, the deputy commander of the Defence Force, apparently played a key role in the decision and, by the time it was made, had already devoted substantial thought to the requirements for implementing it effectively. He was well aware of the failed attempts by neighboring Zambia and Zimbabwe to use their conventional military forces in antipoaching roles a few years earlier, and he was determined not to repeat their mistakes. He recognized that the commercial poaching was a peculiar form of low-intensity conflict in which

small groups of determined men, skilled in field craft and tactical intelligence, were infiltrating deep into the country, effectively frustrating interception by government authorities.[6]

The poachers were sufficiently well armed to intimidate Botswana's police and wildlife officials, yet at the same time, they were very difficult to find and hard to catch. Khama concluded that his best option was to employ the portion of his small military force best suited to that kind of warfare—the secretive Commando Squadron. This was a special forces unit with unique skills in small unit operations, tracking, patrolling, and ambush. Khama seems to have conceived this role in collusion with the commander of the Commando Squadron at the time, Major (later Brigadier) Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo.[7]

Both men were aware of the technical difficulties of the mission, and both concluded that prior to initiating the antipoaching operations, it would be useful to augment the Commando Squadron with additional bush tracking capabilities. In this, they were fortunate. Southern Africa happened to be the home of hunter-gathering peoples that include some of world's most accomplished trackers. By the 1980s, the South Africans had recruited extensively from these communities for their ongoing counterinsurgency war in neighboring Namibia. The trackers had served their South African masters well. Using their traditional skills and hunting lore, they had proved adept at hunting down insurgents in the African bush in both Namibia and Angola. Khama and Tiroyamodimo were very familiar these unique people and decided to harness them for their own war on the poachers.[8]

In the late 1980s, it was clear that the South African occupation of Namibia was nearing its end. The South Africans were consulting with internal groups and neighboring countries about their withdrawal from the territory and the inevitable political transition that would ensue. In mid-1987, BDF commando leader Tiroyamodimo, posing as an officer in Botswana's Department of Wildlife and National Parks, accompanied a delegation to talks with officials in South African–controlled Namibia. The conference included discussions about the disposition of citizens of Botswana that had been working for the South Africans. Tiroyamodimo pretended to involve himself in wildlife issues, but his real mission was recruitment. He now sought to identify those trackers originally from Botswana that might be amenable to employment by their own government. The idea paid off, initially with a small number of volunteers. The early volunteers recruited others. By late 1987, the BDF had hired several dozen. These volunteers brought not only their remarkable tracking

skills but also a useful familiarity with military organizations—including their own and those of opponents. They subsequently played a critical though little publicized role in Botswana's antipoaching operations.[9]

In September 1987, the BDF was ready to begin its antipoaching operations. Tiroyamodimo was dispatched to the northern border area for an initial ground reconnaissance. He concluded that the most promising area for commando operations was the region southwest of the Kwando River, well away from the part of the border where the BDF had previously conducted its sporadic border patrols. This was a concession area for safari companies. Poachers were very active in the area, where they already had significantly reduced the amount of large wild animals and were attacking the facilities of the safari concessions. For the poachers (and for the commandos), this area had the additional advantage of containing few Botswana citizens.

Tiroyamodimo now deployed a forward command post to Maun, setting up a field headquarters. He drew about fifty men—half his available manpower—from his base near Gaborone. In October 1987 he launched his first antipoaching operation, following it with a vigorous and comprehensive regimen of small unit patrolling.[10] Within three days of their deployment, the commandos experienced their first firefight. Within months, dozens of poachers had been killed or captured, and the amount of poaching fell off dramatically.[11] The gangs had killed at least thirty-five elephants in 1987; by 1988, the total had fallen to fifteen and never subsequently exceeded it.[12]

The commandos' antipoaching success was rapid and spectacular, but it was not easily achieved. Tiroyamodimo insisted that his force employ its standard technique of dismounted patrolling and ambushes, which required the troops to travel very long distances by foot over rough terrain in small, four to six man groups. The poachers soon discovered they were being hunted. They countered with an impressive array of bush fighting skills, resorting to elaborate antitracking measures and ambushes. Some of the gangs were lavishly equipped with small arms and few of the gangs were reluctant to use them. Though most were small, with fewer than a dozen members, some of the gangs in the early years numbered over thirty, significantly outnumbering the manpower in the patrols of their commando pursuers and possessing the advantages of surprise and numbers. Despite the military advantages enjoyed by the poachers and the frequency of firefights, the commandos sustained few casualties.[13]

Broadening the Mission

For two years after the initial deployment, the Commando Squadron remained the sole BDF element charged with antipoaching duties. However, in 1989, the mission was extended to the rest of the Defence Force. From that point on, Botswana maintained a much larger and more visible military presence in its northern wildlife sanctuaries. Former commando leader Tiroyamodimo believes the change was politically motivated. Significant numbers of poachers still were being intercepted and killed. Some were Namibians, a fact that apparently had began to worry senior government officials in Botswana, since neighboring Namibia was on the verge of achieving independence from South Africa and soon would become an independent nation. (Botswana shares a longer border with this particular neighbor than any other, and its political leaders apparently were concerned about future relations with their soon-to-be independent counterparts.) Use of Bostwana's regular forces apparently reflected a desire to shift the emphasis from interception to deterrence. The new antipoaching operations were partly a "show of force" to discourage poaching and thus reduce Namibian casualties.[14] A larger and more visible Botswana military presence probably also served to reassure a jittery local citizenry and tourist industry.

Consequently in 1989, the BDF began to rotate all its combat units to the border areas for antipoaching duties, at the same time significantly increasing the numbers of troops involved in antipoaching missions at any one time. This produced a highly visible military presence in the northern wildlife conservancies.[15] Then and now, the BDF has relied on company-sized units (of just over one hundred men apiece) for its antipoaching operations in the northern area, generally maintaining two to four companies on antipoaching duty in the north at any one time. The individual companies were assigned a large area to patrol and were given considerable operational autonomy. The companies, in turn, typically broke themselves down and operated in separate platoon-sized units (of about thirty men). Each platoon maintained its own base area, patrolling out of the platoon base. Initially, the units were deployed to the north for periods of three months before rotating back to the garrison. By the early 1990s, tour length had been reduced to two months.[16]

The initial BDF antipoaching operations were conducted in a fairly limited area along Botswana's northern border, generally southwest of the Kwando River. However, the operations expanded over time, and by the end of 1989, the BDF had began conducting antipoaching operations

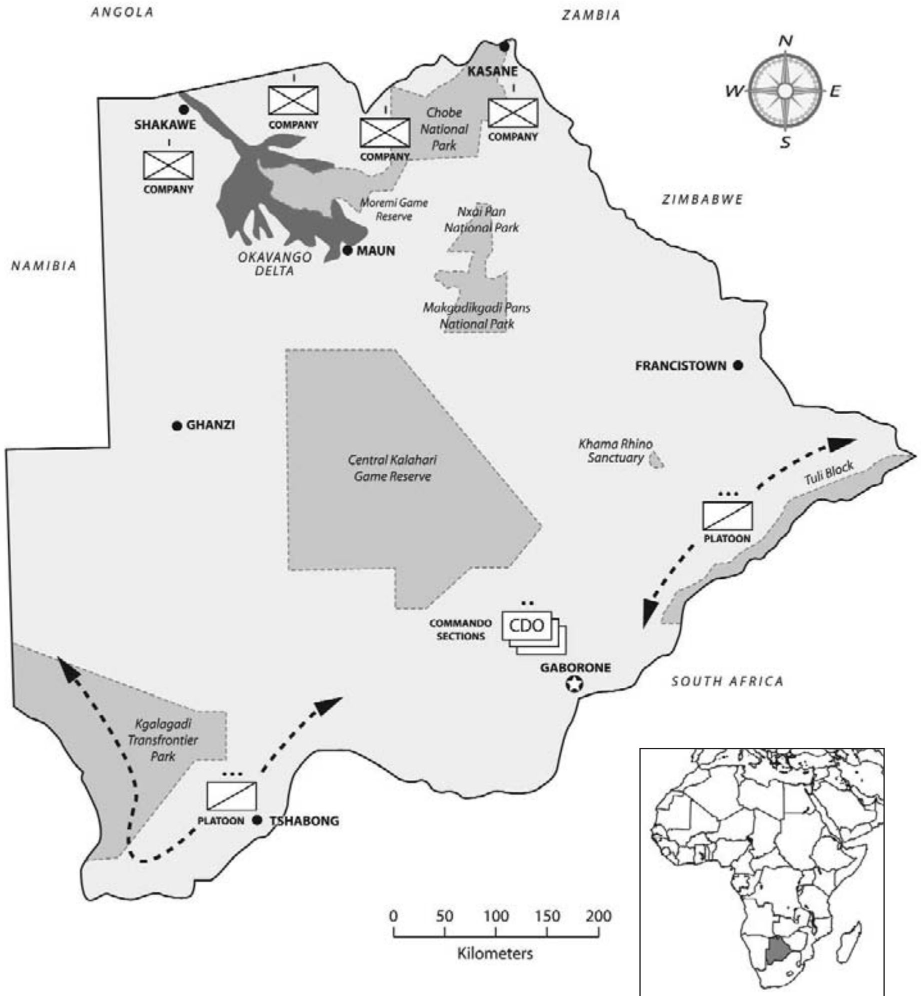


Figure 6. Botswana Defence Force antipoaching deployments in 2007

along a much larger stretch of the northern border, generally from Kasane to Shakawe, with a smaller effort in a narrow strip of land along Botswana's eastern border, the so-called Tuli block area.[17] In the 1990s, the BDF also began to conduct sporadic, small-scale antipoaching patrols along the country's southern and southwestern border.[18] The number of troops deployed in antipoaching missions peaked in the early 1990s, when four to six hundred men, and occasionally as many as eight hundred, were committed to antipoaching.[19] (At any one time during the 1990s, up to 10 percent of the entire BDF was performing this mission. Given the simultaneous BDF deployments for law enforcement and flood relief at home and peacekeeping abroad, this commitment was substantial.)

Until 1996, the antipoaching operations in northern Botswana were controlled from a temporary task force headquarters in Maun, which served as a logistics rear base for the deployed company-sized units that maintained their own smaller headquarters in Shakawe and Kasane. After 1996, the BDF's 2 Brigade near Francistown assumed operational control of the antipoaching forces in the north and northeast. The small-scale antipoaching forces in the south remained under the control of their parent battalions.[20]

The BDF continued its antipoaching operations as a matter of routine into the early years of the twentieth century. By then, the number of BDF personnel deployed on antipoaching operations at any one time had stabilized between three and four hundred. The primary antipoaching presence was still along the northern border, where most of the large animals were concentrated. This also was the center of the wildlife tourist industry, so the presence of the troops served a distinct political as well as an economic purpose, reassuring local citizens and foreign tourists that they were safe from violent criminals.

The BDF presence in the northern area still consisted of two ground force companies, one based near Kasane and one near Shakawe. The companies maintained smaller bases for their subordinate platoons at outlying locations, supplied by truck or military aircraft. For their part, the platoons patrolled their assigned areas, both on foot and in vehicles. The BDF maintained a reinforced platoon (of fifty or so men) on antipoaching operations in the Tuli block along the eastern border and another platoon-sized unit operating out of Tshabong in the south on a wide-ranging, mobile patrol along the western border.[21]

Until 2004, the antipoaching tour of duty lasted for two months, and BDF combat arms personnel could expect such deployments up to twice

per year.[22] In mid-2004 the BDF announced that it would change its anti-poaching deployments. Each of its infantry brigades would now conduct a rotating deployment for its subordinate battalions, with one battalion actually deployed (e.g., conducting anti-poaching operations), one training for deployment and one assigned to guard duties in its normal garrison area. The nature of the operations remained unchanged. They still were conducted by companies engaged in relatively autonomous patrolling activity. As part of the new approach, the duration of an anti-poaching deployment was increased from two months to three. However, the frequency of anti-poaching deployments for any particular unit was expected to drop substantially.[23] By early 2007, this new approach was evident in Botswana's military presence in the northern conservancies. Four companies (from two separate battalions) were engaged in antipoaching operations.[24]

Without exception, all the BDF officers interviewed by the author from 2004 to 2006 considered antipoaching a valid mission for their troops. They believed that these operations maintained desirable soldier skills such as patrolling and ambushing. BDF officers also called attention to the particular value of the mission at a time when out-of-country deployments were at low ebb—it kept personnel busy and focused. Interestingly, the ordinary citizens of Botswana also commonly expressed these same views. All seemed to share the opinion that antipoaching operations represented a tangible return on the national investment in an army that was otherwise "unoccupied."

Challenges in the Natural Environment

The antipoaching mission posed a number of unique challenges for the BDF. Especially problematic was the expectation that it would maintain security across a huge area despite severe limitations in resources. The northern wildlife conservancies comprise an undeveloped region of about forty thousand square miles. When the other border regions in the east and south are added, it requires little analysis to realize that mobility challenges for the small BDF have been considerable. In 2006, Botswana maintained about four hundred troops in antipoaching operations in the field at any one time, but even if the country had deployed its entire ten thousand–man force along its borders that force could hardly be much of a presence. At the peak of the antipoaching commitment in the 1990s, fewer than a thousand BDF troops were ever in the field at any one time, so effective antipoaching always has depended on a capacity

for broad-area surveillance, good communications, and mobility. To cover its vast operational area, the BDF has had to pay close attention to the coordination of its ground patrolling, communications, and airlift.

Antipoaching operations in Botswana have been challenged by the natural environment in other ways, as well. The climate and terrain in the north are hard on personnel and equipment, so the BDF has been obliged to pay more than normal attention to troop health and equipment maintenance. Seasonal variations in temperature and precipitation are significant. Midsummer tropical rainstorms can easily drop several inches of rain in a few hours. Summer humidity is very high, and daytime temperatures often exceed one hundred degrees Fahrenheit. In contrast, during the southern African winter, precipitation is rare, humidity is very low, and nighttime temperatures frequently are close to freezing. The seasonal variations require different mechanisms to protect troops and equipment, and the weather imposes a variety of destructive effects. Summer precipitation and winter dust both degrade equipment. Summer rains wash out the primitive roads and flood large areas, which then become impassible to foot or vehicular traffic. Summer mud and winter sand significantly inhibit ground mobility. Extremes of temperature, humidity, and aridity adversely affect the health and performance of personnel. During the summer heat and rains, malicious insects, venomous reptiles, and destructive molds proliferate. This season typically sees a dramatic increase in malaria and other tropical diseases. Winter brings its own disease regimen as well. Particulates in the winter atmosphere (along with the cold temperatures) contribute to a significant seasonal increase in human lung ailments.

The weather has an obvious impact on local vegetation, which can retard movement and observation—two essential capabilities of military units engaged in antipoaching. In the thick vegetation of the north, it is relatively easy for small groups of skilled poachers to conceal themselves from ground or aerial observation. Predictably, vegetation along the rivers and swamps grows in lush profusion year-round, affording excellent cover for animals or humans. A limited amount of the northern area is covered by *miombo* forest—which is open deciduous woodland. In this area, many of the trees lose their leaves in the winter season, so that poachers' ability to conceal themselves is distinctly better after the onset of summer rains and the return of the leaves. Nonetheless, even in the *miombo* forest, poachers have little difficulty finding adequate protection from observation at any time of the year. Much of the northern area is thorn bush savanna, with tall grass and scattered acacia trees along with

the ubiquitous thorn bush. The grassland provides surprisingly good concealment from ground and air observation in all seasons.

The weather and terrain have an impact on the rhythm of poaching, revolving around the availability of water. With the onset of the summer rains, when water and good grazing are well distributed, the animals disperse and hunting becomes more difficult. As the winter progresses and the sources of water become increasingly limited, the animals tend to congregate along the rivers or at the scattered pans (waterholes). The dry season facilitates human ground movement. Combined with the greater concentrations of wildlife around the waterholes, the dry winter is thus the most lucrative season for poaching. Ironically, the same factors that cause animals to concentrate around water also make antipoaching operations somewhat easier in the dry season. Military forces can conduct surveillance (or lay ambushes) around the limited water sources in the expectation that they will draw poachers along with the animals.

The obstacles to antipoaching operations posed by the vast distances, extremes of weather, and thick vegetation are compounded by the lack of infrastructure in the parks and game reserves. These areas are supposed to be "undeveloped," and to a very large extent, they are just that. Access to the remoter parts requires air or river transport. Motor vehicles must negotiate unimproved dirt roads, a painfully slow mode of travel. Achieving good mobility in this environment is a considerable feat for any military establishment, but the BDF has developed an effective regimen of vehicular and foot patrols, supplemented by river patrolling and backed up by quick-reaction helicopter borne operations. Military antipoaching operations in Botswana apparently never have been significantly impeded by weather and terrain, equipment breakdown or deteriorating troop health, a remarkable record that distinguishes Botswana from most other African countries. The BDF deserves respect for its ability to operate effectively over the long term in this environment.

A much more exotic challenge faced by the BDF in its antipoaching operations has been the presence of vast quantities of wildlife not commonly encountered elsewhere in Botswana (or elsewhere in the world, for that matter). Botswana's troops on antipoaching duty find themselves in the constant vicinity of wild animals, including very dangerous ones like elephants, cape buffalo, lions, crocodiles, hippos, and highly venomous snakes. While citizens of Botswana commonly make the claim, "We come from rural areas and understand wild animals," this assertion is more hubris than reality. Most of the country's citizens now grow up in urban or peri-urban environments. Botswana's military recruits are not

inherently more familiar with wildlife than their fellow citizens. So when it commenced its antipoaching role, the BDF found it necessary to build the skills necessary for its troops to live and operate near wildlife.

Botswana's military training establishment developed a course of instruction that now is part of the basic education of officers and enlisted personnel. The BDF constructed a wild animal park at Sir Seretse Khama Barracks (its headquarters just north of Gaborone) where military personnel are exposed to the wild animals commonly encountered in antipoaching operations. In the beginning, the training was provided to active duty personnel. Later, it was made part of the basic training of new recruits.

The wild animal familiarity training was designed to provide the animal handling skills and confidence required by the troops for the situations they would confront in the field. Ian Khama seems to have been particularly instrumental in its development. He seems to have had at least one other purpose in mind: he wanted to impress on his subordinates the value of wildlife to the nation and convince them that they could (and should) safeguard the nation's environmental interests. The initiative proved quite successful. By 2006, the indoctrination on the merits of wildlife protection had built a strong and apparently enduring conservationist ethic in the military's organizational culture.[25]

Defining the Rules of Engagement

One of the trickiest challenges faced by Botswana's military leaders in their antipoaching operations was the development of rules of engagement that would permit the troops to apply sufficient violence to halt the poaching without at the same time alienating the country's citizens. This was a complex issue. The BDF was confronted with various types of poaching in addition to that perpetrated by the foreign armed gangs. Some was committed by local citizens living near the conservation areas. These people hunted illegally for meat yet posed little or no threat to the megafauna. Some local poachers also came from the fishing villages along Botswana's shared river frontier with Namibia, again primarily hunting for meat. Still other local poachers were Zimbabwean villagers living just across the border to the east. The Zimbabweans would cross covertly to set wire game snares, typically to trap smaller animals for meat. The meat hunters, whether from Botswana, Namibia, or Zimbabwe, were clearly engaged in illegal activity and required some response, but they did not pose the same kind of

threat as the well-disciplined, armed groups of commercial poachers.[26] An overly brutal treatment of the local poachers posed the unacceptable risk of alienating local communities and inflaming interstate relations along the border.

There was no comprehensive precedent on which the BDF could draw for structuring rules of engagement for its antipoaching operations, so it was obliged to experiment. The most pressing task in the early years was to intercept the armed groups, and the BDF's first approach was to saturate limited areas in the northern wildlife sanctuaries with very small teams of foot-mobile commandos on long-range patrols. The commandos tracked and ambushed the poachers, beating them at their own game by emphasizing stealth and surprise for tactical advantage. They quickly established their superiority.[27] The activity was very violent, and the commandos apparently killed a large proportion of the poachers they encountered. Within a short period of time, they had succeeded in eliminating much of the immediate threat posed by the criminal syndicates, intimidating both the gangs and the local poachers.[28] However, the commandos lacked the numbers to secure the entire affected area over a protracted period. They also might have applied more violence to the local poachers (particularly those from Namibia) than the government was able to tolerate over the long term.

In any event, the nature of the threat and the mission had changed by the time the rest of Botswana supplemented the antipoaching role of the commandos with the rest of the BDF in 1989. The country's political leaders, increasingly sensitive to reports of killed poachers, seemed to desire a reduction in the lethality of the antipoaching operations. Then, too, the BDF was no longer encountering the quantity of poachers seen in the first two years, and the number of poacher deaths had declined to a handful each year. Botswana's military was still conducting a vigorous regimen of patrolling, but the stealth of the commandos was no longer its main feature.

Since 1989, Botswana's conventional military forces have maintained a very visible presence in the northern game areas, intended primarily to deter poaching (in all its varieties), and at the same time to reassure citizens and tourists that they are secure from armed criminals. As part of this highly visible presence, the conventional combat units have been much more inclined than the commandos to use vehicles for their operations. Their patrols also have been larger in size (up to platoon strength), more frequent, and of much shorter durations (generally lasting about twenty-four hours).[29]

When the BDF expanded the antipoaching mission to include all its ground combat units in 1989, it developed a new antipoaching role for the Commando Squadron. The commandos now became something of a reserve force to be used in circumstances requiring particular stealth, bush craft, or violence. They would now conduct antipoaching operations at the same time as—but autonomously from—the other BDF units, and in reaction to specific intelligence. When ordered, the Commando Squadron would deploy small teams to the wildlife conservancies, generally in response to a credible report of commercial poacher activity.[30] To avoid tipping off the poachers, teams would move to their designated operational area without any public announcement, taking pains to vary their means of travel and routes. In the field, they continued to rely on their trademark long-range foot patrols by four-man groups. They also made extensive use of two-man observation posts set up near the water pans where animals and poachers could be expected to congregate. The commandos developed their own technique for quick-reaction missions, maintaining at least one helicopter (typically a French-made *Ecureille*) near their operational sites in order to be prepared for quick-reaction backup operations in support of the teams in the field.[31]

By the early twenty-first century, Botswana apparently had come to rely on the commandos for those missions most likely to require lethal force. These carefully trained personnel maintained the finely honed small unit skills best suited to tracking down the most difficult and dangerous opponents, and the secrecy of their operations reduced the prospects for inconvenient publicity. When dispatched against a group of poachers, they generally were successful at finding them and typically left few survivors. For the commandos, the antipoaching mission provided excellent training in their métier, providing a realistic training environment and a skilled adversary. Knowledgeable observers have unanimously expressed respect bordering on awe for their professionalism and efficiency.[32]

Since 1987, Botswana's military antipoaching operations in its northern game sanctuaries have significantly decreased the amount of poaching. Still, in the early years of the twenty-first century, the BDF continued to encounter a variety of different kinds of poaching, and the intensity varied year by year. (The years 2004 and 2005 saw something of a spike in poaching by local meat hunters in the area along the western border of the Okavango Delta.[33])

Botswana's military personnel have consistently claimed that their antipoaching operations discriminate between the local meat poachers

and the foreign gangs.[34] While the accuracy of this assertion is difficult to verify with absolute certainty, the country's primary human rights advocacy group received few allegations of the BDF abuse of citizens in the northern areas.[35] In fact, the government of Botswana seemed to pursue a dual approach in its military antipoaching operations. Local meat hunters were apprehended and turned over to the police for prosecution. Armed gangs of professional criminals were ruthlessly hunted down and eliminated.

Technique and Technology of Antipoaching

Beyond patrolling and tracking, the BDF experimented with technology in its antipoaching operations. From the beginning, it made use of its Bell (and later, its French-made *Ecureille*) utility helicopters for troop lift, troop supply, and surveillance. In the mid-1990s, Botswana acquired U.S. *Panther* Airboats (high-speed swamp boats) and surplus 0-2a *Skymaster* light observer aircraft (a military version of the Cessna 337). The airboats were intended for rapid movement on the rivers and swampland of the northern wildlife conservancies, primarily in the Okavango Delta. The U.S. surveillance aircraft were equipped with a Forward-Looking Infrared Radar (FLIR) designed for nighttime surveillance and supposedly providing a capacity for ready identification of human bodies during hours of darkness. The BDF also purchased limited numbers of global positioning systems (GPS) and night vision devices for troop use, investing at the same time in state-of-the-art tactical radios.[36]

In the end, except for the GPS, night vision devices, radios, and helicopters, none of the technology provided a quantum advantage in antipoaching operations. GPS has become essential technology whether for urban U.S. motorists or modern armies, allowing quick and accurate determinations of location. It has served that purpose well for the BDF. Night vision goggles provided a good short-range capacity to detect and identify poachers. The helicopters became particularly important for air lifting troops and supplies into remote sites and have been well suited to rapid reaction in fast-moving engagements with poachers. BDF leaders told the author that most of the other technology proved disappointing.[37]

The radar on the U.S. surveillance aircraft might have afforded a significant night surveillance capability, but all the systems malfunctioned soon after delivery and Botswana lacked the resources to repair them.[38] The BDF subsequently tried to use the U.S. surveillance aircraft for air

patrolling, employing human spotters, but poachers easily recognized the distinctive sound of the engines long before the aircraft were in visual range, so the utility of this combination proved marginal at best. The same was true of the swamp boats. Although the BDF continued to employ them for patrolling on the waterways of northern Botswana, the engines were so loud that poachers were alerted well before the boats were anywhere near their intended targets.[39] The BDF leadership concluded that the most effective counterpoaching technique was a highly visible presence on the ground to deter the poaching if possible, complemented with ambushes and foot patrols by small, stealthy, disciplined teams backed up by rapid-reaction helicopter-borne forces when interception was required.

One fascinating thing about the BDF antipoaching mission is its primal nature. It pits small groups of determined men against each other in an environment that would be familiar to mankind's Neolithic ancestors. Technology provides marginal advantages, but success is based on the most ancient of military attributes: teamwork, perseverance, endurance, patience, discipline, acute environmental awareness, and the ability to apply extremes of violence on a moment's notice. Even in the twenty-first century, human societies are obliged to reaffirm lessons about conflict learned at the dawn of time.

Interagency and International Relations

Poachers and the natural environment were not the only problems faced by the BDF during its antipoaching operations. The use of the military in this role had distinct law enforcement implications, requiring military officers to work out new relationships with the Botswana Police and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. In the absence of a carefully negotiated division of responsibilities, this caused a variety of unanticipated problems in the early years.

Botswana's civilian leaders had not anticipated the inevitable frictions resulting from the overlapping jurisdictions of military antipoaching. Some problems stemmed from personal jealousies within the military and police bureaucracies, while others arose from the competing agendas of two agencies charged with similar responsibilities. There were also unanticipated legal ambiguities. Initially, the police insisted that each poacher killed in the course of military operations was a homicide, requiring an elaborate investigation and the interrogation of BDF "murder suspects." The police also insisted initially on seizing all the captured

poacher matériel as evidence. Neither demand sat well with military personnel, who believed they simply were doing their duty—and doing it well—and who found their honor now somehow tarnished with unwarranted implications of illegality. In the first few years, the resolution of such problems depended largely on the interpersonal skills of the junior officers on the scene, some of whom achieved better interagency working relations than others. There were occasions of poacher interceptions in the early years when the senior BDF leaders (typically Ian Khama) were obliged to intervene in disputes with the police over antipoaching issues.

However, the BDF and the police eventually achieved much more cordial and cooperative relationships. The police ultimately conceded that BDF employment of lethal force against poachers should not be subject to police investigation, nor would the police demand as evidence the matériel left after a firefight. By the mid-1990s, the working relationship had become so much smoother and less bureaucratic that at least some of the BDF antipoaching patrols included members of the police.[40]

The BDF also was obliged to work out a new relationship with the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), the agency holding the constitutionally designated responsibility for wildlife management in Botswana. Up to 1987, the DWNP's ability to deter the commercial megafauna poaching was minimal at best. However, the injection of the military into the northern wildlife conservancies somewhat revitalized its functions, a subject discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The BDF lacked the environmental expertise possessed by the DWNP, and military success in this unprecedented role depended to some degree on a synergistic relationship between the two agencies. However, the DWNP continued to suffer from weak leadership, which prevented the relationship from reaching its full potential.

In the 1980s, the DWNP antipoaching deficiencies might have been attributable largely to the firepower of the poachers, which the game rangers simply could not match. But even after that threat was much reduced, the DWNP apparently did not improve the effectiveness of its antipoaching operations. Individuals familiar with the department attributed its shortcomings to government tolerance for its weak leadership, its parsimonious funding, and the lack of support from its parent government ministry. The performance of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks stood in stark contrast to that of the Defence Force, and in 2005, there were rumors in Botswana that the government was contemplating the transfer of the DWNP's antipoaching functions entirely to the BDF.

Still, by 2006, the BDF was working effectively with both the police and the Department of Wildlife. These three agencies had created a joint operations committee to coordinate antipoaching activity in northern Botswana. Interagency coordination seemed to have settled into a fairly well-functioning routine.[41] Police and wildlife officials were included in antipoaching operations planning. The three agencies had established a streamlined routine for processing killed or apprehended poachers. They also had demonstrated a creative joint capacity to intercept poaching activity, as illustrated by an interesting operation in 2003. The wildlife personnel had began to insert computerized chips (capable of being electronically tracked) in the horns of wild rhinos released in the Okavango Delta. In November 2003, poachers killed a rhino and removed its horn for illicit sale. A combined task force of military, police, and game rangers tracked the poachers by helicopter, locating the pilfered rhino horn in a home in Maun. The task force promptly swooped in and arrested the astonished poachers.[42]

From the outset of its antipoaching operations, the BDF recognized the importance of taking the fight beyond the country's borders. It could not conduct unilateral strike operations against poachers in neighboring states, so the BDF pursued at least two separate tracks. One was the development of an external agent network that could provide early warning of commercial poacher activity. This initiative apparently was gratifyingly successful. BDF sources told the author that their agents in neighboring countries had succeeded in pitting competing syndicates against each other, profiting by the eagerness of criminal groups to eliminate their rivals.[43]

The BDF also sought to build cooperative relationships with the authorities in neighboring countries. From the beginning of its antipoaching involvement, Botswana's military sought these kinds of relationships, but the initial response was disappointing. When the BDF began to conduct its antipoaching operations in the northern wildlife sanctuaries in 1987, the counterpart security organization on the other side of the border was the South African administration of Southwest Africa (later Namibia). The South Africans at the time were involved in bitter counterinsurgency wars in close proximity to Botswana's border.[44] South African authorities in Namibia had little interest in wildlife conservation, and some of their military personnel apparently were involved in the poaching in Botswana.[45] Meanwhile, the most persistent poaching threat came from Zambia, whose government generally was sympathetic to Botswana's antipoaching efforts but was notoriously ineffective at

curbing its citizens' involvement in the illegal activity. This meant at the outset that Botswana could expect little help from its neighbors in preventing poacher infiltration. Botswana's leaders had hoped that Namibia's transition to independence in 1990 would produce a more cooperative relationship on that border. However, despite repeated efforts by the Botswana military officials, their Namibian counterparts displayed little interest in any coordinated antipoaching efforts until well into 1990s.[46]

The situation was very frustrating to BDF senior leaders in the beginning, but they persevered in efforts to engage their neighbors. Relations improved slowly with time. Some of the change was attributable to an inevitable evolution of political reform in southern Africa, but Botswana's military leaders deserve credit for the constancy of their efforts. BDF officers noted to the author that relations with neighboring countries had vastly improved by the late 1990s, ultimately resulting in a substantial cooperation that had not seemed possible a decade earlier. Ironically, this cooperation continued despite the subsequent ups and downs of other relations between the countries.

By the early years of the twenty-first century, the BDF was conducting joint patrolling (or joint operations) with law enforcement agencies from Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. It had coordinated sting operations in Zambia against poacher syndicates with the full cooperation of the Zambian authorities.[47] The key to this cooperation was a joint military commission According to BDF sources, law enforcement agencies from Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe were represented in this commission. Reportedly, they cooperated in a variety of ways, including in the sharing of intelligence, joint patrolling, and joint operations. These connections could certainly not be perfect, but Botswana's senior military officers seemed confident that even better cooperation and more effective environmental security relationships were possible in the years to come.

Significance of BDF Antipoaching Success

The BDF's antipoaching operations have never fully guaranteed Botswana's environmental security. And for that matter, the success of the BDF antipoaching operations does not prove that this is an appropriate role for a national military establishment. Botswana simply has demonstrated that, given a certain conjunction of circumstances, military force can be effective against a complex, low-intensity security threat with difficult

law enforcement and civil-military ramifications. It has demonstrated that a small, well-trained, well-disciplined, and well-led national military can succeed in this role. In the process, it has protected a critical natural resource.

Botswana's leaders have not employed their military indiscriminately in internal security roles. For the duration of its antipoaching operations, the military antipoaching intervention has been limited to a small proportion of Botswana's land area, leaving responsibility for the rest of the country in the somewhat dubious hands of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. With the exception of limited patrolling along the borders in the east and southwest, the military's focus has been along the country's northern border, the primary locations of the megafauna and, by extension, the megafauna poaching. If the government were ultimately to transfer the full responsibility for antipoaching in Botswana to the BDF, it would be interesting to see if the country's military could muster the resources for the task.

By the end of the twentieth century, the BDF had largely ended the megafauna poaching in northern Botswana, either by interception or deterrence of the poachers. Its disciplined and pervasive presence had reestablished a perception of security among a population once abused by violent, well-armed criminals, and it had assured the safety of a nervous international tourist clientele. Every bit as important, the BDF had demonstrated the capacity of the state, winning kudos in the country at large by showing commitment and competence in a difficult military mission over the long term.

This page intentionally left blank

4

Organizational Culture and Antipoaching Success

Introduction

In June 1988, South African agents crossed Botswana's border in a clandestine operation to strike antiapartheid activists that had fled their country. However, the operation soon went badly awry—Botswana's security forces intercepted the South Africans and, after an exchange of gunfire, captured two of them. A week later, an American graduate student driving through Botswana on a short research trip encountered a military roadblock near the nation's capital.

The American was fully aware of recent events in the country, and he was nervous as he drove up to the barricade in the road. In his travels elsewhere in Africa, he had encountered more than his share of roadblocks manned by slovenly, drunken soldiers. He well knew the danger posed by undisciplined and edgy troops, and had come to expect their hair-trigger suspicion, extortion, and casual brutality. Here, he could clearly see that Botswana's security forces were on high alert. And due to his skin color, he worried about the prospect of being taken for a South African spy.

However, there was something distinctly different about the soldiers on this deserted road in Botswana. Their uniforms were clean and well pressed. They were sober and alert. Their demeanor was professional, their discipline obvious. They were polite, even deferential. They did not threaten or demand bribes. The ranking man inspected the proffered documents and asked the American to open the trunk of the car—an obvious place to check for hidden weapons. Now more nervous than ever, the American fumbled helplessly with the unfamiliar rental vehicle.

Despite his best effort, he simply could not get the trunk open. Finally, touched by the obvious distress of a fellow human being, the BDF officer patted the flustered student and waved him on through. This was no ordinary African army. By 1988, Botswana's "exceptionality" applied as well to the character of its armed forces.[1]

The success of military antipoaching in Botswana derives in large part from the characteristics of the Defence Force itself. The qualities of the small unit leaders in the field, the skills of the planning staffs, and the capacities of the senior leaders who manage the entire effort all play a role. Complex operations like those conducted by the BDF in their antipoaching role require technical competence, but that is not the only attribute essential to success. Discipline and professional ethics also are critical: few complex military endeavors in the modern world succeed unless leaders and followers adhere to certain minimum norms of professional behavior. In Botswana's case, the commercial poachers are prepared to facilitate their criminal activity with unimaginable amounts of money, a temptation to which military people all too readily succumb. For that matter, engaging in poaching could be a lucrative pastime for avaricious military leaders with privileged access to wildlife resources. Then, the success of coercive activities like antipoaching requires a force sophisticated enough to distinguish innocent bystanders from criminal poachers and wise enough to avoid alienating the society in which it operates.

Taken together, the internal qualities of the military establishment—the norms, values, assumptions, competencies, and aspirations—can be grouped under the rubric of "organizational culture." Some factors important to explaining Botswana's antipoaching success certainly must lie here. This chapter probes those factors.

What is Organizational Culture?

Like many concepts that pass into general usage, "organizational culture" has a slippery range of meanings and is occasionally bogged down in pedantic disputes over the definition of culture itself. However, it is sufficient here to simply see it as the "pattern of shared basic assumptions that [a] group has learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration."[2] A useful place to begin an assessment of organizational culture is in an organization's espoused values, since these comprise the face that an institution self-consciously seeks to present to the larger society.

Espoused values are intended to answer questions like, what is our nature?; what are we able to do?; and what should you (the public) expect from us? In recent years, Western military establishments have tried to answer such questions in part by publishing lists of core values.[3] The lists turn up in media ranging from recruitment advertising to doctrinal manuals. They are useful places to begin an assessment of organizational culture, though they of course do not tell the whole story. At best, they indicate what an organization would like to be and how it would like to be perceived. To determine if espoused values are descriptive (rather than merely prescriptive) they must be compared against overt behavior.

The government of Botswana and its Defence Force offer examples of espoused values in several different forms. One is enshrined in the country's national vision—*Vision 2016*—published in the late 1990s. It describes Botswana's intention to maintain a military that is "small, alert, well trained and fully accountable"—one that guarantees citizens' basic human rights against infringements by "foreign or internal aggression or terrorism."[4] These aspirations are echoed in the BDF's own (2004) vision, in which it describes itself as a "professional, modern, affordable and accountable force . . . contributing to national security . . . [and] ensuring prompt and decisive response to a wide range of both internal/external defence and security-related challenges."[5] The BDF vision is accompanied by a separate list of values that includes "duty," "discipline," "*esprit de corps*," and "integrity." The various lists portray an institution that emphasizes tactical and technical competence, stresses adherence to standards of professional behavior and highlights its loyalty both to the nation and to the profession. They suggest what it is that Botswana's civil and military leaders would like their Defence Force to be, but they beg the question of whether or not the espoused values accurately portray institutional norms.

The BDF has been observed by the country's citizens (and sporadically evaluated by local scholars) since its founding in 1977. It has participated in international peace operations since 1992, when external observers first began to encounter Botswana's military personnel on a regular basis. By 2007, the country's soldiers and airmen had been dispatched for three decades to foreign military training programs and had been intensively scrutinized by foreign colleagues in the classroom and the field. Taken together, this exposure offers a reasonable basis for comparing the behavior of BDF members to their espoused values.

Botswana's military got off to a shaky start in the 1970s, as might be expected of a brand new organization in a troubled neighborhood. The

massacre of the unsuspecting BDF patrol by Rhodesian forces at Lesoma in 1978 pointed to significant shortfalls in basic soldiering skills. Several incidents of indiscipline by BDF personnel in the 1980s tarnished the domestic and international reputation of the new military in its first decade of existence. Yet, by the end of the 1980s, the BDF seemingly had overcome all these deficiencies. In assessments after 1988, Botswana's military units and individual soldiers consistently have fared well, receiving high marks for professional knowledge, competence in military planning, and individual and unit discipline. The consistency of these evaluations is remarkable. Given the generally poor reputation of most African armies, it begs the additional question of how Botswana succeeded in creating a force of this caliber in so short a time.

Sources of BDF Tradition

The origins of the Botswana Defence Force provided many of the cultural norms that still underlie its organizational behavior. Senior BDF officers are quick to claim that they created their military "from scratch" and were not bound by colonial models. This assertion is partially true, but the founding nucleus of the BDF was the Police Mobile Unit of the Botswana Police. This core had a significant British police culture reflected in its training and experience, discipline, rank structure, drill, ceremonies, and even uniforms. In fact, the British Army provided substantial training to the Police Mobile Unit in the 1960s and 1970s, reinforcing already strict police standards of discipline and a high regard for legal protocol.[6] Botswana's continuing Commonwealth linkages buttressed these norms (as did, possibly, a long-term Indian Army advisory presence).

However, the British police tradition is by no means the only source of values for Botswana's military. BDF officers claim that they have been able to bring the strengths of their traditional Tswana culture into the fabric of their military values, and this may be at least partly true. They cite their putative national ethic of *botho*—respect, manners, sensitivity to local norms, "community-mindedness," and an emphasis on consultation for collective decisions—as a key factor in their professional ethic, asserting that the qualities associated with *botho* facilitated their relations with local populations in peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Mozambique, and Lesotho.[7] In the absence of validating research, such claims must be treated with some caution, but the Botswana Defence Force has impressed U.S. military personnel with its ability to relate to

local civilian communities. Observers of the 1998 intervention in Lesotho have told the author that BDF peacekeepers enjoyed much better relations with the population of Lesotho than did their partners in the South African National Defence Force.

The BDF is a small organization and a relatively young one. In 2006, members that originally joined at its founding in 1977 were just retiring, but even those who joined in the early 1980s had seen virtually the entire maturation of this military. The small size encouraged a substantial internal bonding and a certain intimacy, notably within the officer corps. Particularly at the level of field grade officers (majors) and above, the close personal connections over the long term produced a body of capable and influential people in Botswana's society that share a common ethos, know each other very well, work well together, and are an important national constituency in their own right. The small size and commonality of experience within the BDF contribute to its cohesion and penchant for mutual cooperation within the organization.

