A Hundred Years of Botswana Films and Filming

By Neil Parsons*

The new millennium has seen a renaissance of film-making and film-watching in Botswana. For more than twenty years there has been a flourishing industry, based largely in Maun, making wildlife films for international television distribution. After witnessing the demolition of its premiere cinema in the Gaborone Mall in the 1990s, the capital city has been blessed with two new suburban multiplex cinemas since 2002. Meanwhile the start of a state television service, Botswana Television (BTV), has opened up possibilities for made-for-TV drama and documentary film production in and around Gaborone.

You might not think that cinema has much of a history in Botswana - though an important work on cinema history, Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White by Kenneth M. Cameron (New York: Continuum, 1994), was completed while its playwright author was temporarily resident in Botswana. But we can name up to five hundred films and filmlets made in or about Botswana and the Kalahari. They date from as long ago as 1906, and range from newsreel stories less than a minute in length to a 39-part U.S. television soap-opera titled Okavango the Wild Frontier (1992-93).

Films and Film-making from 1906-7 up to 1947

The first known films made in Botswana, of which copies survive today, were made in 1906-7. In the east, a team of cameramen from Charles Urban's Warwick company in London travelled up the Bechuanaland railway to Victoria Falls, filming on the way. In the far southwest, the Austrian ethnographer Rudolf Pöch made a series of films between 1907 and 1909 in the Kalahari-Gemsbok area. These films are (apparently) partly in colour, and also have gramophone-synchronized sound. Botswana's first film star was a sixty year-old Khoesan-speaker named Kubi.

Another early documentary film that is known to have survived was made in 1911 at Tiger Kloof College and at Serowe, where soldiers paraded before Kgosi Kham. Similar actuality films or newsreels were later made at Serowe in 1922, 1923, and 1925. (You can freely access the 1925 newsreel on the Internet at <britishpathe.com>, by typing in ‘Bechuanaland’ as your subject.)

The first feature film to touch on Botswana was made in 1916, no doubt entirely in a British studio. It was the dramatization of a novel about the siege of Mafikeng titled Dop Doctor, and it created such outrage among whites in South Africa that all films have been censored in South Africa ever since. A second attempt to film the book as a sound movie, in 1930-31, was stopped by the British censors in deference to the South African government.

Another film project that was stopped in its tracks in 1934 by British censors was titled

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33
‘Black Land’. It was a barely disguised account of the 1933 ‘flogging incident’ at Serowe—when British sailors and marines were brought in to depose Kgosi Tshekedi Khama. Tshekedi became ‘Peleti’, and Bechuanaland was renamed ‘Bugenya’, while the rascally Colonel Rey and Admiral Evans became ‘Fleming’ and ‘Nicholls’ respectively. The hapless motor-mechanic Phinehas McIntosh was renamed ‘Bendix’ (some reference to the motor part?).

The obvious actor to have played the Tshekedi part was the great African American actor-singer Paul Robeson, who was in London looking to play parts that would give pride to black people. Instead he was, much to his subsequent regret, tricked into playing the part of an African chief in the ultra-colonialist movie *Sanders of the River.*

As for the author of ‘Black Land’, I believe he was Berthold Viertel, an exiled German Marxist. Viertel subsequently played safe with British imperialism by writing and directing the film *Rhodes of Africa*—which portrayed Cecil Rhodes as the carrier of historical inevitability.5

*David Livingstone*, a silent film made by M.A. Wetherell in 1925, was released in Britain in 1926 and in America in 1929 (as *Livingstone in Africa*), and was given added sound in 1931, but never succeeded with general audiences—instead being shown for many years in church halls. Assisted by the London Missionary Society, it was partly filmed at Kuruman, but the story jumped over the years that Livingstone spent with his wife in and around southeastern Botswana. Hollywood later cashed in on the Livingstone boom, making *Stanley and Livingstone*, starring Spencer Tracy as Stanley and a tall upper-class Englishman playing Livingstone (who was a short working-class Scotsman), filmed in Los Angeles studios with some added East African scenic shots.6