Despite its institutional solidarity, one important characteristic of the BDF has been the regular turnover of its most senior leaders. The founding commander served for ten years. The second served for nine. The third retired after an eight-year tenure. To Americans and Western Europeans, an eight-to-ten year tour of duty as military commander might seem unduly long, but by African standards it is relatively short. The regular turnover of BDF commanders has contributed to overall BDF professionalism and has somewhat reduced a tendency, seen in other African armies, of building personal fiefdoms.

Recruiting and Socialization

Modern armies in the developed world put considerable emphasis on advanced technology but at the same time stress the importance of high-quality human resources. Botswana's military reflects the same emphasis. Botswana can afford to be highly selective in recruitment both of officers and enlisted personnel. All its military members are volunteers. The BDF undertakes a single yearly "intake" of personnel—one for officer and another for enlisted candidates. In 2004, the BDF sought eighty to one hundred new officers and received some three thousand applications. It sought five hundred enlisted recruits and received over fifteen thousand applications. BDF personnel managers said at the time that this response had been consistent since the mid-1980s.[8] Like all countries in Africa, Botswana has a relatively high rate of unemployment, so the large

number of applicants for BDF officer and enlisted positions should not be surprising. However, the applications provide a good indication of the attractiveness of BDF service to Botswana's youth. The BDF is not obliged to draw from society's unmotivated, unwilling dregs.

The selectivity is evident not only in the numbers of applicants but also in the criteria for selection. The minimum educational qualification for an officer candidate is a Cambridge A-level "First Class Pass," essentially equivalent to a U.S. junior college associate degree. This itself is impressive but does not tell the whole story. Since the mid-1990s, about half the officer candidates selected for service already had university degrees.

Enlisted recruits are required to possess a Cambridge O-level certification, equivalent to a degree from a good quality U.S. secondary school. Many of the successful enlisted applicants have additional trade school or apprenticeship training as well. These educational qualifications indicate that recruits enter the BDF with substantial knowledge of the wider world and a good grounding in the norms and values of Westernized urban culture. In the author's conversations with BDF personnel, both officer and enlisted, the importance of educational qualifications surfaced regularly. The BDF clearly views education as a discriminator and criterion of quality.[9]

The Defence Force socializes its recruits with training of its own. Officers start their careers with a year-long officer basic program involving both classroom instruction and field exercises. This is conducted at the Defence Force headquarters near Gaborone and at Paje Barracks near the town of Serowe. Enlisted recruits undergo a six-month basic course, again divided partly between Defence Force headquarters and a remote training base at Pandematenga along the far northeastern border with Zimbabwe. These basic training programs emphasize basic soldier knowledge and skills. Interestingly, conservation of the natural environment is a key feature in the training of both officers and other ranks, including familiarization with wild animals and indoctrination on the importance of the environment to the national economy. The indoctrination has effectively embedded a conservationist inclination into the BDF professional ethic. In conversations with the author in 2004 and 2005, BDF personnel frequently expressed a personal pride in their ability to work around dangerous wildlife.[10]

The Defence Force offers career progression training at regular intervals to both its officer and enlisted personnel.[11] After their basic training, officers undergo a month-long "young officers' course." In their early

years, they also take a three-month platoon leaders' course, a three-month company commanders' course, and a six-month junior staff officers' course. In 2006, Botswana was finalizing plans to inaugurate a Command and General Staff College, demonstrating the country's concern for educating its mid-level officers.[12] In addition to the officer education in Botswana, the BDF sends many of its officers to military schooling elsewhere in Africa and overseas; Canada, France, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States are frequent destinations.[13] One knowledgeable U.S. source estimated in 2004 that 75 percent of BDF officers above the rank of major were graduates of U.S. military schools.[14] The Defence Force also provides a number of its officers the opportunity to complete civilian education degrees at the University of Botswana or at overseas institutions. A surprisingly large number of senior BDF officers have master's degrees from U.S. schools (the BDF Commander in 2006 had two), and a substantial number of BDF officers undertake distance-learning education, particularly in business administration and cyber applications.

Education has exerted a significant impact on the organizational culture of the BDF. The high proportion of BDF officers with higher education and prolonged exposure to Western military schooling has provided the BDF with a professional aspect rare in Africa.[15] This is evident in BDF officers' conversation, worldview, and general knowledge of the wider world as well as in the BDF appearance, organization, training, and deployment. In BDF peace operations in Somalia, Mozambique, and Lesotho, knowledgeable observers generally have given the BDF high marks for effective operations and professional behavior.[16]

Specific Features of the Organizational Culture

The BDF emphasis on professional training has important implications. One is a preoccupation with technical and tactical competence. The BDF leadership has expressed an intention to familiarize its personnel with the "best practices" elsewhere. In the early twenty-first century, this was clearly evident in BDF activities such as troop training, operational planning, and equipment maintenance, all of which were typically marked by a high level of professionalism. Another important impact of professional training on BDF thinking grows out of a familiarity with the U.S. emphasis on "effects-based operations," or, more simply, suiting military structures and operations to the broader ends of the state. The antipoaching mission has demonstrated a sophisticated BDF understanding of the

national interest and an ability to suit its operations accordingly. At the beginning, when the most pressing mission was the interception and destruction of armed gangs of poachers, the BDF deployed the forces most suited to that mission. When the mission changed to deterrence, the BDF altered its approach to suit that mission. Both approaches were competently executed and effective in achieving the intended result.

The professional orientation of the BDF spills over into resource management. While the organization is far too secretive to publish the "operational readiness rates" of its equipment, it devotes more than normal attention for an African army to equipment maintenance. The Defence Force has built extensive repair facilities that foreign military observers have found to be well equipped and well staffed with competent technicians. It stresses preventive maintenance in its training programs. It keeps its weapons, vehicles, and aircraft in good repair and—unusual for Africa—in good external appearance. (It is rare to encounter a BDF vehicle "broken down" along a road in Botswana.) Most importantly, the BDF seems able to deploy its equipment on very short notice for contingencies, whether on peacekeeping duties abroad, humanitarian relief in Botswana, or reacting quickly to poaching along the borders.

Another Western feature of the BDF culture, probably reinforced by substantial military schooling in Europe and North America, is surprising professional latitude for junior officers. This has been particularly true for the antipoaching mission, in which lieutenants and captains bear considerable personal responsibility for independent operations. But it also has been the case in peace operations—in dangerous and difficult environments like Somalia and Mozambique—in which small, dispersed units commanded by junior officers were obliged to make substantive tactical decisions in circumstances when superiors could not closely supervise them. Institutional confidence in junior leaders is not a defining characteristic of most African armies, but the BDF seems to have achieved it to a greater degree than most. This orientation is reflected in the overt relationships between junior and senior officers. Junior officers show considerable respect but (in the author's observation) do not grovel to their seniors. The deference by enlisted to officers appears to be greater, but it is not marked by the extreme servility encountered in some African armies.

Of course the BDF is too secretive to submit its processes of selection for promotion and assignment to public scrutiny. While its founding legislation gives the president the prerogative to promote officers to field grade and general office rank, the author found little evidence that the

Office of the President was deeply involved in the selection of mid-level officers. However, promotion to senior military rank (colonel and above) has political implications in Botswana, and assignments like the command of one of the four ground combat brigades or the Air Arm elevate an individual to a position of significant national influence. The country's senior political leadership undoubtedly vets these choices very carefully. Still, whatever the exact criteria for promotion and assignment, the BDF seems to promote competent leaders at all levels.

The Defence Force has also built an ethic of institutional loyalty that motivates senior officers to take greater than normal interest in the conditions of life for junior personnel. For example, military base facilities and programs for even junior personnel range from informal credit unions to libraries, gymnasiums, sports teams, and subsidized food.[17] This interest in the "quality of life" extends to the temporary quarters occupied by the troops during antipoaching deployments, with good food, climate-controlled facilities, and even televisions for entertainment.

Also indicative is the frequency with which senior officers visit their troops "in the field." Former BDF commander Ian Khama was renowned for flying into small airfields in remote areas and then accompanying his troops on antipoaching patrols. (He also regularly visited his troops deployed on peacekeeping operations in Somalia and Mozambique.) While Khama set a high personal standard, his example appears to be standard officer behavior in the BDF. His successor also regularly visited the troops in the field. The two-way institutional loyalty evident in these senior officer visits is significant in several respects: it not only assures junior personnel that their leaders are aware of their circumstances but also emphasizes the fact that their activities are routinely but not minutely scrutinized. The overall effect is to foster accountability.

Remuneration

The professional behavior of BDF personnel is encouraged by a fairly generous scale of pay and allowances, correlated since about 2002 with the pay of other civil servants in Botswana. Military personnel can count on a good income, affording a middle-class standard of living for officers and relative comfort even for junior enlisted personnel.[18] Military members also can retire at the end of twenty years of service with a reasonable pension. The regularity and adequacy of remuneration significantly reduces the incentive for graft that has afflicted many other African militaries.[19] Equally important, military personnel in Botswana are able to

afford luxuries like cars, computers, and media—televisions, radios, magazines, and books—which encourage an interaction with the wider world and promote a higher level of sophistication. This broader exposure makes Botswana's military professionals as aware as any other citizens of the expectations of military professionalism in the developed world, reinforcing the training many have received in Europe and North America.

The pay and benefits by themselves probably would not be significant constraints on unprofessional behavior were it not for the influence of at least two other factors. The first is an emphasis on discipline imported from the police origins of the BDF. The founding commander, Mompati S. Merafhe, himself a deputy police commissioner when charged with overseeing the formation of a new army, concluded at the outset that a lack of discipline was a principal defect in other African armies. His administration—and legacy to the BDF—was a strong emphasis on professional standards of behavior, and his successors followed his lead.[20] A second factor is the national aversion to corruption, formally ensconced in a long-standing government anticorruption campaign and discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The aversion to "corruption" is a significant phenomenon that bears on the BDF's ability to perform any mission, but particularly the antipoaching mission with its potential for illicit gain. The secretive culture of the BDF precludes outsiders from access to internal disciplinary records of the organization, so precise details are difficult to obtain. But anecdote and inferences suggest that the BDF moves quickly and decisively against a member of any rank that violates institutional norms by engaging in corrupt behavior.

In the course of substantial research, the author encountered only one reasonably verifiable instance of corruption within the BDF—a major, involved in antipoaching operations in northern Botswana in the late 1990s, who was apprehended with poached ivory. The disposition of the case was not published, but the officer apparently was quickly dismissed from the service.

How "Different" is the BDF?

An examination of the organizational culture of the BDF begs an obvious question of how Botswana's military compares to that of others in Africa. Of course, any attempt at comparison must be tempered by the sheer variety on the African continent, whose fifty-four separate countries have

a like number of different security establishments. Broad generalizations are bound to ignore important exceptions to almost any African norm. Still, it is possible to highlight Botswana's distinctiveness without doing an egregious injustice to other African armies.

The BDF was a much smaller military than most on the continent. With a troop strength in 2007 of less than fifteen thousand, it employed significantly less personnel than the more typical African national military establishment of forty to fifty thousand. Botswana's relative cultural homogeneity assured that its military was not drawn from exclusive communities or classes but rather reflected a fair cross section of the nation itself. Botswana's colonial experience had not produced a security establishment recruited from any European notion of "martial races," a factor that in 2007 still impacted the ethnic composition of some other African military forces.[21] The senior leadership of the BDF was part of the national political elite, and its personnel were very well represented in the councils of state (an issue discussed in more detail in the next chapter), but advancement in the BDF appeared to be based largely on merit.

The BDF stress on ethical behavior and accountability to the larger society might not have been totally unique on the African continent, but neither was it particularly common. African militaries are widely viewed by their own societies as illiberal, self-serving, unaccountable, prone to arbitrary violence, and (in the worst cases) viciously predatory.[22] The BDF has worked at establishing and maintaining good relations with its fellow citizens in a variety of efforts that have significantly improved its national image over time. Much of the motivation can probably be traced to the generally high intellectual and moral qualities of BDF personnel, along with their exposure to standards of professional behavior in the developed world. Educational standards for admission are high by African standards, and many officers are provided an opportunity to study abroad. This provides Botswana's servicemen with a more profound window on the world than normally encountered among African militaries.

By the early years of the twenty-first century, the BDF had a good reputation inside and outside Botswana for professionalism and mission accomplishment. This had been enhanced by deliberate public relations outreach within Botswana, but the reputation also was based on demonstrated competence in a variety of missions. This stood in sharp contrast to widespread stereotypes elsewhere in Africa that portrayed military establishments as undisciplined and inept. Botswana's citizens in general seemed to take pride in their military and did not appear to

consider the military alienated from the general social intercourse of the larger society.

The ability of the BDF to accomplish its assigned missions since the 1990s was facilitated by the end of the liberation wars in southern Africa and the dissipation of the threats posed by the white minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. However, the BDF has continued to build its capabilities, supported by the generous state funding for equipment and remuneration of personnel, so its success in difficult operations like humanitarian relief, peacekeeping, and antipoaching should not be attributed merely to historical accident. Botswana is fairly unique in Africa for the continuous improvement of its military capabilities since the founding of its military. But since the late 1980s, Botswana has enjoyed a government that restricts the deployment of its armed forces to operations that they could accomplish and has willingly provided the support required over time for mission accomplishment.

Some Downsides

The artifacts of BDF institutional culture—discipline, an emphasis on education, technical and tactical proficiency, and ethical behavior—seem to support its espoused values and provide useful insights into the core values of its members. The Botswana Defence Force is a relatively unique military establishment in Africa: it is capable, well led, well resourced, and accountable. Many of its features are more reminiscent of the professional armies of the developed West than those of the developing world, and Botswana's leaders deserve commendation for developing and fielding an institution of its caliber. Nonetheless, a few features of the Botswana Defence Force may be a cause for concern. The strong ties between Botswana's military and its government (and more specifically, the military and the executive branch of government) call into question the degree to which the BDF could in a crisis situation balance its loyalty to the country's political leadership with its obligations to Botswana's society. Additionally, there are at least three other areas in which the BDF's future performance may be undermined by features in its organizational culture. These include an obsession with secrecy, a tendency toward elitism, and some factionalism within the force itself. Each warrants a brief commentary.

A peculiar preoccupation with secrecy is a feature of Botswana's executive branch of government in general.[23] The military manifestation of this obsession extends not only to issues like operational deployment,

military capabilities, and equipment acquisition—subjects that might be considered sensitive by any army—but also to very mundane and seemingly innocuous topics like numbers of personnel in uniform and rates of pay and allowances. This secrecy has the force of law. Legislation enacted by the National Assembly in 1986 prohibits the disclosure of any information the government considers privileged, with penalties of up to twenty-five years of imprisonment.[24]

The exact sources of the inclination to secrecy in the military are difficult to identify. It may be a legacy of the early years of the BDF, when foreign agents from South Africa or Rhodesia were a significant threat and could have exploited just about any kind of information. It also might be a legacy of the organizational norms inherited from the British-inspired Botswana Police, and it might derive in some degree from the personalities of the first two Defence Force commanders. (The term "taciturn" could have been invented with Ian Khama in mind, and Khama himself has been very critical of the media's efforts to publish information about the Defence Force.[25]) Some of the institutional reluctance to divulge information could simply be self-consciousness, a fear of invidious comparisons with other armies. Some may be a reluctance to provide grist for exploitation by local media or manipulation by domestic political actors. Whatever its motivation, the emphasis on secrecy undermines linkages to Botswana's civil society and compromises some of the potential for healthy, informed civil-military relations. Local scholars have complained about it.[26]

A second cause for concern flows out of the strengths of the Defence Force. Decades of sterling service to the nation (and to the international community) contribute to its current high standing in public estimation. That alone could be cause for a certain amount of hubris among Defence Force personnel. But it is compounded by the fact that the Defence Force has been given substantial priority in the allocation of national resources. This especially is true when compared to the national police, which has not been able to recruit and retain the same high quality of personnel as the military. Members of the police, most of whom are unarmed in the performance of their duties, receive neither the level of training nor the interesting opportunities available to the soldiers. The most prestigious opportunities for service typically are given to the BDF, not the police. The employment of the Defence Force in internal security roles further highlights the deficiencies in police capability.[27] Botswana's citizens in general, including members of the military, tend to be contemptuous of police capabilities.[28] The benefits that are accrued to the BDF as an

organization, and to its individual members, have produced a certain elitism in the force. During his research, the author heard anecdotes that pointed to tensions in relations between the police and military. Botswana probably would be better served by a more equitable distribution of resources between police and military and by an emphasis on police professionalism that matches that of the Defence Force.

Finally, rumors circulated in the mid-1990s that there was some factionalism in the Defence Force itself arrayed along the lines of the ruling party's internal politics.[29] The military leadership, of course, vociferously denied these allegations at the time.[30] Officially, the Defence Force strongly discourages political activity within its ranks, and the tendency to secrecy particularly applies here, so whatever the political differences, they are unlikely to be openly aired or be readily visible to outsiders. The author surmises that the most significant impact of internal factions would be the promotion opportunity at the senior level—colonel and above. Still, the author found little evidence that factionalism has compromised the capabilities or performance of the Defence Force or that any significant group of BDF officers has been politically disaffected.

An Overall Assessment

In its three decades of existence, the BDF has remained relatively small, but it has developed into a capable, well-educated, self-disciplined institution that recruits some of the most talented young people in the country. It provides substantial benefits and interesting employment to its members. It sees itself—and citizens see it—as the most capable of the country's "disciplined services," and it has been provided with significantly more funding than any other security agency of the state. Its members believe they are faithful stewards of resources entrusted by the nation to their care. The BDF has become the public sector organization called upon by the national leadership to address the country's most pressing security dilemmas, whether environmental catastrophe, serious crime, or foreign threats. To its own members and external observers, it emphasizes its professionalism and service. It currently enjoys a high level of respect in the nation as a whole.

The fundamental values underlying its ethos include cohesion, discipline, education, institutional loyalty, and proficiency in the profession of arms, as understood in Western armies. These values have enabled the small and lightly armed Botswana Defence Force to "play outside its league"—to participate as an effective partner with the military establishments of

much larger countries in international peace operations. These values also seem to have produced characteristics in the BDF that equipped it to perform effectively in the complex social and political environment of antipoaching operations.

BDF organizational culture has several obvious and some not-so-obvious implications for antipoaching success. Like any form of low-intensity conflict, antipoaching operations impose peculiar challenges and stresses, typically requiring unusual junior leader and small unit competence. That the BDF has risen to these challenges is a tribute both to its military competence and to its professional ethics. Antipoaching success in Africa also demands an approach that enlists the support of civil society and local communities. The BDF's ability to maintain productive relations with local communities points strongly to an organizational culture steeped in an ethic of accountability, an issue explored more fully in the next chapter.

This page intentionally left blank

5

Government, Military, Society, and Antipoaching in Botswana

Introduction

In 1998, Lieutenant General Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher assumed command of the Botswana Defence Force. The new commander had spent his entire adult life in military uniform and did not share the police background of his two predecessors. Also, unlike previous Defence Force commanders, Fisher had an extensive professional military and civilian graduate level education—his education compared well to his peers anywhere else in the world. Fisher himself was thus something of a metaphor for Botswana's military, reflecting the maturing and increasing sophistication of this relatively young institution.

As he came to command, Fisher already had thought deeply about the roles and missions appropriate for his Defence Force. Not surprisingly given his extensive schooling in the United States, he was deeply drawn to the U.S. concept of a national military strategy. In this model, a military strategy is derived from an overarching national security strategy, the latter identifying the nation's interests and indicating how the national government will use its various instruments of power—diplomatic, economic, informational, and military—to protect and pursue those interests. (The advent of a national security strategy was a relative novelty in the United States itself. In 1986, Congress had mandated regular publication of this document by the executive branch. It was intended as a way to hold the presidency more accountable to the Congress and the people for its security-related policy choices.)

Since the publication of the first U.S. National Security Strategy in the late 1980s, senior U.S. military leaders had come to count on it for

guidance in formulating a military strategy. Fisher had studied this model in his military schooling in the United States and now sought to apply it to his circumstances. However, he faced a problem. He wanted a military strategy for his Defence Force but had no national strategy from which to draw his military direction.

The new Defense Force commander subsequently embarked on an interesting intellectual enterprise. He set out to construct a notional national strategy—initiating a quest to define the features and contents that a national strategy should include. He sought to identify his country's interests and determine the roles his organization should play in pursuing or protecting them. Fisher directed his staff to study Botswana's constitution, national vision, legislation, and other official documents. He conferred extensively with cabinet officials and national political figures, including the traditional chiefs. He even consulted local scholars and opposition parliamentarians. Eventually, despite the continuing absence of a national strategy, Fisher was able to craft a military one. This was a nuanced and coherent document, reflecting both a deep appreciation for the values of Botswana's society and a practical understanding of local bureaucratic politics. It was in fact a remarkable achievement, demonstrating an uncommon sophistication for an African military leader.[1]

Even though Botswana might not have published a national security strategy prior to 1998, its government had demonstrated well before that time that it possessed an ability to clearly identify national interests and pursue some of them with military power. The country had employed its military establishment to secure its wildlife resources for a decade prior to Fisher's rise to command, and the Defense Force had competently executed that mission. Fisher's new military strategy was simply another indication of the quality of leadership that stretched from the lowest to the highest levels in his organization. But his advancement to Defence Force commander also brought to the fore a military leader acutely concerned about his institution's accountability to the larger society.

Botswana's deployment of military force to secure its megafauna in 1987 indicated a surprising willingness by senior government officials to experiment with novel military roles and missions. However, the decision to adopt this new mission was not a guarantee of success, and an intriguing question remains as to why the Defence Force was able to perform it so well over the long term, in direct contrast to the experience of two neighboring countries. As noted in the previous chapter, organizational culture undoubtedly played a key role. But an even more important

feature might have been the way in which Botswana's military connected to its government and society. That is the focus of this chapter.

Relationships between any military establishment and its larger society typically are multifaceted and complex. They can be conceptualized as a web of linkages: the healthier the relationship, the thicker and more varied the web. Arguably, such ties in Botswana had much more bearing on the outcome of its antipoaching efforts than the technical resources of the military, the proficiency of military operations, or even the number of apprehended poachers. This chapter notes some of the key links between Botswana's military, its government, and its civil society.

The Significance of "Weak" Ties

The web of relationships is a construct—simply a way of describing the shared perceptions in individual minds of obligations, responsibilities, and accountability, a shortcut for describing their beliefs about the appropriate recipients of loyalty and the boundaries of its rightful demands. In the early twentieth century, the German sociologist George Simmel offered one of the most useful (if currently underutilized) and simple models for describing these kinds of connections.

Simmel was interested in social linkages that bind members of a society to one another, and he argued that there were two basic kinds. One is comprised of those resilient, intense emotional bonds and enduring associations that derive their strength from factors like residential proximity, religion, or relatedness—the strong ties. These often characterize relatively homogenous groups. The other reflects those social connections that are more occasional, instrumental, and less emotionally invested—the weak ties. These are based on perceptions of mutual advantage derived from the connections between individuals and groups that are dissimilar or distant. When the perception of mutual advantage dissipates, so does the incentive for maintaining the "weak" ties. Individuals in any society typically are bound up in different webs of strong and weak ties. Both kinds play a role essential to the functioning of a large, complex society. The weak ties arguably serve the critically important function of maintaining cohesion among groups with different identities and interests.[2]

Since the weak ties are not as resilient as those based on connections like blood relations, they depend on deliberate efforts to incentivize, safeguard, and preserve them. For a nation-state, they also are a measure of the ability of authorities to mobilize the activity of citizens, an ability that

reflects some level of agreement between leaders and followers a set of basic principles that define the interpersonal relations of power in the society. One of the key features of a healthy liberal democracy is the constant attention to the maintenance of the weak ties, a role often played by civil-society institutions. The absence of such agreement between leaders and followers in dysfunctional African states has been widely noted, reflecting the lack of the minimal weak ties necessary to common agreements on mutual responsibilities and objectives. (Some of the literature on governance in Africa has depicted the missing ties as the state's inability to "capture" its citizens.) In stark contrast, Botswana enjoys a robust assortment of state-society linkages.[3]

Government and Society

The relationships between the national government and civil society in Botswana reflect a curious mixture of traditions inherited from the country's precolonial past, along with the enduring legacy of the colonial experience and some imported norms of contemporary liberal democracy. Capable scholars have analyzed these relations, a task that need not be repeated here.[4] However, the web of relationships includes some that relate directly to the country's antipoaching commitments. These include the manner in which the government of Botswana makes decisions on substantive security issues and its ability to achieve popular acceptance of a policy (like antipoaching) for which there is seemingly little natural constituency. Another is the government's prerogatives in the use of coercive instruments of power.

Botswana as an independent nation has not emphasized military might in its foreign policy, nor does it celebrate a "warrior" tradition. This is not to say that Tswana culture is historically pacifistic. In the nineteenth century, southern Africa was a rough neighborhood and weak polities simply did not survive. All of the indigenous precolonial states of Tswana-speaking peoples maintained military forces.[5] But Tswana culture traditionally has emphasized dialogue and accommodation over violence as a preferred way to settle intercommunity and intracommunity disputes. This inclination is expressed in a Tswana proverb: *Ntwa kgolo ke ya molomo* ("the best way to resolve conflict is through the mouth" [e.g., dialogue]). In contemporary Botswana, a traditional emphasis on conciliation has been significantly reinforced by the norms of Christianity that now influence the vast majority of citizens. In its bilateral relations, Botswana's policies have emphasized consultation

and dialogue rather than violence, an inclination seemingly at odds with a resort to military force to secure any interest, foreign or domestic.

Related to the Tswana ethic of consultation is the institution of the *kgotla*—the open air meeting place patronized by chief and people, ruler and ruled—to discuss community concerns and address common problems, a widely touted feature of Tswana society.[6] It would be very misleading to see in the *kgotla* any real evidence of egalitarianism. Social stratification has long been profound, and the direction of communication in Tswana communities probably always has been somewhat "one-way"—from top to bottom, from ruler to ruled. But the institution nonetheless has served an important symbolic function—as a mechanism for emphasizing accountability and communication.[7] It has been redefined by the political elite in modern Botswana as a pillar of the country's particular form of democracy, emphasizing dialogue on political issues. The *kgotla* reflects a tradition in which elites are expected to justify significant policy decisions to an attentive public.[8]

As an institution, the *kgotla*, too, seems somewhat at odds with Botswana's decision to use its military in antipoaching operations. The government did not seek popular approval for its antipoaching policies in 1987 or thereafter. It did not consult widely within the executive branch or with the National Assembly prior to deploying its military into the wildlife sanctuaries. Nor did it ever subsequently convoke any kind of *kgotla* to justify that decision to a wider public.[9] Given the ambivalence to biodiversity in Botswana, it is difficult to account for the government's strong commitment to wildlife conservation; and given its general political culture, it is difficult to explain its willingness to back that commitment with military force. Other factors clearly were at play.

The ambivalence to biodiversity is partially balanced in Botswana by a variety of groups and individuals that might be characterized as a wildlife constituency, but the political clout of that constituency is limited. It is by no means certain that a government whose policies were dominated by domestic pressures would be able to sustain a commitment to wildlife conservation or would be inclined to use military power to support such a commitment. However, in Botswana, the ruling elites shape rather than follow the national discourse on issues of security. And they have considerable political room in which to maneuver.

Peculiarities in the Local Model of Liberal Democracy

Scholars have debated the degree to which modern political decision making in Botswana actually reflects traditional norms. But there seems

to be general agreement that the brevity and relative liberality of the colonial experience facilitated the survival of at least some older Tswana values, permitting a number of institutional norms to evolve rather than disappear entirely under the assault of European-style modernity.[10] By 2007, the Botswana Democratic Party had governed the country for half a century. Its natural constituency included the conservative traditional chiefs, and the party was very comfortable with chiefly prerogative.

The exercise of executive power in Botswana bore more than a passing similarity to the court of a *kgosi*—a traditional chief. The country's progressive economic policies and regular multiparty elections masked the dominance of the ruling party and an executive so strong that one analyst characterized the government as a "quasi-elected 'soft' autocracy" and the governing style as "authoritarian liberalism," while another saw it at best as a "paternalistic democracy."[11] Power was highly centralized in the office of the president, and the president himself was not popularly elected. He controlled all the significant levers of national power—the coercive agencies, civil service, public media, and directorate on corruption and economic crime. He had the sole power to call commissions of inquiry and publish (or withhold) commission findings. Public servants were forbidden to engage the media, and a stringent National Security Act with sweeping provisions threatened imprisonment of up to twenty-five years for infringements on almost any subject sensitive to the government.

The government of Botswana engaged the public on some issues, such as land reform, livestock commerce, and other developmental concerns. Public opinion in such cases had some impact on legislation and national policy. Yet the country's executive branch jealously guarded its exclusive prerogatives and did not tolerate much public (or even legislative) debate over many issues, particularly those like the acquisition of defense matériel, definition of military roles and missions, deployment of military forces, suppression of internal unrest, or security-related agreements with external actors. Virtually all the initiative on substantive issues of security came from the executive branch—and more particularly from the Office of the President.[12]

The powerful position of the executive branch raises another key question: how are decisions made on substantive issues of national security policy? The question is much easier to pose than to answer. Astute observers of national politics in Botswana told the author that essential security-related decisions were made by a small group of senior officials surrounding the president, a council more intimate and exclusive than

the national cabinet. Although never publicly acknowledged by the government, informed observers spoke of a "Central Intelligence Committee" comprised of the president, vice president, minister of Foreign Affairs, minister of Presidential Affairs, commissioner of police, and commander of the Defence Force. The committee was alleged to meet weekly. The very existence of such a body was speculative in 2007 but certainly could have constituted a kind of "inner circle" around the president that was responsible for national security policy.

If such a body did exist, and were constituted as described here, half its members were former or serving commanders of the Defence Force. Such an arrangement reflected more military influence than normal in liberal democratic practice. It would more resemble a *kgosi*'s council than a Western-style cabinet, but it would endow the executive branch with a capability to achieve rapid internal consensus, then move quickly and decisively on policy issues regarding the use of military force.

Unlike neighboring South Africa, Botswana in 2007 had never undergone a searching national debate about the roles and missions of the security institutions of the state. There had been occasional criticisms in the country's national media—usually muted at best—of military operations or military acquisition programs.[13] Scholars in Botswana published occasional articles critical of civil-military relations or the lack of transparency in government decisions on security issues, but these typically were cautious and respectful. While the government did not explicitly censor the media, it exerted a substantial constraining influence.[14]

Notwithstanding the occasional complaints of journalists and scholars, there did not seem to be much popular interest or enduring discussion of security issues. The extensive countrywide consultations in the late 1990s that went into the compilation of the national vision (*Vision 2016*) could have stimulated a widespread debate on security, but they did not. The tone and content of the *Vision 2016* document suggest that both government and civil society in Botswana were fairly satisfied with the existing nature of the security infrastructure and security decision making. When it came to security policy, Botswana's executive branch in 2007 enjoyed unusual prerogatives for a liberal democracy, and these seemed to rest comfortably on cultural roots.

The Importance of Public Order

In the early twenty-first century, any emphasis on consultation in Botswana's traditional culture was also overshadowed by a strong

common desire for orderly behavior. In traditional Tswana society, chiefs were accorded considerable latitude in the exercise of power, and senior political authorities were expected to preserve social harmony and public order, one of the key responsibilities of chieftainship.[15] The concentration of power in the office of the president may be one legacy of this tradition. Botswana's political culture endows the presidency with considerable latitude on a wide range of issues, including the sole right to appoint a large proportion of the country's senior officials. The president is authorized by law to deploy the military and make other substantive security decisions without further consultation. This autonomy contributed directly to the government's ability to deploy the Defence Force for internal crime control or antipoaching operations with little fear of public reaction. (It is useful here to distinguish the Western-educated academics and journalists in Botswana who have criticized the high degree of presidential power from the larger society that does not seem unduly exercised by it.)

In Botswana the underlying cultural emphasis on order seems to trump the desire for transparency and accountability on issues of security policy. Orderly behavior and social harmony are norms captured in the Tswana term *botho*, the putative national ethic. *Botho* connotes a set of personal qualities: self-discipline, good manners, respect for others, and generosity. It also seems to have a community aspect: community-mindedness, cooperation, and orderliness.[16] The flexibility of the definition gives it a considerable political usefulness and conveys an almost inchoate chauvinism (e.g., a good citizen of Botswana exhibits a mannerly *botho* unlike the aggressive, less inhibited citizens of neighboring countries, whose uninvited presence was widely cited as a chief cause of crime and unrest). Citizens look to their traditional and modern authorities to maintain order, and there is very little sympathy in the country for perpetrators of violence like the "foreign" criminals blamed for much of the country's crime. In fact, there even is relatively little public sympathy for the university students and public servants who occasionally riot over political issues and other grievances. Lack of *botho* is an accusation that can be leveled at any individual or group that challenges the status quo or exhibits the presumption to question the decisions of the country's political leaders. Citizens of Botswana seem remarkably agreed on the desirability of the political behavior connoted by *botho*. They generally do not exhibit the servility to officials seen in many authoritarian societies, and at times even common citizens are sharply critical of their rulers, but

political controversies in Botswana tend to be of very short duration and very rarely lead to prolonged civil disturbance.[17]

If *botho* has merit as a metaphor for culturally approved behavior, it might help explain the country's relative social stability and the typically short duration of periods of civil turmoil. That common aspiration gives the government of Botswana more than usual political space to deal with real or imagined internal threats—even to the point that national leaders can count on widespread approval for the use of the national military to supplement the police in law enforcement activity.[18] Whatever its origin, this political space also seems to have facilitated the antipoaching mission in 1987, when the government began to use its military to confront armed poachers in the national parks. The usage was aimed primarily at "foreigners" and "criminals" (categories that largely overlapped in the public mind) and was easily portrayed as a matter of law and order.

The desire for order underlies Botswana's firearms laws, which are some of the most stringent in Africa. Except in rare circumstances, citizens are forbidden to own handguns at all. Privately owned rifles and shotguns must be licensed, and the government carefully controls their number by severely restricting the availability of licenses. Violators of firearms laws routinely are prosecuted. Confiscated or surrendered firearms are destroyed.[19] Interestingly, the government is almost equally inclined to keep firearms out of the hands of state employees. It is apparently determined to confine weapons primarily to the military and the small Police Special Security Group (SSG) employed by the government for riot control. Police in Botswana commonly are unarmed, which is why they require backup by military force in confrontations with armed criminals. One obvious reason why the government would turn to the military to confront gangs of armed poachers (rather than the police or Department of Wildlife and National Parks) is the simple fact that the military alone had the firepower to do the job.

The accountability of rulers, suggested in the institution of the *kgotla*, has an interesting manifestation in Botswana. The country is relatively unique in the developing world for its commitment to fighting "corruption," an effort dating to the early years after independence. In 2006, Transparency International rated Botswana at "thirty-seven" among the nations of the world on its national corruption perception index scale, a remarkably good rating for a developing country, endowing Botswana with the ranking of the "least corrupt" country in Africa.[20] (By contrast, the United States rated a somewhat better twenty, and South Africa a less desirable fifty-one on the same scale.) No country is entirely free of graft,

of course, and accusations of corruption are relatively common in Botswana.[21] But the country has succeeded in suppressing the problem to a degree almost unheard of elsewhere in Africa. This ethic also is very much part of the standard of the professional behavior of Botswana's military establishment, a standard the author believes is embedded in the professional norms of that organization.[22] This, too, is relatively unique in Africa, where security forces often are notorious for waste, fraud, and abuse.[23] In Botswana, popular acceptance of the antipoaching role of the Botswana Defence Force rests to some degree on the assumption by much of the country's attentive public that the military is a credible steward of national resources and generally will not abuse that trust.

By the late 1980s, the government of Botswana increasingly had turned to its military as the agency of choice for solving the country's most pressing internal security problems, whether urban crime, natural disaster, or poaching by armed gangs. This choice stemmed not only from the resources exclusively available to the military but also from the military's demonstrated competence in planning and executing the missions it had been given. Yet, in its antipoaching mission, the military had been committed to a coercive internal security role in a society otherwise neither particularly militaristic nor devoted to wildlife biodiversity. The government was willing to make a significant policy decision attractive only to a small domestic constituency and at the same time raise the possibility of conflict with important domestic interests. It was prepared to take some risk in committing an agency never before tasked with this mission. And it made the decision without any widespread consultation within the government (and certainly not within the larger society). Two decades later, that decision was vindicated both by the performance of the military and by public approval.

Like members in ruling elites anywhere else in the world, Botswana's senior military leaders find themselves embedded simultaneously in multiple social networks. Ian Khama's personal case is a good illustration. In 2006 he overlapped (among other communities) the traditional Ngwato (Tswana) aristocracy, an influential family, the inner circle of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party, the hierarchy of the security agencies of the state, an international community of environmentalists, and a significant sports fraternity in Botswana. Each of these communities exposed Khama to different loyalties, obligations, and personalities. Each could bring some pressure to bear on him relating to public policy in Botswana.

Interpersonal connections within the public sector underlie decisions on use of military force and have had a bearing in Botswana on the success of antipoaching operations. Ian Khama himself probably exploited his various social connections to bring pressure on the Office of the President to order the antipoaching operations. In 1987 Botswana's senior government officials seemed to know that they could depend on the Defence Force to follow orders quickly and competently without exceeding its mandate. For its part, the Defence Force could count on the government to provide the strategic direction, material resources, moral support, and the exemption from prosecution necessary for its unique new internal security role. That these expectations have consistently been fulfilled is a tribute to the presence of both weak and strong ties that bind the government, military, and society in Botswana. They also are indicative of the quality of the social networks that connect civil and military leaders in the country.

Civil-Military Relations in Botswana

When civil-military relations emerged as a distinct field of study in mid–twentieth-century America, early theorists (Harold Lasswell in the 1930s and Samuel Huntington in the 1950s) were concerned particularly with the relationships between military establishments and national governments, an emphasis continued by later scholars who sought to explain the prevalence of military coups in Africa and elsewhere. Much of the scholarship of civil-military relations in Africa has focused on the degree to which military establishments were alienated from civilian governments.[24] By the 1990s, scholars also had become increasingly interested in the links between military establishments and their societies at large (or, in some cases, between military establishments and particular actors in civil society). This scholarship has been stimulated in part by a particular concern of agencies from developed countries that are involved in security sector reform in Africa.

Professional military behavior itself has been a particular interest for some scholars. Huntington, for instance, sympathetically portrayed the military officer corps of mid–twentieth-century century America as a profession, which he defined as requiring a unique expertise acquired by long study, a commitment to a well-defined ethical code, and a self-regulating corporate structure. One of his arguments was that the more "professional" the officer corps became, the more it was likely to serve as a technically competent, politically neutral servant of the state. This view

subsequently was challenged by a succession of scholars who argued that military professionalism brought an increasing and undesirable military propensity to interfere in political processes and to exert an unwarranted influence on behalf of its own agendas and interests. The resulting debates raised at least three questions relevant to this study: What mechanisms assure military accountability to the state? To what extent is the military a politically neutral, loyal instrument of the state? And how effectively does the military pursue the priorities of the state?[25]

Mechanisms to assure the accountability of a military establishment to political authorities conceivably can be found in a variety of forms. For liberal democratic governments, one of the most significant is the constitutional-legal framework. Botswana had a constitution when it arrived at independence in 1966, but it did not have a military establishment. An act of Parliament established the Defence Force in 1977. This 230-page document detailed the command, organization, and administration of the country's new armed forces.[26]

The act provided a legal framework for civil supremacy, but the civilian control embedded in the legislation was limited largely to the executive branch. The founding legislation was strangely silent on any role for other branches of government. The president was designated "commander in chief" with the prerogative to select the Defence Force commander and promote all officers above the rank of major. The president also was authorized to deploy the military in whole or in part without consulting any other institutions or actors. The act created a Defence Council responsible for the "control, direction and general superintendence" of the new military, though the council was not responsible for its "operational use." And even the membership of that body was to be determined solely by the president.[27]

The explicit prerogatives of the executive branch are a remarkable feature of Botswana's Defence Force Act, but there are several implied relationships in the act that further reinforced the military-executive branch linkage. The founding legislation deliberately avoided the creation of a Ministry of Defense. The supervisory ministry would be the Office of the President, an implication that the office and the Defence Force staff would jointly share the normal functions of a defense ministry and defense secretariat. Yet, it is not clear that civilian officials in the Office of the President have ever had the resources or expertise to play much of a supervisory role. By default, much of the "oversight" of military affairs would accrue to the military itself. Even Botswana's senior military officials characterize this arrangement as "ambiguous."[28]

Nor did the act specify any particular role for the legislative branch. At least two legislative entities—the Parliamentary Committee on Trade, Foreign Affairs, and Security and the Public Accounts Committee—have presumed constitutional responsibility to oversee at least some aspects of military affairs. It is doubtful, however, that these committees have ever played such a role. Members of Parliament displayed unprecedented concern about military issues in 1998 when they complained they were not consulted in the government's decision to intervene in Lesotho as part of a regional peace enforcement operation; but the executive branch took umbrage at this "interference." It expressed no regret for its failure to consult and gave no indication that it intended to submit its military plans to parliamentary review in the future.[29]

In the BDF's founding legislation, no mention was made of a legislative role in allocating funding or in overseeing the employment of the force. True enough, both the Public Accounts Committee and the Auditor General have a constitutional role in allocating monies and accounting for proper use of government funding in general—including, presumably, military spending. Yet there was little indication in 2007 that these political actors had ever obtained much access to the details of military expenditure. Nor is it likely that they had the expertise, clout, or incentive to challenge military-related budget decisions. In actual practice, the Defence Force submitted its desired annual budgets to the Office of the President, which in turn provided a consolidated list to the finance ministry for submission to Parliament. In that body, members presumptive enough to question security-related allocations were peremptorily silenced in parliamentary debate.[30]

In sum, Botswana in 2006 had distinct constitutional-legal mechanisms for civilian oversight of its military, but those mechanisms connected the Defense Force primarily to the executive branch of government, which, in turn, defaulted much of the actual oversight responsibility to the military leadership itself. That, and the lack of functioning mechanisms for legislative oversight, might suggest systemic weakness in accountability. However, this situation provided the Defence Force with considerable professional autonomy, buffering its internal workings from meddling by external political actors. One overall effect was an enhanced ability for the government to commit its military to antipoaching operations over the long tem.

Subjective Civil Control of the Military in Botswana

By the early years of the twenty-first century, the members of the Defence Force themselves had internalized a substantially Western ethic of civil-military relations, particularly an almost ritualized acknowledgment of the importance of military subordination to civil authority. This was a surprisingly frequent element in the author's casual conversations with BDF personnel between 2003 and 2006. The norm also had been evident in BDF efforts to proscribe political activity in the ranks, implying that soldiers should be apolitical servants of the state and had no business involving themselves in partisan political squabbles. These sentiments were exemplified by an almost rote tendency on the part of BDF officers to cite legal authority for their activities. In interviews, even relatively junior officers would cite provisions of the Defence Force Act or the Constitution to justify a particular attitude, activity, or operation. At the very least, this called attention to the effectiveness of BDF processes of socialization regarding the legal-constitutional basis for organizational activity.

The internal indoctrination seems to have been significantly reinforced by BDF exposure to military training abroad. In discussing missions like antipoaching, disaster relief, or joint patrolling with the police, BDF officers consistently described these activities as "military support to civil authorities." This suggests a more than passing acquaintance with U.S. literature on the subject. BDF officers also reflected a sophisticated appreciation for the importance of establishing and maintaining good relations with local civilian communities, including participation in community support activities like sports, volunteer work, charitable activity, and the provision of military health services to the broader public. Based on the author's personal observation, BDF personnel appeared to be significantly involved in such activities, at least in the areas around their larger military bases near Gaborone and Francistown. It is worth recalling that many senior BDF officers have as much U.S. professional military schooling as their U.S. counterparts and have closely followed U.S. military thinking on these issues. The same possibly is true of BDF experiences in the UK, Canada, and India. The BDF is serious about outreach to its surrounding civilian communities.

Civil-military relations in Botswana also are the subject of a growing relationship between the BDF and the University of Botswana, where Professor Mpho G. Molomo, a member of the political science faculty, has established a civil-military relations study center. A recognized

regional scholar and subject-matter expert, the U.S.-educated Molomo has, since 2001, promoted a well-attended series of seminars at the University of Botswana that regularly bring together other scholars, BDF personnel, and government officials to examine civil-military issues. Given the small size of the officer corps in Botswana, Molomo's seminars are able to influence a sizable proportion of the senior leadership. These events can be expected to influence intergovernmental working relationships over the long term and probably serve the even more important end of affording a venue for collaborative thinking among civilian intellectuals and public servants about Botswana's security challenges and civil-military dilemmas.[31]

Evolving Definitions of Security

The prerogatives enjoyed by the Office of the President in Botswana have provided the country's senior leadership with a carte blanche to deploy military power. That office has exercised its prerogative by committing the country's Defence Force to a variety of external and internal missions, including antipoaching. It has shown little concern about a political backlash. The roles and missions that any government assigns to its armed forces generally are a good indication of its priorities and offer unambiguous insights into the prevailing notion of "security." By that measure, environmental security appears to be an important interest to Botswana's political leaders.

The roles they have assigned to the country's military are broad, even by contemporary standards elsewhere. In addition to the standard tasks of protecting the nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the BDF has engaged in regional peacekeeping. It has been significantly involved in domestic humanitarian relief and has participated with the national police in urban domestic law enforcement. And, of course, it has been substantively involved since the late 1980s in environmental security operations. These diverse military roles suggest that both the government of Botswana and the leadership of the BDF share an expansive view of "security," considering the Defence Force an appropriate agency for attaining much of it. Botswana's concern for protecting its wildlife seems to reflect an interesting African example of an ongoing broadening in the worldwide redefinitions, a process that has stimulated considerable debate among scholars of international relations.[32] The broadened conceptions have been discussed sympathetically in the BDF's own internal media.[33]

The propriety of BDF involvement in the larger range of missions seems to be accepted by the attentive public to the extent that security issues are a concern at all.[34] Citizens inside and outside the public sector repeatedly told the author in 2004 and 2006 that the BDF was the only government agency with the resources for these broader missions, so it should therefore be charged with the responsibility. In none of these conversations did any citizen suggest that the BDF had exceeded its mandate.[35]

Antipoaching and Human Relations in Botswana

Botswana's successful use of its Defence Force in almost two decades of antipoaching operations would be difficult to explain without assessing the relationships between the military and society in the country. These relationships were described earlier in this chapter as a thick web of strands—strong and weak ties—representing the understandings and implicit common agreements in individual citizens' minds about the "rules of the game" of life, about loyalties, responsibilities, and obligations. Put another way, the argument here is that the human relations of antipoaching have been essential to its success.

The lack of wide consultation prior to the antipoaching deployment and the government's subsequent failure to submit this policy decision to legislative (or public) review is a departure from widely accepted norms of security decision making in liberal democracies. But the government's use of military power for antipoaching nonetheless reflects a sophisticated (if implicit) agreement between Botswana's political authorities, its military leaders, and the larger society about mutual obligations. The "agreement" was bounded by society's expectation of protection from violent crime and the government's recognition that it was obliged to respond in a calculated and self-controlled manner.

In the early years of its brief history, the Botswana Defence Force struggled to achieve credibility within Botswana. Its lack of success in confronting incursions by the armies of neighboring Rhodesia and South Africa eroded pubic confidence in its competence. At the same time, its reputation for restraint was severely undermined by several instances of troop indiscipline in the early 1980s. However, by the late 1980s, the BDF seems largely to have overturned this early reputation. That achievement is a tribute to BDF competence in fulfilling a variety of national tasks without exceeding local norms in the application of coercive power, and it reflects an effective public-relations effort. Confidence in both the

competence and the discipline of the Defence Force has been an important factor in public approval of military antipoaching operations in Botswana.

Certain features of the civil-military environment in northern Botswana have significantly facilitated the nature of the human relations inherent in the BDF's antipoaching success. Most of the actual operations have been conducted in the unpopulated national parks and safari concession areas near the border. The vast majority of citizens in northern Botswana live in towns and small settlements outside those wildlife sanctuaries. While some citizens are guilty of poaching in or near the wildlife conservancies, their numbers are small and their social influence is minimal. The country's relative prosperity and the population's access to the products of domestic livestock both serve to significantly reduce the demand for meat from wild animals. Local communities in Botswana have not seen large numbers of fellow citizens shot or imprisoned for poaching. The BDF has not had to contend with an angry peasantry whose land use rights have been arbitrarily abrogated in the recent past. In direct contrast, armed gangs of foreigners have perpetrated most of the reported megafauna poaching. Their presence is feared and resented by the local population in Botswana, and their violent demise generally has been greeted with indifference or enthusiasm.

Good relations between the military and local civilian communities are, of course, important to operations like antipoaching. It might be possible in theory for a government to depend on extremes of coercion to impose its will on an unwilling public. But in the unlikely event that an African government pursued such a policy for wildlife conservation, it is unlikely to make it work over the long term. Despite its technical skill, the BDF probably could not have conducted successful antipoaching operations in an environment where local communities supported the poachers or where criminal gangs could have counted on extensive networks of local citizens for intelligence, logistic support, and refuge. The BDF's rapport with local populations in centers like Kasane, Shakawe, and Maun has been an important factor in military antipoaching success.

Deployments since the early 1990s have brought the BDF an almost unqualified stream of good publicity. The Defence Force participation in anticrime patrols in Botswana's cities has (in the public mind) reduced the level of violent crime. The Defence Force ended a serious poaching threat in the north in the late 1980s and 1990s, maintains a very visible presence in the area, and receives consistently favorable media coverage for this activity. The country's participation in regional peace operations

(in Somalia, Mozambique, and Lesotho) brought well-deserved international kudos that reverberated within Botswana itself. The Defence Force's participation in flood relief and the control of livestock disease likewise receive consistently favorable media coverage. The BDF takes considerable pride in its service to the nation, an issue stressed in its internal communication and training facilities. It also has received typically good public relations coverage by the national media for its activities, which probably accounts in some degree for its local reputation and recruiting success.

The Bottom Line: A Unique Sociopolitical Context

An important dimension in the strands of ties that comprise the substance of civil-military relations are the prerogatives enjoyed by senior political leaders in Botswana, and especially by the country's chief executive. The political "space" afforded the Office of the President was a clear advantage when the government of Botswana deployed the Defence Force into the wildlife sanctuaries in 1987. The government was not obliged to consult with its constituents or show compassion to the violent foreign criminals engaged in the commercial poaching. Still, the BDF was obliged to respect a delicate balance. The military forces of contemporary democratic societies simply are not allowed to apply indiscriminate force. Yet any military organization is required by its government, its larger society, and its own members to be credible—to leave no doubt that it can apply whatever violence is necessary to accomplish its mission. The balance between credibility and restraint is difficult to maintain. Few challenges are more difficult for a military force engaged in internal security operations. Preserving the balance in public perceptions requires not just a well-disciplined force but also politically astute military leaders and some ability to "sell" a message through effective public relations.

Acting very circumspectly, Botswana's government and military have taken care not to overstretch their prerogatives. Initial military operations against the poaching gangs were violent but precise. The BDF did not deploy large numbers of troops into the field but rather confined its operations to a very limited area and took pains to avoid collateral damage to innocent bystanders. Later deployments involved more troops, but these still were confined to the wildlife conservancies, and at the same time were visible symbols of government-provided security. The military deployment unquestionably reduced the amount of poaching and other

violent crime, reinforcing the propriety of the government's decision in the public mind.

Given the prominent part in national decision making played by senior military officers, it may be argued that the "strong ties" between civil and military leaders in Botswana have been more pronounced than usual in liberal democratic practice, possibly a cause of concern to civil libertarians. However, the relationships in Botswana facilitated the commitment of the Defence Force to antipoaching. Defence Force processes of socialization and training emphasize a strong BDF ethic of military subordination to civil authority, and military personnel in Botswana consistently describe themselves as apolitical servants of the state.

Nor is the BDF unconcerned about its relations with the larger civilian community. Its leaders understand the general ambivalence toward wildlife conservation in the country. They are deeply aware of the importance of convincing the attentive public in their country that the BDF is a highly competent, ethical, and professional military organization that does not abuse the rights of citizens. The good publicity resulting from its effective operations, in turn, has contributed to the BDF's enviable current reputation in the country.

Photo 1. Picture of poached elephant with BDF Commander in background
<~?~AU: PLEASE INSERT CREDIT>

Photo 2. Picture of poached elephant with BDF member in background
<~?~AU: PLEASE INSERT CREDIT>

Photo 2. BDF Commander inspecting troops in an anti-poaching site
<~?~AU: PLEASE INSERT CREDIT >

6

The Face of Environmental Security in Botswana

Introduction

In early 1994, the *Atlantic Monthly* published an article by Robert Kaplan that roiled the attentive public with alarming predictions of impending global ecological disaster and conflict.[1] Significantly, Kaplan singled out Africa as the continent most imminently destined for this apocalyptic future. His article proved controversial. Scholars lined up either to cheer his insight or to excoriate him for alarmist extremism. The furor eventually subsided, and Africa avoided an environmental meltdown for at least another decade. However, by the 1990s, the continent's natural environment clearly was under great stress, and even Kaplan's harshest critics were obliged to concede the validity of some of his points.

The disquieting vision was not original to Kaplan, of course. He drew inspiration from thinkers like the environmental scholar Thomas Homer-Dixon, whose publications had for some years called attention to the inevitability of widespread conflict across the entire globe arising from environmental degradation and resource scarcity. For that matter, both men now were simply publicizing assessments that had bubbled to the fore in the aftermath of the cold war. Their views were part of a worldwide intellectual movement that was broadening older conceptions of security and linking them more explicitly to the natural environment.[2]

In his now famous article, Kaplan overlooks at least one important point. He fails to account for African scholars that partook in the same global debates and were well aware of the issues. They had been influential in the emerging new definitions of security since the end of the cold war. In fact, many gifted scientists lived and worked in southern Africa,

and by the time Kaplan's article appeared, they were engaged in initiatives to address their environmental problems. These efforts would soon be evident in a variety of ambitious regional projects.[3]

When Botswana commenced its military antipoaching operations in 1987, it was somewhat ahead of the rest of the region in its visible national commitment to wildlife conservation. However, by 2006, its antipoaching activity was but a small niche in a diffuse regional agenda. This chapter locates Botswana's efforts to secure its wildlife within the larger context of emerging local conceptions of security, national environmental advocacy, and regional conservation initiatives. A key purpose of this chapter is to show that Botswana's actions were not entirely anomalous within the broader efforts by southern Africans to address regional environmental problems.

A New Kind of Security

Botswana's concern since the 1980s for protecting its wildlife is an African manifestation of the ongoing, worldwide redefinition of security.[4] Older models had tended to emphasize the interests of nation-states, stressing the values of sovereignty, secure borders, and the preservation of ruling elites. The new concept of security was increasingly concerned with individuals and small communities. Along with the concept itself, notions of threats had broadened to include almost any condition of life that deprived individuals of generalized well-being. "Security" now increasingly included the rights of individuals to live in a healthy environment and enjoy its benefits. So a prominent feature in this new thinking had been the growing concern for the health of the natural environment. While Africans might not have been at the forefront in translating this new thinking into state policy, they had demonstrated their interest.

Broadening definitions of security had by no means been universally acclaimed, particularly those that included the environment. In 2006 there still was no real worldwide consensus that environment and security should be linked at all, or that environmental issues were worthy of the same degree of priority as national sovereignty or safety from external attack.[5] Nor, for that matter, were all the world's scholars equally enthusiastic about the governmental embrace of environmental agendas. Some were naturally suspicious of any governmental interest in the environment and saw a danger in the new enthusiasms. They worried that "securitizing environmental issues [risked] state cooption, colonization and emptying of the environmental agenda."[6] Even so, African leaders

had clearly recognized the unfortunate linkages between environmental degradation and conflict.[7]

The global disagreement on environmental issues in the early twenty-first century pointed to an interesting ideological divide. A key distinction was the centrality of man to the natural environment. On one end of the spectrum were those activists whose perspectives emphasized biodiversity. Their outlook downplayed the primacy of human beings and reflected what might be characterized as an "ecocentric" approach to environmental issues. At the other were the activists who tended to see human beings—and their welfare—as the central feature of environmental issues, reflecting what might be characterized as an "anthropocentric" approach.[8] African agendas, evident in Botswana, tended to lean strongly to the anthropocentric end of this ideological divide.

How Botswana's leaders and attentive public have defined "security" is important to this story. It relates directly to the capacity of the country's government to identify a threat and mobilize resources against it. It also reflects an ability to discern a clear national interest and recognize when it is compromised by the threat. As discussed in previous chapters, Botswana's public policies since at least the 1980s have demonstrated a substantial investment in the protection of resources in the natural environment, and the continuing emphasis on those policies demonstrates some consensus in Botswana as to the appropriate roles of the national authorities in exercising state power. More specifically, Botswana's national policies indicate that the security of environmental resources is an interest sufficiently important to warrant the use of lethal force.

The country's leaders were willing to accept a surprising degree of risk in initiating their antipoaching operations in 1987. This military usage, though successful in hindsight, had little precedent at the time, and much of that precedent was distinctly negative. In the early 1980s, neighboring Zimbabwe had tried to use its army against a similar poaching threat in its national parks. Unfortunately, it soon found its army engaged in poaching on a scale larger than the commercial poachers and was forced to withdraw it from the wildlife reserves.[9] Clark Gibson has documented Zambia's unsuccessful efforts in the 1980s to secure wildlife resources in the Luangwa Valley, efforts that featured the deployment of the national army in a largely ineffectual antipoaching role.[10] Roderick Neumann has examined peasant resistance to state restrictions on hunting by local people around the town of Arusha in northern Tanzania.[11]

Both Gibson and Neumann offer a graphic description of how African states failed in their efforts to use coercive state agencies in enforcing

novel, unpopular norms of wildlife conservation in the face of resistance by local communities. These studies are examples of a large and growing literature on unsuccessful "protectionist" conservation efforts in Africa and elsewhere. That literature as a whole can lead to an easily drawn conclusion that such programs have a poor track record and are inevitably doomed to fail. Yet Botswana's experience between 1987 and 2006 was quite different. Its antipoaching program has been effective and well received by the public. That difference relates directly to local notions of security.

Unlike many other African countries, Botswana's policy makers not only talk about the environment but also have offered a clear articulation of the country's environmental priorities. After extensive national consultations in the 1990s, they promulgated two documents describing this effort: Botswana's *Vision 2016* and its *National Conservation Strategy*. The *Vision* lays out a general conception of the alternative future toward which the government of the country seeks to move, including the protection of the natural environment and the distribution of its benefits. The documents also advocate and mandate environmental policies reflecting a broad notion of human security, a conception in which the autonomy and wellbeing of local communities are key themes: "The key national resources and assets of the country will be equitably distributed between its people. Communities will be involved in the use and preservation of their environmental assets. . . . The wildlife of Botswana will be managed for sustainable benefit of the local communities, and in the interests of the environment as a whole."[12] For its part, the *Conservation Strategy* focuses more explicitly on the details of the path to that desirable future, and environmentalist NGOs figured prominently in its development.[13]

Botswana created a structure to oversee the implementation of its *Conservation Strategy*—a National Conservation Strategy Office subordinate to the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism. This office was made responsible for oversight and had the additional mandate of coordinating public- and private-sector environmental initiatives and programs. Knowledgeable insiders in Botswana told the author between 2004 and 2006 that the strategy had been hampered by the lack of directive authority and shortfalls in funding. Wildlife conservation activities in the country as a whole still were uncoordinated and rather tentative by the standards of the developed world, but local observers seemed cautiously optimistic. The very existence of the strategy is an achievement, differentiating Botswana from many other African countries. Its most

important attributes might well be that it was based on a genuine process of consultation and at the same time drew in an array of global environmental groups as partners.[14]

Through its *Vision 2016* and *National Conservation Strategy*, the government of Botswana has placed on public record the declaration of a commitment to a variety of environmental ends, even creating new government structures to pursue those ends. It has identified these as state interests and state priorities. Among the desired environmental "ends" are the security of the nation's wildlife and the wide distribution of its benefits. One clear implication is the intention to guarantee that security with whatever instruments of national power are necessary, including the coercive instruments. Since 1987, the country has backed this interest with military force.

A Conservationist Legacy

Although the commitment of the Defense Force to antipoaching was a novel military role in 1987, protection of the natural environment in Botswana is not a recent phenomenon. It had deep roots in traditional society, a feature that enabled colonial authorities to build on an indigenous base for their conservation policies and allowed later policymakers in independent Botswana to count on public acquiescence to an approach with historical precedent.[15] Animal products—notably elephant ivory and ostrich feathers—had been important trade commodities in nineteenth century Botswana. Chiefs of the traditional Tswana states controlled this trade, and by the middle of that century, they had imposed strict control over lands reserved for commercial hunting. As a result, the notion of wildlife conservancies was fixed in public consciousness well before the colonial period.[16] In Botswana, wildlife conservation was not an alien concept arbitrarily imposed by foreign rulers.

British authorities in the colonial era did not abrogate the prerogatives of the chiefs to control the wildlife on their lands. In fact, those years saw traditional authorities consolidate their power over wildlife resources, generally forbidding hunting on their land except by their explicit permission. The low population density in the protectorate facilitated this usage, and competition for land use in Botswana seems to have been relatively minimal. Some of the most notable wildlife sanctuaries in contemporary Botswana are directly descended from the "traditional" game preserves of the chiefs.[17]

In addition to the preserves of the traditional chiefs, colonial Botswana saw a variety of different programs by the protectorate administration to safeguard wildlife. By the end of the colonial period, conservation was deeply entrenched in a variety of government programs and enforced over a considerable proportion of the land area of the country. Still, on the eve of independence in the mid-1960s, these various programs displayed many differences in detail and were not managed as a coherent whole.[18]

In the colonial years, the conservation bureaucracy unsuccessfully advocated a system of national parks, but its vision was not realized until the colonial period ended. Today's system of national parks and wildlife reserves in Botswana coalesced largely after independence in 1966. The first national park, Chobe, was established in 1967.[19] In the following years, conservation officials brought substantial regularization and order to the chaotic and multifaceted wildlife conservation systems inherited from the colonial period. By the mid-1980s, the wildlife conservancies in Botswana had more or less assumed their present form.

The Department of Wildlife and National Parks

Since the colonial era, the primary responsibility for managing Botswana's wildlife has been the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). In 2007, this agency was responsible by law for managing and protecting wildlife and was a part of the civil service bureaucracy that Botswana inherited from the protectorate. The department had been variously subordinated during its history, but between 2002 and 2007 it was a component of the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism.

Like other arms of the colonial bureaucracy during the protectorate years, the DWNP was always severely undermanned and parsimoniously funded. However, it once employed colorful characters still recalled in the country with wry amusement. The eccentricity of those colonial officials apparently was matched by their dedication and competence, and they stayed on in the years immediately after independence to play a constructive role in the consolidation of national conservation policy. Unfortunately, in contrast to many other public sector agencies in Botswana, the subsequent forty years of national independence did not favor the department. By the early twenty-first century, environmentalists in Botswana recalled its earlier legacy with some wistfulness and were scathing about its contemporary deficiencies. They cited a litany of problems, ranging from a continuing lack of government funding to inept

leadership, and they were particularly contemptuous of its antipoaching capabilities. By 2005, the government of Botswana apparently was considering the radical measure of transferring all of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks' antipoaching resources to the Defence Force.

Environmentalists who have been close to Ian Khama over the years allege that he has long held a personal contempt for the DWNP. They suggest that his disdain was part of the motivation in the late 1980s for offering the Defence Force as the solution to the country's poaching problem. Still, the commitment of the Defence Force to an antipoaching mission in 1987 did not relieve the DWNP of responsibility for supervising the struggle against poaching in Botswana. In 2007, antipoaching operations by the military still were limited to a small part of the country. The DWNP was responsible for the rest.

The government of Botswana recognized a long-standing problem with the antipoaching effectiveness of the department, and after the early 1990s, it made sporadic efforts to correct it. The Defence Force provided some training on an irregular basis. The government also twice hired a colorful ex-French foreign legionnaire of Swiss origin to train the game scouts.[20] According to knowledgeable insiders, these programs included excellent instruction and resulted in some temporary rejuvenation of departmental antipoaching activities. However, local observers said that they were likely to be of limited enduring value without changes in leadership or significant increases in departmental funding. Despite the department's alleged deficiencies, by 2007, it had established a productive working relationship with the Defence Force.[21]

The Wildlife Constituency

Earlier chapters suggested that the incentive for wildlife conservation in Botswana does not come from any wellspring of popular enthusiasm for environmental causes. In fact, quite the opposite is true. Botswana's government justifies its antipoaching policies by successfully appealing to a public desire for order and taking advantage of public outrage at theft of national resources. Nor is the average citizen motivated by a concern for the welfare of wildlife. The electorate harbors a vague stereotype that a passion for wildlife conservation is a peculiar obsession of rich white people. So it is unlikely that Botswana's political establishment would have committed itself to wildlife conservation in the absence of some

kind of effective advocacy. Even though the constituency for wildlife conservation in the country is small, it has influenced public policy.

Though its size is small, the conservationist community in Botswana is also diverse and complex. Any taxonomy is likely to be controversial, but the community can be divided into the following three categories: those environmentalists in Botswana's public sector, those anchored primarily in the country's private sector, and those connected to international groups. Although this categorization suggests a greater differentiation between the three than actually is the case, it offers a way of accounting for the diversity. Actors in each of the three categories have differing interests and bring somewhat different pressures to bear on public policy.

Public Sector

Some of the pressure for wildlife conservation in Botswana comes from individuals within the public sector. The government itself reflects the same diversity in views about wildlife biodiversity as the population at large, with environmental advocates in a distinct minority. Yet Botswana's executive branch has always contained at least a small nucleus of dedicated conservationists. The role of Ian Khama has been explored in earlier chapters. Besides Khama, the most prominent government environmentalists have been associated over the years with the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. They do not have great clout or visibility within senior policymaking circles in the country, but they have played some role.

Much of the government's current interest in wildlife is directly related to its aspiration for a diversified economy and the anticipated economic benefits of the tourist industry.[22] This motivation was clearly illustrated in a government reorganization (finalized by about 2002) that removed the Department of Wildlife and National Parks from the Ministry of Trade and Industry and placed it in a reorganized Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism. Significantly, this single ministry now oversees both wildlife conservation and tourism in the country.[23] In its efforts to diversify the national economy since 1990, the government has successfully promoted various tourist-related ventures, resulting in steadily rising numbers of foreign tourists. Some of the voices for wildlife conservation in the government come from those actors more interested in economic development and growth than in biodiversity per se.[24]

Also within the public-sector environmentalist community are various scholars of the earth sciences and social sciences associated with the University of Botswana or its related institutions like the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre (HOORC) in Maun.[25] These specialists function as something of a bridge between the government and the wider global community of scientists and environmental activists. They play a limited advocacy role and an important technical role in the formulation of national environmental policy.

Part of the proconservation constituency within the government of Botswana is the Defence Force itself. Botswana's armed forces participate (apparently very willingly) in national celebrations of environmental initiatives, such as the November 26 National Tree Planting Day, and they pay more than simple lip service to a conservationist ethic in the organizational culture. Military personnel at all levels of rank insisted to the author between 2004 and 2006 that wildlife was essential to Botswana's economy. This assertion might have been a rationalization for almost two decades of antipoaching operations, but it seemed a strongly entrenched belief, clearly reflecting the results of a deliberate and successful process of indoctrination.

Nevertheless, it is only in a very general sense that the BDF could be described as part of the government's "environmental" agenda. In the minds of military personnel between 2004 and 2006, the Defence Force antipoaching operations were not conceptually linked to the country's other environmental initiatives, and military members were not particularly familiar with other government environmental programs. For their part, civilian officials in the Department of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism professed to be completely ignorant of military environmental activities. And Botswana's government itself seemed oddly reluctant to acknowledge the military's conservation role. In the proceedings of the seminal 1997 National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana, no mention was made of a decade of successful military antipoaching.[26] The omission might have reflected the natural tendency in Botswana not to submit "security" (e.g., military) issues to common discourse. But it might also have reflected some discomfort in Botswana's government about "protectionist" conservation approaches.

Private Sector

The wildlife conservation constituency within the private sector in Botswana can be distinguished into the following two broad categories:

on the one hand, those actors whose livelihoods are based in some degree on the commercial exploitation of wildlife; and on the other, those groups and individuals whose conservationist inclinations are driven mainly by ideological convictions regarding biodiversity or animal welfare. These groups have widely varying interests and agendas, though both have access to senior political leaders.

Several kinds of communities in Botswana legally exploit wildlife for commercial purposes, and at least three interrelated "for profit" industries are very concerned about wildlife issues: the hotel-related tourist enterprises, the hunting or ecotourism industry, and the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) communities.[27]

While the government has tried to stimulate international interest in Botswana's rich cultural heritage, the vast majority of tourists still come primarily to see the wildlife, and a substantial number of tourist lodges, transport facilities, and supporting businesses catered to that interest. In 2007, up to fifty thousand citizens of Botswana were direct beneficiaries of some aspect of the tourist trade. The community as a whole was represented by the Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB), founded to lobby for the needs of the hotel-based tourist industry. The HATAB constituency was well funded and had a sophisticated public relations outreach. It also had good access to the country's national political leadership.[28]

Botswana's hunting and ecotourism industry also cared about the nation's wildlife. This industry was made up of somewhat separate groups—the local safari concession hunters and ecotourism operators (who operate almost exclusively in the vicinity of the Okavango Delta in northern Botswana), the game ranchers concentrated in the Tuli Block area in the east and particularly in the area around Ghanzi in the west, and the larger hunting companies (typically foreign-owned) that collaborated with the CBNRM communities. These operated mainly in or near the Okavango Delta.

The well-being of the hunting and ecotourism industry depends on Botswana's international reputation for plentiful game and trophy animals, so the industry has considerable incentive to encourage the wise management of wildlife resources. Its pressure assures that Botswana has strict limits on game harvesting and enforces these limits fairly stringently.

The economic viability of the entire hunting and ecotourism industry is threatened by poaching, whether by foreign gangs or opportunistic local meat hunters. Not surprisingly, safari companies have been strong

supporters of government antipoaching efforts and depend on good relations with a government that regulates and protects their access to game. The safari companies lease the land for hunting (or ecotouring) either from the government or from local communities, and they typically operate in the game-rich far north of the country, catering almost exclusively to foreign clients from Europe and North America. As managers of local hunting concessions, they have developed strong ties to the Defence Force, resulting in intelligence sharing and other cooperation.[29] Still, actors in the hunting industry seem to have distinctly less influence on public policy than those in the hotel-based tourist industry and are much more pessimistic about their future.[30] The fact that they have any leverage at all probably is directly related to the economic return they bring the nation. In 1999 alone, hunting enterprises employed about one thousand citizens and grossed about US$20 million (earning about US$1.7 million in spin-off benefits for local communities).[31] That source of income was too large to ignore but not big enough to profoundly sway public policy.

Botswana's hunting industry overlaps the country's CBNRM program, which in 2007 was at the center of an interesting contest in Botswana over political control and political patronage. Heavily sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and other foreign donors, CBNRM programs burst onto the southern African scene in the mid-1980s.[32] They envisioned the empowerment of local communities by allowing them to manage the natural resources of the land on which they lived, providing them the right to funnel the economic benefits back to the people living on the land. Despite the enthusiasm with which they were greeted by development specialists (and the extensive support of foreign donors) in the 1980s, the CBNRM programs in southern Africa have struggled since their inception. By 2006, Namibia was the only southern African country in which a CBNRM program had all the earmarks of an unqualified success.[33]

In Botswana's program, the government leases the land use rights to a local community for a specified period, typically five years. The community, in turn, chooses an external commercial partner, typically a hunting or ecotourism company, for collaborative use of natural resources. It contracts with the external partner in a formal agreement that spells out the mutual rights. The collaborating partner builds whatever infrastructure is necessary to support the project (such as tourist lodges) and brings in the foreign tourists. As a result of this partnership, the local community obtains employment opportunities and is reimbursed by the

partner for use of its land and other resources. The local community, for its part, pays a tax to the government on its returns. In 2006, Botswana's CBNRM program involved over eighty-three individual local communities, all in the vicinity of the Okavango Delta. However, the program had fallen somewhat out of favor with the government. Vice President Khama, in particular, was said to be increasingly impatient with the concept, leaving its long-term viability in some doubt.[34]

Besides the wildlife management areas, national parks, and game reserves, some of Botswana's wildlife in the early twenty-first century was managed on private farms. Game ranching had slowly spread on freehold land purchased in the colonial era by white farmers and now held by their descendants. These landowners now raised wildlife on their land and drew income though organized hunting opportunities, primarily for overseas hunters. According to knowledgeable insiders, only one entrepreneur—a large-scale farmer in the vicinity of Ghanzi—had turned a game ranch into an unambiguous economic success, though others were trying. In 2007, this activity in Botswana was ensnarled in a complex series of controversies over land ownership and land reform.[35]

In addition to the various groups in Botswana that make their livelihood from the exploitation of wildlife, there is a constituency for conservation comprised of a small group of citizens motivated by ecocentric ideological concerns. By the late twentieth century, various individuals in Botswana were influentially and passionately committed to wildlife causes. For instance, Dereck Joubert and Beverly Joubert, close friends of the vice president, came to public attention first through a somewhat hagiographic video portraying the role of Ian Khama in military antipoaching and then through their efforts to preserve a national ban on lion hunting.[36] Like the Jouberts, many of Botswana's environmentalists had linkages to international advocacy groups.

Botswana's civil society includes local nonprofit environmental organizations, the most prominent being the Kalahari Conservation Society, a group founded in 1982 that claims to be the oldest and most prominent environmental NGO in the country.[37] Others include the Chobe Wildlife Trust, Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, and Botswana Bird Club. These cooperate with international environmental groups and with the government in local conservationist initiatives. Vice President Khama is a prominent member of many of these organizations, providing the environmentalist community with influence out of proportion to its actual numbers.

International Environmental Groups

Environmental issues in Botswana are a concern of a substantial community of international organizations. The most prominent of these is the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), one of the world's premier environmentalist organizations.[38] The IUCN works in close coordination with conservationist organizations like the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Wildlife Foundation (WWF). The IUCN has maintained an office in Botswana since 1984, overseen by a local country program coordinator. It has been a very active partner with the government of Botswana in a host of environmental initiatives. While the IUCN is the most influential international environmental organization in Botswana, it is by no means the only one. Others range from the local chapter of Conservation International (CI) to the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF), working to implement transfrontier animal conservancies, to groups like the Safari Club International (SCI), whose hunter membership also is very interested in wildlife conservation.[39]

Some of the international influence on conservation issues in Botswana comes from foreign governments, although this typically takes the form of a sponsorship of some preexisting initiative in the country. For example, when the government hosted a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana in 1997, much of the legwork for the conference was performed by environmental NGOs. Much of the funding for the conference came from the U.S. Agency for International Development, the UK's Department for International Development, and the European Union.[40]

The international environmental community holds mixed views about Botswana's use of military force in antipoaching roles. Some individual members interviewed by the author strongly commended Botswana's initiative and praised the performance of the Defence Force, while others were much less sanguine. None condemned the usage outright, and none denied that it had prevented at least some poaching (though some were skeptical of the extent of the accomplishment). Still, individuals in this community are ambivalent about the wisdom of "protectionist" conservation programs wherever they are found, including Botswana.

The constituency for wildlife conservation in Botswana is thus a combination of private-sector environmentalists, scholars, businesses, NGOs,

international advocacy groups, and elements of the government of Botswana itself. These share many interests, but they are by no means unanimous on conservation issues. Some conservationists come from the hunting industry (or are themselves keen hunters), while others strongly oppose hunting.[41] Personal animosity within the hunting industry (and between that industry and the wildlife producers) reduces the political effectiveness of these communities.[42] Some environmentalists in Botswana are very uneasy about the impact on fragile ecologies of increasing wildlife tourism. Within the public-sector conservation community itself, there are inevitable divisions, strains, and jealousies. The lack of a national consensus on wildlife conservation is reflected in the ideological and methodological differences of the conservation groups, and the result probably is a constituency less effective in supporting a national conservation agenda than otherwise would be the case. At the same time, the voices for wildlife biodiversity compete with those in Botswana for other priorities and with those political actors who seek to use wildlife conservation as a wedge issue for a partisan political advantage.

Despite the cleavage in Botswana's own conservation circles, local environmental groups serve as a vital bridge to a much larger world community. That community, in turn, has a significant impact on conceptions and processes of conservation in Botswana. The linkages vary greatly, as do the influences. Some comprise the government-to-government connections in such international agreements as the United Nations- affiliated Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).[43] Others link Botswana to international environmental experts and advocacy communities. For instance, both the government of Botswana and its private citizens work with organizations such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), IUCN, and Conservation International to formulate local wildlife conservation programs. Some of the linkages emphasize narrow agendas, illustrated by a surprisingly well-organized worldwide effort pressuring Botswana's government to maintain its ban on lion hunting. The various relationships bring government officials, local scholars, and civil society activists into regular contact with similarly motivated communities elsewhere in the world. In some cases, these relationships result in substantive material support for local environmental initiatives. Perhaps more importantly, they also focus international attention on events in Botswana, increasing the clout of some conservationist efforts and constraining some of the internal opposition to those efforts.

The Ian Khama Connection

One citizen in Botswana overlaps each of the three conservationist categories—as an individual activist, a participant in local and international environmental groups, and a government official. That individual is, of course, Ian Khama, vice president of the country in 2007 and likely future president. Khama not only has lent his personal patronage to wildlife conservation enterprises but has also committed his own time and resources to a variety of related causes and has been uniquely instrumental in the commitment of the national military to protect wildlife. Khama's inclinations and commitment are well known in his country, and he has had a profound personal influence on conservation.

In 2007 there was some question in Botswana's environmental community about the kind of wildlife policies a future Khama presidency would pursue. He was alleged to restrict his advisers on environmental issues to a small group of radical conservationists and was said to be inflexible in his environmental views. He also was said to hold a strong personal animus toward some members of the hunting industry. While Khama was perhaps the one political figure in the country whose personal popularity could override a politically unpopular commitment to wildlife conservation, even he made few public pronouncements on the subject during election years like 2004. Additionally, he was alleged to have pressured environmental groups to refrain from politically embarrassing activities in the period immediately prior to those elections. Given his well-known passion for conservation, Khama's caution over its political cost offers a good indication of the fragility of the consensus for wildlife conservation in Botswana.

Growing Regional Environmental Connections

In 2007, Botswana's environmental equities were profoundly influenced by its growing partnerships with neighboring states. Many of these had some connection to wildlife, but they tended to also ramify into issues of security and conservation of other natural resources, especially water. The partnerships had a variety of dimensions, ranging from bilateral agreements over transfrontier wildlife conservancies to regional water management to multilateral economic development initiatives, and were encouraged by the Southern African Development Community (SADC).[44]

The cross-border poaching of megafauna had been one of the early issues that motivated Botswana to seek cooperative partnerships on environmental issues with its neighbors, an initiative in which the safety of wildlife overlapped the concern for the security of borders and the desire for effective law enforcement. Almost as soon as it was given the antipoaching mission in 1987, the Defence Force reached out to neighboring countries in efforts to engage them on collaborative antipoaching efforts. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, these efforts had succeeded in building substantial cooperation, a subject discussed in earlier chapters. However, the BDF contacts were by no means the only regional law enforcement efforts dealing with wildlife issues. Several southern African nations subscribed to the Lusaka Agreement on Cooperative Enforcement Operations Directed at Illegal Trade in Wild Fauna and Flora, an agreement that came into force in 1996. By 1999, the agreement had resulted in a task force (headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya) with the objective of developing cooperative efforts to combat illegal trade in wild fauna and flora.[45]

Access to water has been an issue of bilateral contention among several southern African states in the past, with some potential to provoke conflict.[46] There are several river systems at issue, but southern Africa is the location of at least one singular success in multinational cooperation over scarce water resources. That success involves access to the water of the Okavango River Basin.

This basin drains a very large area of southeastern Angola, where virtually all the contributing precipitation is captured. The Okavango River then flows through Namibia's Caprivi Strip before depositing the water in the massive Okavango Delta in Botswana. The water resources from the Okavango basin are critically important to the ecology of Botswana's Okavango Delta (and, by extension, both the Delta wildlife and the tourist industry that exploit it). However, this water also is of critical interest both to Angola, just emerging from years of civil war and eager for human development in its war-ravaged interior, and to Namibia, whose desert ecology offers limited water resources to a growing population.

The senior political leaders of Botswana and Namibia clearly foresaw the danger of violent competition for this water, and in 1990 (right after Namibia received its independence from South Africa), they set up the Joint Permanent Technical Commission to deal with water issues and manage the human development of communities directly affected by this water system. By the end of 1994, Angola had joined the group, resulting

in a Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission (OKACOM).[47] The evolution of OKACOM subsequently attracted external donors, environmental groups, and development specialists to participate in river system management and economic development. It has had the salutary effects of focusing the attention of Botswana's policymakers and attentive public on environmental issues and encouraging conservationism in Botswana. Competition for Okavango water could conceivably fuel future conflict, but the extensive (and growing) regional consultation seemed more likely in 2007 to produce cooperation. OKACOM also pointed the way to the resolution of similar bilateral water problems elsewhere in the region.[48]

Somewhat the same point can be made for the advent of transfrontier wildlife conservancies in the region in the 1990s.[49] The transfrontier conservancies in southern Africa were one of the initiatives made possible by South Africa's transition to majority rule after 1989. Much of the regional enthusiasm for the concept was a result of the work of the South African businessman, environmentalist, and philanthropist Anton Rupert, who founded the Peace Parks Foundation in 1997.[50] The centerpieces of the organization's activities have been transfrontier wildlife conservation areas, commonly known by the acronym TFCAs.[51]

TFCAs began to appear in southern Africa in the late 1990s, spurred by the Peace Parks Foundation (and a growing list of partners), generally starting as bilateral programs in which pairs of countries agreed to jointly manage national parks and wildlife reserves along contiguous borders. The first half dozen or so were established along South Africa's borders. As part of this development, Botswana established several partnerships with neighboring countries to jointly oversee the management of contiguous wildlife sanctuaries. These included the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park in the southwest (shared with South Africa) and the Limpopo-Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area in the east (shared with Zimbabwe and South Africa).