The honour of being the first local film-maker in Botswana belongs to Kgosi Molefi Pilane in the late 1930s. Molefi possessed and used a small movie camera. He gave slide and film shows for select paying audiences in a Mochudi hall—its windows obscured from prying children by smeared cow dung. None of Kgosi Molefi’s own films are known to survive. Might they have been something like the feature films he showed, notably *Arabian Nights?*7

The next local film-maker in line is even more remarkable, as her film is a 1 mm, 17 minute, silent colour movie that survived in the Department of Information & Broadcasting in Gaborone. Matron D. Murch of the Lobatse Hospital filmed Batswana recruits for the British Army arriving at Lobatse and undergoing basic training in 1943.

A second 16mm silent colour film, simply titled *Bechuanaland Protectorate*, was made in the following year by an army cinematographer called Graham Young. Two of the three parts survive, totalling about 100 minutes, taking us on a tour from Mafikeng via Lobatse and Kanye to Tshane and Ramotswa, and secondly from Gaborone and Tlokwenq via Molepolole and Mochudi to Mahalapye and Serowe. The third part must have gone on to Francistown and Maun and maybe Ghanzi and Kasane.

The film was designed to be shown to African Pioneer Corps troops in North Africa, to assure them that things were okay back home. In each place we see chiefs and district commissioners handing out soldiers’ remitted pay across a table to wives and dependents. Emphasis is placed throughout on evidence of progressive agriculture, especially that under the supervision of Kgosi Bathoen II at Kanye.

As for Batswana soldiers at the Front, the Imperial War Museum in London holds about twelve minutes of documentary film made in Italy in 1943-45. They show Batswana soldiers manning and firing field and anti-aircraft artillery, and clearing snow in the mountains.

The 1940s were rounded off by an excellently made third silent colour film, lasting about 20 minutes, of the British royal visit to Lobatse in 1947. It was filmed on behalf of the
Bechuanaland government by Bill Lewis of Cape Town, who had previously made ethno­
graphic films in Lesotho. It recorded the welcome given by 25,000 people to their majesties
(with Princess Margaret's sometime lover Group Captain Peter Townshend lurking in the
background).

The formalities include loyal addresses from white, Muslim Asian, and African
communities, investiture of medals by the King, inspection of soldiers and girl-guides, a
racially-segregated tea party, and the royals' return to their train. There is also a lion dance
performed by old Bakgatla men, and Chiefs Bathoen and Tshekedi in bright red and blue
uniforms with shining metal breastplates.

Unlike the two previous colour movies, this one was filmed with a 35mm camera at
sound speed, though the film itself is silent. Thus it does not have to be slowed down to be
shown in a modern projector.

**Cinema Audiences up to 1946**

The prehistory of cinema in Botswana and Zambia can be traced back to 1852 when David
Livingstone first showed people his magic-lantern slides of Biblical stories, such as a drawing
of Abraham about to slaughter his son Isaac. Livingstone wrote: 'An explanation was always
added after each time of showing, so that no one should imagine there was aught supernatu­
ral in it.' And he added: 'It was the only mode of instruction I was ever pressed to repeat. The
people came long distances, for the express purpose of seeing the objects and hearing the
explanations.'

Livingstone was followed by other missionaries, whose collections included hand­
coloured slides of cartoons from *Alice in Wonderland*, and by the three dikgosi—Khama,
Sebele, and Bathoen—who brought back photographic slides of London scenes and British
royalty in 1895.

The first cinema show in Africa was only a couple of weeks after the first one in New
York, and it was only a few hundred kilometres away from Gaborone, at the Empire Theatre in
Johannesburg, on May 11th, 1896. The first cinema shows inside present Botswana borders
were probably given in a tent of Frank Fillis's circus, at Palapye and maybe Lobatse and
Gaborone and Francistown railway stations, in the late 1890s or early 1900s. Zeerust over the
border had a cinema building of sorts between about 1913 and 1919, in which a Greek trader
performed conjuring tricks between films.