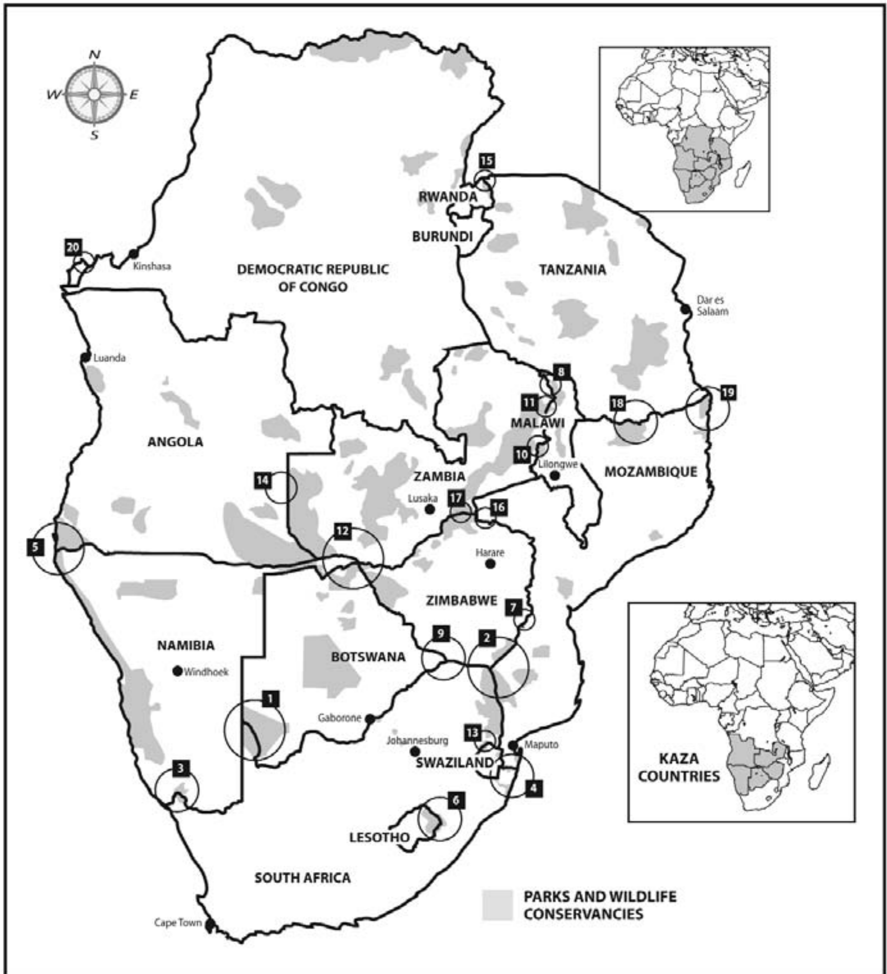
The projects produced some immediate results: they were a boon to wildlife management and served laudable biodiversity ends. They also attracted environmentalist attention from abroad and brought international attention to southern African conservation. From the beginning, their advocates saw them as mechanisms for promoting regional cooperation and human development, reducing the prospects for interstate conflict and contributing directly to the economic development of local communities that would benefit from tourism and resource harvesting.[52]

Perhaps not unexpectedly, the application of the TFCA concept in southern African generated a fair amount of criticism. Some scholars argued that the initiatives were mainly the obsession of ecocentric government elites and international environmentalist groups whose desire for pristine wildlife refuges undermined any real commitment to local community development. Others contended that human security principles were violated by government "top down" approaches that failed to involve local communities in defining their own future. Still others argued that the promise of regional cooperation fell far short of the more optimistic expectations.[53]

The most ambitious regional scheme that emerged from the TFCA movement has been the five-nation Kavango Zambezi (KAZA) Transfrontier Conservation Area initiative. It was qualitatively different from its predecessors. Until the advent of KAZA, southern African TFCAs had included contiguous areas of up to three countries. The most complex of these, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, christened in late 2002 and involving Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, encompassed some 35,000 square kilometers of border land between the three countries.[54] However, the KAZA project involved some 278,000 square kilometers of animal-rich savanna, woodlands, rivers, and wetlands spread out in separate locations across five southern African countries: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

The sophisticated KAZA project grew out of earlier consultations that had commenced with much less ambitious intentions.[55] It began to take its current form with a final meeting in 2004 between the environmental ministers of the five participating countries in the Namibian town of Katima Mulilo.[56] In 2005, the United States began to allocate modest funding to the initiative and appeared to be open to further support if the initiative appeared to be panning out.[57] KAZA drew insights and expertise from a world-wide environmentalist community.[58] Its articulated objectives included the joint management of regional natural resources, harmonized land use (with scientific monitoring and research), rationalized policy and legal frameworks, the promotion of sustainable tourism, the encouragement of public- and private-sector investment, and joint marketing.[59] The ultimate goal of these efforts was economic development and a world-class tourist destination.[60]

By mid-2006, a draft memorandum of understanding (MOU) for KAZA was circulating among the five countries. In June 2006, representatives gathered in Luanda and were presented with a feasibility study by the Peace Parks Foundation. As a result of these consultations, it



1. Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park
2. Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park
3. I Ai- I Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park
4. Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation & Resource Area
5. Iona-Skeleton Coast TFCA
6. Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation & Development Area
7. Chimanimani TFCA
8. Nyika TFCA
9. Limpopo/Shashe TFCA
10. Kasungu-Lukusuzi TFCA
11. Vwaza-Lundazi TFCA
12. Okavango-Upper Zambezi Transfrontier Zone
13. Songimvelo-Malolotja TFCA
14. Liuwa Plain-Mussuma-Kameia TFCA
15. Kagera TFCA
16. ZIMOZA Transboundary Natural Resource Management (TBNRM) Project
17. Lower Zambezi-Mana Pools TFCA
18. Niassa-Selous TFCA
19. Mnazi Bay-Quirimbas Transfrontier MarineConservation Area
20. Maiombe Forest TFCA

Figure 7. Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) conservation areas, current and proposed.

appeared that the five countries were likely to approve the MOU by early 2007, and that they would then initiate a variety of consultations and conferences about the implementing details.[61] In 2007, the project still was largely a proposal, though intensive consultations were underway.[62]

By 2007, KAZA had mobilized a very wide range of supporters, attracting coalitions of unlikely partners ranging from policymakers to environmental scientists, development-oriented NGOs, and conservation advocacy groups. One of the most important aspects of the project was the fact that it was a southern African initiative—conceived by southern Africans and implemented by southern Africans. Whatever inspiration and support it might have received from external sources, it was nonetheless the case of a region seeking to take control of its own future.[63]

Whether or not the KAZA project succeeds as envisioned by its proponents, Botswana can take credit for much of its inspiration. That country's prolific wildlife sanctuaries are at the very center of the project. In one sense, the whole enterprise could be viewed as an attempt to extend the commercial success of Botswana's wildlife-based tourism industry to the entire subregion. The country's small Defence Force played a role in that success. In 2007, it still was the only military in the region that had thrived in that particular role.[64]

Botswana's leaders recognize that the security of the country's wildlife resources cannot be guaranteed by military power. They have reached out in an unambiguous way to their regional neighbors and have established a variety of productive relationships. Southern Africa is the site of a growing complex of environmental, developmental, and security connections that hold considerable promise for an entire subregion. Wildlife conservation remains a key issue in these relationships, and Botswana's armed forces continue to play an essential role in securing one country's wildlife in this subregion.

Environmental Security in Botswana: A Postscript

This book has examined the role of Botswana's small Defence Force in securing some of its country's vital national resources. The success of Botswana's military antipoaching operations is unique in Africa. However, to view that activity as the centerpiece of Botswana's solutions to its environmental dilemmas would be a serious error. Botswana has a reasonably clear vision of an environmentally desirable future. It has pursued that vision with the resources of the state, including military force,

but it has never advocated the use of the coercive instruments of the state as the primary mechanism to protect its environmental interests. Rather, it employed military power in circumstances where the threat seemed to warrant a particular response.

The incentives for wildlife protection in Botswana play on different groups in the country in different ways. They also have roots in a peculiar national history of conservation. It would be difficult to find a single strong message emerging from the country's different communities, except the message that a long-term commitment to the environment depends on a capacity to link it to human or economic development. The obverse also is true. Threats to human and economic development can be used to mobilize support for government initiatives if those initiatives do not themselves undermine community security. For instance, violent commercial poachers are easily categorized in the public imagination as antisocial predators that undermine the physical and emotional well-being of communities while stealing valuable community resources. Here, conceptions of environmental security overlap other categories of broadly defined human security. Botswana's commitments to environmental security cannot, however, easily be separated from the concerns and involvement of a much larger regional and global community. Here, too, the messages are diffuse and occasionally conflicting. Still, environmental policy in Botswana draws inspiration and support from like-minded advocates elsewhere.

Botswana's present circumstances represent an interesting window in the history of the human family in which rich wildlife resources once prevalent around the globe now are restricted to small, threatened enclaves, primarily in Africa. Botswana's citizens did not seek out the privilege of stewardship for these diminishing treasures; rather, that responsibility was thrust upon them by accident of history. But they have responded to its demands. Part of Botswana's answer to this challenge has been the commitment of military force over the long term. It is difficult to imagine a more tangible indication of national seriousness.

This page intentionally left blank

7

Lessons from Botswana

Introduction

In early April 2006, scouts from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks discovered the unmistakable signs of commercial poaching in a remote corner of Botswana's Chobe National Park. Three elephant carcasses lay sprawled over a small area, their tusks removed and their bodies riddled with gunshot wounds. Continuing their search of the area, the scouts soon discovered a hidden cache of elephant ivory. They reported their find to Major R. Makgato, the military commander at Kasane Base Camp. Makgato quickly organized an ambush patrol.

A well-armed team of BDF troops and wildlife officers returned to the site of the kill. They concealed themselves in a position overlooking both the hidden tusks and the likely avenue of approach for the poachers. They then waited patiently for about thirty hours. At dusk the following day, five men approached the cached ivory, oblivious to the impending ambush. One of the poachers subsequently stood guard with an automatic rifle while the others ducked under the brush, apparently intending to retrieve the tusks.

The BDF patrol leader now tried to apprehend the poachers. He carefully maneuvered his men into a position to cut off their escape, but before he could fully implement his plan, the man with the automatic rifle detected movement and opened fire. That poacher died instantly in a hail of return fire while his companions fled the scene. By now it was dark and immediate pursuit of the remaining poachers was impractical.

At first light the next morning, Makgato launched foot and air patrols to hunt down the fleeing poachers. He brought in professional trackers to aid the search, and the pursuit continued all day. Despite these efforts, three of the five poachers ultimately managed to elude their pursuers,

making it across the Namibian border to safety. One was not so fortunate. Hit in the exchange of fire at the ambush site, he had hobbled off to die an agonizing and terrifying death, alone and in the dark, surrounded by carnivorous predators. His partially eaten remains were discovered by BDF patrols the next day.

In 2006, Botswana still was engaged in a low intensity conflict to secure its wildlife resources against well-armed commercial poachers, a conflict likely to continue into the foreseeable future. Two decades after Botswana first deployed its soldiers into the country's parks, and in the wake of scores of wounded, dead, and incarcerated criminals, the gangs were still at it. Their success had been limited and their criminal forays were confronted with constant danger. Yet, for the rewards from a few tusks of ivory, they still were prepared to brave gut-wrenching peril. Any slackening in Botswana's antipoaching vigilance would surely have resulted in an instant escalation of the poaching. The country had nonetheless demonstrated that it could deal with this threat over the long term, finding a solution in an expanded role for its Defence Force. It had achieved a workable cooperation within its coercive agencies and with the authorities of neighboring states. In the struggle with the poachers, Botswana's military also found it could count on the support both of the government and civil society.

In assessing two decades of antipoaching operations, analysts may be prone to fall into at least two of the following traps: one would be to dismiss the significance of Botswana's accomplishments altogether; the other, to see in them a panacea for all the dilemmas of wildlife conservation in Africa. A superficial reading of Botswana's experience conceivably could support either flawed conclusion. The reality of Botswana's antipoaching struggle is ambiguous and complex. More useful would be an assessment that avoids shallow conclusions in finding a balanced message that recognizes the country's achievements while also acknowledging their limits.

Botswana's antipoaching operations have never fully guaranteed the security of its natural resources, nor were they ever intended to do so. Wildlife conservation is one of many environmental issues in Botswana. Antipoaching has not been the centerpiece of Botswana's environmental programs and, until recently, was hardly mentioned in the country's official documentation on environmental strategy. Nor is the success of antipoaching in Botswana necessarily proof that this is an appropriate role for a national army. The BDF simply has demonstrated that, given a certain conjunction of circumstances, military force can be effective

against a particular threat to wildlife, a "given" highly fraught with pitfalls for the unwary. Still, the BDF has demonstrated that it is entirely possible to use military forces effectively in environmental security roles. This chapter reviews some of the key factors that account for that success, suggests how external partners can assist such efforts, and offers several cautions about Botswana's experience.

Finding the Factors

Can Botswana's success be replicated? That is a fundamental question underlying this study, but it is closely related to two others: Assuming the country's experience is something other than an unrepeatable conjunction of fortuitous circumstances, under what circumstances can it comprise a useful example? And even if the success of Botswana's antipoaching approach can be replicated, should it be? Students of contemporary civil-military relations see considerable danger in the use of national military establishments in internal security roles, particularly in Africa, and may be inclined to question the propriety of that usage even if its object were otherwise laudable. Then, the international environmentalist community holds strong reservations about protectionist policies, roles that pit a government against its citizens rather than seeking the social consensus necessary to achieve government-society cooperation. Both the foregoing concerns are valid, but they do not really capture Botswana's experience and need not compromise the value of this case if its applicability is carefully defined. The study suggests that there may be circumstances in which a competent military force is the best instrument for an internal environmental security role in Africa.

This all leads to the fundamental question at issue in this book: what contributed to antipoaching success in Botswana? To answer this question, it is useful to distinguish issues external to the BDF from those more directly related to its nature and performance. The former have to do with the capacities of the state, the nature of the threat, and the civil-military and international ramifications of antipoaching. The issues internal to the military have to do with the technical and tactical competence of the force, its professional ethics and discipline, and (as a category overlapping the others) the quality of its leadership.

A first important issue is the ability of a government to define and pursue security ends, or more precisely, to have a vision of the nation's vital interests and a rational way, consistent with available means, of protecting or pursuing those interests.[1] At least by the 1990s, Botswana's

government seems to have developed a reasonably clear picture of a desirable future widely shared by the larger society. This had been articulated in official documents like *Vision 2016*. Environmental advocates played a part in this definition, assuring that there was some attention paid to the security of the nation's wildlife resources. To a significant degree, Botswana had proven willing to do what was necessary to realize its national vision, recognizing environmental security as an important national interest and according it the requisite priority and resources.

A second issue had been the tangible return on the investment. All African countries are faced with difficult political and economic choices, constrained in part by the keen competition for scarce resources amid large populations of poor citizens desperate for economic opportunity. Within communities struggling to attain the barest necessities of life, appeals to the morality of animal welfare are likely to generate little besides wry amusement, puzzlement, or hostility. The impact of any conservationist vision will inevitably be minimal without a clear ability to connect conservation to economic opportunity in the public mind. To be sufficiently attractive, at least some return from biodiversity must occur in the relatively near term. This is captured in the following cynical local aphorism: "In Africa, if it pays it stays."

While Botswana has been better off economically than most African nations, any appeal to a nebulous concern for animal welfare simply does not resonate with the majority of its citizens—or worse, appears to be the sinister, obsessive preoccupation of a wealthy racial minority. Wildlife conservation could not have been a priority in Botswana without concrete proof of its contribution to national economic development. In 2007, even the obvious benefits of a growing tourist industry had not convinced all the country's citizens of the importance of wildlife conservation. On the other hand, had there not been a near-term, tangible economic return from wildlife, it is hard to imagine that Botswana's leaders would have persisted in a military commitment to protect it. An environmental agenda in Africa will not prevail unless it can offer such material incentive that the conservationist constituency overwhelms the actual or incipient poacher constituency.

If a widely shared, long-term vision were important to Botswana's success, the presence of an effective public-sector advocate certainly was every bit as significant. "Visions" rarely sell themselves. The country's conservationist vision has been partial, diffuse, and fragile, but it has enjoyed effective advocacy. Its most prominent conservationist, Ian Khama, has persistently promoted a conservationist agenda, a cause he

will continue to champion if (as expected) he accedes to the presidency. Absent this individual, it is not at all clear that the environmentalist community in Botswana would have had either the clout or the inclination to lobby effectively for the commitment of such a high level of public-sector resources to wildlife conservation or, indeed, that the government of Botswana would have demonstrated the same level of commitment. Nor is it certain that the national leadership would have decided to use its military in antipoaching operations. The impact of an influential and committed advocate like Ian Khama cannot be overlooked. The lesson here is that without the personal attention of at least one highly influential and committed senior policymaker, it seems unlikely that an African country would be inclined to invest significant resources in biodiversity.

The presence of a powerful advocate is important, but on its own it is not sufficient to guarantee megafauna security in any African state, a fact illustrated in the public life of Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda. He was a dedicated conservationist but a lonely and ineffectual voice for conservation in his own country.[2] Even so, a constituency for conservation need not be large to be effective. African countries do not have vast numbers of animal welfare advocates, but with just enough critical mass, small communities of politically astute activists can make a difference. This has been true in Botswana, where a diverse assemblage of groups from civil society has been able to influence national environmental policy. The constituency itself is sharply divided over issues of personality, ideology, and approach to conservation issues. However, it has exerted an influence out of proportion to its size. Environmentalists in Botswana found a particularly effective advocate for some of their issues in Ian Khama. They also succeeded in linking environmental concerns in Botswana to the larger community of international environmental activists and encouraging public-private sector dialogue on environmental issues. Consequently, local and external environmentalists have been able to play cooperative roles with the government of Botswana. Though Botswana's conservationist community is small, it has brought effective pressure to bear on the formulation of public policy.

Environmentalists within the public sector also are important. Botswana's experience suggests that government officials responsible for biodiversity need not be well organized, organizationally competent, or politically influential to play a useful role. They need only be present. Conservationists in civil society can provide the necessary energy for effective programs but require access for "plugging into" the formulation of public policy. The same is true of the international environmentalist

community, a source of substantial resources and expertise. To have a useful impact, external actors require admission to public-sector programs. They also require the legitimacy that only the local public sector can provide. As evident in Botswana's case, a conservationist community in the government is necessary for providing these essential opportunities.

Another factor in Botswana's antipoaching struggle has been the definition of the threat itself. In neighboring Zambia or more distant Tanzania, conservationist efforts fell afoul of local communities for whom hunting was a land-use right. What the Zambian and Tanzanian government classified as "poaching" was viewed in local communities as legitimate economic behavior, sanctioned by long-standing tradition. In contrast, Botswana's attentive public came to regard the poaching in the wildlife sanctuaries as the theft of valuable national resources and an activity that compromised the safety of citizens. By the mid-1980s, the government of Botswana also began to recognize the situation as a challenge to the country's sovereignty and its economic security. When both the civil society and government in Botswana recognized commercial poaching as an unacceptable violation of national interests, there was ample political space for the government to apply state-sanctioned violence against it. A lesson here is that the unambiguous and widely accepted identification of a threat is important.

The coherence of the response also is an essential factor. Botswana displayed some sophistication in its ability to adjust its military response to changes in the threat environment. More importantly, it selected an agency capable of doing the job and provided it with a clear mission that was within its capabilities and compatible with available resources. Even though there might have been a strategic risk to the country in committing the Defence Force to the antipoaching mission in the late 1980s, the government gave its military a role that it could perform. Nor did it shrink from giving it the authority to use lethal force when necessary or from the need to safeguard military personnel from legal sanctions when poachers were killed. The lesson here is that it is important for a country to select the appropriate instruments for a role like antipoaching and also necessary to assure those instruments are appropriately resourced and supported over the long term.

Botswana's antipoaching success also depended on a web of productive linkages between the Defense Force and the citizenry of the country. This web of strong and weak ties extended from the BDF to the national leadership and civil society, including the local communities near the

wildlife sanctuaries. A supportive civil-military environment contributed to the antipoaching success. The government, for its part, would not have risked committing military power to this role had it not been confident in the capacities of the Defence Force to restore security in the wildlife sanctuaries without alienating important political stakeholders. The government also was confident that the Defence Force itself would not engage in criminal activity. It recognized that ending the poaching was the key objective, but almost equally important was reassuring civilian communities and a skittish tourist industry that they were safe from violent foreign criminals (and also safe from abuse by the country's security forces). Botswana's populace, for its part, could have compromised the military antipoaching mission by questioning its propriety or succumbing to the bribes of poachers, neither of which seems to have occurred on a significant scale.

In some particulars of civil-military relations in Botswana, antipoaching operations were facilitated by fortuitous happenstance. For reasons anchored in Botswana's history and demography, virtually no citizens lived in the wildlife conservancies themselves, so the antipoaching operations did not abrogate the traditional land-use rights of local citizens, and Botswana's history of chiefly game preserves had established a historically significant precedent of state privilege. Moreover, the country's relative prosperity and the widespread availability of inexpensive domestic livestock significantly reduced the demand for meat from wild animals and (thus) the incentive to poach it.

While much of Botswana's society remained at best ambivalent in the early twenty-first century to the value of biodiversity itself, the megafauna poaching fit into somewhat of a unique category in the minds of many citizens. It constituted the violent theft of a valued national resource by foreign criminals, reinforcing an undercurrent of national chauvinism that attributed much of Botswana's crime (and other social ills) to immigrants from elsewhere. Besides being foreign, such criminals lacked the valued national characteristic of *botho*—self-restraint, generosity, good manners, and "community-mindedness." The unconscionable waste of the commercial poachers made their conduct even worse: they sought out only tusks and horns, wantonly killing animals and leaving the meat to rot. Hence, a strong and violent response by the government to this form of criminality assuaged an almost inchoate popular anger against those foreigners who flouted social norms while casually violating the country's sovereignty. These culturally based local

attitudes were a boon to relations between the Botswana Defence Force and its host society.

Related to the issue of civil-military relations was that of interagency relations. Antipoaching is very much a law enforcement issue, so the national police was naturally concerned from the beginning about the apprehension and prosecution of live poachers and legal accounting for dead ones. In some ways, the most difficult dilemmas of antipoaching had to do with the administration of justice. Poaching is a criminal endeavor. Part of the antipoaching effort required the capacity to intercept live poachers, prosecute them, and impose meaningful legal sanctions. From the beginning, there were tensions in Botswana between the military units that intercepted and killed or captured the poachers and the agencies of law enforcement and justice that mediated the disposition of the criminal cases.

Likewise, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks had the primary mandate in Botswana for wildlife conservation, and BDF antipoaching efforts in the country overlapped the role of that agency. Military and police organizations are unlikely to have the know-how to manage wildlife resources, or even to ascertain for sure if their antipoaching operations are effective in safeguarding them. This requires the particular expertise of wildlife experts, and the BDF recognized at an early stage that it required a cooperative relationship with such experts.

The BDF apparently took the initiative to work out collaborative partnerships with the police and Department of Wildlife, a process that required time and effort. Persistent interagency rivalries could have severely degraded Botswana's antipoaching successes, while the ultimate synergistic cooperation with both these agencies ultimately brought a success that the BDF alone could not have achieved. Interagency cooperation is a difficult objective for all countries and is likely to be partial and episodic almost anywhere. But based on Botswana's experience, it need not be exemplary to make a significant difference.

The BDF's increasingly close links with police and game officials in neighboring states also contributed to its success. After the difficult international relations of the early antipoaching years, relations with each of the neighbors warmed. Growing cooperative relationships allowed the BDF to take the antipoaching fight beyond its borders, substantially improving its ability to intercept poachers before they even arrived in Botswana. The lesson here is that effort spent on achieving interagency and interstate cooperation paid off in enhanced antipoaching capacity;

the absence of this effort could significantly have retarded Botswana's antipoaching success.

The assistance from external actors went well beyond law enforcement cooperation. Funding, matériel, and expertise from abroad have supported Botswana's various environmental programs, including wildlife conservation. Some of this has been bilateral foreign aid, while some has been furnished by international organizations like the UNEP or IUCN. Botswana's military antipoaching program itself has attracted modest amounts of foreign security assistance. Ironically, the most important antipoaching assistance to the BDF probably was never originally intended to enhance environmental security per se: various foreign military training programs have helped the Botswana Defence Force shape its professional culture and train its leaders. Even though these programs were aimed at overall military competence rather than wildlife conservation, they contributed to BDF capacities for effective planning and enhanced the quality of organizational leadership. The foreign military training also contributed to the BDF's high ethical standards and its battlefield skill, critical attributes in any low-intensity conflict. They translated well into the Defence Force's antipoaching roles.

Issues external to the BDF are important in accounting for its antipoaching success, but so are a number of features internal to this military organization. These have to do with its suitability for the mission. Botswana's success clearly has deep roots in the quality of its military.

One obvious contributor was the tactical and technical competence of the force. Such competence is contextual, of course, but in Botswana's antipoaching operations, it meant the ability to successfully wage a challenging form of low-intensity warfare against a clever and elusive foe in a difficult operational environment. Part of it involved the most basic soldiering skills: patrolling and ambush, proficiency with small arms, and quick-action drills. Some of it included the logistics of war: getting the troops to the combat zone, sustaining them effectively on long deployments in difficult terrain and weather, and keeping equipment functioning throughout. Some of it entailed the intelligence challenges of finding the enemy and deploying combat power quickly to the point of need. All of it required substantial leadership skills, ranging from long-term planning at headquarters to the decentralized, small-unit operations in the field. The success of the BDF over the course of two decades of continuous antipoaching operations is a testimony to the competence of the force and the quality of its leadership. The BDF has taken justifiable pride in its performance whatever the mission. (Its antipoaching

achievements mirror its successes in difficult peace operations in Somalia, Mozambique, and Lesotho.) The lesson here is as important as it is obvious. Unless the antipoaching force is better at low-intensity combat than its opponents, it is not likely to succeed, and the capabilities required for this kind of competence are not easily acquired.

The issue of technical and tactical competence bears on the role of appropriate technology. In the early twenty-first century, many military establishments (including Botswana's) were undergoing processes of "transformation," typically involving the adoption of significant new matériel. But new technology can be as much a liability as an asset if it is viewed as a panacea for too wide a range of military problems, and particularly if it allows basic soldiering skills to atrophy. The BDF has experimented with various technologies for antipoaching, including aircraft for surveillance and quick reaction, airboats for river patrolling, and the use of night vision equipment. It has found that specialized technology can provide some advantage at the margins, but there is no substitute for highly trained and motivated personnel who are able to move quickly and stealthily by foot in small units over long distances to beat the poachers at their own game.

Another important contributor to Botswana's success has been the professional ethics of its Defence Force personnel. Military subordination to civil authority, in which a civilian government must be able to trust military leaders to follow its directives, is a fundamental aspect of modern liberal democratic norms. Public confidence in the credibility of the force, involving the confidence that the military can (and will) apply violence as necessary to accomplish its legitimate mission, is important, too. But there is an essential role for moral standards within the force, involving the willingness of its leadership to model and require adherence to codes of professional conduct. Such codes typically forbid the excessive use of force and prohibit ill treatment of civilians (and prisoners). They also typically proscribe graft, fraudulent use of official property, waste of national resources, and illegal economic activity. Operations like antipoaching in Botswana, involving small groups of military personnel that secure valuable resources in remote locations, afford considerable opportunity for waste, fraud, and abuse. Succumbing to such temptations obviously could undermine the capacity to accomplish the military antipoaching mission and, perhaps every bit as damaging, alienate the society at large. Significant ethical lapses could seriously have compromised Botswana's antipoaching success, and the BDF seems to have been remarkably free of them.

Avoiding ethical problems requires a strong emphasis in the organizational culture and a considerable effort on the part of military leadership. The BDF deserves credit for the professional discipline it consistently has exhibited in the antipoaching mission. This has enhanced its military success and has contributed to the high public regard. The accomplishment is a tribute both to the quality of its military leadership and to the willingness of the government of Botswana to remunerate military personnel for their services, reducing the incentive for graft. It also is a tribute to a national ethic that excoriates corrupt practices. The lesson here is that high standards in professional ethics probably are every bit as important to antipoaching success as the technical and tactical competence of the force.

Related to the issue of professional ethics is what might best be characterized as institutional remuneration. This operates at several levels, but it has to do with the degree to which the force receives some benefit from participation in a mission. That benefit need not be a monetary reward, though individual remuneration can play an important part.[3] In the case of Botswana's military antipoaching operations, the institutional benefits—the acclaim of a grateful nation that confers prestige on military personnel in their home communities—often are more intangible. In contrast, the stark absence of public acclaim could have been a serious challenge to military effectiveness, as the U.S. Army discovered in Vietnam in the early 1970s. In the case of the BDF, there is an almost universal view within the force that antipoaching is a valid and appropriate mission that serves a vital national interest, a view sustained by generally favorable media coverage and widespread public approval. BDF officers between 2004 and 2006 also seemed unanimous in the opinion that the antipoaching mission was excellent training, that it maintained good basic soldier skills in a realistic "combat" environment, and that it kept the troops focused and engaged. The lesson here is that the success of an operation like antipoaching probably is significantly enhanced by the perception within the force of significant institutional remuneration.

The security of megafauna in Africa depends in some degree on a capacity to use violence against armed poachers in order to deter or destroy them. Either outcome requires a government agency with substantial expertise and an unquestioned ability and willingness to apply violence. In fact, a critical military characteristic is credibility—a conviction widely shared by enemies and members of the host society alike that the agency will not fail to track down and kill its opponents. The skills and capabilities necessary to generate this kind of reputation can

generally be produced only with concerted military training followed by battlefield success, and even within military communities, the required level of expertise tends to be found most often within elite special forces. In Africa, there are multiple reasons why a national army may not be the preferable agency for internal security missions like wildlife protection. But whatever state agency serves this function, its success will require the attributes of a well-led, well-trained, well-disciplined, and well-equipped military force.

The ability to apply violence effectively may be the agency's most important feature, but it is not the only necessary qualification. Second to credibility is accountability. An agency engaged in an internal security role like antipoaching must be accountable both to a government and to its larger society. Here, too, Botswana's example is instructive. The country's political elite, secure though it may be, cannot afford the political repercussions of a military establishment whose antipoaching performance was marked by incompetence, failure, abuse of civil rights, or corrupt behavior. Had these problems occurred to any substantial degree, Botswana's government almost certainly would have removed the Defence Force from the wildlife sanctuaries. Likewise, without the support of the local population, the Defence Force could not have achieved its antipoaching success. Popular support in Botswana and elsewhere is promoted by operational successes and quickly eroded by unprofessional behavior. Accountability is every bit as important as credibility.

The issues of credibility and accountability overlap at many points. If an African state desires an effective military (or paramilitary) antipoaching capability, its agency must be provided consistent direction and adequate resources over the long term. The agency must be afforded a degree of professional autonomy, including both the prerogative for merit-based recognition and the right to construct antipoaching operations based on its own experience and expertise. These contribute to its competence and, hence, to its credibility. Yet, that quality is meaningless if the force fails to emphasize its accountability, particularly its respect for local norms on the limits of coercion. An antipoaching agency risks an irretrievable compromise in its essential relationships to government and society if it applies excessive or indiscriminate violence. To be effective, the rules of engagement must respect the values of the larger society, as illustrated in the behavior of the Botswana Defence Force that distinguished local meat hunters from members of the armed poacher gangs and treated each group accordingly.

Military Intervention to Secure Wildlife

Based on Botswana's experience, it is possible to ascertain circumstances in which military intervention may be an appropriate wildlife conservation approach in Africa. That said, any model derived from a single country's experience must also be treated with substantial caution, and the boundaries of that experience also should be carefully defined. Botswana used its military to secure the largest animals in its conservancies, the elephants and rhinos that have economically desirable products and were most at risk. Botswana also was concerned about a particular threat—organized, syndicate-sponsored poaching by armed gangs of relatively well-trained and highly motivated professional criminals. Because there is a durable, lucrative international market for certain high-value animal products like ivory and rhino horn, the syndicates are in it for the long haul and will continuously reappear in one form or another. Given sufficient economic incentive, they will proliferate and can be expected to be patient and persistent, tirelessly seeking out vulnerabilities in the systems and agencies that protect the animals.

Botswana's experience does not negate the value of community-based conservation programs now widely commended by environmental advocacy groups. In the long run, these programs arguably may be more important to the future of African wildlife than any public-sector activity or agency. However, this book is not a comparative evaluation of different philosophies of wildlife preservation; rather, it has examined one example of a single approach—the protection of a restricted category of wildlife from a peculiar threat. In this limited context, the community-based programs have some significant limitations. They are local economic enterprises managed by local rural communities. They do not have direct access to the intelligence and coercive instruments available to national governments. They probably will never on their own be able to muster the resources to match the deviousness, persistence, and firepower of criminal syndicates. Also, some local people in African communities will always be vulnerable to the corrosive solicitations and economic blandishments of wealthy criminal organizations. The argument here is simple: in responding to megafauna poaching in Africa, there can be a viable role—possibly in cooperation with community-based conservation programs—for the coercive agencies of the state.

Even a cursory acquaintance with the events described in this book, however, would strongly suggest that the Botswana experience is not a purely military story. However capable and proficient the Botswana

Defence Force may be, it could not have succeeded in the war against megafauna poaching without the conjunction of a number of other factors.

As long as the trafficking of animal products is a lucrative business, it will attract criminals willing to engage in it. Criminal adventurers in Africa and elsewhere will seek out the most available and least threatening opportunities. Whatever measures states undertake to protect their natural resources, their opponents will endeavor to out wait, overcome, or frustrate them. On a continent awash with firearms from regional conflicts and with large numbers of unemployed young men, entrepreneurs have little difficulty recruiting paramilitary gangs with a substantial capacity for organized violence. Such gangs will inevitably appear wherever the profits of illegal behavior are sufficiently lucrative. Some of these groups can be expected to display a very high level of skill in poaching, evasion, and self-defense. Some will prove deviously clever at bribing or intimidating local officials. Some will include sociopaths willing to commit extremes of violence. While Botswana's antipoaching experience indicates that a strong state response has considerable deterrent value against the armed poachers, its military antipoaching operations have by no means eliminated the incidence of commercial poaching. And given Botswana's rich wildlife resources, were the BDF suddenly to withdraw from the wildlife sanctuaries, the gangs soon would be back.

How Foreign Partners Can Help

External actors provided assistance to wildlife conservation in Botswana from the 1980s on; however, involvement by outside actors in national environmental policies is very much a double-edged sword for an African country's senior leaders. Those authorities and their attentive publics are very sensitive to perceptions of bullying from abroad. Government officials in Botswana freely acknowledge that a substantial amount of the organizing and planning for environmental issues has been funded by foreign governments and foreign-based conservation groups, providing the country with options that it otherwise would not have. Many of Botswana's knowledgeable citizens recognize and appreciate the assistance of foreign agencies in attenuating environmental degradation and protecting water resources. But many also are inclined to view pressures for wildlife conservation largely as the eccentric obsession of wealthy, white expatriates and foreigners. Africans in general—including Botswana's citizenry—harbor some of the class and race resentments of

the recent past, sensitivities that still are easily aroused. Any external contribution to wildlife conservation in Botswana is much more readily accepted if it avoids the appearance of foreign pressure or patronization. This is probably easiest to do in the context of regional approaches that establish national partnerships of presumed equals and that emphasize a holistic approach to environmental security in which wildlife conservation is simply one component. This is true of external assistance to any conservation program in Botswana, whether military or nonmilitary.

External contributors could play a useful role by publicly acknowledging Botswana's successes and seeking the country's participation in additional environmental security partnerships. Botswana's attentive public can be expected to take justified pride in the international recognition of the country's achievements in almost any domain, even if the issue itself does not particularly resonate with the daily interests of citizens. If Botswana is given positive international visibility for its conservation successes, advocates in Botswana's public sector—and their agendas—reap some advantage in local politics. This certainly applies to the military. If donors seek to enhance Botswana's military antipoaching capabilities, one obvious contribution would be regular invitations to senior BDF military leaders to participate in environmental conferences and colloquiums. Botswana's conservationists—whether in uniform or out—could profitably be asked to participate in the regular proceedings of the larger world environmental community and treated as full partners whose experiences and expertise are respected and appreciated.

Antipoaching efforts in Botswana probably could obtain significantly more benefit from the resources and expertise available in the international environmentalist community, but it is a community that at the same time is quite skeptical of coercive national approaches to wildlife conservation. Related to the international acknowledgment of Botswana's conservation success is a need for the BDF to better advertise the contribution it has made—and conceivably could make—to other aspects of Botswana's environmental security. The BDF has engaged in public relations outreach in Botswana itself, but its antipoaching accomplishments are not very well known outside of the country. In fact, Botswana's national ethic of reticence and modesty probably works against any inclination to "package" and aggressively "sell" its story to an international audience. Yet, there is a story here that deserves to be told. (At the very least, publicizing the story could stimulate a timely international debate on the use of lethal force against armed international criminals.) Botswana's international partners could help the BDF reach out through

a variety of media to interested environmentalist communities and groups around the world.

Botswana's military officers tend to categorize the armed poacher incursions as a form of low-intensity warfare and believe that their commitment to antipoaching operations maintains militarily useful skills within the Defence Force. They have a good point. The challenges posed by other forms of low-intensity conflict, such as narcotics trafficking and terrorism, bear some similarities to those that the BDF has confronted in its antipoaching operations. The same training that enhances a military counterterrorism capability probably would also enhance the capacity to deal with poaching gangs in southern Africa. Such training could encompass a very wide range of different skills, ranging from basic small-unit soldier competence and weapons proficiency to joint-service mobility, civil affairs, intelligence, and law enforcement.[4] External partners seeking to enhance Botswana's military antipoaching skills would be well advised to offer BDF personnel training opportunities across a broad spectrum of specialties in the expectation that there would be a significant spin off for environmental security in general and antipoaching in particular.

However competently it is performed, military antipoaching in Botswana is a role that requires a readiness and ability to apply coercion. No matter how disciplined and well trained the troops happen to be, the role poses a constant risk of unfortunate incidents that can alienate the Defence Force from its larger society. It probably is in the best interest of the BDF—and of wildlife conservation in Botswana—if the BDF's involvement in environmental security were not restricted solely to antipoaching. In addition to the emphasis on traditional soldiering and leadership skills, Botswana's foreign partners also should offer training to BDF personnel in a broad range of activities related to environmental stewardship. Militaries in developed countries increasingly are obliged to understand and comply with these norms, and it is a matter of time before societies of developing countries will have similar expectations of their armed forces.

The BDF already has demonstrated interest and skill in one key environmental role—antipoaching. It has the potential to become a regional leader and exemplar in a broader environmental security agenda. Military training in developed countries could support a broader BDF capability, but donors also could significantly enhance its ability by offering a select number of officers the opportunity to achieve graduate degrees in environmental sciences in some of the better schools in Europe, the United States, and South Africa. This would promote a more

comprehensive environmental security vision in Botswana's military, encourage the BDF to define its own environmental security role more broadly, and enable it to more effectively integrate its contributions into the overall priorities of the state, including its support of national environmental objectives beyond wildlife conservation.

Botswana's antipoaching effectiveness could be at least marginally improved by some new technology, although it probably is easy to overestimate the potential contribution of matériel. BDF officers themselves have suggested that light, powerful, and reliable tactical radio communications and additional night-vision equipment could enhance their small-unit operations. The effective surveillance of large areas by small numbers of military personnel is a significant challenge for any military, including the BDF. These would seem to be an ideal setting for the extensive use of aerial surveillance, but poachers in Botswana have proven very adept at evading visual detection from the air, so this is an area where high technology might have some utility. U.S.-provided infrared radar (designed to detect body heat at night), provided in the early 1990s, proved disappointing because of the fragility and expense of the equipment, which could not be repaired in Botswana. However, reliable (locally repairable) aerial detection equipment probably is another category of matériel that could make a significant contribution. Botswana probably also would be very receptive to the prospect of experimenting with unattended aerial vehicles (UAVs) that combine stealth, broad area coverage, and high-tech surveillance capability. Producers of such equipment might find Botswana an excellent environment in which to test their products.

Donor enhancement of the BDF's antipoaching technology need not be a one-way street. Advanced Western nations should consider the possibility of mutually rewarding partnerships. The BDF is very good at the kind of low-intensity military operations it has performed for two decades in its antipoaching role, and it could make a significant contribution to the joint development of novel equipment suited specifically to this kind of operation. The technology that works well against poachers in Botswana might also work well against insurgents in the mountains of Afghanistan or narco-traffickers in the jungles of Colombia. The opportunity exists for a productive cooperative relationship, should a potential partner have the vision to take advantage of it. If Botswana were treated as a fully respected and valued partner, its political and military leaders probably would welcome partnership opportunities.

The Botswana Defence Force might continue to play a valuable role in safeguarding the nation's megafauna, but in the long run, the greatest encouragement to wildlife biodiversity in Botswana is likely to come from public interest in the economic potential of wildlife. Or put another way, conservation advocates in the country will continue to fight an uphill battle until there is a larger "conservation constituency," a situation achievable only by convincing a still-skeptical public of its commercial value. Foreign investment that results in large numbers of wildlife-related jobs is probably the most valuable contribution that external actors can make to the long-term security of Botswana's megafauna.

Some Concluding Thoughts

Botswana's government has demonstrated a commendable ability to identify and pursue long-term national interests, despite the contrary pressures of conflicting priorities and opposing domestic constituencies. The country's environmental policies reflect a relatively sophisticated concept of security that includes a broad and multidimensional concern for the sustainability of resources and the preservation of national economic options. As illustrated by its commitment to wildlife conservation, Botswana's policy displays a clear recognition of the commercial value of resources in the natural environment and a demonstrated will to protect them.

The use of the Defence Force in an environmental security role has a variety of implications. Botswana's willingness to use its military in this novel and unprecedented way displays innovativeness on the part of its senior political leaders and an unwillingness to be constrained by older paradigms of military roles and missions. Both the country as a whole and the Defence Force itself have benefited from the success of this mission. But there are some potential dangers, as well. The accomplishments of the Defence Force have reduced the government's incentive to take the difficult measures necessary to rehabilitate the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and make it truly capable of protecting the nation's wildlife.[5] In fact, there were indications in 2005 that the national leadership had despaired of the capacity of the department to counter poaching in the country. If at some point in the future the government is obliged to rescind the military's environmental security role (and it is not difficult to imagine circumstances that might lead to that decision), Botswana might not have an effective public-sector agency prepared to secure its megafauna from heavily armed poachers. In addition, the

continual involvement of the Defence Force in internal security roles like antipoaching runs some risk of diverting its attention and resources from preparing for more conventional military missions such as border protection and peace operations.

Ironically, the failure of the Defence Force to broaden its environmental security focus is probably also a potential weakness. Aside from livestock control operations and limited other assistance to the Department of Wildlife and National Park and the Department of Health, its environmental focus has been almost exclusively on antipoaching. Wildlife conservation conceivably is the country's least popular environmental issue, so the Defence Force runs the risk of being branded primarily with a narrow, rather coercive internal security agenda when it could be identified with other more popular environmental causes. The Defence Force probably has the expertise to extend its environmental reach to issues such as environmental degradation, toxic waste cleanup, pollution control, attenuation of disease vectors, water purification, and the protection of water resources. It also could strengthen its capability to assure its own compliance with internationally approved environmental conditions on its installations and training sites. If the BDF elected to involve itself in such issues, it probably could enhance its credibility in the country as a more serious environmental security actor. In time, it could also gain a reputation for regional leadership in such roles, perhaps in partnership with South Africa.

The presence in Botswana of one particularly prominent public-sector advocate for wildlife conservation is both a key advantage and a potential disadvantage. Without Ian Khama, it is doubtful that the Botswana Defence Force would ever have been committed to long-term antipoaching efforts. It also is conceivable that absent Ian Khama, Botswana's policymakers would be much less interested in the security of the country's biodiversity. Yet, the close association in the public mind between Ian Khama, the Botswana Defence Force, and wildlife conservation also poses a potential future problem. In 1998, Khama was a popular political commodity, but by 2007, his popularity had somewhat waned amid reservations about his suitability for the role of head of state. If at some point in his future political life he alienates a significant proportion of the electorate, it is entirely possible that wildlife conservation in general, the military, and its environmental protection role might all be discredited, as well.

The peculiar nature of civil-military relations in Botswana probably has facilitated the success of its military antipoaching operations in a

variety of ways. This is true both of the ways in which the relations conform to traditional criteria of democratic civilian control and the ways in which they do not. The Botswana Defence Force has a strong ethic of military subordination to civil authority and an organizational culture that stresses apolitical military professionalism and technical competence. The government of Botswana has been able to rely on its military establishment to accept any mission without reservation and to accomplish it in a thoroughly professional manner without moral lapses or the abuse of authority. It also has been able to rely on the Defence Force to establish its own cooperative and productive relationships with agencies affected by the antipoaching operations. These features contributed to the success of the antipoaching operations, and in these particulars, the Defence Force generally complies with traditional and emerging standards of civil-military relations in liberal democratic states.

Some other features of civil-military relations in Botswana seem to depart from those standards yet also facilitate the antipoaching role. For instance, despite the unverifiable rumors that some Defence Force leaders have reservations about the antipoaching mission, there is no indication that any senior military leader has ever advised the government that this is not an appropriate mission for a military establishment. Nor, given the local cultural circumstances, is it likely that the Defence Force officers would offer such advice.

The peculiar nature of security decision making in Botswana also facilitates the antipoaching success in the near term. Here, Botswana's political behavior deviates significantly from liberal democratic norms: a small political elite in the executive branch determines security policy. That policy is not subject to popular or legislative review. Nor is it vetted by widespread consultation. This has enabled the government to deploy its forces rapidly and decisively (and over the long term) to counter the poaching threat without having to deal with any serious objection from public- or private-sector actors. However, this aspect of Botswana's civil-military relations has long-term dangers. If the government desires an attentive public fully committed to its environmental agenda, it probably needs more stakeholder "buy in" than it has at present. While the public now seems to support the Defence Force's conservation role, it might not always do so, and a broader consultation on military roles and missions might go a long way to cement public acceptance of this (or any other) Defence Force mission.

Despite these concerns and pitfalls, Botswana's successful use of its military in a long-term environmental security role is a substantial

achievement and warrants commendation. Besides representing an example of an African solution to a specific security problem, it also lays down a significant marker in a worldwide evolution of the roles and missions of military forces, and it deserves attention for that reason alone. The example grew out of a peculiar set of historical and cultural circumstances that may not be fully replicated elsewhere, but the basic story line itself is eminently repeatable: a well-trained, well-disciplined, and well-led public-sector institution can perform sterling service, and such institutions do exist in Africa. As illustrated by accomplishments of the Botswana Defence Force, they also can play a vital role in the preservation of a precious heritage of all mankind.

The BDF has largely ended the megafauna poaching in northern Botswana, either by the interception of armed gangs or the deterrence of poachers. Its disciplined and pervasive presence has reestablished a sense of security within a population once very troubled by the threat of armed criminals and among a nervous international tourist clientele. And every bit as important as the other two accomplishments, the BDF has won kudos in the country at large by demonstrating commitment and competence in a difficult military mission over the long term.

This page intentionally left blank

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Major T. S. Makolo, Botswana Defence Force, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
2. Government of Botswana statistics (based on a 2001 census) put the country's population at 1,680,863. The population appeared stable, or possibly declining. The 2001 census listed 910,480 people as urban residents. In 2005, the capital and largest city, Gaborone, had some 200,000 inhabitants. Official Government of Botswana Web site (http://www.cso.gov.bw) (accessed August 25, 2004).
3. See, for instance, Jane Goodall, "Bridging the Chasm: Helping People and the Environment Across Africa," *ECSP Report* 8, 2002, 1–5.
4. As an example of a local environmental advocacy group, see the official Web site of the South African-based Peace Parks Foundation, http://dev.peaceparks.org (accessed July 5, 2007). See also Larry Swatuk, "Environmental Cooperation for Regional Peace and Security in Southern Africa," in *Environmental Peacemaking*, ed. K. Conca and G. Dabelko (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 120–60; "Congo Basin Forest Partnership: U.S. Contribution,"*U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet*, December 2, 2002, http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rsl/fs/2002/15617.htm (accessed May 9, 2005); "Meeting of the Congo Basin Forest Partnership,"*U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet*, January 22, 2003, http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rsl/fs/2003/16838.htm (accessed May 9, 2005); "Congo Basin: International Partners Discuss Congo Basin Forest Initiative," http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID+31853&SelectRegion=Great_Lakes&SelectCountry=CAMEROON-CENTRAL_AFRICAN_REPUBLIC-CONGO-DRC-EQUATORIAL_GUINEA- GABON, Web site of the UN-affiliated IRIN news organization (accessed May 9, 2005)
5. This was a protracted, violent process lasting from the early 1960s well into the 1990s, with strong linkages to the cold war. Among its key features were the liberation conflicts in Portuguese Africa that ended in independence (but

continuing civil wars) for Angola and Mozambique in 1975; the unilateral declaration of independence of white-ruled Rhodesia in 1965, with the subsequent insurgencies that led to an independent (majority-ruled) Zimbabwe in 1980; the struggle against South African rule that resulted in independence for Namibia in 1990; and, finally, the advent of majority rule in South Africa in 1994.

6. See Nick Abel and Piers Blaike, "Elephants, People, Parks and Development: The Case of the Luangwa Valley, Zambia," *Environmental Management* 10 (1986): 735–51; E. Barbier, J. Burgess, T. Swanson, and D. Pearce, *Elephants, Economics and Ivory* (London: Earthscan, 1990); Raymond Bonner, *At the Hand of Man: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993); Ian Douglas-Hamilton and Oria Douglas-Hamilton, *Battle for the Elephants* (New York: Viking Press, 1992); Stephen Ellis, "Of Elephants and Men: Politics and Nature Conservation in South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 1 (1994): 53–69; Edward Ricciuti, "The Elephant Wars," *Wildlife Conservation* 96, no. 2 (1993): 14–35. The slaughter of the black rhino had reduced the numbers of that species from a continental total of well over one hundred thousand in 1960 to a few thousand in the space of twenty years. By the 1980s, it eliminated the black rhino altogether in Botswana. For details, see D. Balfour and S. Balfour, *Rhino—the Story of the Rhinoceros and a Plea for its Conservation* (Cape Town: Struik, 1991).
7. Rhino horn is the most lucrative animal commodity, considered a powerful aphrodisiac in many Asian societies and is also used in Arabian Gulf countries for the handles of ceremonial daggers, a valued local craft. For additional detail, see Esmond Bradley Martin, "Report on the Trade in Rhino Products in Eastern Asia and India," *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 11 (1989): 13–20; Esmond Bradley Martin, "The Yemeni Rhino Horn Trade," *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 9 (1987): 13–16; Lucy Vigne and Esmond Bradley Martin, "Taiwan: The Greatest Threat to Africa's Rhinos," *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 11 (1989): 23–25; David Western, "The Undetected Trade in Rhino Horn," *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 11 (1989): 26–28.
8. Anton Esterhuisen, IRDNC Kunene Region coordinator and former employee of the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism, interview by the author, Windhoek, Namibia, June 21, 2005. See also M. Sas-Rolfes, *Rhinos: Conservation, Economics and Trade-Offs* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1995); and N. Leader-Williams, *The World Trade in Rhino Horn: A Review*, TRAFFIC International: Species in Danger series, 1992; Kathleen E. du Bois, "The Illegal Trade in Endangered Species," *African Security Review* 6, no. 1 (1997), available at http://www.iss.co.za (accessed January 6, 2005). Informants told the author that one criminal network headquartered in Zimbabwe in the 1980s had been traced to a North Korean diplomat in Harare. The government of Zimbabwe declared him persona

non grata and evicted him. The North Korean government then allegedly reassigned him to its embassy in the neighboring country of Zambia, where he promptly resumed his criminal activity.

9. The term “megafauna” comes from paleontology, where it is used to describe the massive, extinct animals that once roamed the earth’s surface. Since the 1990s, it has come into general use by environmentalists as a term for extant large land animals. Some would restrict it to the very largest mammals—elephant and rhinoceros. However, it is commonly now applied to large ungulates and large cats as well.

Chapter 1

1. A succinct and useful overview of the European colonial conquest of the African continent is offered in Bruce Vandervort, *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998). The reader is referred particularly to pages 113–83.
2. For an interesting description of these events, see Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). For a classic treatment of the economic history of Khama’s state, see Neil Parsons, “The Economic History of Khama’s Country in Botswana, 1844–1930,” in *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, ed. R. Palmer and N. Parsons (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 113–43.
3. Well over three quarters of the population in 2006 was of Tswana ethnicity. The rest of the citizenry was divided among several small indigenous African groups and a tiny (though economically prominent) population of European and Asian ancestry. The region’s original human habitants apparently were hunter-gatherers whose descendants now form a small, marginalized minority in Botswana.
4. Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass, 1977), 41–44; P. T. Mgadla and A. C. Campbell, “Digotla, Dikgosi and the Protectorate Administration,” in *Democracy in Botswana*, ed. J. Holm and P. Molutsi (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989), 48–56.
5. For a classic anthropological treatment, see Isaac Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947). See also Jack Parson, *Botswana: Liberal Democracy and Labor Reserve in Southern Africa* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), 27–28. The Bechuanaland Protectorate was administered from Mafeking in Britain’s Cape Colony (which in 1910 became the Cape Province of South Africa).
6. John D. Holm and Patrick P. Molutsi, “State-Society Relations in Botswana: Beginning Liberalization,” in *Governance and Politics in Africa*, ed. G. Hyden and M. Bratton (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 78; Louis A. Picard, *The*

Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success? (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1987).

7. The faction retaining the BPP title came to be associated with the Kalanga ethnicity of northeastern Botswana, and the other faction—now known as the Botswana Independence Party (BIP)—with the Yeyi people of the northwest. For additional details, see Thomas Tlou, *History of Botswana* (Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan Botswana, 1984).
8. Seretse Khama was the grandson of noted Ngwato Paramount Chief Khama III. For a biography of Seretse Khama, see N. Parsons, W. Henderson, and T. Tlou, *Seretse Khama, 1921–1980* (Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan/Botswana Society, 1995). For an overview of the political party formation in the later years of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, see Jeffrey Ramsay and Neil Parsons, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Botswana," in *Botswana: Politics and Society*, ed. W. Edge and M. Lekorwe (Pretoria, South Africa: J. L. van Schaik, 1998), 134–50. A noteworthy feature of the early BDP leadership was its tie to the cattle industry. Seretse Khama owned the largest cattle herd in the country and his successor, Ketumile Masire, also had extensive personal cattle holdings. This fact helped cement the BDP's strong ties to the colonial administration. Parsons, Henderson, and Tlou, Seretse Khama, 188–89; Jack Parsons, "Cattle, Class and State in Rural Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 7 (1981): 236–55.
9. Although the ruling Botswana Democratic Party traditionally depends on the support of the rural chiefs and has afforded them a very visible role in domestic affairs, it has consistently if subtly undermined their actual authority in its successful efforts to consolidate power at the national level (and most particularly in the Office of the President). For a good description of this process, see Olufemi Vaughn, *Chiefs, Power, and Social Change: Chiefship and Modern Politics in Botswana, 1880s–1990s* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003).
10. For a good early history of the BNF, see Tlou, *History of Botswana*. For an authoritative analysis of its implosion in 1998, see Mpho G. Molomo, "Understanding Government and Opposition Parties in Botswana," *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 38, no. 1 (March 2000): 65–92. For other useful assessments of party politics in Botswana, see John A. Wiseman, "The Slow Evolution of the Party System in Botswana," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 22 (1998): 241–64; Patrick P. Molutsi, "Elections and Electoral Experience in Botswana," in *Edge and Lekorwe, Botswana: Politics and Society* (Pretoria, South Africa: J. L. van Schaik, 1998), 363–77; Christian John Makgala, "The relationship between Kenneth Koma and the Botswana Democratic Party, 1965–2003," *African Affairs* 104, no. 415 (2005): 303–23.
11. Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, "An African Success Story: Botswana," in *In Search of Prosperity: Analytical Narratives on Economic Growth*, ed. Dani Rodrick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 80–119.

12. See, for instance, Michael Niemann, "Diamonds Are a State's Best Friend: Botswana's Foreign Policy in Southern Africa,"*Africa Today* 40, no. 1 (1st quarter 1993): 28–30.
13. A. Samatar, *An African Miracle: State and Class Leadership and Colonial Legacy in Botswana Development* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Press, 1999); Kenneth Good, "Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (March 1992): 69–95. See also P. Thumber-Hartland, *Botswana: An African Growth Economy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978); Richard Dale, *Botswana's Search for Autonomy in Southern Africa* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995); and A. Danevad, *Development Planning and the Importance of Democratic Institutions in Botswana* (Bergen, Norway: Christian Michelsen Institute, 1993).
14. J. Clark Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered* (Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005); Stephen John Stedman, ed., *Botswana: The Political Economy of Democratic Development* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992); John D. Hold and Staffan Darnoff, "Democratizing the Administrative State in Botswana," in *The Uncertain Promise of Southern Africa*, ed. Y. Bradshaw and S. N. Ndegwa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 115–50; Roger Charleton, "Bureaucrats and Politicians in Botswana's Policy-Making Process: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 29 (1991): 265–82; Transparency International, "Corruption Perception Index," *Transparency International Annual Report, 2006*, [online], http://www.transparency.org (accessed 5 July 2007), 21.
15. Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson, "An African Success Story," 80–119.
16. Holm and Molutsi, "State-Society Relations," 79–81.
17. Kenneth Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism: A Defining Characteristic of Botswana," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 14, no. 1 (1996): 32.
18. Scott Beaulier, "Explaining Botswana's Success: The Critical Role of Post-Colonial Policy," *Cato Journal* 23 (2003): 240–77.
19. Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism," 1.
20. Kenneth Good, "Towards Popular Participation in Botswana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, no. 1 (1996): 29–51; John D. Holm and Patrick P. Molutsi, "State-Society Relations," 75–95; Mpho G. Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations in Botswana's Developmental State," *African Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (2001) [online], http://www.web.africa.ufl.edu (accessed July 15, 2004).
21. C. Harvey and S. R. Lewis, *Policy Choice and Development Performance in Botswana* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 55; see also Pauline Peters, *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 76–137.
22. Niemann, "Diamonds," 27–47. The world's single richest diamond mine opened at Jwaneng in 1982. Two large corporations exploit Botswana's diamonds: Debswana (an equal partnership of DeBeers and the Government of Botswana) and Bamangwato Concessions, Ltd. (a publicly owned enterprise with substantial government equity). U.S. Department of State, Background

Note: Botswana, April 2004, http://www.state.gov (accessed November 25, 2004).

23. Harvey and Lewis, *Policy Choice and Development*, 32.
24. For details, see Picard, *Politics of Development*. See also Catharine B. Hill, "Managing Commodity Booms in Botswana," *World Development* 19 (1991): 1185–96.
25. See Scott R. Pearson and John Cownie, *Commodity Exports and African Economic Development* (Lexington, MA: Lexington, 1974). For a more general treatment of the challenges of liberalizing African economies, see Kempe Ronald Hope, "The Political Economy of Policy Reform and Change in Africa: The Challenge of the Transition from Statism to Liberalization," *Regional Development Dialogue* 18, no. 1 (1997): 126–38.
26. U.S. Department of State, Background Note.
27. Mogae's background includes (among other roles) the following titles: director and chairman of the Botswana Development Corporation, director of the DeBeers Botswana Mining Company, director and governor of the Bank of Botswana, and service as an executive director of the International Monetary Fund. Dr. Shelly Whitman, University of Botswana, interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, June 17, 2004.
28. See, inter alia, Kenneth Good, *Realising Democracy and Legitimacy in Southern Africa* (Pretoria, South Africa: African Institute, 2004); Kenneth Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism"; Richard M. Auty, "The Political State and the Management of Mineral Rents in Capital-Surplus Economies: Botswana and Saudi Arabia," *Resource Policy* 27 (2001): 77–86; Charles Harvey, *Botswana: Is the Economic Miracle Over*? (Sussex, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 1992); and Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered*.
29. Kenneth Good, "At the Ends of the Ladder: Radical Inequalities in Botswana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 2 (1993): 203–30.
30. Kenneth Good and Ian Taylor, "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa," paper presented at the University of Botswana Politics Seminar, February 23, 2005, 19–20; and Kenneth Good, "Towards Popular Participation." Botswana's parliament in 2006 was composed of an upper house of fifteen traditional chiefs with a largely consultative role and a National Assembly of sixty-one members, four of whom were appointed by the president. The size of the National Assembly is adjusted after each census, the last adjustment having occurred in 2001. In the 1999 elections, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party won thirty-three of the National Assembly's forty contested seats and in 2004, won forty-four of the fifty-seven contested seats. The 2004 parliamentary elections pitted the ruling BDF against an array of other parties. Although the BDP garnered only 52 percent of the vote, Botswana's "first past the post" system and presidential prerogative to appoint four deputies independent of the vote enabled it to seat fully 77 percent of the parliamentarians. The BDP thus maintained a comfortable majority in parliament, but its long-term prospects were less rosy. While Botswana's

elections are generally acclaimed as free and open, the fairness of its simple-majority (first past the post) voting system has been questioned.

31. Lindy Heinecken, “Facing a Merciless Enemy: HIV/AIDS and the South African Armed Forces,” *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 284. Heinecken cites 1999 data indicating an HIV/AIDS prevalence in Botswana at 38.5 percent, the highest in the world. The funding Botswana allocated to its Defence Force in 2004 was P391 million (the Pula [P] is the standard Botswana unit of currency) (US$85 million) and some P120 million (US$26 million) went to the police. This compares to the P415 million (US$90 million) devoted to the HIV/AIDS program. B. Gaolathe, “Republic of Botswana Budget Speech,” delivered to the National Assembly on February 9, 2004, http://www.finance.gov.bw (accessed February 23, 2005).
32. For an exploration of these issues, see William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 1999); Nicholas van den Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jeffrey D. Sachs and Andrew M. Warner, “Natural Resources and Economic Development: The Curse of Natural Resources,” *European Economic Review* 45 (2001): 827–38; Nicholas Shaxson, “New Approaches to Volatility: Dealing with the ‘Resource Curse’ in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *International Affair*s 81 (2005): 311–24; and Nicholas Shaxson, *Treasure or Trouble? Mining in Developing Countries* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2002).
33. U.S. Department of State, Background Note.
34. Mohamed H. Abucar and Patrick Molutsi, “Environmental Policy in Botswana: A Critique,” *Africa Today* 40, no. 1(1st quarter 1993): 61.
35. Kenneth Good, “Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (March 1992): 78; Peters, *Dividing the Commons*, 96.
36. “Botswana Cattle Herd Declining,” *Daily News Online* (Botswana), May 27, 2005, http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news (accessed May 15, 2006).
37. The UN Development Program (UNDP) classifies only 5 percent of the country as suitable for cultivation. For this and other related data, see United Nations Organization, “Botswana’s Environmental Profile,” United Nations Development Programme, http://www.unbotswana.org.bw (accessed March 13, 2005). Rejoice Tsheko, “Rainfall Reliability, Drought and Flood Vulnerability in Botswana,” July 23, 2003, South African Water Research Commission, http://www.wrc.org.za (accessed March 15, 2005); P. D. Tyson, “Climatic Change in Southern Africa: Past and Present Conditions and Possible Future Scenarios,” *Climatic Change* 18 (1991): 241–58; T. S. McCarthy, G. R. J. Cooper, P. D. Tyson, and W. N. Ellery, “Seasonal Flooding in the Okavango Delta, Botswana: Recent History and Future Prospects,” *South African Journal of Science* 96, no. 1 (2000): 25–33; Anthony Turton, Peter Ashton, and Eugene Cloete, eds., *Transboundary Rivers, Sovereignty and Development: Hydropolitical Drivers in the Okavango River Basin* (Pretoria, South Africa:

African Water Issues Research Unit, Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria, 2003), 33–36.

38. Botswana probably is best known for its elephants, and the country has the world's largest free-ranging herd, currently estimated at about 120,000 animals, out of an African total of about 500,000 elephants. Ironically, Botswana's elephant population is widely seen within the scientific community as too large—exceeding the carrying capacity of the land on which it lives. For details on African elephant populations, see J. J. Blanc, C. R. Thouless, J. A. Hart, H. T. Dublin, I. Douglas-Hamilton, C. G. Craig, and R. F. W. Barnes, IUCN Elephant Status Report 2002, occasional paper of the IUCN Species Survival Commission no. 29, 2003, http://iucn.org/afesg (accessed February 2, 2005); and Lindsey Gillson and Keith Lindsey, "Ivory and Ecology-Changing Perspectives on Elephant Management and the International Ivory Trade," *Environmental Science & Policy* 6 (2003): 411–19. For additional details on Botswana's wildlife, see United Nations Organization, "Botswana's Environmental Profile," United Nations Development Program, 5, available at http://www.unbotswana.org.bw (March 13, 2005). Rhino, whose numbers in Botswana dwindled almost to extinction in the 1980s, appeared in 2006 to be making a modest comeback.
39. This includes about 20 percent of the country designated as Wildlife Management Areas and another 17.6 percent as National Parks and Game Reserves. "Botswana's Environmental Profile." See the general information on the wildlife resources and tourism industry available on the government of Botswana official Web page, http://www.gov.bw/government/ministry_of_trade_industry_wildlife_and_tourism.html (accessed January 21, 2005). Information also provided by Larry Patterson in a private communication to the author, June 29, 2004.
40. The strategy does, however, include a subsidiary wildlife conservation policy. See *Botswana National Conservation Strategy: National Policy on Natural Resource Conservation and Development, Republic of Botswana*, government paper no. 1, (Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printing Office, 1990), 4–5.
41. Mary C. Kalikawe, "Botswana: Integrating Biodiversity into the Tourism Sector, A Country Case Study," presentation to the UNEP International Workshop on Best Practices and Country Case Studies, Mexico City, March 29–31, 2001; M. Mothoagae, "Wildlife Based Tourism as the Engine of Economic Growth: Policy and Institutional Issues," *Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana: Strategies for the 21st Century, October 13–17, 1997* (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana Printing Office, 1997); Hagen Moroney, commercial and economic officer, U.S. embassy Gaborone, interview by the author, June 8, 2005; and Dr. Judy Butterman, political/economic cfficer, U.S. embassy Gaborone, interview by the author, June 7, 2005. According to Moroney and Butterman, the U.S. government is engaged at several levels in

efforts to assist the government of Botswana in its efforts to develop its tourist industry.

42. The commissioner of police indicated that a total of 31,454 shotguns and rifles were registered in the country at the end of 2002, equating to about one firearm per 54 citizens. N. S. Moleboge, "The Status of Firearms Control in Botswana by the Commissioner of Police," Final Report, Towards a Safe and Secure Nation: The First Consultative Conference on Firearm Control, Ownership and Administration in Botswana, May 13–15, 2003, http://www.bw.gov (accessed July 22, 2004).
43. Larry Patterson, veterinarian, wildlife consultant, and former employee of the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks, interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, June 14, 2004. Blaming foreigners for the country's problems (whether crime, deteriorating morals, disease, or diminishing wildlife) is a popular pastime in Botswana and not unique to that country. But in this case, it is particularly ironic. The safari hunters come in small numbers, are carefully supervised, hunt in a very limited area of the country, and harvest a few animals from a highly restricted list. Their hunting has no bearing at all on the size of the game herds. The antipathy articulated by citizens conceals a more basic resentment: the real problem with the safari hunters is that they are foreign, rich, and white.
44. For details, see inter alia, Parsons, "The Economic History of Khama's Country," in *Palmer and Parsons, Roots of Rural Poverty*, 114–16; Isaac Schapera, *Tribal Innovators, Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795–1940* (New York: Berg, 2004)101–106; Peters, *Dividing the Commons*.
45. Peters, *Dividing the Commons*, 96, 159, 196.
46. At the time, the author was a U.S. diplomat accredited to Botswana. He found it unwise to schedule official meetings with his host-nation counterparts on Fridays (or on other weekend days) because of the exodus of officials to their rural home areas.
47. Larry Patterson, veterinarian, wildlife consultant, and former employee of the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks, interview by the author, June 11, 2004. See also Mooketsi Mojalemotho, "Farmers Want More Pasture," *Daily News* (Botswana), May 19, 2006, p. 4.
48. Arthur Albertson, Northern Botswana Fences: Critical Ecological Impact, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), January 1998, http://www.stud.ntnu.no (accessed February 25, 2005). Larry Patterson, interview by the author, March and June 2004; Sedia Modise, interview by the author, June 2004 and June 2005.
49. For detail, see TRAFFIC (the Wildlife Trade Monitoring Network) Briefing: Bush Meat Utilization – A Critical Issue in East and Southern Africa [online] http://www.traffic.org/briefings/bushmeat.html (accessed March 15, 2005).
50. Author's interviews with Judy Butterman, Gaborone (multiple occasions, 2004); Kenneth Good, Gaborone, June 11, 2004; Felix Monggae, Gaborone, March 8, 2004; Larry Patterson, Gaborone (multiple occasions, 2004); David

Passage (multiple e-mail exchanges, 2005); Dan Pike (phone conversation, September 15, 2004); Ian Taylor, Gaborone, March 8, 2004; Shelly Whitman, Gaborone (multiple occasions, 2004). Also based on the author's personal experience as U.S. military attaché accredited to Botswana from 1992–1994 involving regular contact with Ian Khama who was serving at the time as commander of the Botswana Defence Force.

51. For useful insights into the role of the Khama dynasty in Botswana, see Olufemi Vaughan, *Chiefs, Power and Social Change: Chiefship and Modern Politics in Botswana, 1880–1990s* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003); Schapera, *Tribal Innovators*; and Neil Parsons, "The Economic History," 113–44. For the life of Seretse Khama, see Parsons, Henderson, and Tlou, *Seretse Khama*.
52. It may be possible to overemphasize the importance of Khama's role as a "traditional" leader, but a more likely error would be to underestimate its significance. Traditional elites still command enormous respect in the country. Even the highly educated, urbane President Mogae expresses a surprising deference to Khama's position in the Ngwato social hierarchy. Good and Taylor, "Presidential Succession."
53. *Botswana Defence Force, 25th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure*, Distributed by Botswana Defence Force (Gaborone, Botswana: Front Page, 2002), 12–13. Dr. Judy Butterman, political/economic officer, U.S. embassy Gaborone, interview by the author, March 2004. David Passage, the U.S. ambassador to Botswana in the early 1990s who came to know Khama well, believes that Khama's year in Nigeria significantly influenced his thinking about civil-military relations. David Passage, interview by the author, January and March 2005.
54. David Passage, interview by the author, January and March 2005. Passage describes Khama as "ascetic" and credits Khama with personal responsibility for establishing an enduring legacy of high standards of discipline within the Defence Force.
55. David Passage, interview by the author, January and March 2005. As U.S. ambassador to Botswana in December 1992, Passage conveyed the formal U.S. request to the president of Botswana to participate in peacekeeping operations in Somalia. Passage notes that Khama, as Defence Force commander, was a member of the small inner circle of senior policy makers that attended all the related bilateral discussions and the only member of that circle who asked substantive questions about the mission. Passage had the impression that Khama was intrigued by the opportunity to showcase the capabilities and professionalism of his still very young military.
56. Mmegi (Botswana daily periodical), multiple announcements of government appointments, November 3, 2004, November 23, 2004, November 26, 2004. By late 2004, the complement of former military officers in the cabinet, besides Khama himself, included former BDF Commander Mompati Merafhe (Foreign Affairs), former Major General Moeng Pheto (Home

Affairs), former Brigadier Ramadeluka Seretse (Lands and Housing), and former Captain Kitso Mokaila (Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism). Good and Taylor, "Presidential Succession," 20.

57. Good and Taylor, "Presidential Succession," 21–23. The ruling party tried to put a good face on the latter gaffe by suggesting that the vice president simply was "joking."
58. Good and Taylor, "Presidential Succession," 21.
59. The reservations go back to Khama's entry on to the political scene in 1998. See John A. Wiseman, "Slow Evolution."
60. One Botswana citizen with a long association with Ian Khama attributes the latter's antihunting inclinations to his youth in Serowe where, like many Tswana youths, Khama spent time taking care of the family cattle in rural areas. According to this source, Khama allegedly witnessed the profligate slaughter of game by expatriate hunters, a behavior that sickened him and built a determination to protect wildlife.
61. "Wildlife Warriors," video, produced by Dereck Joubert and Beverly Joubert, copyright Wildlife Films, Botswana, 1997. Information also derived from Larry and Eleanor Patterson, wildlife consultants, interview by the author, June 14, 2004; Felix Monggae, chief executive officer of the Kalahari Conservation Society, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Major General Moeng Pheto, former Botswana Defense Force deputy commander, interview by the author, June 14, 2004; Brigadier Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo, Botswana Defence Force assistant chief of staff (logistics), interview by the author, March 8, 2004, and Dr. Shelly Whitman, University of Botswana, private communication, May 2004.

Chapter 2

1. A well-tended monument on the site of the ambush commemorates the BDF officers and men who died in this action. *Botswana Defence Force, 25th Anniversary Brochure*, Distributed by Botswana Defence Force (Gaborone, Botswana: Front Page Publications, 2002): 21–23; "Thousands thrilled by BDF Day activities," *Daily News Online* (Government of Botswana publication, online), April 17, 2000, http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news.cgi?d=20000417 (accessed July 6, 2007, 2005); "BDF at war with poachers," *Daily News Online* (Government of Botswana publication, online), September 10, 2002, http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news.cgi?d=20020910 (accessed July 6, 2007).
2. The roots of the institution are found in the Bechuanaland Mounted Police founded by the British colonial administration at the outset of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the mid-1880s.
3. The protectorate authorities created the Police Mobile Unit in 1952. For details, see Richard Dale, "The Politics of National Security in Botswana, 1900–1990," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 12, no. 1 (1993): 42–45;

and Lekoko Kenosi, "The Botswana Defence Force and Public Trust: The Military Dilemma in a Democracy," in *Ourselves to Know*, ed. R. Williams, G. Cawthra, and D. Abrahams (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003), 190. See also Paul Sharp and Louis Fisher, "Inside the 'Crystal Ball': Understanding the Evolution of the Military in Botswana and the Challenges Ahead," in *Evolutions & Revolutions*, ed. M. Rupiya (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2005), 47.

4. Rhodesia's insurgents comprised two separate and (often) mutually antagonistic military establishments. One was the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the armed wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) political party based largely within the Shona-speaking population in the north and east. The other was the Zimbabwe Independent People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), the armed wing of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) based largely within the SiNdebele-speaking population of the south and west, an area that bordered Botswana. It was mainly the ZIPRA insurgents that the Rhodesians were targeting in their Botswana incursions. For details of the Rhodesian military operations, see H. Ellert, *The Rhodesian Front War* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1993), 114, 136. A more sensationalized account is offered in Ron Reid Daly, *Selous Scouts: Top Secret War* (Alberton, South Africa: Galago, 1982).
5. The demand for additional security also became part of the political party competition in Botswana when the opposition Botswana People's Party, led by Philip Matante, began to advocate the creation of an army. See Mpho G. Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations in Botswana's Developmental State," *African Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (2001) [online] http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i2a3.htm (accessed July 22, 2004), 5.
6. Ian Khama's full name is Seretse Khama Ian Khama. To avoid confusion with his father who bore the same first name, this book refers to him simply as Ian Khama, which is the way he is commonly identified in Botswana. The Police Mobile Unit had received training from British army instructors as early as 1967, a program formalized in a bilateral agreement with the United Kingdom in 1968. Merafhe had held the position of deputy police commissioner since 1971. Botswana Defence Force briefing provided to the author by Brigadier E. B. Rakgole, BDF assistant chief of staff operations, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; *Botswana Defence Force, 25th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure*, distributed by Botswana Defence Force (Gaborone, Botswana: Front Page Publications, 2002), 12–13. Dale, "Politics of National Security," 44; Sharp and Fisher, "Inside the 'Crystal Ball,'" in *Rupiya, Evolutions & Revolutions*, 47.
7. The original air order of battle consisted of twelve British-made BNG BN2A-21 Defender transport aircraft. Lieutenant General Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, commander of the Botswana Defence Force, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Brigadier E. B.

Rakgole, BDF assistant chief of staff (operations), Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; author's personal familiarity with Botswana Defence Force history based on service as U.S. Defense Attaché accredited to Botswana, 1992–1994.

8. See, for instance, Michael Niemann, "Diamonds are a State's Best Friend: Botswana's Foreign Policy in Southern Africa," *Africa Today* 40, no. 1 (1st quarter 1993): 27–47.
9. Kenosi, "Botswana Defence Force," 190; Mpho G. Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations in Botswana's Developmental State,"; *African Studies Quarterly*, http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i2a3.htm (accessed July 20, 2004), 5.
10. Brigadier E. B. Rakgole, BDF assistant chief of staff (operations), Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
11. This equipment consisted of U.S.-made Cadillac Gage V-150 vehicles and Soviet-designed BTR-60s. The British-made light attack jets were Strikemasters. The other aircraft included U.S. Bell 412 utility helicopters and Spanish Casa 212 light transports. Author's personal observation and familiarity with the Botswana Defence Force history based on service as U.S. Defense Attaché accredited to Botswana, 1992–1994.
12. By the early 1990s, the Commando Squadron was conducting a combined annual training exercise in Botswana with a U.S. parachute infantry battalion stationed in Europe; David Passage, U.S. ambassador to Botswana in the early 1990s, interview by the author, January and March 2005; this information is also based on the author's personal experience as a U.S. Defense Attaché accredited to Botswana, 1992–1994.
13. Sharp and Fisher, "Inside the 'Crystal Ball,'" in *Rupiya, Evolutions & Revolutions*, 49–51.
14. The BDF is secretive about this relationship, and the size of the Indian military assistance contingent has never been publicly announced. In the author's conversations with a wide range of individuals in Botswana, he heard estimates ranging from from several dozen to several hundred personnel.
15. Dale, "Politics of National Security," 44–45; Kenosi, "Botswana Defence Force," 190–92.
16. The tensions resulted from the competition between Joshua Nkomo's minority Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Robert Mugabe's majority Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). During the liberation struggle, both parties had fielded insurgent armies fighting the white minority Rhodesian Front government of Ian Smith. These parties now struggled against each other in a conflict in southwestern Zimbabwe. The government's reaction was extremely harsh and the insurgency finally ended with a unity agreement in 1987. While these events were occurring in the early 1980s, Zimbabwe's new leader, Robert Mugabe, apparently viewed the government of Botswana as sympathetic to his rival, Joshua Nkomo, delaying an exchange of high commissioners between the two commonwealth countries until 1983.

See Richard Dale, "Not Always So Placid a Place," *African Affairs* 86, no. 342 (January 1987): 73–74.

17. After the mid-1970s, the South Africans implemented a very aggressive security policy that included attacks against antiapartheid activists based—or hiding—in neighboring countries. That policy continued until it was overtaken by the political reforms of the late 1980s. For South African motivations and actions during this period, see inter alia, Robert S. Jaster, "South African Defense Strategy and the Growing Influence of the Military," in *Arms and the African*, ed. W. Foltz and H. Bienen (New Haven, CT: York University Press, 1985); Ken Grundy, *The Militarization of South African Politics* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1986), 121–52; Robert Davies and Dan O'Meara, "Total Strategy in Southern Africa—an Analysis of South African Regional Policy Since 1978," in *Exporting Apartheid: Foreign Policies in Southern Africa 1978–1988*, ed S. Chan (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 179–217; G. Mills and S. Baynham, "South African Foreign Policy, 1945–1990," in *From Pariah to Participant*, ed. G. Mills (Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 1994), 18–33; and Chris Alden, *Apartheid's Last Stand: The Rise and Fall of the South African Security State* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996).
18. For analysis of this event, see Dale, "Not Always So Placid a Place," 73–91; and Helmoed-Römer Heitman, *South African Armed Forces* (Cape Town: Buffalo Publications, 1990), 231–32. See also Kenosi, "Botswana Defence Force," 191–92; Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations," 6.
19. This issue has arisen in a number of conversations between the author and informants in Botswana since 1992 and had at least the status of a powerful urban legend by the late 1980s. According to credible South African sources that asked not to be identified by name, the South Africans maintained liaison with Botswana at several levels during this period. There appears to have been regular (if covert) communications between the two military establishments.
20. For detail on South Africa's conflict in Angola and Namibia, see J. Hanlon, *Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War Against its Neighbors* (London: Penguin, 1986); Fred Bridgland, *The War for Africa: Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent* (Gibraltar: Ashanti, 1990); Helmoed-Römer Heitman, *War in Angola* (Gibraltar: Ashanti, 1990); and William Minter, *Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994).
21. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Lieutenant General Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, BDF commander, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; and Brigadier Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo, BDF assistant chief of staff (logistics), interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, March 8, 2004.
22. Oliver Chapeyama, director of Enviroplan, interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, June 10, 2005. Chapeyama, a native of Zimbabwe, had

been employed by USAID in Harare in the 1980s and was intimately involved with regional environmental issues at the time. For details on the Zambian experience, see Clark Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 57, 59, 62.

23. Major Max Ngkapha and Major Mogorosi Baatweng, BDF Office of Public Relations and Protocol, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interviews by the author, June 2003, March 2004, and June 2004.
24. As this is written in early 2007, Merafhe serves in the cabinet as Botswana's foreign minister.
25. David Passage, U.S. ambassador in Botswana in the early 1990s and a very astute analyst of local social dynamics, attributes the continuing high standards of discipline in the Defence Force to Khama's enduring impact on the organizational culture. David Passage, telephone interviews by the author, January 2005.
26. The base was officially opened in 1995. University of Botswana professor Mpho G. Molomo speculates that its name is derived from the Tswana proverb goo-rra motho go thebephatshwa ("the best security one can get is from his or her fatherland"); Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations," 6.
27. Although rumors circulated throughout the region that the base was being built by Americans for use by the U.S. military, Khama prohibited access to all foreign diplomats, including Americans. Personal experience of the author, a U.S. diplomat accredited to Botswana from 1992–1994.
28. For detail, see Scott Thompson, "South Africa and the 1988 Agreements," in *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: The Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia*, ed. O. Kahn (New Brunswick, ME: Transaction, 1991), 117–30; and John Marcum, "Retrenchment and Recalculation: South Africa and the Anglo-Namibian Agreements," in *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: The Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia*, ed. O. Kahn (New Brunswick, ME: Transaction, 1991), 131–48.
29. South Africa had settled many of its Tswana-speaking citizens in the Bophuthatswana "homeland," one of the nine so-called Bantu-stans or semi-autonomous states that were part of the original South African National Party vision of separate ethnic development. Bophuthatswana's population was larger than that of neighboring Botswana, so a violent political transition in South Africa carried the prospect of a destabilizing flow of Tswana-speaking refugees from South Africa into Botswana. However, the transition to majority rule in South Africa in 1994 was peaceful and the feared flow of refugees did not occur. For details on South Africa's implementation of its apartheid policies, see Robert Harvey, *The Fall of Apartheid: The Inside Story form Smuts to Mbeki* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Reconsiderations in Southern African History) (Richmond: University Press of Virginia, 2003).