The honour of being the first local cinema-operator in Botswana belongs to the writer
and politician Sol Plaatje, a South African Motswana and one-time resident of the Barolong
Farms. His 35mm 'Travelogue and Coloured American Bioscope’ travelled to places like
Kanye, Gaborone, and Serowe, as well as to African township halls in South Africa in the mid
and later 1920s.

In the 1920s-30s the London Missionary Society, with missionaries in most major
centres in Botswana, was enthusiastic about the use of films in education and evangelism.
Hotels such as Riley’s in Maun also had outdoor film-shows on summer nights in the later
1930s.

Government got involved in 1942, when it received a 16mm projector and sound
equipment from Britain to tour around the country showing war and health propaganda. People
were already used to a touring Red Cross van showing still pictures projected onto a screen by
an epidiascope. Tours of the 16mm film projector started by going as far as Maun, but damage
in transit soon reduced the monthly tour to places near the line of rail, and the projector was
given to the charge of the Education Department.

Between 1944 and 1946, Kanye took advantage of the arrival of the projector to have
monthly film shows over four or five days. Kanye experienced a sort of cultural renaissance at
the time, by contrast with Serowe, colonial Botswana's other major centre for young intelligent-sia, which preferred soccer and other sports. The district commissioner at Kanye, Hugh Ashton,
the holder of a PhD on the anthropology of the Basotho, seems to have got on well with the
likes of Ben Thema, Ketumile Masire, Archie Mogwe, and others of the Tiger Kloof or ‘Old
Tiger’ crowd.

Ashton used his communist party contacts in South Africa, where that party was
temporarily legal and laudable in wartime, to put on a series of Soviet films—which proved
more popular at Kanye than boring British short films and newsreels about Churchill. Kanye
people flocked to the King George V Hall to see Strongpoint 42 (about the capture of a German
redoubt, probably an incident in the battle of Stalingrad), plus Five Men of Velish, 100 Million
Women, Two Discoveries, and Glimpses of Soviet Science. But audiences dwindled on cold or
moonless nights, and old people were too embarrassed with young people present to watch Red
Cross films about nasty social diseases.

Ashton, who had previously collaborated in film-making in Lesotho with Bill Lewis,
the Cape Town film-maker, wrote a long memorandum to government about the political,
educational, and entertainment possibilities of cinema, and the need to build up a film library
for the High Commission Territories. He even floated the idea of a film production unit. But
nothing came of his initiative.11

Late Colonial Films and Film-making

The latter part of the Second World War saw a burst of enthusiasm for the possibilities of post-
war development in Botswana. But the imperial power was effectively bankrupted by its war-
time debts to the United States, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate was ordered to resume its
pre-war position as an economically repressed labour-pool for South Africa.

This was the position in 1949-50 when Botswana hit world headlines to an extent
never matched before or since. The first newsreel item hit cinemas in August 1949, followed by
at least fifty more on the same topic up to 1956. A three-minute item titled The African Domain
of Ruth Williams made British Movietone audiences audibly gasp on 25th August 1949, when
they were told that thornbush zarebas around households in Serowe were protection against
marauding lions.12

The love story of Seretse Khama and Ruth Williams inspired one play that was banned
from the London stage by British censors. American scriptwriter William Rose, who lived in
Britain from 1948 until 1957, writing a number of classic scripts such as The Ladykillers,
thought it would make a great movie. He developed the scenario by incorporating aspects of the
marriage of the Ghanaian student leader Joe Appiah to Peggy Cripps, the daughter of a
famously high-minded British senior government minister.

Rose failed to interest any British film company, but kept the idea alive after he moved
back to America, and managed to ‘sell’ it to Hollywood producer/director Stanley Kramer. In
Kramer’s words:

‘Bill and I were walking in my driveway, and he was telling me about an interracial marriage
in South Africa. It was then the idea hit me. We changed time and place, and...I talked to
Katharine Hepburn, Spencer Tracy and Sidney Poitier about it. They were all excited and agreed to do it before a word of script was written.

We took special pains to make Poitier a very special character in this story... Respectable, yes. And intelligent. And attractive. We did this so that if the young couple didn't marry because of their parents' disapproval, the only reason would be that he was black and she was white.'