30. Botswana's relatively vibrant economy and stability have been magnets to refugees and illegal immigrants from Namibia and Zimbabwe. See Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana: Security Information [regularly updated online data base] http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed November 24, 2004). Local cultural prejudices, particularly against Zimbabweans, also complicate the relationships.
31. The island, called Kasikili by the Namibians and Sedudu in Botswana, is seasonally inundated and uninhabited. The Namibian motivation for occupying it seems to have had more to do with political competition in Namibia than any grand design to acquire territory. This information is based on the author's discussion with U.S., Botswana, and Namibian officials, 1992–1998.
32. See Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana: Security Information [regularly updated online data base], http://www.iss.co.za/AF /profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed November 21, 2004).
33. The Caprivi dissidence had its roots in the Mafwe people of eastern Caprivi and was led by Mishak Muyongo, a former member of Namibia's ruling South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) party expelled from the party for secessionist inclinations. His followers claimed to be the Caprivi Liberation Army, a motley group of indeterminate size, probably numbering no more than several hundred, whose most significant activity was a nuisance attack in August 1999 on the Namibian border town of Katima Mulilo, leaving twelve people dead. Muyongo himself fled Namibia for Botswana in 1998 and ultimately was granted asylum in Denmark. Between 1998 and 1999, several thousand Namibians associated with this dissidence fled to Botswana and were settled at the Dukwe camp, of which about 1,200 remained in mid-2003. See "Namibia: Focus on repatriation fears of Caprivians," UN-afiliated IRIN News Organization, http://www.irinnews.org, March 5, 2003 (accessed February 13, 2005); and "Namibia: Focus on the Caprivi Killings," UN-afiliated IRIN News Organization, November 13, 2002, http://www.irinnews.org (accessed February 13, 2005).
34. David Passage, U.S. ambassador to Botswana in the early 1990s, telephone interviews by the author, January 2005 and March 2005; Colonel Dan Pike, U.S. Army, interview by the author, September 15, 2004. In late 1992 at the time of the U.S. intervention in Somalia, Pike was serving as the senior defense representative in the U.S. embassy in Gaborone and played a key part in preparing the Botswana contingent for its participation in the peacekeeping intervention in Somalia. The United States called its Somalia operation "Restore Hope." For a review of the relevant literature, see Walter S. Clarke, *Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia: Bibliography* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Center for Strategic Leadership, 1995).
35. As a U.S. diplomat accredited to Botswana, the author visited the BDF contingent in Somalia in March 1993 some three months after its arrival, and also interviewed their U.S. Marine counterparts at length. From the U.S.

battalion commander to the individual rifleman, the Marines consistently praised the performance of the BDF troops. The quality of the Botswana contingent was widely recognized within the international coalition in Somalia. The BDF was the first non-U.S. contingent to be given an area of responsibility (AOR) outside of Mogadishu, for which it assumed responsibility in March 1993. This is based on the author's personal experience and on information provided by Ambassador David Passage, telephone interviews by the author, January 2005 and March 2005.

36. Tendekani E. Malebeswa, "Civil Control of the Military in Botswana," in Williams, Cawthra, and Abrahams, *Ourselves to Know*, 73.
37. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004. For interesting insights on this UN mission, see Scott R. Feil, *Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda* (New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1998); and Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001).
38. This is based on the author's personal experience during his official diplomatic assignments in southern Africa, 1992–1994, and also on conversations at the time, inter alia, with U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel Paul "Blue" Keller, U.S. Army attaché accredited to Mozambique, and also U.S. Army Colonel Dan Pike, senior U.S. Defense representative in Botswana. See also Malebeswa, "Civil Control," in Williams, Cawthra, and Abrahams, *Ourselves to Know*, 73.
39. The intervention force included some 600 troops from South Africa and some 380 from Botswana. A South African general commanded it. His deputy was a Botswana Defence Force colonel. For analysis of this intervention—and the political crisis that provoked it—see, inter alia, Theo Neethling, "Military Intervention in Lesotho: Perspectives on Operation Boleas and Beyond," *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 2 (May 1999), http://www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/2_2neethling.htm (accessed July 20, 2005).
40. This was termed "Operation Maluti." Botswana's contribution consisted of two BDF brigadiers. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004. Botswana's involvement in Lesotho has an important cultural dimension. The Tswana and Sotho peoples share a common heritage and similar cultures. Their languages are closely related.
41. Senior BDF leaders characterized this as a "temporary respite" to facilitate "transformation." E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Lieutenant General Matshwenyego-Louis Fisher, BDF commander, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 4, 2004. Also based on author's interviews of diplomats accredited to Gaborone, March 2004, who requested that they not be cited by name.
42. Major Max Ngkapha, BDF Protocol Office, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, June 6, 2005. Also based on author's interviews of

diplomats accredited to Gaborone, March 2004 who requested that they not be cited by name.

43. See Jakkie Cilliers, *Building Security in Southern Africa, Institute for Security Studies (ISS)* monograph no. 43 (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, November 1999).
44. Botswana hosted Exercise Thokgamo ("Peace") in June 2005, an operation that replicated a brigade-sized multinational peacekeeping operation under an international mandate and included contingents from at least nine other countries. The exercise was organized under the French-sponsored Concept de renforcement des capacités africaines aux maintien de la paix (RECAMP) program. It was conducted in the area around Maun (in northern Botswana) and involved about three thousand military personnel organized into three multinational battalions with company-sized contingents from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Max Ngkapha, interview by the author, June 6, 2005. See also A. W. Tapfumaneyi, "View on Regional Peacekeeping: Toward a SADC peace-keeping force," *SADC TODAY: Southern African Development Community* 2, no. 6 (April 1999) [online publication of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC)] available at, http://www.sardc.net/Editorial/sadctoday/v2-6-04-1999/v2-6-04-1999-10.htm (accessed January 26, 2005); and Mark Malan, *Resolute Partners, Building Peacekeeping Capacity in Southern Africa, Institute for Security Studies (ISS)* monograph 21 (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, February 1998). The other regional exercises included Blue Hungwe (in Zimbabwe, 1997); Blue Crane (in South Africa, 1999); Airborne Africa (in South Africa, 2001 and 2004, and in Botswana, 2002); Tanzanite (in Tanzania, 2002); Rainbow Trek (in South Africa, 2003); Nicussy (in Mozambique, 2004).
45. The two anticrime operations were termed Kalola Matlho and Provide Comfort. The first consisted of joint military-police night patrols in the cities of Gaborone, Francistown, Selebe Phikwe, and Molepolole. They were instituted to reduce the incidence of armed robbery, murder, vandalism, drug trafficking, and similar crimes. The second program was conducted by military police and consisted of random spot-checks of individuals and vehicles for fugitives, arms, and illegal merchandise. The BDF conducted flood relief operation in 1993, 1995, 1996, and 2000. It assisted in livestock control in 1996, 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2006. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interview by the author, May 19, 2006. See also Tarcisius Mudongo, "Buffalos Hit by Anthrax," *Daily News* (Botswana) (September 14, 2004): 1; "Anthrax Leaves More than 260 Animals Dead,"*Daily News* (Botswana) (September 28, 2004): 5.
46. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004. Otistitswe Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004. Gaolathe Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004. Mogorosi Baatweng, interview by the

author, multiple occasions, June 2003. The various BDF noncombat roles are authorized in the Botswana military's founding legislation, which states that "the Defence Force shall be charged with the defence of Botswana and with such other duties as may from time to time be determined by the President." BDF Act, Part II (5). Several BDF officers observed to the author in interviews in March 2004 that these operations were appropriate because the BDF alone had the human and matériel resources for the roles. They consistently called attention to the basis for these roles in the BDF Act.

47. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004. See also Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana: Security Information [regularly updated online data base] http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed July 5, 2004).
48. This was a fifty million-dollar purchase of refurbished aircraft from Canada's Bristol Aerospace. The F-5A is a multirole combat aircraft; the three F-5D aircraft are trainers. Matshwenyego-Louis Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006. E. B. Rakgole interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Max Nkgapha, multiple interviews, March and June 2004. Also based on author's interviews with diplomats in Gaborone, March 2004–June 2005, that asked not to be cited by name. See Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana: Security Information [regularly updated online data base] http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed July 5, 2004).
49. See Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana: Security Information [regularly updated online data base] http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed July 5, 2004).
50. Botswana purchased a 12-gun battery of new 105mm howitzers and twenty Alvis Scorpion light tanks from the United Kingdom along with fifty Steyr-Daimler-Puch SK 105 light tanks from Austria. Botswana attempted to purchase fifty-four Leopard-1 main battle tanks from the Dutch, a deal that fell through when Germany refused to authorize the sale. The Germans claimed that they did not want to promote regional tensions, though protests from Namibia (with its historic ties to Germany) probably played a key role in the German decision. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006. E. B. Rakgole interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Max Nkgapha, multiple interviews, March and June 2004. Helmoed Heitman, Jane's Defence Weekly Correspondent for Southern Africa, multiple interviews by the author, March 2004–June 2006. Also based on author's interviews with diplomats in Gaborone, March 2004–June 2005, that asked not to be cited by name. See Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana: Security Information [regularly updated online data base] http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed July 5, 2004).
51. Fisher had graduated from the University of Botswana and Swaziland in 1978 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Defence Force in 1979. His

U.S. military schooling included the Army Engineer Officer Advanced Course (1982), the Army Command and General Staff Course (1983), the Army War College (1988), and the Naval Postgraduate School (1996). His civilian education included an MPA degree from the University of Missouri–Kansas City and an MBA from the University of Botswana. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006.

52. Fisher shared in the general BDF interest in wildlife conservation. He maintained a personal farm in northern Botswana containing both livestock and wildlife resources. He apparently was active in several environmental groups in Botswana, including the local activities of Conservation International. Louis-Matshwenygo Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006.
53. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006. In his conversations with the author, Fisher expressed a strong interest in a future role as an educator. He particularly wanted to teach security studies, a role that his background and accomplishments seemed to support very well.
54. Masire, a rated pilot, had commanded the BDF Air Arm since 1989. His professional military education included the U.S. Air Force Squadron Officer School (1984) and U. S. Air Command and Staff College (1988). His civilian education included a BS degree from Troy State University and an MBA from the University of Southern Queensland (Australia).
55. 1 Brigade is responsible for most of the southern part of the country, including most of the border with South Africa; 2 Brigade is responsible for the eastern part of the country, including the entire border with Zimbabwe; 3 Brigade is responsible for the western part of the country, including most of the border with Namibia. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2004; E. B. Rakgole interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Max Nkgapha, multiple interviews, March and June 2004 by the author.
56. The Air Arm maintained significant alternate air bases at Francistown and Maun and had access to smaller airfields throughout the country. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
57. These were the Canadian CF-5A fighters and U.S. C-130B medium transport aircraft. Among its other assets were Spanish-made Casa 212-300 transports, U.S.-made Bell 412 and French-made AS 350BA utility helicopters, Swiss-made Pilatus PC-7 trainers, and U.S. surplus 0-2A Skymasters. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006. E. B. Rakgole interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Max Nkgapha, multiple interviews, March and June 2004. Helmoed Heitman, Jane's Defence Weekly Correspondent for Southern Africa, multiple interviews by the author, March 2004–June 2006. Also based on author's interviews with diplomats in Gaborone, March 2004–June 2005, that asked not to be cited by name. See Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) files, Botswana:

Security Information [regularly updated online data base] http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/Botswana/SecInfo.html (accessed July 5, 2004).

58. Kenneth Good and Ian Taylor, "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa," paper presented at the Politics Seminar of the University of Botswana, February 23, 2005, 6. Details on Botswana military expenditures also are drawn from the SIPRI military expenditure database, provided to the author in a private communication from Wuyi Omitoogun, SIPRI staff researcher, November 4, 2004.
59. Several informants told the author that the BDF's privileged access to state resources has been a source of friction with the police. Allegedly, the friction began at the founding of the BDF, when a deputy police commissioner was elevated to the command of the new force. Police commissioners are said to resent the apparent compromise of their prestige as leaders of the country's "senior service."
60. Sharp and Fisher, "Inside the 'Crystal Ball,'" in *Rupiya, Evolutions & Revolutions*, 43–60.
61. When queried by the parliamentary opposition in 1996 to justify the country's efforts to purchase German-made Leopard main battle tanks from the Netherlands, Botswana's minister for presidential affairs dismissed the request, asserting, "[It is] unacceptable . . . to expect me to reveal such sensitive information." Kenneth Good, "Enduring Elite Democracy in Botswana," *Democratization* 6, no. 1 (1999): 52–53. At about the same time, the country acquired its squadron of CF-5A combat jets from Canada. President Masire dismissed criticism of that purchase by curtly adjuring, "An army is an army because it is equipped as an army. We therefore are getting equipment adequate to our needs and we need [to make] no apology to anybody for doing that." Quoted from Botswana Gazette, July 5, 1996, by Kenneth Good and Ian Taylor, "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa," a paper presented at the University of Botswana Politics Seminar, February 23, 2005.

Chapter 3

1. Lieutenant General Louis-Matshenwenyego Fisher, BDF commander, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Brigadier E. B. Rakgole, BDF assistant chief of staff (operations), Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 4, 2004); Brigadier Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo, BDF assistant chief of staff (logistics), interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, March 8, 2004; Colonel Gaolathe Galebotswe, deputy commander, BDF 1st Brigade, interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, March 6, 2004; Major T. S. Makolo, Botswana Defence Force, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 5, 2004. The gangs were not the only poaching problem: Botswana's officials suspected with good reason that South African troops stationed in neighboring Southwest

Africa (now Namibia) also were engaged in the cross-border wildlife raiding. See also Jan Breytenbach, *Eden's Exiles: One Soldier's Fight for Paradise* (Cape Town: Queillerie, 1997), 67–76, 204–55.

2. Fisher, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004.
3. Wildlife biologist and veterinarian Larry Patterson, associated at the time with the Department of Wildlife, argues that by the late 1970s, there were relatively few rhino left in Botswana, a long-term legacy of hunting and environmental stress. Larry Patterson, interviews by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, March 2004, June 2004.
4. The BDF officers cite the excellent counterpatrol and counterambush techniques, the "360 degree" security, countersurveillance skills, and the escape and evasion measures habitually employed by the commercial poachers. Makolo, interview by the author, March 5, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004.
5. Fisher, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Patterson, interviews by the author, March 2004 and June 2004; Barney O'Hara, wildlife consultant and former member of the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks and Zimbabwe National Park Service, interview by the author, Gaborone, Botswana, June 18, 2004.
6. In February 1987, nine months before the BDF mounted its first antipoaching patrol, the Defence Force had approached the U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation with a request for two *Raider* light attack patrol boats manufactured by (U.S.-based) Napco International Corporation. The boats subsequently were purchased with U.S. security assistance funds and delivered to the BDF in 1989. At the time of their delivery, U.S. Senior Defense Representative in Botswana Major Gary Walker (U.S. Army) indicated in his reports that the boats were intended for "antipoaching" and "counterinsurgency." From the files of the U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation, Gaborone, Botswana, reviewed by the author in June 2005. For details on the Zambian experience, see Clark Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 57, 59, 62.
7. As this is written in 2007, Tiroyamodimo holds the rank of brigadier in the BDF. He served as commander of the Commando Squadron from 1986 to 1989. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004.
8. These peoples are drawn from a variety of small groups and often are identified as Bushmen or (less pejoratively) as *San*. In Botswana, they are called *Basarwa*, a somewhat pejorative SeTswana phrase meaning "people without cattle." For their employment by the South Africans, see *inter alia* Fred

Bridgland, *The War for Africa* (Gibraltar: Ashanti, 1990), 132–33; Breytenbach, *Eden's Exiles*, 76–93; and Helmoed-Römer Heitman, *South African Armed Forces* (Cape Town: Buffalo, 1990), 147, 200.

9. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004. Because of the educational qualifications required for BDF recruits specified in Botswana law, most of the trackers initially were ineligible for induction into the BDF as soldiers. They were hired as civilian contractors. Later, a number of the trackers achieved the necessary qualifications and were recruited into the BDF itself.
10. According to BDF Colonel Gaolathe Galebotswe, at the time a lieutenant in the first Commando contingent to deploy, the first units inserted into the operational area in October 1987 were two teams of eighteen men each. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004. See also Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004.
11. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
12. This is based on information collated by the BDF and presented to the author, June 4, 2004. The BDF is secretive about the specific number of firefights and statistics on killed or captured poachers. The intensity of poacher activity apparently has varied significantly from year to year, but based on anecdotal evidence, the author estimates that after the early 1990s, BDF poacher "kills" have ranged from about five to ten per year. The BDF probably apprehends another fifteen to twenty poachers each year, most of whom are local meat hunters.
13. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
14. Several Botswana citizens told the author that the BDF had a reputation for treating Namibian poachers very roughly (though none of these informants were members of the BDF). The author found no empirical evidence that the BDF could easily distinguish Namibian poachers from other nationalities prior to capture or that the BDF treated them in a fundamentally unique manner. The author suspects that this BDF reputation is at least partly the result of a deliberate Government of Botswana disinformation campaign conceived to discourage poaching by Namibians in Botswana.
15. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004.
16. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
17. Much of this area consisted of free-hold farms owned by white farmers, generally of Afrikaner origin. There was substantial wildlife in the area, including a herd of elephants, but the antipoaching patrols might have been intended more for the surveillance of possible South African infiltration than for the protection of game. Patterson, interviews by the author, March 2004, June 2004.

18. These patrols apparently always have consisted of vehicle-mounted, platoon-sized units. They seem to have been conducted somewhat sporadically and perhaps were aimed at deterring poaching by South Africans or by local citizens living along the common border.
19. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
20. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Major Molefi Seikano, BDF Commando Squadron acting commander, interview by the author, June 18, 2004.
21. The troops were supplied overland by truck and by air—as late as 2004, the BDF Air Arm was still flying its venerable BN-21 *Defender* transport aircraft into the company bases. Forward bases are at times supplied by helicopter. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Makolo, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004
22. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
23. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004.
24. Author's personal observation during travel in northern Botswana in March 2007.
25. These themes are stressed in BDF basic and advanced training, and troops receive regular lectures on the economic importance of wildlife. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; and Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Major Max Ngkapha, BDF Protocol Office, interview by the author, March 2004, June 2004; and Brigadier J. O. J. Hengari, commandant of the BDF Force Training Establishment, interview by the author, March 9, 2004.
26. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
27. The BDF made good use of its "Bushman" trackers for its operations and also constructed a training course to promote tracking skills more widely among its other personnel. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Galebotswe interview by the author, March 6, 2004.
28. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Galebotswe interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
29. Several BDF officers with commando experience expressed to the author their concern that poachers (or their Namibian supporters) currently are able to use pattern analysis to predict some of the patrolling by BDF conventional forces and thus evade their reach. The BDF antipoaching patrols can do little

about the Namibian fishermen who monitor their activity from the safety of the Namibian side of the border, as long as the Namibians do not engage in overtly illegal activity in Botswana.

30. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004.
31. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; O'Hara, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
32. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; O'Hara, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
33. Dr. Cornelis H. M. Vanderpost, senior research fellow, Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Center, interview by the author, Maun, Botswana, June 9, 2005; Lovemore Sola, Conservation International Biodiversity Corridor manager, interview by the author, Maun, Botswana, June 9, 2005; and Debbie Peake, director of Mochaba Trust, interview by the author, Maun, Botswana, June 9, 2005.
34. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Makolo, interview by the author, March 5, 2004; Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004.
35. Alice Mogwe, director of *Ditshwanelo*, the most prominent human rights advocacy organization in Botswana, interview by the author, June 18, 2004. BDF personnel say that their organization experimented in the mid-1990s with restrictive rules of engagement, including a prohibition against firing weapons unless fired upon, but these rules apparently proved impractical and were later dropped.
36. The United States supplied a total of fifteen *Panther* airboats and twelve 0-2a *Skymaster* aircraft. Data extracted from the files of the U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation, Gaborone, Botswana, reviewed by the author in June 2005.
37. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, interviews by the author, March 4, 2004, May 19, 2006. E. B. Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004. J. O. J. Hengari, interview by the author, March 9, 2004. Otistitswe Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004. Gaolathe Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004. Moeng Phoeto, interview by the author, June 14, 2004; Molefi Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004; T.S. Makolo, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
38. Ironically, based on the author's conversations with officials in the South African arms industry, the FLIR systems could have been repaired at minimal cost in neighboring South Africa. However, Botswana's relationships in 1995 with a South Africa that just had transitioned to majority rule still were fraught, and there was no process to connect the problem of the malfunctioning radars with the (now) obvious solution. As best as the author can tell, the FLIR systems were not repaired and have never played a significant role in BDF antipoaching operations.

39. According to BDF officers interviewed by the author in 2004, the *Panther* airboats ultimately played a highly useful role in military flood relief operations in Botswana. Rakgole, interview by the author, June 4, 2004; Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004
40. Galebotswe, interview by the author, March 6, 2004; Makolo, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.
41. Rakgole, interview by the author, June 4, 2004.
42. Seikano, interview by the author, June 18, 2004.
43. This information was provided to the author in multiple interviews of BDF officers conducted in Botswana between mid 2004 and mid 2006. The individuals providing the information invariably asked that they not be identified by name. The author could not verify the information but considers it plausible.
44. The South Africans withdrew their forces from both Angola and Namibia in 1988 as part of a regional peace arrangement. For specific details, see Owen Ellison Kahn, ed., *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: The Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia* (New Brunswick, ME: Transaction, 1991).
45. There were significant exceptions, including one colorful commander of South Africa's 32 Battalion, Jan Breytenbach, stationed with his unit in Namibia's Caprivi Strip. See Breytenbach, *Eden's Exiles*.
46. Tiroyamodimo, interview by the author, March 8, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, June 4, 2004
47. Fisher, interview by the author, March 4, 2004; Rakgole, interview by the author, March 4, 2004.

Chapter 4

1. Author's personal experience.
2. Edgar H. Schein, "Defining Organizational Culture," in *Classics of Organizational Theory, 4th edition*, ed. J. Shafritz and J. Ott (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996), 430–41.
3. For U.S. public sector examples, see the extensive listing on the Web site maintained and regularly updated by the Leadership Department, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL, available at http://leadership.au.af.mil (accessed May 21, 2005).
4. *Vision 2016, Towards Prosperity for All: Long Term Vision for Botswana*, Presidential Task Group, September 1997 (Locally printed booklet, Gaborone, Botswana), 10, 53–54, 72
5. Internal BDF documents and materials assembled by Brigadier E. B. Rakgole, BDF assistant chief of staff (Operations), and presented to the author, March 4, 2004.

6. Richard Dale, "The Politics of National Security in Botswana, 1900–1990," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 12, no. 1 (1993): 44.
7. This is based on the author's conversations with BDF officers of all ranks from captain to major general, 2000–2006.
8. Lieutenant Colonel P. T. F. Sharp, Botswana Defence Force director of Career Development and Training, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
9. Sharp, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
10. This is based on the author's interviews and casual conversations with a large number of BDF personnel of all ranks from 1991 to 2006. In the interviews between 2004 and 2006, virtually all BDF personnel stressed to the author their conviction of the importance of the environmental protection mission to the nation's economy—this clearly was a subject emphasized in BDF processes of socialization.
11. Enlisted personnel received much of their initial skills training in their assigned units. The BDF also provides its enlisted members with a three-month junior noncommissioned officer course and a three-month senior noncommissioned officer course at appropriate times in their careers. Some BDF enlisted personnel are sent abroad for training, typically for the acquisition of specialized technical skills. Sharp, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
12. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher, commander of the Botswana Defence Force, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Gaborone, interview by the author, May 19, 2006; Major Max Ngkapha, director of Public Relations and Protocol, Botswana Defence Force, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, interviews by the author, March and June 2004. In 2006, BDF Commander Fisher told the author that the activation of the Staff College required the resolution of funding issues.
13. Fisher, intervies by the author, May 19, 2006; Ngkapha, interviews by the author, March and June 2004; Sharp, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
14. Estimate provided by Major Andrew Oldenfield, chief of the Office of Defense Cooperation in the U.S. embassy in Gaborone, interview by the author, June 14, 2004.
15. This is the author's personal assessment based on acquaintance with military establishments in over twenty African countries. However, the broader impact of U.S. military training has been noted by no less an authority than Samuel Huntington, who claimed that "exposure to the U.S. military and training in its schools have been major factors in the diffusion and acceptance by military officers elsewhere of the liberal democratic norms of military professionalism and civilian control." Samuel P. Huntington, "Reforming Civil-Military Relations," in *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*, ed. L. Diamond and M. Plattner (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 7.
16. This is based on the author's personal observations and on his interviews and conversations with a large number of military officers between 1992 and 2006.

17. The BDF maintains two large farms—one in the north of the country near Francistown and one in the south not far from Gaborone. BDF personnel, including agronomists and veterinarians, manage these farms. The farms produce vegetable, dairy, and meat products for BDF personnel and their families. Excess produce is sold locally, with the funds donated to the national treasury. Sharp, interview by the author, June 17, 2004.
18. The coordination of civil-servant and military pay scales in 2002 apparently raised the pay of enlisted personnel. BDF insiders say that the relatively low pay of enlisted soldiers had been a cause of some unrest in the past. Even so, BDF personnel were reluctant to discuss pay and benefits in other than very general terms, so it is difficult to quantify these data with any great precision. However, the lowest ranking privates in 2004 apparently received a monthly salary in the range of three hundred U.S. dollars. This was supplemented by other benefits, including free food, lodging, medical care, and assistance in financing larger purchases. Senior BDF officers received monthly salaries upward of three thousand U.S. dollars, in addition to various other benefits.
19. Herbert Howe, *Ambiguous Order: Military Forces in African States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 43–44.
20. David Passage, U.S. ambassador to Botswana in the early 1990s, knew Ian Khama very well and attributes much of the enduring discipline in the BDF to Khama. David Passage, multiple telephone interviews, January and March 2005. See also *Botswana Defence Force, 25th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure* (Gaborone: Front Page, 2002), 7–9.
21. See, for instance, Timothy H. Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King's African Rifles, 1902–1964* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1999), 53–103.
22. African scholars have been particularly critical of their own security establishments. See, for instance, Sunday Abogonye Ochoche, "The Military and National Security in Africa," in *The Military and Militarism in Africa*, ed. E. Hutchful and A. Bathily (Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA, 1998), 105–27; and Max Sesay, "Security and State-Society Crises in Sierra Leone and Liberia," in *Globalization, Human Security and the African Experience*, ed. C. Thomas and P. Wilk (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999), 145–61. For a more comprehensive overall assessment, see Howe, *Ambiguous Order*, 27–71. For a description of the worst abuses, see Crawford Young and Thomas Turner, *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 248–75.
23. Kenneth Good and Ian Taylor, "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa," paper presented at the University of Botswana Politics Seminar, February 23, 2005, 5–9.
24. Kenneth Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism: A Defining Characteristic of Botswana," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 14, no. 1 (1996): 36–37.
25. Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism," 37.

26. Tendekani E. Malebeswa, "Civil Control of the Military in Botswana," in *Ourselves to Know: Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in Southern Africa*, ed. R. Williams, G. Cawthra and D. Abrahams (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003), 68–71; Mpho G. Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations in Botswana's Developmental State," *African Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (2001) [online] available at http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i2a3.htm (accessed July 20, 2004), 12.
27. Given the Defence Force's prestige and priority in funding and other resources, a certain elitism in comparison to the police probably is not surprising. But police in Africa typically are less respected than the military. See Alice Hills, *Policing Africa: Internal Security and the Limits of Liberalization* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 3.
28. Senior leaders of the Botswana Police acknowledge the popular complaints about police efficiency and professionalism but argue that they have made strenuous efforts in recent years to improve their performance and public image. See, for instance, Norman S. Moleboge (commissioner of Botswana Police), "Public Sector Reforms Challenges and Opportunities: The Case of Botswana Police Service," paper presented at the Advanced Seminar, Wellington, NZ, February 24–March 8, 2003.
29. See Titus Mbuya, "The BDP Split Shakes Army," *Mmegi*, July 29, 1994.
30. Molomo, "Civil-Military Relations in Botswana's Developmental State," 12–13.

Chapter 5

1. Lt. Gen. Louis-Matshwenyego Fisher and his staff, multiple interviews by the author, 2000–2006.
2. George Simmel, *The Sociology of George Simmel*, trans. And ed. K. H. Wolfe (New York: Free Press, 1950). See also Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1973): 347–57; D. Krackhardt, " The Strength of Strong Ties," in *Networks and Organizations*, ed. R. Hohria and R. Eccles (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 216–39; and Darcy Ashman, L. David Brown, and Elizabeth Zwick, *The Strength of Strong and Weak Ties: Building Social Capital for the Formation and Governance of Civil Society Resource Organizations*, Institute for Development Research, IDR Reports 14, no. 2 (1998): 13.
3. For general African insights, see Goran Hyden, "Governance and the Study of Politics," in *Governance and Politics in Africa*, ed. G. Hyden and M. Bratton (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 7; Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); and Richard Joseph, ed., *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999). For specific detail relating to Botswana, see John D. Holm and Patrick P. Molutsi, "State-Society Relations

in Botswana: Beginning Liberalization," in Hyden and Bratton, *Governance and Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 75–95.

4. See, *inter alia*, J. Holm and P. Molutsi, eds., *Democracy in Botswana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989); Kenneth Good, "Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (March 1992): 69–95; Kenneth Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism: A Defining Characteristic of Botswana," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 14, no. 1 (1996): 32; Pauline E. Peters, *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994).
5. Both the Kwena and the Ngwato states (now part of Botswana) fielded substantial armies that on occasion successfully confronted even the fearsome, militaristic Ndebele. For a very readable overview of the latter, see Ian J. Knight, *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa* (Dorset, UK: Fireside, 1994), 96–141.
6. For useful insights into the traditional use of the *kgotla*, see the classic work Isaac Schapera, *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795–1940* (New York: Berg, 2004), 18–50; and Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass, 1977), 26, 82, 94, 98, 103. See also P. T. Mgadla and A. C. Campbell, "Dikgotla, Dikgosi and the Protectorate Administration," in Holm and Molutsi, *Democracy in Botswana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989).
7. Leonard D. Ngcongco, "Tswana Political Tradition: How Democratic?" in Holm and Molutsi, *Democracy in Botswana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989), 42–47.
8. See *Vision 2016*, Long Term Vision for Botswana, Presidential Task Group, September 1997, booklet, Gaborone, Botswana, 55.
9. Part of the reluctance to submit this issue to public debate might have stemmed from the government's awareness of the academic debates increasingly critical of "coercive" conservation practices in the developing world. For a fuller discussion of this issue, see Chapter 6.
10. See John D. Holm and Patrick P. Molutsi, "State Society Relations in Botswana: Beginning Liberalization," in *Governance and Politics in Africa*, ed. G. Hyden and M. Bratton (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 75–95; and Peter Fawcus and A. Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence* (Gaborone: Pula Press and Botswana Society, 2000).
11. Kenneth Good, "Authoritarian Liberalism," 29–51; John D. Hold, "Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy," in *Africa*, vol. 2 of *Democracy in Developing Countries*, ed. L. Diamond (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1988), 115–50; and Kenneth Good and Ian Taylor, "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa," paper presented at the University of Botswana Politics Seminar, February 23, 2005.
12. Dr. Judy Butterman, Professors Ian Taylor, Shelley Whitman, Kenneth Good, and Mpho Molomo, interviews by the author, March and June 2004. See also Good and Taylor, "Presidential Succession."

13. For example, Wayne Edge, "On the Edge," *Botswana Sunday Tribune*, June 10, 2001, p. 2.
14. See Sandy Grant and Brian Egner, "The Private Press and Democracy," in Holm and Molutsi, *Democracy in Botswana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987); and J. Zaffiro, "The Press and Political Opposition in an African Democracy," *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 17, no. 1 (1989): 51–73.
15. For an interesting analysis of traditional norms of Tswana chieftainship, see Diana Wylie, *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in a Southern African Chiefdom* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1990. See also Schapera, *Handbook of Tswana Law*, 69–70.
16. For one of the clearest and most succinct definitions of *botho* in Government of Botswana documents, see *Vision 2016*, 2, 55. In all fairness, many other African languages (and cultures) have similar concepts. South Africans claim that their notion of *ubuntu* bears many similarities. Shona speakers in Zimbabwe argue the same for their concept of *hunhu*.
17. Dr. Judy Butterman, political and economics affairs officer, U.S. Embassy, interview by the author, Gaborone, March and June 2004, June 2004; Professor Ian Taylor, University of Botswana, interview by the author, Gaborone, March 6, 2004; Professor Kenneth Good, University of Botswana, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 11, 2004; Professor Mpho G. Molomo, University of Botswana (and exchange professor at University of Cape Town at the time of the interview), interview by the author, Cape Town, June 24, 2004.
18. Provision for this kind of military support to the police was written into the founding legislation of the Defence Force (BDF Act Chapter 21:05, 1977). Armed military personnel have accompanied urban police patrols in Botswana off and on since the mid-1980s.
19. In 2006, the legal purchase of a firearm in Botswana required a license, and the government issued only four hundred new licenses each year based on a raffle. The purchaser of a used firearm was obliged to purchase the license from the previous owner, along with the firearm itself. Because a license was much more difficult to acquire than the firearm itself, licenses were in great demand and usually commanded a much higher price than the firearms for which they were issued. Mike Botha, manager of Pan African Ammunition Manufacturing, a sporting goods enterprise in Gaborone, interview by the author, March 9, 2004. A good overview of Botswana's firearms policies is provided in N. S. Moleboge, "The Status of Firearms Control in Botswana by the Commissioner of Police," *Final Report, Towards a Safe and Secure Nation: The First Consultative Conference on Firearm Control, Ownership and Administration in Botswana*, May 13–15, 2003, http://www.bw.gov (accessed July 22, 2004).
20. See Transparency International,"Corruption Perception Index," *Transparency International Annual Report 2006*, [online] available at http://www.transparency.org (accessed July 3, 2007): 21

21. Botswana's citizens grumble about the alleged exclusive access of the vice president's siblings to lucrative military contracts. They also criticize the vice president's use of military aircraft for personal political campaigning.
22. While serving as the U.S. Army attaché accredited to Botswana in the early 1990s, the author was surprised to find that many government and military officers refused the small mementos typically offered by attachés and other diplomats. The officials apparently feared that their superiors could consider even these to be "graft."
23. See, *inter alia*, Daniel W. Henk and Martin Revayi Rupiya, *Funding Defence: Challenges of Buying Military Capability in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 2001), 18–21; Herbert M. Howe, *Ambiguous Order: Military Forces in African States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 53–58.
24. See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); and Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968); Claude Welch and Arthur Smith, *Military Role and Rule: Perspectives of Civil-Military Relations* (New York: Duxbury Press, 1974); Samuel Finer, *The Man on Horseback* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1976); Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Michael D. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Peter Feaver, "Civil-Military Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 211–41. For scholarly works focusing specifically on Africa, see Henry S. Bienen, *Armed Forces, Conflict and Change in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989); Samuel Decalo, "Modalities of Civil-Military Stability in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 27, no. 4 (1989): 547–78; Samuel Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa: Motivations and Constraints* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Eboe Hutchful, "Military Policy and Reform in Ghana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35, no. 2 (June 1997): 251–78; Samuel Decalo, *Civil-Military Relations in Africa* (Gainesville: Florida Academic Press, 1998); Howe, *Ambiguous Order*.
25. For Huntington, see *Soldier and the State*, 7–18, 32–58. For alternative views, see, *inter alia*, Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1971); and Perlmutter, *Military and Politics*, 92–93. At least one prominent scholar of civil-military relations argued in 2002 that no widely accepted, overarching paradigm had emerged to guide the study of civil-military relations. See James Burk, "Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 7–29.
26. Botswana Defence Force Act, Chapter 21:05, with a commencement date of April 15, 1977.
27. The role of the Defence Council is specified in the founding legislation, but it is much less evident in practice. It publishes no minutes or reports and gives

no interviews. The degree to which the president consults the Defence Council on substantive policy issues (if at all) is invisible outside the inner political circle. The Council's primary role apparently has been to serve as an advocacy group for augmenting Defence Force pay and benefits.

28. Paul Sharp and Louis Fisher, "Inside the 'Crystal Ball': Understanding the Evolution of the Military in Botswana and the Challenges Ahead," in *Evolutions and Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa*, ed. M. Rupiya (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2005), 52–53. When they wrote this article, Lieutenant Colonel Sharp was a senior BDF personnel specialist and Lieutenant General Fisher was the BDF Commander.
29. Sharp and Fisher, "Inside the 'Crystal Ball," 53–55; Tendekani E. Malebeswa, "Civil Control of the Military in Botswana," in *Ourselves to Know: Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in Southern Africa*, ed. R. Williams, G. Cawthra and D. Abrahams (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003), 70–74.
30. Dr. Judy Butterman, interview by the author, June 2004; and Professors Ian Taylor, Shelley Whitman, Kenneth Good, and Mpho G. Molomo, University of Botswana, interviews by the author, March and June 2004.
31. Professor Shelly Whitman, University of Botswana, interview by the author, June 16, 2004; Professor Mpho G. Molomo, University of Botswana, interview by the author, June 24, 2004; and Judy Butterman, multiple interviews by the author, 2003–2006.
32. James der Derian, "The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and Baudrillard," in *On Security*, ed. R. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 24.
33. Otisitswe B. Tiroyamodimo, "Why is Security a Contested Concept? *Sethamo* [Botswana Defence Force Newsletter] 37 (December 2001): 9–11.
34. Lekoko Kenosi expresses some concern for the broadened missions, urging limits and more consultation, but hedoes not overtly challenge their propriety. Lekoko Kenosi, "The Botswana Defence Force and the Public Trust: The military Dilemma in a Democracy," in R. Williams, G. Cawthra and D. Abrahams*Ourselves to Know*, 200–201.
35. In an interview with the author in June 2004, Alice Mogwe, director of *Ditshwanelo*, the most prominent human rights advocacy group in Botswana, also seemed to give the BDF generally high marks for respecting the human rights of citizens. *Ditshwanelo* has, however, recorded instances in which BDF personnel have coercively evicted small groups of *Basarwa* (hunter-gatherers) from their traditional living areas in the central Kalahari, a very sensitive issue in contemporary Botswana. For the various research activities, publications and perspectives of *Ditshwanelo*, see its official Web site: http://www.ditshwanelo.org.bw (accessed 10 March 2005).

Chapter 6

1. Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994): 44–77.
2. See Thomas Homer-Dixon, "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," *International Security* 16, no. 2 (1991): 76–116; Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environmental Scarcity and Global Security* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1993); Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 5–40; Thomas Homer-Dixon, *The Environment, Scarcity and Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Debating Violent Environments," *Environmental Change and Security Project Report* (Woodrow Wilson Institute for Scholars) 9 (2003): 89–96; David Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 5–26; Thomas Homer Dixon and Jessica Blitt, eds., *Ecoviolence: Links Among Environment, Scarcity and Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Michael Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001); Miriam R. Lowi and Brian R. Shaw, eds., *Environment and Security: Discourses and Practices* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000). Some of the earlier scholars that argued for broader definitions of "security" with environmental implications included Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8 (1983): 129–53; Lester Brown, *"Redefining National Security,"Worldwatch Paper 14* (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, October 1977); Michael Renner, "National Security: The Economic and Environmental Dimensions," *Worldwatch Paper 89* (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, 1989); Norman Myers, "The Environmental Dimension to Security Issues," *The Environmentalist* (1986): 251–57; Norman Myers, "Environment and Security," *Foreign Policy* 47 (1989): 23–41; Norman Myers, *Ultimate Security: The Environmental Basis of Political Stability* (New York: Norton, 1993); Arthur H. Westing, "The Environmental Component of Comprehensive Security," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 20, no. 2 (June 1989): 129–34.
3. See, for instance, Larry A. Swatuk, "Power and Water: The Coming Order in Southern Africa," in *The New Realism and the Future of Security and Development*, ed. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, and O. Sunkel (London: Palgrave, 2001), 210–47; and Larry A. Swatuk,"Southern Africa Through Green Lenses," in *Theory, Change and Southern Africa's Future*, ed. P. Vale, L. Swatuk, and B. Oden (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 266–93; Eddie Koch, "Nature Has the Power to Heal Old Wounds: War, Peace and Changing Patterns of Conservation in Southern Africa," in *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region*, ed. D. Simon (London: James Currey, 1998), 54–71; Bertus de Villiers, *Peace Parks: The Way Ahead* (Pretoria, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council, 1999); Bjorn Hettne, "Regional

Cooperation for Security and Development in Africa," in Vale, Swatuk, and Oden, *Theory, Change*, 83–110. For a discussion of emerging African definitions of security by African authors, see H. Solomon and M. van Aardt, eds., *Caring Security in Africa* (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, ISS monograph no. 20, February 1998); 31–51; Larry A. Swatuck and Peter Vale, " Why Democracy Is Not Enough: Southern Africa and Human Security in the Twenty-First Century," *Alternatives* 24 (1999): 363; Busumtwi-Sam, "Development and Human Security: Whose Security and From What?" *International Journal* 57, no. 2 (2002): 253–72; Agostinho Zacarias, "Redefining Security," in *From Cape to Cairo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges*, ed. M. Baregu and C. Landsberg (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2003), 31–51.

4. For overviews of the ferment in the discipline of international relations relating to "security," see Ronnie Lipschutz, *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James, and Patrick M. Morgan, *Security Studies Today* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999); and Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1998). The emphasis on the individual as the referent object of security was given particular emphasis by the United Nations in the early 1990s, when the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) promulgated the concept of "human security." See *Human Development Report, 1993 and 1994*, United Nations Development Program, http://www.undp.org/hdro (accessed May 18, 2005). Not all scholars share the enthusiasm for broadened definitions of "security." See, *inter alia*, Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (June 1991): 213; Robert H. Dorff, "A Commentary on *Security Studies for the 1990s as a Model Core Curriculum*," *International Studies Notes* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 27; James der Derian, "The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and Baudrillard," in *On Security*, ed. R. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 24; R. Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8, no. 1 (1983): 129–53; Jessica Tuchman Matthews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1989): 162–77; Ramesh Thakur, "The United Nations and Human Security," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 7, no. 1 (1999): 52.
5. See, *inter alia*, Simon Dalby, "Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourse," in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. K. Krause and M. Williams (London: University College Press, 1997), 3–31; Marc A. Levy, "Is the Environment a National Security Issue?" *International Security* (Fall 1995): 35–62; Jyrki Kakonen, ed., *Green Security or Militarized Environment* (Aldershot, UK: Dartmouth, 1994); Daniel Deudney, "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security," *Millenium* 19, no. 3 (1990): 461–76; Daniel Deudney, "Environment and Security: Muddled Thinking," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 47, no. 3 (April 1991): 23–18; and Daniel Deudney and Richard A.

Matthews, eds., *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999).

6. Jon Barnett, *The Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era* (London: Zed, 2001), 157. See also Simon Dalby, *Environmental Security* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002). For interesting discussions of the controversies surrounding the concept of "environmental security," see Gregory D. Foster, "Environmental Security: The Search for Strategic Legitimacy," *Armed Forces & Society* 27, no. 3 (Spring 2001): 373–95; and Simon Dalby, "Security, Modernity, Ecology: The Dilemmas of Post-Cold War Security Discourse," *Alternatives* 17, no. 1 (1992): 95–134.
7. Dan Henk, "The Environment, the U.S. Military and Southern Africa," *Parameters* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 98–117.
8. The author is indebted to South African environmental scientist Dr. Alex Weaver (of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) for calling attention to this issue. Alex Weaver, private communication with author, February 1, 2005. The regional differences were given a very public face in the two most prominent gatherings of the world's environmentalists to date, the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002. Both conferences had a developmental focus and thus, on the surface, an "anthropocentric" bias. However, the presentations and debates brought the ideological divide into sharp focus. Participants in these conferences say that the Rio gathering reflected a more ecocentric and the Johannesburg conference a more anthropocentric tendency. For details, see *inter alia*, United Nations Department of Public Information, "UN Conference on Environment and Development," May 23, 1997, at http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html (accessed 6 July 2007); Information Habitat, "Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), undated, at http://habitat.igc.org/agenda21/rio-dec.html (accessed May 20, 2005); an "Earth Summit 2002," Stakeholder Forum's Earth Summit 2002 Web site, undated, at http://www.earthsummit2002.org/ (accessed July6, 2007).
9. Oliver Chapeyama, director of Enviroplan, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 10, 2005. (Chapeyama is an environmentalist of Zimbabwean origin who was employed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in Zimbabwe the 1980s.) This also is based on the author's extensive contact with members of Zimbabwe's national park community while accredited to Zimbabwe as U.S. Defense Attaché in the early 1990s.
10. Clark Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
11. Roderick P. Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

12. *Vision 2016, Long Term Vision for Botswana*, Presidential Task Group, September 1997, locally printed booklet, Gaborone, Botswana.
13. *Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana: Strategies for the Twenty-First Century, 13–17 October 1997*, locally printed Government of Botswana Publication, Gaborone. The strategy addresses a wide assortment of environmental issues, ranging from water resources to biodiversity to protection from pollution and other man-made hazards in the environment.
14. Nchunga Mushanana, Arabang Kanego, and Stevie Monna, National Conservation Strategy Office, Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism, interviews by the author, Gaborone, June 6, 2005; Sedia C. Modise, interview by the author, June 10, 2004; and Masego Madzwamuse, Country Program coordinator, IUCN, interview by the author, June 2004.
15. The best available description of this process is provided in Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1991).
16. For details, see Neil Parsons, "The Economic History of Khama's Country in Botswana, 1844–1930," in *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, ed. R. Palmer and N. Parsons (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 116–22.
17. Spinage, *History and Evolution*; Isaac Schapera, *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795–1940* (New York: Berg, 2004), 262.
18. These included "no hunting" areas, game reserves, and sanctuaries. Some of the "no hunting" restrictions were temporary. Some acquired a more or less permanent "no hunting" status over time. Much of the incentive for imposing these restrictions grew out of sporadic abuses—some perpetrated by local hunters, and some by hunters of European ancestry from neighboring South Africa or Southwest Africa. Spinage, *History and Evolution*.
19. National Parks Act of 1967 (Act Number 48 of 1967).
20. This individual was the almost-legendary Mike Busa. Those who knew him in Botswana credit him with incredible training capabilities and say that his programs provided a significant, though very temporary, improvement in the DWNP's antipoaching capabilities on the ground. However, poor management within the DWNP and its parent government ministry reportedly squandered that advantage. Larry Patterson, environmentalist and consultant, multiple interviews by the author, Gaborone, 2004–2006. Barney O'Hara, consultant and former employee of both the Botswana and Zimbabwe national parks systems, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 17, 2004. Mike Botha, local businessman in the sporting goods industry in Gaborone, multiple interviews by the author, 2004–2006.
21. Insights reflected here are derived from interviews with a wide range of individuals, including O'Hara, interview by the author, June 18, 2004Patterson, interviews by the author, March and June 2004; Brigadier E. B. Rakgole, Botswana Defence Force assistant chief of staff (Operations), Sir Seretse

Khama Barracks, interview by the author, March 2004; and Major Molefi Seikano, Botswana Defence Force, acting commander of the Commando Squadron, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 18, 2004.

22. Unidentified journal correspondent,"Interview: Lt-Gen Ian Khama Seretse Khama," *Discover Botswana* 2003 (publication of the Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism, 2003), 10–13.
23. Judy Butterman, political and economic officer, U.S. embassy, multiple interviews by the author, Gaborone, 2004–2006; Ingrid M. Otukile, environmental coordinator, U.S. embassy, multiple interviews by the author, Gaborone, March and June 2004; Patterson, multiple interviews by the author; Sedia C. Modise, Peace Parks coordinator in Botswana and former director of the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 2004.
24. Numbers of tourists visiting Botswana rose from about 572,000 in 1997 to over 923,000 in 2001. See M. Mothoagae, "Wildlife Based Tourism as the Engine of Economic Growth: Policy and Institutional Issues," *Proceedings of a National Conference*; and "Interview," *Discover Botswana 2003*, 10.
25. See the official Web site of the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Center (HOORC) a field research center of the University of Botswana, http://www.ub.bw/research/hoorc.cfm (accessed April 20, 2005)for detail. This multidisciplinary research center is staffed by local and expatriate scholars and "specializes in natural resource management research in the Okavango River Basin."
26. *Proceedings of a National Conference.*
27. For a useful and detailed study of the commercial use of wildlife in Botswana, see *Botswana Wildlife Management Association, Economic Analysis of Commercial Consumptive Use of Wildlife in Botswana, Final Report* (Leamington Spa, UK: ULG Northumbrian Ltd, December 2001). The report indicates, for instance, that in the year 2000, Botswana had allocated a quota of some 11,000 animals (of 29 species) for hunting quotas, although only an estimated 2,500 were actually taken (p. 22). Still, the theoretical income from license and trophy fees was an impressive US$5.3 million.
28. Butterman, interview by the author, June 7, 2005; Hagen Moroney, commercial and economic officer, U.S. embassy, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 8, 2005; Debbie Peake, director of Mochaba Trust, a key hunting industry insider, interview by the author, Maun, June 9, 2005.
29. Peake, interview by the author, June 9, 2005.
30. A number of individuals connected to the safari industry shared with the author their fears that an Ian Khama presidency in Botswana in the future could mean the end of their livelihood. . Given the economic benefits that the safari hunters bring to the country, these fears might appear unwarranted in 2007, but the author would not care to wager on the subject.
31. Information compiled by Debbie Peake while serving as executive director of the Botswana Wildlife Management Association.

32. The U.S. government was an early subscriber to this "new thinking" and offered the most notable contribution to the southern African programs—a multimillion-dollar coordinated effort conceived and managed by the regional USAID office, then based in Harare, Zimbabwe. Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, CBNRM programs were launched in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, and Namibia, the first in Zimbabwe in 1988. Though similar in intention and concept, each program differed in local detail. Chapeyama, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 10, 2005. Chapeyama (a native of Zimbabwe) was employed by USAID in the 1980s and directly involved in the oversight of the CBNRM programs. Botswana's CBNRM program began in 1989. USAID was by far its most significant sponsor for the first decade of its existence, committing some twenty-five million U.S. dollars before the funding ran out in 2000. (USAID actually paid the expenses of a contractor to run the program for the government of Botswana until 2000.) The principal USAID contractor for the Botswana CBNRM program was Chemonics International. This enterprise, in turn, subcontracted a number of other organizations in the CBNRM program. Keith Kline, Regional Natural Resources program manager, USAID Regional Center for Southern Africa, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 8, 2005.
33. Zimbabwe's program (called "Campfire") resulted in several years of gratifying community mobilization and economic returns, but ultimately fell afoul of the national government, which feared the political and economic empowerment of local communities at its own expense. Zambia's program, called ADMADE, likewise made an initial splash, but appeared to be somewhat dormant by the early years of the twenty-first century. In 2005, Namibia's program included some thirty-one functioning enterprises (of which almost half were fully self-supporting). Namibia's government had applications to activate another fifteen and was seeing an escalating interest in the concept on the part of still more communities. Keys to the Namibian CBNRM success seem to include a very coherent and supportive Ministry of Environment and Tourism, an effective supporting consortium of locally based nongovernmental organizations, and the consistent financial support of USAID since 1993. Malan Lindique, permanent secretary, Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism, interview by the author, Windhoek, Namibia, June 20, 2005; Tina Dooley-Jones, director of Technical Programs, USAID-Namibia, interview by the author, Windhoek, June 20, 2005; and Antonie Esterhuizen, IRDNC coordinator, Kunene region, and former employee of the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism, interview by the author, Windhoek, June 22, 2005.
34. When queried about their reservations, government officials tended to cite the problems of financial management. Members of local nongovernmental organizations blamed USAID for precipitously ending its funding of the program in 2000. However, there clearly were other issues involved in the antipathy, including some resentment in Botswana that foreign (mainly

South African) contractors were benefiting from the CBNRM partnerships at the expense of local enterprises. Kline, interview by the author. Chapeyama, interview by the author. L. Nchunga Mushanana, director, National Conservation Strategy Office, Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism, interview by the author, June 6, 2005; Lovemore Sola, Biodiversity Corridor manager, Conservation International—Botswana, interview by the author, Maun, June 9, 2005; Sedia Modise, Botswana coordinator for Peace Parks and former director of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 10, 2005; and Masego Madzwamuse, Country Program coordinator, IUCN, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 10, 2005.

35. Much of the game ranching currently is concentrated in two areas of the country: one along the eastern border (the so-called "Tuli Block" area), and the other across the country, close to the western border, in a large block of land near the town of Ghanzi. Industry insiders told the author in 2005 that game farming in Botswana was dominated by five large enterprises that seem to have acquired the political clout to maintain their monopoly. Butterman, interviews by the author, March and June 2004; Patterson, interviews by the author, March and June 2004; and Botha, interviews by the author, June 2005, June 2006.
36. "Wildlife Warriors," produced by Dereck Joubert and Beverly Joubert [video recording] Copyright Wildlife Films, Botswana, 1997. For the lion-hunting controversy, see Chris McGreal, "Endangered Lions Face New Threat," *Guardian* (London), April 27, 2001; and the official Web site of Big Cat Rescue, a U.S.-based conservationist non-profit organization with a worldwide membership: http://www.bigcatrescue.org (accessed March 15, 2005).
37. For additional detail, see the official Web site of the Botswana-based Kalahari Conservation Society: http://www.kcs.org.bw (accessed February 12, 2005).
38. The IUCN is more than a nongovernmental organization. Since 1999, it has enjoyed Observer status at the UN General Assembly, giving it the clout of an international organization. The IUCN functions as a consortium of groups on the world environmental scene, with a membership in 2004 that included 750 NGOs, 100 national government agencies, and 70 actual national governments (including the government of Botswana). Member organizations cooperate with the IUCN as part of a "web of partnerships between institutions and people to manage and restore ecosystems and protect threatened species." For additional detail, see the official Web site of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) at http://www.iucn.org (accessed March 25, 2005). More specific detail about IUCN's Botswana program can be found at the Web site of that IUCN affiliate: http://www.iucnbot.bw (accessed March 25, 2005).
39. More information about the perspectives and programs of Conservation International (CI) can be obtained at the official CI Web site: http://www.conservation.org (accessed June 28, 2005). Information about the

South African-based Peace Parks Foundantion (PPF) can be obtained at the official PPF Web site: http://www.peaceparks.org (accessed March 24, 2005). Information about Safari Club International (SCI) can be obtained at the official SCI Web site: http://www.safariclub.org (accessed March 27, 2005). Until 2007, SCI's primary support to conservation in Botswana to date had been the sponsorship of a 2002 Southern African Wildlife Consultative Forum chaired by the director of Botswana's Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Joseph Matlhare. SCI has generated some notoriety in international conservationist circles for lobbying against Botswana's ban on lion hunting. See, *inter alia*, Fiona Macleod, "Bush Guns for Botswana Lion Hunt," *Mail & Guardian* (Johannesburg), April 26, 2001.

40. See Acknowledgements to *Proceedings of a National Conference*, v.
41. This issue is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the controversy over Botswana's ban on lion hunting that pits the country's hunters and livestock ranchers against a small but politically influential group of environmental activists. Both sides have appealed to external supporters to pressure the government of Botswana—the antihunters to groups like the UK-based Born Free Association, and the prohunters to the U.S.-based Safari Club International. For useful additional detail, see the regularly updated coverage of this issue on the official Web site of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet (NTNU): http://www.stud.ntnu.no (accessed February 18, 2005).
42. Peake, interview by the author, June 9, 2005.
43. The CITES Secretariat, located in Geneva, Switzerland, is overseen by the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP). For additional information, see the Web sited maintained by the CITES Secretariat: http://www.cites.org (accessed July 6, 2007). CITES is an international agreement that seeks to "ensure that international trade in specimens of wild animals and plants does not threaten their survival." It has its origin in IUCN advocacy in the mid-1960s, and it formally came into existence in 1975. In 2007, CITES membership included some 172 countries. Botswana joined in 1978 as the fortieth country to subscribe. The most significant CITES issue for Botswana has been the listing of elephants as endangered species, with subsequent restrictions on the sale of elephant ivory.
44. See, *inter alia*, Southern African Development Community (SADC), *The Southern African Development Community Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems* (Gaborone: Southern African Development Community, 1995); and Larry A. Swatuk, "Power and Water," in Hettne, Inotai, and Sunkel, 210–247; Larry A. Swatuk,"Southern Africa Through Green Lenses," in Vale, Swatuk, and Oden, *Theory, Change, 266–93*; Koch, "Nature Has the Power," in Simon, *South Africa, 54–71*; and Hettne, "Regional Cooperation for Security and Development in Africa," in Vale, Swatuk, and Oden, *Theory, Change, 83–110.*
45. Botswana is not a specific party to this agreement, but its neighbors Zambia and South Africa are signatories. For additional detail on the Lusaka Agreement,

see the organization's official Web site: http://www.lusakaagreement.org (accessed February 5, 2007); and Clement L. P. Mwale (intelligence officer, Lusaka Agreement Task Force), "An Overview of the Lusaka Agreement on Co-operative Enforcement Operations Directed at Illegal Trade in Wild Fauna and Flora," paper presented to the Timber Enforcement Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, October 2004.

46. See, for instance, Peter J. Ashton, "Are Southern African Water Conflicts Inevitable or Preventable?" in *Water War: An Enduring Myth or an Impeding Reality*? ed. H. Solomon and A. Turton (Durban: Accord, 2002), 65–102.
47. For historical detail, see Isidro Pinheiro, Gabaake Gabaake, and Piet Heyns, "Cooperation in the Okavango River Basin: The OKACOM Perspective," in *Transboundary Rivers, Sovereignty and Development: Hydropolitical Drivers in the Okavango River Basin*, ed. A. Turton, P. Ashton, and E. Cloete (Pretoria, South Africa: African Water Issues Research Unit, University of Pretoria, 2003), 105–18. For security-related issues, see Peter Ashton and Marian Neal, "An Overview of Key Strategic Issues in the Okavango Basin," in Turton, Ashton, and Cloete, *Transboundary Rivers*, 31–63. For a more theoretical treatment, see Larry Swatuk, "Kant and Should: Strategic Thoughts about 'Wise Use' of the Okavango Delta System," in Turton, Ashton, and Cloete, *Transboundary Rivers*, 119–39.
48. See, *inter alia*, Larry Swatuk, "Environmental Cooperation for Regional Peace and Security in Southern Africa," in *Environmental Peacemaking*, ed. K. Conca and G. Dabelko (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 120–60.
49. For a useful overview of the concept of transfrontier conservancies (or transboundary natural resource management), see William Wolmer, "Transboundary Conservation: The Politics of Ecological Integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park," Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa Programme, research paper 4, March 2003, available at http://www.ids.ac.uk/slsa (accessed June 27, 2005). For additional information, see the official Web site of the South African-based Peace Parks Foundation: http://www.peaceparks.org (accessed June 27, 2005).
50. For detail, see the official Web site of the South African-based Peace Parks Foundation http://www.peaceparks.org (accessed February 2, 2007).
51. The TFCAs are one of several manifestations of an older paradigm—the transboundary natural resources management (TBNRM) programs. TBNRM projects range from informal resource networks across borders to various kinds of cross-border "corridors." For some of the relevant literature, see Rosaleen Duffy, "Peace Parks: The Paradox of Globalisation," *Geopolitics* 6, no. 2 (Autumn 2001): 1–26; Rosaleen Duffy, "The Potential and Pitfalls of Global Environmental Governance: The Politics of Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa," *Political Geography* 25, no. 1 (January 2006): 89–112.

52. See, for instance, Raul P. Lejano, "Theorizing Peace Parks: Two Models of Collective Action," *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 5 (2006): 563–81; John Hanks, "Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) in Southern Africa: Their Role in Conserving Biodiversity, Socioeconomic Development and Promoting a Culture of Peace," *Journal of Sustainable Forestry* 17, no. 1/2 (2003): 121–42; Russell A. Mittermeier, Cyril F. Kormos, Christina Goettsch Mittermeier, Patricio Robles Gil, Trevor Sandwith, and Charles Besancon, *Transboundary Conservation: A New Vision for Protected Areas* (Washington, D.C.: Conservation International, 2005).
53. See, for instance, Malcolm Draper, Marja Spierenburg, and Harry Wels, "African Dreams of Cohesion: Elite Pacting and Community Development in Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa," *Culture & Organization* 10, no. 4 (December 2004): 341–53; Sanette Ferreira, "Problems Associated with Tourism Development in Southern Africa: The Case of Transfrontier Conservation Areas," *GeoJournal* 60, no. 3 (2004): 301–10; Marloes van Amerom and Bram Büscher, "Peace Parks in Southern Africa: Bringers of an African Renaissance?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43, no. 2 (2005): 159–82; Samantha Jones, "A Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Africa," *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 109 (September 2006): 483.
54. See, *inter alia*, the regularly updated Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park Web site sponsored by the South African-based Peace Parks Foundation, http://www.greatlimpopopark.com (accessed February 3, 2007); and Anna Spenceley, "Tourism in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park," *Development Southern Africa* 23, no. 5 (December 2006): 649–67.
55. In its earlier forms, it was known as the Okavango Upper Zambezi Tourism Initiative (OUZIT) and Okavango Upper Zambezi Conservation Area (OUZCA) initiative.
56. Theodore Pierce, Regional Environmental and Health officer, U.S. embassy, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 11, 2005; Malan Lindique, permanent secretary, Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism, interview by the author, Windhoek, June 20, 2005; Lovemore Sola, Botswana representative of Conservation International, interview by the author, Maun, June 9, 2005.
57. Pierce, interview by the author, June 11, 2005. U.S. funding in 2005 amounted to about one million dollars. In June 2005, the U.S. government still was considering how these funds actually would be allocated.
58. Werner Myburgh, project officer, Peace Parks Foundation, interview by the author, Stellenbosch, South Africa, April 18, 2006.
59. Pierce, interview by the author, June 11, 2005; Lindique, interview by the author, June 20, 2005; Sola, interview by the author, June 9, 2005.
60. Pierce, interview by the author, June 10–11, 2005, April 20, 2006; Keith Kline, Regional National Resources Program manager, USAID Regional Center for Southern Africa, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 8, 2005; Hagen

Moroney, commercial and economic officer, U.S. embassy, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 8, 2005; Tina Dooley-Jones, director of Technical Programs, USAID-Windhoek, interview by the author, June 20, 2005; Masego Madzwamuse, Botswana Country Program director, IUCN, interview by the author, Gaborone, June 10, 2005; Dr. Cornelis H. M. Vanderpost, senior research fellow, Henry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Center, interview by the author, Maun, June 9, 2005; Sola, interview by the author, June 9, 2005; and Lindique, interview by the author, June 20, 2005.

61. Myburgh, interview by the author, April 18, 2006; and Modise, interview by the author, April 20, 2006.
62. Pierce, interview by the author, June 10, 2005; Kline, interview by the author, June 8, 2005; Moroney, interview by the author, June 8, 2005; Dooley-Jones, interview by the author, June 20, 2005; Madzwamuse, interview by the author, June 10, 2005; Vanderpost, interview by the author, June 9, 2005; Sola, interview by the author, June 9, 2005; and Lindique, interview by the author, June 20, 2005.
63. There were other large-scale environmental initiatives on the continent, such as the Congo River Basin Initiative, whose supporters and advocates could claim as a major environmental success story by 2007. Yet one troubling aspect of the Congo Basin Initiative and similar projects elsewhere in Africa was the degree of their dependence on the external environmentalist community, and lack of ownership or oversight by local societies. For details about the initiative, see U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), "Congo Basin Forest Partnership," March 16, 2005[online source] at http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/initiatives/cbfp.html (accessed July 10, 2005).
64. The only other regional military with a significant environmental interest was that of South Africa, which maintained an environmental office in the headquarters of its National Defence Force. South Africa's military environmentalists had engaged in a robust environmental agenda for the nation's military bases and military operations, and they had partnered with other countries on the same issues. However, South Africa had little incentive in 2007 to employ its military in broader environmental security roles. See Colonel Seakle K. B. Godschalk, "Protecting Our Environment for a Quarter Century," *SA Soldier* 9, no. 10 (2002): 24–27.

Chapter 7

1. See, for purposes of comparison, Glenn P. Hastedt, *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present and Future*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003); and John Spanier and Robert L. Wendzel, *Games Nations Play*, 9th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1996).

2. Clark Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 58–65.
3. For example, the United Nations reimburses both the individual soldiers participating in peacekeeping operations and their governments. While fairly modest by the standards of the developed world, the individual financial benefits of UN peacekeeping duty make it attractive for military personnel in the developing world.
4. It is interesting to see how other countries are attempting to define novel military roles and missions in the new security environment of the early twenty-first century. Here, Botswana could offer valuable insights from its own experience. See, for instance, Rocky Williams, "Defence in a Democracy: The South African Defence Review and the Redefinition of the Parameters of the National Defence Debate," in *Ourselves to Know*, ed. R. Williams, G. Cawthra, and D. Abrahams (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003), 205–23; and Alfred A. Valenzuela and Victor M. Rosello, "Expanding Roles and Missions in the War on Drugs and Terrorism," *Military Review* 84 (March–April 2004): 28–35.
5. For a more detailed warning of this danger, see Louis W. Goodman, "Military Roles Past and Present," in *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*, ed. L. Diamond and M. Plattner (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 37–42.

This page intentionally left blank

Bibliography

Books and Articles

Abel, Nick, and Piers Blaike. "Elephants, People, Parks and Development: The Case of the Luangwa Valley, Zambia." *Environmental Management* 10 (1986): 735–51.

Abucar, Mohamed, and Patrick Molutsi. "Environmental Policy in Botswana: A Critique." *Africa Today* 40, no. 1 (1st quarter 1993): 61–73.

Acemoglu, Daren, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. "An African Success Story: Botswana." In *In Search of Prosperity: Analytical Narratives on Economic Growth*, edited by D. Rodrick, 80–119. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Alden, Chris. *Apartheid's Last Stand: The Rise and Fall of the South African Security State*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Anderson, David, and Richard Grove. "The Scramble for Eden: Past, Present and Future in African Conservation." In *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice*, edited by D. Anderson and R. Grove, 1–12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

"Anthrax Leaves More than 260 Animals dead." *Daily News* (Botswana), September 28, 2004, p. 5.

Ascher, William, and Robert Healy. *Natural Resource Policymaking in Developing Countries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990.

Ashman, Darcy, L. David Brown, and Elizabeth Zwick. *The Strength of Strong and Weak Ties: Building Social Capital for the Formation and Governance of Civil Society Resource Organizations*. *Nonprofit Management & Leadership* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1998): 153–71.

Ashton, P. J. "Are Southern African Water Conflicts Inevitable or Preventable?" In *Water War: An Enduring Myth or an Impending Reality*? edited by H. Solomon and A. Turton, 65–102. Durban, South Africa: ACCORD, 2002.

Ashton Peter, and Marian Neal. "An Overview of Key Strategic Issues in the Okavanago Basin." In *Transboundary Rivers, Sovereignty and Development: Hydropolitical Drivers in the Okavango River*, edited by A. Turton, P. Ashton, and E. Cloete, 31–63. Pretoria, South Africa: African Water Issues Research Unit, University of Pretoria, 2003.

Auty, Richard M. "The Political State and the Management of Mineral Rents in Capital-Surplus Economies: Botswana and Saudi Arabia." *Resource Policy* 27 (2001): 77–86.

Baldwin, David. "The Concept of Security." *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 5–26

Balfour, D., and S. Balfour. *Rhino—the Story of the Rhinoceros and a Plea for its Conservation*. Cape Town: Struik, 1991.

Barbier, Edward, J. Burgess, T. Swanson, and D. Pearce. *Elephants, Economics and Ivory*. London: Earthscan, 1990.

Barnett, Jon. *The Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era*. London: Zed, 2001.

Beaulier, Scott. "Explaining Botswana's Success: The Critical Role of Post-Colonial Policy." *Cato Journal* 23 (2003): 240–77.

Bienen, Henry S. *Armed Forces, Conflict and Change in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

Bonner, Raymond. *At the Hand of Man: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.

Botswana Defence Force, *25th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure*. Distributed by Botswana Defence Force. Gaborone, Botswana: Front Page, 2002.

Botswana National Conservation Strategy: National Policy on Natural Resource Conservation and Development. Republic of Botswana, government paper, no. 1. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printing Office, 1990.

Breytenbach, Jan. *Eden's Exiles: One Soldier's Fight for Paradise*. Cape Town: Queillerie, 1997.

Bridgland, Fred. *The War for Africa: Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent*. Gibraltar: Ashanti, 1990.

Brown, Lester. *Redefining National Security*. Worldwatch Paper 14. Washington: Worldwatch Institute, October 1977.

Burk, James. "Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 7–29.

Busumtwi-Sam "Development and Human Security: Whose Security and From What?" *International Journal* 57, no. 2 (2002): 253–72.

Butts, Kent. *Environmental Security: A DOD Partnership for Peace*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 1994.

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

Cilliers, Jakkie. *Building Security in Southern Africa*. ISS Monograph, no. 43. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, November 1999.

Charleton, Roger. "Bureaucrats and Politicians in Botswana's Policy-Making Process: A Reinterpretation." *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 29 (1991): 265–82.

Clarke, Walter S. *Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia: Bibliography*. Carlisle PA: U.S. Army War College Center for Strategic Leadership, 1995.

Cottey, Andrew, Timothy Edmunds, and Anthony Forster. "The Second Generation Problematic: Rethinking Democracy and Civil-Military Relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 31–56.

Dalby, Simon. "Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourse." In *Critical Security Studies*, edited by K. Krause and M. Williams. 3–32. London: University College Press, 1997

———. *Environmental Security*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

———. "Security, Modernity, Ecology: The Dilemmas of Post–Cold War Security Discourse." *Alternatives* 17, no. 1 (1992): 95–134.

Dale, Richard. *Botswana's Search for Autonomy in Southern Africa*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.

———. "Not Always So Placid a Place." *African Affairs* 86, no. 342 (January 1987): 73–74.

———. "The Politics of National Security in Botswana, 1900–1990." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 12, no. 1 (1993): 40–56.

Daly, Ron Reid. *Selous Scouts: Top Secret War*. Alberton, South Africa: Galago, 1982.

Danevad, A. *Development Planning and the Importance of Democratic Institutions in Botswana*. Bergen, Norway: Christian Michelsen Institute, 1993.

Davies, Robert, and Dan O'Meara. "Total Strategy in Southern Africa—an Analysis of South African Regional Policy Since 1978." In *Exporting Apartheid: Foreign Policies in Southern Africa 1978–1988*, edited by S. Chan, 179–217. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

Decalo, Samuel. *Civil-Military Relations in Africa*. Gainesville: Florida Academic Press, 1998.

———. *Coups and Army Rule in Africa: Motivations and Constraints*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

———. "Modalities of Civil-Military Stability in Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 27, no. 4 (1989): 547–78.

Der Derian, James. "The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and Baudrillard." In *On Security*, edited by R. Lipschutz, 24–45. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Desch, Michael D. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Deudney, Daniel. "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security." *Millenium* 19, no. 3 (1990): 461–76.

———. "Environment and Security: Muddled Thinking." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 47, no. 3 (April 1991): 23–28.

Deudney, Daniel, and Richard A Matthews, eds. *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1999.

De Villiers, Bertus. *Peace Parks: The Way Ahead*. Pretoria, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council, 1999.

De Villiers, Marq. *Water: The Fate of Our Most Precious Resource*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.

Diamond, Larry, and Mark Plattner. Introduction to *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*, edited by L. Diamond and M. Plattner, ix–xxxiv. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Dizard, Jan. *Going Wild: Hunting, Animal Rights and the Contested Meaning of Nature*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.

Dorff, Robert H. "A Commentary on *Security Studies for the 1990s as a Model Core Curriculum*." *International Studies Notes* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 27.

Douglas-Hamilton, Ian, and Oria Douglas-Hamilton *Battle for the Elephants*. New York: Viking Press, 1992.

Draper, Malcolm, Marja Spierenburg, and Harry Wels. "African Dreams of Cohesion: Elite Pacting and Community Development in Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa." *Culture & Organization* 10, no. 4 (December 2004): 341–53.

Du Bois, Kathleen E. "The Illegal Trade in Endangered Species." *African Security Review* 6, no. 1 (1997): 28–41.

Duffy, Rosaleen. "Peace Parks: The Paradox of Globalisation." *Geopolitics* 6, no. 2 (Autumn 2001): 1–26.

———. "The Potential and Pitfalls of Global Environmental Governance: The Politics of Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa." *Political Geography* 25, no. 1 (January 2006): 89–112.

Edge, Wayne. "On the Edge." *Botswana Sunday Tribune*, June 10, 2001, p. 2.

Ellert, H. *The Rhodesian Front War*. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1993.

Ellis, Stephen. "Of Elephants and Men: Politics and Nature Conservation in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 1 (1994): 53–69.

Fawcus, Peter, and A. Tilbury. *Botswana: The Road to Independence*. Gaborone, Botswana: Pula Press and Botswana Society, 2000.

Feaver, Peter. "Civil-Military Relations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 211–41.

Feil, Scott R. *Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda*. New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1998.

Ferreira, Sanette. "Problems Associated with Tourism Development in Southen Africa: The Case of Transfrontier Conservation Areas." *GeoJournal* 60, no. 3 (2004): 301–10.

Finer, Samuel. *The Man on Horseback*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1976.

Flitner, M. "Biodiversity: Of Local Commons and Global Commodities." In *Privatizing Nature: Political Struggles for the Global Commons*, edited by M. Goldman, 144–66. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

Foster, Gregory D. "Environmental Security: The Search for Strategic Legitimacy." *Armed Forces & Society* 27, no. 3 (Spring 2001): 373–95.

Gibson, Clark. *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Giliomee, Hermann. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People (Reconsiderations in Southern African History)*. Richmond: University Press of Virginia, 2003.

Gillson, Lindsey, and Keith Lindsey. “Ivory and Ecology-Changing Perspectives on Elephant Management and the International Ivory Trade.” *Environmental Science & Policy* 6 (2003): 411–19.

Godschalk, Seakle K. B. “Protecting Our Environment for a Quarter Century.” *SA Soldier* 9, no. 10 (2002): 24–27.

———. “Waging War over Water in Africa.” *Forum* 4 (2000): 110–33.

Good, Kenneth. “At the Ends of the Ladder: Radical Inequalities in Botswana.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 2 (1993): 203–30.

———. “Authoritarian Liberalism: A Defining Characteristic of Botswana.” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 14, no. 1 (1996): 29–51.

———. “Enduring Elite Democracy in Botswana.” *Democratization* 6, no. 1 (1999): 52–53.

———. “Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (March 1992): 69–95.

———. *Realising Democracy and Legitimacy in Southern Africa*. Pretoria, South Africa: African Institute, 2004.

———. “Towards Popular Participation in Botswana.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, no. 1 (1996): 53–77.

Goodman, Louis W. “Military Roles Past and Present.” In *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*, edited by L. Diamond and M. Plattner, 30–46. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Granovetter, Mark S. “The Strength of Weak Ties.” *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1973): 347–57.

Grant, Sandy, and Brian Egner. “The Private Press and Democracy.” In *Democracy in Botswana*, edited by J. Holm and P. Molutsi. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987.

Gray, Colin. *Modern Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gray, Gary. *Wildlife and People: The Human Dimensions of Wildlife Ecology*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Grove, Richard. “Colonial Conservation, Ecological Hegemony and Popular Resistance: Toward a Global Synthesis.” in *Imperialism and the Natural World*, edited by J. McKenzie, 15–50. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

Grundy, Ken. *The Militarization of South African Politics*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1986.

Hanks, John. “Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) in Southern Africa: Their Role in Conserving Biodiversity, Socioeconomic Development and Promoting a Culture of Peace.” *Journal of Sustainable Forestry* 17, no. 1/2 (2003): 121–42. Hanlon, J. *Apartheid’s Second Front: South Africa’s War Against its Neighbors*. London: Penguin, 1986.

Harvey, Charles. *Botswana: Is the Economic Miracle Over*? Sussex, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 1992.

Harvey, C., and S. R. Lewis. *Policy Choice and Development Performance in Botswana*. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Harvey, Robert. *The Fall of Apartheid: The Inside Story from Smuts to Mbeki*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Hastedt, Glenn P. *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present and Future*. 5th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Heinecken, Lindy. "Facing a Merciless Enemy: HIV/AIDS and the South African Armed Forces." *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 281–99.

Heitman, Helmoed-Römer. *South African Armed Forces*. Cape Town: Buffalo, 1990.

———. *War in Angola*. Gibraltar: Ashanti, 1990.

Henk, Daniel W.,. "The Environment, the U.S. Military and Southern Africa." *Parameters* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 98–117.

Henk, Daniel W., and Martin R. Rupiya, *Funding Defense: Challenges of Buying Military Capability in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 2001.

Hettne, Bjorn. "Regional Cooperation for Security and Development in Africa." In *Theory, Change and Southern Africa's Future*, edited by P. Vale, L. Swatuk, and B. Oden, 83–110. London: Palgrave, 2001.

Hill, Catharine B. "Managing Commodity Booms in Botswana." *World Development* 19 (1991): 1185–96.

Hills, Alice. *Policing Africa: Internal Security and the Limits of Liberalization*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Hold, John D. "Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy." In *Africa*, vol. 2 of *Democracy in Developing Countries*, edited by L. Diamond, 115–50. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1988.

Hold, John D., and Staffan Darnoff. "Democratizing the Administrative State in Botswana." In *The Uncertain Promise of Southern Africa*, edited by Y. Bradshaw and S. N. Ndegwa, 115–150. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Holm, John D., and Patrick P. Molutsi. Editors. *Democracy in Botswana*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989

———. "State-Society Relations in Botswana: Beginning Liberalization." In *Governance and Politics in Africa*, edited by G. Hyden and M. Bratton, 75–95. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

Homer-Dixon, Thomas. "Debating Violent Environments." *Environmental Change and Security Project Report* (Woodrow Wilson Institute) 9 (2003): 89–96.

———. *The Environment, Scarcity and Violence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

———. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 5–40.

———. *Environmental Scarcity and Global Security*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1993.

———. "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict." *International Security* 16, no. 2 (1991): 76–116.

Homer-Dixon, Thomas, and Jessica Blitt, eds. *Ecoviolence: Links Among Environment, Population and Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 1998.

Hope, Kempe Ronald. "The Political Economy of Policy Reform and Change in Africa: The Challenge of the Transition from Statism to Liberalization." *Regional Development Dialogue* 18, no. 1 (1997): 126–38.

Howe, Herbert. *Ambiguous Order: Military Forces in African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Huntington, Samuel P. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968.

———. "Reforming Civil-Military Relations." In *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*, edited by L. Diamond and M. Plattner, 3–11. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

———. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Hutchful, Eboe. "Military Policy and Reform in Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35, no. 2 (June 1997): 251–78.

Hyden, Goran. *Beyond Ujamaa: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

———. "Governance and the Study of Politics." In *Governance and Politics in Africa*, edited by G. Hyden and M. Bratton, 1–26. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

James, Valentine U. *Environmental and Economic Dilemmas of Developing Countries: Africa in the Twenty-first Century*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994.

Janowitz, Morris. *The Professional Soldier*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960.

Jaster, Robert S. "South African Defense Strategy and the Growing Influence of the Military." In *Arms and the African*, edited by W. Foltz and H. Bienen, 121–52. New Haven, CT: York University Press, 1985.

Jones, Samantha. "A Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 109 (September 2006): 483.

Joseph, Richard. "The Reconfiguration of Power in Late Twentieth-Century Africa." In *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa*, edited by R. Joseph, 57–80. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

———, ed. *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

Kahn, Owen Ellison, ed. *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: The Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia*. New Brunswick, ME: Transaction, 1991.

Kakonen, Jyrki, ed. *Green Security or Militarized Environment*. Aldershot, UK: Dartmouth, 1994.

Kaplan, Robert. "The Coming Anarchy." *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994): 44–77.

Kenosi, Lekoko. "The Botswana Defence Force and Public Trust: The Military Dilemma in a Democracy." In *Ourselves to Know*, edited by R. Williams, G. Cawthra, and D. Abrahams, 189–203. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003.

King, W. Chris. *Understanding International Environmental Security: A Strategic Military Perspective*. Atlanta: Army Environmental Policy Institute, 2000.

Klare, Michael. *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. New York: Henry Holt, 2001.

Knight, Ian K. *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa*. Dorset, UK: Fireside, 1994.

Koch, Eddie. "Nature Has the Power to Heal Old Wounds: War, Peace and Changing Patterns of Conservation in Southern Africa." In *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region*, edited by D. Simon, 54–71. London: James Currey, 1998.

Krackhardt, D. "The Strength of Strong Ties." In *Networks and Organizations: Structure, Form and Action*, edited by R. Hohria and R. Eccles, 216–39. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Kreuter, Urs P., and Randy P. Simmons. "Who Owns the Elephant? The Political Economy of Saving the African Elephant." In *Wildlife in the Marketplace*, edited by T. Anderson and P. Hill, 147–65. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1995.

Kuperman, Alan J. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

Lee, James. *Inventory of Conflict and Environment*. Atlanta: Army Environmental Policy Institute, 1999.

Lejano, Raul P. "Theorizing Peace Parks: Two Models of Collective Action." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 5 (2006): 563–81.

Leith, J. Clark. *Why Botswana Prospered*. Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005.

Levy, Marc A. "Is the Environment a National Security Issue?" *International Security* 20, no. 2 (Fall 1995): 35–62.

Lipschutz, Ronnie. *On Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Lowi, Miriam R., and Brian R. Shaw. *Environment and Security: Discourses and Practices*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Macleod, Fiona. "Bush Guns for Botswana Lion Hunt." *Mail & Guardian* (Johannesburg), April 26, 2001.

Makgala, Christian John. "The relationship between Kenneth Koma and the Botswana Democratic Party, 1965–2003." *African Affairs* 104, no. 415 (2005): 303–23.

Malan, Mark. *Resolute Partners, Building Peacekeeping Capacity in Southern Africa*. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, monograph 21, February 1998.

Malebeswa, Tendekani E. "Civil Control of the Military in Botswana." In *Ourselves to Know: Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in*

Southern Africa, edited by R. Williams, G. Cawthra, and D. Abrahams, 67–80. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003.

Marcum, John. "Retrenchment and Recalculation: South Africa and the Anglo-Namibian Agreements." In *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: The Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia*, edited by O. Kahn, 131–48. New Brunswick, ME: Transaction, 1991.

Marks, S. A. *The Imperial Lion: Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management in Central Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.

Matthews, Jessica Tuchman. "Redefining Security." *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 162–77.