The film was set in the northern California household of two, rich, ageing, white liberals—Hepburn and Tracy. They were faced, not with an African prince, but with a Swiss-based black American doctor (played by Poitier) as their potential son-in-law. The film was first screened in January 1967, and was titled Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. It was a critical success, but was subsequently mocked by black Americans as the story of a black man 'selling-out' to white people.13

The late 1950s saw Botswana gain a quite different kind of filmic fame. The Bushmen of the Kalahari burst on the film and television world in 1957-58 with (a) The Hunters, a 71 minute film by anthropologist John Marshall which has been called the 'classic ethnographic documentary', and with (b) The Lost World of the Kalahari, a famous BBC television travelogue in five parts, hosted by the celebrity-broadcaster Laurens van der Post—with his points of view taking precedence over subject matter.14

Van der Post's Lost World was shown at a time when television audiences were rapidly expanding but too few intelligent programmes were being made. Its success was followed up in the U.S. by Mutual of Omaha’s Wild Kingdom in the 1960s-70s, which included Kalahari people as well as Kalahari wild animals and was compulsory viewing through endless re-runs for a whole generation of North American youth—no doubt including Bill Clinton and George Dubya Bush.

In a more modest way, the first wildlife documentaries were being made in the Okavango during the 1960s by June Kay and her husband, who were involved in helping to set up what became the Moremi Game Reserve.15

Sands of the Kalahari was a Hollywood-type feature film of 1965 that failed to cash in on the African success of the recent hit movie Zulu. It was actually filmed in the more picturesque Namib desert. It told the tale of a macho man played by cowboy actor Stuart Whitman, who after a plane crash eventually gives up on the human race and hitting on women, and fights the baboon king, presumably for a mosadi-tshwene instead.16

Post-Colonial Films and Film-making

A flurry of television newsreel items in the early and mid-1960s featured newly self-governing and then independent Botswana as a 'hostage' state to its white neighbours. International television newsreel coverage of Botswana revived in the mid-1970s, when Botswana became a Front-Line State. But the most dramatic and traumatic incident in Botswana's twentieth century history—the unprovoked Leshoma Ridge invasion and massacre of BDF soldiers and a young boy by Rhodesian special forces on 27th February 1978—was completely ignored.

Meanwhile the ethnographic-documentarist John Marshall was producing a steady stream of films (between 4 and 33 minutes long) for American college classes, based on a million feet of film made in the Kalahari by him and his family between 1947 and 1967. Their later films were in colour with sound, and for the first time Zhu/hoasi spoke for themselves,
with English translations in sub-titles, instead of the sonorous voice of the unseen commentator telling viewers what to think.

Marshall returned to film some more on the Botswana-Namibia border in the later 1970s. He was outraged to find that South Africa had induced people from both sides of the border to join its army as trackers against SWAPO. Harassment by South African officials forced Marshall to restrict his filming to the Botswana side of the border. The result was his widely acclaimed hour-long N!ai: The Story of a !Kung Woman (1979-80), and polemical films directed against the South African government made after that—Pull Ourselves Up, Or Die Out (1984-85), Fighting Tooth and Nail with the Government (1988), and To Hold Our Ground (1990).17

!Kung San Resettlement

It is against this background that a South African feature film, with state finance, was made to sanctify the image of Bushmen as wild children of nature best accommodated under apartheid. I refer of course to The Gods Must Be Crazy (1980-81). It was set in Botswana around the Okavango, though it was actually made in the Northern Transvaal and Namibia. Its star, Cgao Coma (also G/aq'o or Xao), was one of the Botswana-born Zhu'h'oaasi who had been persuaded to cross the border, becoming a cook at an SADF school.18

Anti-apartheid groups overseas demonstrated against The Gods Must Be Crazy. Hence the film was presented to the world—and is still sometimes represented in filmographies—as a film from the Republic of Botswana. Most audiences see the film simply as good clean fun, and ignore the stereotypes of buffoonish or brutish blacks and a cigar-chomping Cuban ‘commie’.

Two sequels followed, and a militarized Hollywood version titled Red Scorpion in 1989, filmed with openly acknowledged assistance from the South African army. In it, a brainless Russian ‘Rambo’ deserts MPLA for UNITA after his life is saved in the desert by a passing Bushman.19

There was no way that the South African government could have used the ‘Bushman question’ successfully against the Botswana Government. But South Africa was casting around for issues to discredit or morally ‘destabilize’ Botswana and its international goodie-goodie image in the mid-1980s. Here I have to be careful because, in the absence of records (presumably destroyed in 1994), all evidence is circumstantial.

The issue that came into view was that of wildlife. From the 1980s onwards, wildlife safari documentarists feeding new cable and satellite television channels overseas were transferring their attention from East Africa to Botswana. The 1984 book Cry of the Kalahari by Mark and Delia Owens drew the attention of international environmentalists to cattle cordon-fences destroying wildlife in the Kalahari.

What really set things off was the 45-minute film The End of Eden made by Rick Lomba of Johannesburg, broadcast repeatedly in the U.S. in 1986 by the Turner Broadcasting System of Atlanta, Georgia. The film attacked the Botswana Government as corrupt ‘cattle barons’ backed by De Beers diamond monopolists, dedicated to draining of the Okavango swamps for diamond mining at Orapa, and to the destruction of wildlife to be replaced everywhere by cattle.20

Was Rick Lomba, who died later in Angola, a South African agent? I do not know. But it is interesting to note that the apartheid government was also gunning for the De Beers/Anglo American conglomerate at that time, for cultivating secret contacts with anti-apartheid groups abroad.
The End of Eden was followed a year or so later by the documentary film African Odyssey, which included a scene of the Owens being told to pack and go by intolerant Botswana bureaucrats.  

Contemporary Films and Film-Making

High quality wildlife films began to be made in Botswana during the later 1980s. Notwithstanding recent developments in Gaborone, wildlife films from Ngamiland and the Chobe constitute the major staple and the most internationally recognized element of the Botswana film industry today—constantly playing on satellite and cable television channels across the world.

Tim Liversedge’s Okavango: Jewel of the Kalahari hit television screens in 1988, followed by his prize-winning Year of the Flamebird in 1991, when it was nominated for an Emmy (the U.S. television equivalent of an Oscar). Tim and June Liversedge then made Botswana Land of Contrasts for the Botswana Government, and A Herd of Their Own for the Discovery Channel in 2000. Their Roar: Lions of the Kalahari (2002), produced with National Geographic, was made for giant-screen Imax film exhibition.

Dereck and Beverly Joubert produced Eternal Enemies: Lions and Hyenas for the National Geographic Society in 1991-92, but really hit the big time in 1993—with Lions of Darkness for National Geographic, The Stolen River for British TV, and a half-hour television documentary made about the Jouberts titled A Passion for Africa. Their Wildlife Warriors: Defending Africa’s Wildlife in 1997 made heroes of BDF anti-poaching patrols, and won a documentary award in Los Angeles. Their biggest project to date has been the 2001 Disney feature film Whispers, An Elephant’s Tale.

The beginnings of contemporary film production in eastern and southern Botswana can be traced to the drama-documentary A Marriage of Inconvenience (1991, 2 x 55 minutes), which showed what could be done locally. London-based television journalist Mike Dutfield saw the telling of the love story of Seretse Khama and Ruth Williams, and their betrayal by the British Government, as his lifetime’s last great project. (He died soon afterwards: hence the foundation of a BBC-tv fellowship in his name). The two-part film, made for Southern Television (Maidstone) in the UK, used actors in simulated scenes at Serowe as well as old newsreel clips and interviews with surviving participants.

The opening up of a national television service was recorded for posterity by a documentary, Dancing on Air: Making Television Happen in Botswana (Dipolelo Productions, 2002), made by John Clement and Renée Gilbert, the only professional film-makers previously resident in Gaborone (not counting H.A. ‘Bumbo’ Fosbrooke, pioneer maker of wildlife films in East Africa before World War II, who headed the local UNDP office in Gaborone at the end of the 1960s). Clement and Gilbert’s Ngwao Boswa (1995), about a basket-makers’ cooperative, had been an award winner at the May 1997 Windy City International Documentary Festival in Chicago.