Matowanyika, J. Z. Z. "Cast Out of Eden: Peasants versus Wildlife Policy in Savanna Africa." *Alternatives* 16, no. 1 (1989): 30–35.

Mbuya, Titus. "The BDP Split Shakes Army." *Mmegi*, July 29, 1994.

McCarthy, T. S., G. R. J. Cooper, P. D. Tyson, and W. N. Ellery. "Seasonal Flooding in the Okavango Delta, Botswana: Recent History and Future Prospects." *South African Journal of Science* 96, no. 1 (2000): 25–33.

McGreal, Chris. "Endangered Lions Face New Threat." *Guardian* (London), April 27, 2001.

McMurray, Adela J. "The Relationship Between Organizational Climate and Organizational Culture." *Journal of American Academy of Business* 3, no. 1–2 (September 2003): 1–8.

McShane, Jonathan, and Thomas Adams. *The Myth of Wild Africa*. New York: Norton, 1992.

Mgadla, P. T., and A. C. Campbell. "Digotla, Dikgosi and the Protectorate Administration." In *Democracy in Botswana*, edited by J. Holm and P. Molutsi, 48–56. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989.

Mills, G., and S. Baynham. "South African Foreign Policy, 1945–1990." In *From Pariah to Participant*, edited by G. Mills, 18–33. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 1994.

Minter, William. *Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994.

Mittermeier, Russel A., Cyril F. Kormos, Christina Goettsch Mittermeier, Patricio Robles Gil, Trevor Sandwith, and Charles Besancon. *Transboundary Conservation: A New Vision for Protected Areas*. Washington, D.C.: Conservation International, 2005.

Mojalemotho, Mooketsi. "Farmers Want More Pasture." *Daily News* (Botswana), May 19, 2006, p. 4.

Molomo, Mpho. "Understanding Government and Opposition Parties in Botswana." *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 38, no. 1 (March 2000): 65–92.

Molutsi, Patrick P. "Elections and the Electoral Experience in Botswana." In *Botswana: Politics and Society*, edited by W. A. Edge and M. H. Lekorwe, 366–77. Pretoria, South Africa: J. L. van Schaik, 1998.

Mudongo, Tarcisius. "Buffalos Hit by Anthrax." *Daily News* (Botswana), September 14, 2004, p. 1.

Mufson, Steven. *Fighting Years: Black Resistance and the Struggle for a New South Africa*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1990.

Myers, Norman. "Environment and Security." *Foreign Policy* 47 (1989): 23–41.

———. "The Environmental Dimension to Security Issues." *The Environmentalist* 6, no. 4 (December 1986): 251–57.

———. *Ultimate Security: The Environmental Basis of Political Stability*. New York: Norton, 1993.

Ngcongco, Leonard D. "Tswana Political Tradition: How Democratic?" In *Democracy in Botswana*, edited by J. Holm and P. Molutsi, 42–47. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989.

Neumann, Roderick P. *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Niemann, Michael. "Diamonds are a State's Best Friend: Botswana's Foreign Policy in Southern Africa." *Africa Today* 40, no. 1 (1st quarter 1993): 27–47.

Ochoche, Sunday Abogonye. "The Military and National Security in Africa." In *The Military and Militarism in Africa*, edited by E. Hutchful and A. Bathily, 105–27. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA, 1998.

Parson, Jack. *Botswana: Liberal Democracy and Labor Reserve in Southern Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.

———. "Cattle, Class and State in Rural Botswana." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 7 (1981): 236–55.

Parsons, Neil. "The Economic History of Khama's Country in Botswana, 1844–1930." In *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, edited by R. Palmer and N. Parson, 113–43. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.

———. *King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Parsons, N., W. Henderson, and T. Tlou. *Seretse Khama, 1921–1980*. Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan/Botswana Society, 1995.

Parsons, Timothy H. *The African Rank-and-File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King's African Rifles, 1902–1964*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1999.

Pearson, Scott R., and John Cownie. *Commodity Exports and African Economic Development*. Lexington, MA: Lexington, 1974.

Peluso, Nancy Lee. *Rich Forests, Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Perlmutter, Amos. *The Military and Politics in Modern Times*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

Peters, Pauline E. *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy and Culture in Botswana*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994.

Picard, Louis A. *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success*? Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1987.

Pinheiro, Isidro, Gabaake Gabaake, and Piet Heyns. "Cooperation in the Okavango River Basin: The OKACOM Perspective." In *Transboundary Rivers, Sovereignty and Development: Hydropolitical Drivers in the Okavango River*, edited by A. Turton, P. Ashton, and E. Cloete, 105–18. Pretoria, South Africa: African Water Issues Research Unit, University of Pretoria, 2003.

Ramsay, Jeffrey, and Neil Parsons. "The Emergence of Political Parties in Botswana." In *Botswana: Politics and Society*, edited by W. Edge and M. Lekorwe, 134–50. Pretoria, South Africa: J. L.van Schaik, 1998.

Renner, Michael. "National Security: The Economic and Environmental Dimensions." *Worldwatch Paper 89*. Washington, D.C.: Worldwatch Institute, 1989.

Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

Ricciuti, Edward. "The Elephant Wars." *Wildlife Conservation* 96, no. 2 (1993): 14–35.

Roman, Peter J., and David W. Tarr. "Military Professionalism and Policymaking." In *Soldiers and Civilians*, edited by P. Feaver and R. Kohn, 403–28. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2001.

Roskin, Michael G. *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 1994.

Sachs, Jeffrey D., and Andrew M. Warner. "Natural Resources and Economic Development: The Curse of Natural Resources." *European Economic Review* 45 (2001): 827–38.

Samatar, A. *An African Miracle: State and Class Leadership and Colonial Legacy in Botswana Development*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Press, 1999.

Sas-Rolfes, M. *Rhinos: Conservation, Economics and Trade-Offs*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1995.

Schapera, Isaac. *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*. Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass, 1977.

———. *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.

———. *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795–1940*. New York: Berg, 2004.

Schein, Edgar H. "Defining Organizational Culture." *In Classics of Organizational Theory, 4th ed.*, edited by J. Shafritz and J. Ott, 430–41. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996

Schwartz, Daniel, and Ashbindu Singh. *Environmental Conditions, Resources and Conflicts*. New York: United Nations Environmental Program, 1999.

Sesay, Max. "Security and State-Society Crises in Sierra Leone and Liberia." In *Globalization, Human Security and the African Experience*, edited by C. Thomas and P. Wilk, 145–61. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

Sharp, Paul, and Louis Fisher. "Inside the 'Crystal Ball': Understanding the Evolution of the Military in Botswana and the Challenges Ahead." In *Evolutions & Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern*

Africa, edited by Martin Rupiya, 43–60. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2005.

Shaxson, Nicholas. "New Approaches to Volatility: Dealing with the 'Resource Curse' in Sub-Saharan Africa." *International Affairs* 81 (2001): 311–24.

———. *Treasure or Trouble? Mining in Developing Countries*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2002.

Simmel, Georg. *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Edited and translated by K. H. Wolfe. New York: Free Press, 1950.

Solomon, H., and M. van Aardt, eds. *Caring Security in Africa*. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, ISS monograph no. 20, February 1998.

Spanier, John and Robert L. Wendzel. *Games Nations Play*, 9th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1996.

Spence, Mark David. *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Spenceley, Anna. "Tourism in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park." *Development Southern Africa* 23, no. 5 (December 2006): 649–67.

Spinage, Clive. *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana*. Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana Society, 1991.

Stedman, Stephen John, ed. *Botswana: The Political Economy of Democratic Development*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

Stoet, Peter. *Human and Global Security: An Explanation of Terms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Swatuk, Larry. "Environmental Cooperation for Regional Peace and Security in Southern Africa." In *Environmental Peacemaking*, edited by K. Conca and G. Dabelko, 120–60. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

———. "Kant and Should: Strategic Thoughts about 'Wise Use' of the Okavango Delta System." In *Transboundary Rivers, Sovereignty and Development: Hydropolitical Drivers in the Okavango River*, edited by A. Turton, P. Ashton, and E. Cloete, 119–39. Pretoria, South Africa: African Water Issues Research Unit, University of Pretoria, 2003.

———. "Power and Water: The Coming Order in Southern Africa." In *The New Regionalism and the Future of Security and Development*, edited by B. Hettne, A. Inotai, and O. Sunkel, 210–47. London: Palgrave, 2001.

———. "Southern Africa Through Green Lenses." In *Theory, Change and Southern Africa's Future*, edited by P. Vale, L. Swatuk, and B. Oden, 266–93. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Swatuk, Larry A., and Abillah H. Omari. "Regional Security: Southern Africa's Mobile 'Frontline'." In *Bridging the Rift: The New South Africa in Africa*, edited by L. Swatuk and D. Black, 85–108. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Swatuk, Larry A., and Peter Vale. "Why Democracy Is Not Enough: Southern Africa and Human Security in the Twenty-first Century." *Alternatives* 24, no. 3 (1999): 361–89.

Takacs, D. *The Idea of Biodiversity: Philosophies of Paradise*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Terriff, Terry Stuart Croft, Lucy James, and Patrick M. Morgan. *Security Studies Today*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999.

Thakur, Ramesh. "The United Nations and Human Security." *Canadian Foreign Policy* 7, no. 1 (1999): 51–59.

Thompson, Scott. "South Africa and the 1988 Agreements." In *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: The Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia*, edited by O. Kahn, 117–30. New Brunswick, ME: Transaction, 1991.

Thumber-Hartland, P. *Botswana: An African Growth Economy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978.

Tiroyamodimo, Otisitswe B. "Why is Security a Contested Concept?" *Sethamo* (Botswana Defence Force Newsletter) 37 (December 2001): 9–11.

Tlou, Thomas. *History of Botswana*. Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan Botswana, 1984.

Turton, Anthony, Peter Ashton, and Eugene Cloete, eds. *Transboundary Rivers, Sovereignty and Development: Hydropolitical Drivers in the Okavango River Basin*. Pretoria, South Africa: African Water Issues Research Unit, Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria, 2003.

Tyson, P. D. "Climate Change in Southern Africa: Past and Present Conditions and Possible Future Scenarios." *Climatic Change* 18 (1991): 241–58.

Ullman, R. "Redefining Security." *International Security* 8, no. 1 (1983): 129–53.

Valenzuela, Alfred A., and Victor M. Rosello. "Expanding Roles and Missions in the War on Drugs and Terrorism." *Military Review* 84 (March–April 2004): 28–35.

Van Amerom, Marloes, and Bram Büscher. "Peace Parks in Southern Africa: Bringers of an African Renaissance?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43, no. 2 (2005): 159–82.

Van den Walle, Nicholas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Vandervort, Bruce. *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830–1914*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998.

Vatcher, William H. *White Laager: The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism*. New York: Praeger, 1965.

Vaughan, Olufemi. *Chiefs, Power, and Social Change: Chiefship and Modern Politics in Botswana, 1880s–1990s*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003.

Von Clausewitz, Carl. *On War*. Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Walt, Stephen M. "The Renaissance of Security Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (June 1991): 211–39.

Welch, Claude, ed. *Civilian Control of the Military*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976.

———. *Soldier and State in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Military Intervention and Political Change*. Evanston: Illinois University Press, 1970.

Welch, Claude, and Arthur Smith. *Military Role and Rule: Perspectives of Civil-Military Relations*. New York: Duxbury Press, 1974.

Westing, Arthur H. "The Environmental Component of Comprehensive Security." *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 20, no. 2 (June 1989): 129–34.

Williams, Rocky. "Defence in a Democracy: The South African Defence Review and the Redefinition of the Parameters of the National Defence Debate." In *Ourselves to Know*, edited by R. Williams, G. Cawthra, and D. Abrahams, 205–23. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003.

Wiseman, John A. "The Slow Evolution of the Party System in Botswana." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 22 (1998): 241–64.

Wylie, Diana. *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in a Southern African Chiefdom*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1990.

Yeager, Rodger, and Norman N. Miller. *Wildlife, Wild Death: Land Use and Survival in Eastern Africa*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986.

Young, Crawford, and Thomas Turner. *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Yukl, Gary A. *Leadership in Organizations*. 5th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002.

Zacarias, Agostinho. "Redefining Security." In *From Cape to Cairo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges*, edited by M. Baregu and C. Landsberg, 31–51. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

Zaffiro, J. "The Press and Political Opposition in an African Democracy." *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 17, no. 1 (1989): 51–73.

Papers, Electronic Sources, and Unpublished Documents

Albertson, Arthur. *Northern Botswana Fences: Critical Ecological Impact*. Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), January 1998. http://www.stud.ntnu.no (accessed February 25, 2005).

Ball, Nicole. *Conflict Prevention Pools: The Security Sector Reform Strategy*. UK Department for International Development (DFID)Evaluation Report EV 647, March 2004, http://www.dfid.gov.uk (accessed January 20, 2005).

"BDF at war with poachers."*Daily News Online* (Government of Botswana publication, online), September 10, 2002, http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news .cgi?d=20020910 (accessed July 6, 2007).

Blanc, J. J., C. R. Thouless, J. A. Hart, H. T. Dublin, I. Douglas-Hamilton, C. G. Craig, and R. F. W. Barnes. *IUCN Elephant Status Report 2002*. Occasional Paper of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) Species Survival Commission, no. 29, 2003, http://iucn.org/afesg (accessed February 2, 2005).

"Botswana Cattle Herd Declining." *Daily News Online* (Botswana), May 27, 2005, http://wwwgov.bw/cgi-bin/news (accessed May 15, 2006).

"Botswana's Environmental Profile." United Nations Development Programme, http://www.unbotswana.org.bw (accessed March 13, 2005).

Botswana Wildlife Management Association. "Economic Analysis of Commercial Consumptive Use of Wildlife in Botswana." Leamington Spa, UK: ULG Northumbrian Ltd., December 2001.

Child, Brian. "Building the Campfire Paradigm—Helping Villagers Protect African Wildlife." Property and Environment Research Center (PERC) Report, March 2004, http://www.perc.org/publications/percreports/june2004/paradigm.php (accessed June 28, 2005).

"Combined Task Force Boleas." http://www.mil.za/CSANDF/CJOps/Operations/General/Boleas/Boleas-1.htm. Official Web site of the South African Department of Defence (accessed July 20, 2005).

"Congo Basin: International Partners Discuss Congo Basin Forest Initiative," Web site of the UN-affiliated IRIN news organization http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID+31853&SelectRegion=Great_Lakes&SelectCountry=CAMEROON-CENTRAL_AFRICAN_REPUBLIC-CONGO-DRC-EQUATORIAL_GUINEA-GABON (accessed May 9, 2005)

"Congo Basin Forest Partnership: U.S. Contribution," U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet, December 2, 2002, http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rsl/fs/2002/15617.htm (accessed May 9, 2005)

"Earth Summit 2002," Stakeholder Forum's Earth Summit 2002 web site, undated, at http://www.earthsummit2002.org/ (accessed July 6, 2007).

Gaolathe, B. "Republic of Botswana Budget Speech, 2004." Delivered to the National Assembly on February 9, 2004, http://www.finance.gov.bw (accessed February 23, 2005): 20).

Good, Kenneth, and Ian Taylor. "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa." Paper presented at the University of Botswana Politics Seminar, February 23, 2005.

Goodall, Jane. "Bridging the Chasm: Helping People and the Environment Across Africa." Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Evnironmental Change and Security Program (ECSP) Report 8 (2002): 1–5.

Harry Openheimer Okavango Research Center Brochure. Produced for the University of Botswana, undated.

Henk, Dan. *Security: A New African Paradigm*. Occasional Paper no. 1, Centre for Defence Studies, University of Zimbabwe, 2001, http://www.uz.ac.zw/cds (accessed November 28, 2004).

Human Development Report, 1993 and 1994. United Nations Development Program, http://www.undp.org/hdro (accessed May 18, 2005).

"IFAW Moves to Curb Elephant and Rhino Poaching in Garamba Park." International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) Press Release, August 11, 2004, http://www.ifaw.org (accessed February 11, 2005).

Information Habitat, "Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), undated, at http://habitat.igc.org/agenda21/rio-dec.html (accessed May 20, 2005).

"Interview: Lt-Gen Ian Khama Seretse Khama." *Discover Botswana 2003*, brochure of the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism. Gaborone, Botswana: Imprint Botswana, 2003, p. 10.

Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Southern Africa, July 2004; http://www4.janes.com/K2/doc; Official Jane's Web site (accessed July 11, 2004).

Jones, Brian T. B. *Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana and Namibia: An Inventory and Preliminary Analysis of Progress*. International Institute for Environment and Development, Evaluating Eden series, 1999, http://www.iied.org/docs (accessed February 15, 2005).

Kalikawe, Mary C. "Botswana: Integrating Biodiversity into the Tourism Sector, A Country Case Study." Presentation made to the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) International Workshop on Best Practices and Country Case Studies, Mexico City, March 29–31, 2001.

Leader-Williams, N. *The World Trade in Rhino Horn: A Review*. TRAFFIC International: Species in Danger series, 1992.

Leith, J. Clark. "Why Botswana Prospered." Paper presented to the University of Botswana Politics Seminar, March 3, 2004.

Martin, Esmond Bradley. "Report on the Trade in Rhino Products in Eastern Asia and India." *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 11 (1989): 13–20.

———. "The Yemeni Rhino Horn Trade." *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 9 (1987): 13–16.

"Meeting of the Congo Basin Forest Partnership," U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet, January 22, 2003, http://www.state.gov/g/oes/rsl/fs/2003/16838.htm (accessed May 9, 2005)

Metcalf, Simon. "Campfire: Zimbabwe's Communal Area Management Program for Indigenous Resources." Paper prepared for the Liz Claiborne and Art Ortenburg Foundation Workshop on Community-Based Conservation, July 1993.

Moleboge, Norman S. "Public Sector Reforms Challenges and Opportunities: The Case of Botswana Police Service." Paper presented at the Advanced Seminar, Wellington, NZ, February 24–March 8, 2003.

———. "The Status of Firearms Control in Botswana by the Commissioner of Police." *Final Report, Towards a Safe and Secure Nation: The First Consultative Conference on Firearm Control, Ownership and Administration in Botswana*, May 13–15, 2003, http://www.bw.gov (accessed July 22, 2004).

Molomo, Mpho G. "Civil-Military Relations in Botswana's Developmental State." *African Studies Quarterly 5, no.2 (2001)*: 3. [online], http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i2a3.htm (accessed July 20, 2004).

Mothoagae, M. "Wildlife Based Tourism as the Engine of Economic Growth: Policy and Institutional Issues." *Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana: Strategies for the Twenty First Century, 13–17 October 1997*. Government of Botswana, 1997.

Mwale, Clement L. P. "An Overview of the Lusaka Agreement on Co-operative Enforcement Operations Directed at Illegal Trade in Wild Fauna and Flora." Paper presented to the Timber Enforcement Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, October 2004.

Namibia: Focus on Repatriation Fears of Caprivians." IRIN News March 5, 2003, http://www.irinnews.org (accessed February 13, 2005).

Namibia: Focus on the Caprivi Killings." IRIN News November 13, 2002, http://www.irinnews.org (accessed February 13, 2005).

Neethling, Theo. "Military Intervention in Lesotho: Perspectives on Operation Boleas and Beyond." *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 2 (May 1999), http://www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/22_2neethling.htm (accessed July 20, 2005).

Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana: Strategies for the Twenty-First Century, 13–17 October 1997, locally printed Government of Botswana Publication, Gaborone.

South African Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. "Overview of Integrated Environmental Management." Information Series O, 2004.

South African White Paper on Defence. 1996, version 2. Pretoria, South Africa: 1 Military Training Regiment, 1998.

Tapfumaneyi, A. W. "View on Regional Peacekeeping." *Toward a SADC peacekeeping force*, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), 1999, [online] http://www.sardc.net/Editorial/sadctoday/v2-6-04-1999/v2-6-04-1999-10.htm (accessed January 26, 2005).

The Southern African Development Community Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems. Gaborone, Botswana: Southern African Development Community, 1995.

"Thousands thrilled by BDF Day activities"*Daily News Online* (Government of Botswana publication, online), April 17, 2000, http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news.cgi?d=20000417 (accessed July 6, 2007, 2005)

Transparency International. "Corruption Perception Index." Transparency International Annual Report, 2006, http://www.transparency.org (accessed July 3, 2007), 21.

Tsheko, Rejoice. "Rainfall Reliability, Drought and Flood Vulnerability in Botswana." South African Water Research Commission July 23, 2003,[online] http://www.wrc.org.za (accessed March 15, 2005).

United Nations Department of Public Information, "UN Conference on Environment and Development," May 23, 1997, at http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html (accessed 6 July 2007).

UN Development Program. *Human Development Report, 1993*, http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1993/en (accessed March 12, 2004).

———. *Program Human Development Report, 1994*, http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en (accessed March 12, 2004).

United Nations. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*. Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to the Statement

Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html (accessed July 6, 2005).
———. *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, January 3, 1995, http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html (accessed July 6, 2005).
U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). "Congo Basin Forest Partnership," March 16, 2005[online source] at http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/initiatives/cbfp.html (accessed July 10, 2005)
U.S. Department of State. *Background Note: Botswana*, April 2004, http://www.state.gov (accessed November 25, 2004).
Vigne, Lucy, and Esmond Bradley Martin. "Taiwan: The Greatest Threat to Africa's Rhinos." *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 11 (1989): 23–25.
Vision 2016, Long Term Vision for Botswana. Presidential Task Group, September 1997, booklet, Gaborone, Botswana.
Western, David. "The Undetected Trade in Rhino Horn." *Pachyderm* (African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, IUCN) 11 (1989): 26–28.
"Wildlife Warriors." Produced by Dereck Joubert and Beverly Joubert. [Video Recording.]Copyright Wildlife Films, Botswana, 1997.
Wolmer, William. "Transboundary Conservation: The Politics of Ecological Integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park." Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa Programme, Research Paper 4, March 2003, http://www.ids.ac.uk/slsa (accessed June 27, 2005).
Wright, R. Michael. "Alleviating Poverty and Conserving Wildlife in Africa: An 'Imperfect' Model from Zambia." National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA), bulletin 15, 1995.

Interviews by the Author

Baatweng, Major Mogorosi (Botswana Defence Force, Office of Public Relations and Protocol). Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana. June 2003.
Batshabang, Moemi R. (Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks, assistant director, management and utilization). Gaborone, Botswana. March 8, 2004.
Botha, Mike (proprietor of Pan African Arms Manufacturing, Gaborone, and local businessman in sporting goods industry in Botswana). Gaborone, Botswana. March 2004, June 2004.
Butterman, Dr. Judy (political/economic officer, U.S. embassy Gaborone). March 2004, June 2004.
Cawthra, Gavin (director, Centre for Defence and Security Management, Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg). June 19, 2003, June 22, 2004.

Chapeyama, Oliver (director of Enviroplan) Gaborone, June 10, 2005
Dooley-Jones, Tina (director of Technical Programs, USAID–Namibia). Windhoek, Namibia. June 20, 2005.
Esterhuizen, Antonie (IRDNC coordinator, Kunene region, and former employee of the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism). Windhoek, Namibia. June 22, 2005.
Fisher, Lieutenant General Louis–Matshwenyego (commander of the Botswana Defence Force, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks). March 4, 2004.
Gakale, Dr. Lucas P (permanent secretary, Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism). Gaborone, Botswana. March 7, 2004.
Galebotswe, Colonel Gaolathe (Botswana Defence Force, deputy commander of 1 Brigade, former junior officer in the Botswana Commando Squadron). Gaborone, Botswana. March 6, 2004.
Good, Dr Kenneth (member of the faculty, University of Botswana). Gaborone, Botswana. June 11, 2004.
Hengari, Brigadier J. O. J. (Botswana Defence Force, commandant of the Force Training Establishment, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana). March 9, 2004.
Kanego, Arabang (National Conservation Strategy Office, Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism). Gaborone, Botswana. June 6, 2005.
Kline, Keith (Regional Natural Resources program manager, USAID Regional Center for Southern Africa). Gaborone, Botswana. June 8, 2005.
Le Roux, Len (head of the Defence Sector Programme, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa). March 11, 2004, June 18, 2004, June 11, 2005.
Lindique, Dr. Malan (permanent secretary, Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism). Windhoek, Namibia. June 20, 2005.
Madzwamuse, Masego (IUCN Botswana Country Program director). Gaborone, Botswana. June 9, 2004.
Makolo, Major T. S. (Botswana Defence Force line office and former junior officer in the BDF Commando Squadron, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana). March 4, 2004.
Mashinyana, Odirile (Botswana Defence Force). Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. November 2004–March 2005.
Modise, Sedia C. (coordinator of the Limpopo-Shashe Transfrontier Conservancy, Peace Parks Foundation; former director, Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks). Gaborone, Botswana. June 16, 2004.
Mogwe, Alice (director of *Ditshwanelo*, a prominent human rights advocacy group based in Botswana). Gaborone, Botswana. June 18, 2004.
Molomo, Dr. Mpho (member of the faculty, University of Botswana, and exchange professor at the University of Cape Town). Cape Town, South Africa. June 24, 2004.
Monggae, Felix (chief executive officer, Kalahari Conservation Society). Gaborone, Botswana. March 8, 2004.

Monna, Stevie (National Conservation Strategy Office, Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism). Gaborone, Botswana. June 6, 2005.

Moroney, Hagen (commercial and economic officer, U.S. embassy). Gaborone, Botswana. June 8, 2005.

Mosugelo, Colonel Barobi (Botswana Defence Force). Private e-mail communications, March 2005, May 2005.

Mushanana, L. Nchunga (director, National Conservation Strategy Office, Botswana Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism), Gaborone, Botswana. June 6, 2005.

Myburgh, Werner (project officer, Peace Parks Foundation). Stellenbosch, South Africa, April 18, 2006.

Ngkapha, Major Max (Botswana Defence Force, Office of Public Relations and Protocol). Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana. March and June 2004.

Oldenfield, Major Andrew (U.S. Army; chief of the Office of Defense Cooperation in the U.S. embassy). Gaborone, Botswana. June 14, 2004.

O'Hara, Barney (wildlife consultant and former member of the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks and Zimbabwe National Park Service). Gaborone, Botswana. June 18, 2004.

Omitoogun, Wuyi. (SIPRI staff researcher) E-mail communication, November 4, 2004

Otukile, Ingrid M. (environmental coordinator, U.S. embassy), Gaborone, March and June 2004

Passage, David (former U.S. ambassador to Botswana). E-mail communications. February–March 2005.

Patterson, Dr. Eleanor (wildlife consultant and environmentalist). Gaborone, Botswana. June 14, 2004.

Patterson, Dr. Larry (veterinarian, wildlife consultant, former member of the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks). Gaborone, Botswana. March 2004, June 2004.

Peake, Debbie (director of Mochaba Trust). Maun, Botswana, June 9, 2005.

Phoeto, Moeng (major general, Botswana Defence Force, retired; former deputy commander of the Botswana Defence Force). Gaborone, Botswana. June 14, 2004.

Pierce, Theodore S. (first secretary and regional environmental and health officer, U.S. embassy). Gaborone, Botswana. June 10, 2005.

Pike, Dan (colonel, U.S. Army, retired; action officer in the Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defence and former U.S. Senior Defense representative in Botswana). Telephone communication to his office in the Pentagon. September 15, 2004.

Rakgole, Brigadier E. B. (Botswana Defence Force, assistant chief of staff [operations], Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana). March 4, 2004, March 8, 2004, June 11, 2004.

Seikano, Major Molefi (Botswana Defence Force, acting commander of the Commando Squadron). Gaborone, Botswana. June 18, 2004.

Sharp, Colonel P. T. F. (Botswana Defence Force, director of Career Development and Training, Sir Seretse Khama Barracks, Botswana). June 17, 2004.

Sola, Lovemore (Biodiversity Corridor manager, Conservation International—Botswana). Maun, Botswana. June 9, 2005.

Taylor, Dr. Ian (member of the faculty, University of Botswana). Gaborone, Botswana. March 8, 2004.

Tiroyamodimo, Brigadier Otisitswe (Botswana Defence Force, assistant chief of staff [logistics]). Gaborone, Botswana. March 8, 2004.

Turton, Dr. Anthony (research scientist with Environmentek, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research). Pretoria, South Africa. June 22, 2004.

Vanderpost, Cornelis H. M. (senior research fellow, Henry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Center). Maun, Botswana. June 9, 2005

Weaver, Dr. Alex (research scientist at the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research—CSIR) private communication with author, February 1, 2005

Whitman, Dr. Shelly (member of the faculty, University of Botswana). Gaborone, Botswana. March 9, 2004, June 16, 2004.

This page intentionally left blank

Index

0-2a Skymaster aircraft, 64
acacia, 59
African National Congress (ANC), 37
agent network, 67
agriculture, 18, 42
AIDS, 16
Air Arm, 35–36, 43–44, 79
allowances, 79, 83
Angola, 37, 39, 49, 53, 124, 126
anthropocentric biodiversity, 111
anticorruption, 80
apartheid/antiapartheid, 33, 71
armored personnel carriers, 36
Arusha, 111
Atlantic Monthly, 109
Auditor General, 99
Austria, 43
authoritarian liberalism, 92

Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP), 12, 16, 24–26. See also Botswana Democratic Party
Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP), 11–12. See also Botswana People's Party
Bechuanaland Protectorate, 10–11
benefit, 5, 16, 112, 125, 141, 145
biodiversity, 2–8, 20–21, 23, 32, 91, 96, 116, 118, 122, 125, 134–35, 137, 148–49
botho, 74, 94–95, 137
Botswana Bird Club, 120
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), 12, 14, 16, 24–26, 92, 96
Botswana National Front (BNF), 12
Botswana People's Party (BPP), 12
Botswana Police, 35, 52, 65, 74, 83
brigade, 44
British military advisors, 31
bush meat, 23
Bush, George W., 3

C-130 transport aircraft, 43, 46
Cambridge A-level, 76
Cambridge O-level, 76
Canada, 36, 43, 77, 100
Cape Province, 9
Caprivi Strip, 39, 124
cattle, 7, 12, 15, 18, 22–23
Central Intelligence Committee, 93
Cessna 337, 64. See also 0-2a Skymaster
CF-5 Freedom Fighter combat aircraft, 43
chauvinism, 94, 137
Chobe National Park, 1, 50, 131
Chobe River, 39
Chobe Wildlife Trust, 120
civil-military relations, 8, 83, 93, 97, 100, 104, 133, 137–38, 149–50
class, 16, 21, 25, 79, 126, 144
Clinton, William Jefferson, 3
coal, 17
collateral damage, 33, 104
Command and Staff College, 36
Commando Squadron, 36, 38, 53, 55, 63
Commonwealth, British, 11

Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), 118–20
company commanders' course, 77
computerized chip, 67
Congo River Basin, 3
Congress, U.S., 41, 87
Conservation International (CI), 28, 121–22
Constitution, 100
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), 122
copper, 17
corruption, 14, 80, 92, 95–96
corruption perception index, 95
credibility, 102, 104, 140–42, 149
Cuba, 49
culture, 71–72, 77

Defense Council, 98
Defense Force Act, 98, 100
definitions of security, 109–10
de Klerk, F. W., 39
Department for International Development (DFID), UK, 121
Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), 29, 52–53, 65–66, 69, 95, 114–16, 131, 138, 148
diamonds, 15, 17, 35
discipline, 72
disease, 22–23, 104, 149
drought, 7, 18, 23
Dukwe, 39
duty, 55, 57, 60–61, 66, 73, 75

ecocentric, 111, 120, 126
economic development, 15, 17–18, 43, 116, 123, 125, 129, 134
economic security, 29, 136
ecotourism, 118–19
Ecureille helicopter, 63–64
effects-based operations, 77
elite, 81, 91, 142, 150
elitism, 82, 84
Elizabeth II, Queen, 24
environmental security, 8, 68, 101, 129, 133–34, 139, 145–50
espoused values, 72–73, 82
esprit de corps, 73
ethics, 32, 72, 85, 133, 140–41
ethnicity, 4, 16
European Union, 121

factionalism, 82, 84
fences, wildlife, 23
firearms, 21, 95, 144
firearms laws, 95
Fisher, Louis-Matshwenyego, 43, 87–88
flood relief, 42, 57, 104
Forward-looking infrared radar (FLIR), 64
fossil fuels, 17
Francistown, 36, 44, 57, 100

Gaborone, 11, 35–37, 44, 54, 61, 76, 100
gaffes, 27
game ranching, 21
Germany, 9, 43
Ghanzi, 44, 118, 120
Gibson, Clark, 111
global positioning system (GPS), 64
graft, 14, 79, 95, 140–41
grazing, 22, 60
Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, 126
gross domestic product (GDP), 14–15, 20, 46

Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Center (HOORC), 117
heterosexuality, 27
Homer-Dixon, Thomas, 109
homicide, 65
Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB), 118
howitzers, 43
hubris, 60, 83
human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), 16–17
human security, 112, 126, 129

hunting, 1, 18, 21, 53, 60–61, 111, 113, 118–20, 122–23, 136
Huntington, Samuel, 97
hydroelectric, 17

India, 36, 77, 100
Indian military advisors, 74
insurgent, 31, 33, 35
interagency, 5, 66, 138
internal security, 6, 42, 69, 83, 96–97, 104, 133, 142, 149
International Court of Justice, 39
International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), 121–22, 139
Intervention in Lesotho, 41
ivory, 4, 49, 80, 113, 131–32, 143

joint patrolling, 68, 100
Joint Permanent Technical Commission, 124
Joubert, Beverly, 120
Joubert, Dereck, 120
junior officer, 66, 78, 100

Kalahari Conservation Society, 28, 120
Kalahari Desert, 2
Kalahari sand soils, 18
Kaplan, Robert, 109
Kasane, 31, 50, 57, 103, 131
Katima Mulilo, 126
Kaunda, Kenneth, 135
Kavango Zambezi (KAZA) Transfrontier Conservation Area, 126, 128
Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, 125
kgosi, 92–93
kgotla, 91, 95
Khama III, 10, 24, 27
Khama Rhino Sanctuary, 28, 120
Khama, Ruth Williams, 25
Khama, Seretse Khama Ian, 7, 12–13, 23–25, 31
Kwando River, 54–55

Lasswell, Harold, 97
legislation, 88, 92, 98–99
Leopold II, 9
Lesoma, 31–32, 36, 74
Lesotho, 41, 74, 77, 99, 104, 140
liberal democracy, 90, 93
liberation war, 13, 17, 33, 46–47, 82
light attack jets, 36
Limpopo-Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area, 125
Linyati River, 1, 50
livestock, 7, 15, 18, 22–23, 42, 92, 103–4, 137
Livingston, David, 10
London Missionary Society, 10
lottery license, 21
low-intensity conflict, 52, 85, 139, 146
Luanda, 126
Luangwa Valley, 111
Lusaka Agreement on Cooperative Enforcement Operations Directed at Illegal Trade in Wild Fauna and Flora, 124

Mafeking, 11
martial races, 81
Masire, Quett, 28
Masire, Tebogo Carter, 44
Maun, 50, 54, 57, 67, 103, 117
media, 3, 39, 42, 73, 80, 83, 92–93, 101, 103–4, 141, 146
megafauna, 6, 21, 50, 61, 66, 69, 88, 103, 124, 135, 137, 141, 143–44, 148, 151
memorandum of understanding, 126
Merafhe, Mompati S., 35, 38, 80
military expenditure, 46
military strategy, 43, 87–88
Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 112, 114, 116
Ministry of Trade and Industry, 116
miombo woodland, 1, 59
mobility, 31, 36, 38, 42, 52, 58–60, 146
Mogadishu, 40

Mogae, Festus, 15, 26–27
Mokolodi Wildlife Foundation, 28
Molepolole, 38
Molomo, Mpho G., 100–1
Mozambique, Mozambican, 40–41, 74, 77–79, 104, 126, 140
Mugabe, Robert, 49

Namibia, 1, 35, 37, 39–40, 47, 49–50, 52–53, 55, 61–62, 67–68, 119, 124, 126. See also Southwest Africa
National Assembly, 83, 91
National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana, 117, 121
National Conservation Advisory Board, 28
National Conservation Strategy, 20, 112–13
national interests, 20, 88, 136, 148
national military strategy, 43–44, 87
national park, 3, 18–19, 95, 103, 111, 114, 120, 125
national politics, 21, 92
National Security Act, 92
national security strategy, 43, 87–88
National Tree Planting Day, 117
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), 37
natural gas, 17
Netherlands, 43
Neumann, Roderick, 111
NGO, 120
Ngwato, 10, 24–25, 96
nickel, 17
Nigeria, 25
night vision, 64, 140

Office of the President, 28, 79, 92, 97–99, 101, 104
OKACOM, 125. See also Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission
Okavango Delta, 18, 63–64, 67, 118, 120, 124
Okavango (Kavango, Cubango) River, 39, 124–25
organizational culture, 8, 32, 61, 72–73, 80, 85, 88, 117, 141, 150

Paje Barracks, 76
Pandematenga, 76
Panther Airboats, 64
Parliament, 35, 46, 98–99
paternalistic democracy, 92
patrolling, 1, 37, 42, 53–55, 58–60, 62, 64–65, 68–69, 139–40
pay, 20, 32, 40, 59, 79–80, 83, 117
Peace Parks Foundation (PPF), 121, 125–26
Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission (OKACOM), 125
Peters, Karl, 9
poachers, 1, 5, 26, 29, 32, 38, 49–50, 52–55, 59–67, 69, 72, 78, 89, 95, 103, 111, 129, 131–32, 136–38, 140–41, 144, 147–48, 151
poaching gangs, 29, 104, 146
police, 17, 25–26, 29, 31, 33, 35, 42, 46, 53, 64–67, 74, 80, 83, 87, 93, 95, 100–1, 138
Police Mobile Unit, 26, 33, 35, 74
Portugal/Portuguese, 9
professional ethics, 32, 72, 85, 133, 140–41
professionalism, 26, 36, 63, 75, 77, 80–81, 84, 98, 150
promotion, 78, 84, 126
protectionist, 112, 117, 121, 133
Public Accounts Committee, 99
public relations, 40, 42, 81, 104, 118, 145

race, 11–12, 16, 21, 25, 144
radio, 147
reconnaissance, 36, 46, 54

recruiting, 104, 144
remuneration, 79, 82, 141
retirement, 24, 44
rhino horn, 4, 49, 67, 143
Rhodes, John Cecil, 9
Rhodesia, Rhodesian, 31–33, 36–37, 74, 82–83, 102. See also Zimbabwe
Royal Military College (Sandhurst), 25
rules of engagement, 62, 142
Rwanda, 40

Safari Club International (SCI), 121
Savimbi, Jonas, 37
secrecy, 63, 82–84
security, 3, 7, 13, 20–21, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39–42, 44, 47, 52, 58, 67–69, 71, 73, 81, 84, 87, 90–94, 96, 99, 101–2, 104, 109–13, 117, 123–24, 128–29, 132–35, 137, 139, 141–42, 146–51
Serowe, 25, 76
Shakawe, 57, 103
Simmel, George, 89
Sir Seretse Khama (SSK) Barracks, 61
social networks, 96–97
socialization, 8, 100, 105
soda ash, 17
Somalia, 40, 74, 77–79, 104, 140
South Africa, 11–13, 25, 27–28, 33, 36–42, 49, 53, 55, 67–68, 71, 75, 82–83, 93, 95, 102, 124–26, 146, 149
Southern African Customs Union, 13
Southern African Development Community (SADC), 41–42, 123, 127
Southwest Africa, 35, 37, 39, 67. See also Namibia
sovereignty, 32, 46, 50, 101, 110, 136–37
Special Security Group, 95
Stanley, Henry Morton, 9
sting operation, 68
strategic risk, 136
strong ties/weak ties, 82, 89–90, 97, 102, 105, 119, 136
surveillance, 59–60, 64, 140, 147
syndicate, 143

Tanzania, 111, 136
technical and tactical competence, 5, 77, 133, 140–41
Tete, 41
Thebephatshwa, 26–27, 38, 44
Tiroyamodimo, Otisitswe B., 53
tourism, 18, 20, 29, 116, 122, 125–26, 128
tourist industry, 2, 18, 20, 52, 55, 116, 118–19, 124, 134, 137
tourist lodges, 37, 118–19
trade commodities, 113
traditional chiefs, 12, 88, 92, 114
trafficking, 144, 146
transformation, 38, 43, 140
transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs), 125–26
transfrontier wildlife conservancies, 123, 125
Tshekedi, 25, 27
Tuli Block, 118

unattended aerial vehicles (UAVs), 147
UNITA, 37. See also National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
United Kingdom, 11, 13, 24–25, 33, 36, 43, 77
United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), 121, 139
United States, 20, 36, 40, 44, 77, 87–88, 95, 126, 146
University of Botswana, 77, 100–1, 117
U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 119
utility helicopters, 36, 64

values, 8, 10, 12, 21, 72–74, 76, 82, 84–85, 88, 92, 110, 142
Victoria, Queen, 10

vision, 2, 5, 15, 28, 43, 64, 73, 88, 93, 109, 114, 128, 133–34, 140, 147
Vision 2016, 43, 73, 93, 112–13, 134

War College, 36
weak ties/strong ties, 82, 89–90, 97, 102, 105, 119, 136
wealth, 14–18, 22, 35
weather, 59–60, 139
wheeled fighting vehicle, 36
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF), 121

Young Officers' Course, 76

Zambia, 1, 38, 47, 52, 67–68, 111, 126, 136
Zimbabwe, 17, 33, 37–39, 41, 49, 52, 61, 68, 76, 111, 125–26. See also Rhodesia