The German television production company Looks set up a branch in Gaborone in anticipation of demand from the new television service. Looks made a documentary titled El Negro: Someone Named Mulihaban? (2002), on the repatriation of the body parts of ‘El Negro’ (d. 1822) from museums in Spain to burial in a park in Gaborone in September 2001. But failure to negotiate terms with BTV for versions in English and Setswana resulted in the film only being seen overseas in German and Spanish. Looks sold out its local interests to Red Stone
Botswana Notes & Records, Volume 38

Productions, owned by George Eustice, previously their local Motswana cameraman/director. Like its counterpart the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), BTV has yet to work out a successful formula for commissioning and financing local film production (without such subsidization, local drama and documentary production is uneconomic). But a number of notable pioneer films have been shown on BTV. Billy Kokorwe directed his own documentary on The Story of Sir Seretse and Lady Khama (2002). Moabi Mogorosi made the short drama film Hot Chilies (2003), as a film school exercise. He was also one the directors of the Boswa (2004-05) 13-part series of historical documentaries, together with Pascal Proctor and Tshireletso Motlogelwa— a series which included effective re-enactments of 19th century battles with a bare minimum of actors. George Eustice has directed the 13-part drama serial Re Bina Mmogo, about a dancing troupe struggling with problems of HIV/AIDS. Most controversial of all, Norman Moloi directed the 13-part drama serial called Thokolosi (2006), a spoof horror-thriller about witchcraft.

Under apartheid, South Africa had a system of government-financed production of 35mm feature films for whites-only cinemas and 16mm feature films for black township distribution. The last such films with some Botswana/Bophuthatswana elements or relevance were a Setswana feature film titled Modise (1984, 57 mins) and the comedy Kalahari Harry (1994) released through Ster-Kinekor. The latter production by C-Films (Cape Town) told the story of a white bushwacker, played by Ian Roberts (also featuring Cassandra Holliday, Bill Flyn, Patrick Ndlovu), whose pristine Kalahari lifestyle is threatened by plans to build a casino.

One post-1994 South African feature film deserves special mention, as much of it is in Setswana (with English subtitles). Max and Mona (2005), directed by Don Mattera, is a gangster comedy about a goat taken to Johannesburg. Many people consider Max and Mona superior to the thinly-plotted township gangster movie Tsotsi that won a Hollywood Oscar in 2005.

Three feature films actually made in Botswana have achieved international distribution since the 1990s: the documentary The Great Dance (2000), plus the wildlife films Whispers (2001) and Roar (2002) which have already been alluded to.

The Great Dance: A Hunter’s Story was a digital documentary blown up to 35mm film for feature distribution. It has been acclaimed as one of the most extraordinary films ever made (my students seem to agree). The film was made over the course of three or four years by the Cape Town-based brothers Craig and Damon Foster, using mini-cameras strapped even to spearheads and on the backs of hyaenas. It tells the story of a hunt by some !Ko men in southwestern Botswana, who reject guns and dogs but wear trousers and listen to ghetto-blasters. 24

Whispers, An Elephant’s Tale is a wildlife documentary about elephants on the Chobe that has been converted into a 35mm Walt Disney children’s drama. The elephants have been given human voices— baby elephant ‘Whispers’ with a child’s voice, Angela Bassett and Joan Rivers playing adult elephants, and Joanna Lumley as the bossy matriarch. The film refuses to compromise its integrity as a documentary, resisting the temptation to give artificial lip movements to the elephants by digital manipulation. Ironically, that probably accounts for the film’s lack of commercial success with child audiences overseas, spoilt by other films that have made the compromise.

Roar: Lions of the Kalahari is a wildlife documentary pure but not simple, made for National Geographic. It was filmed in 35mm and 70mm and digitally processed back to the 15/70mm Imax format. The Imax audience sits in front of sharply focussed moving images on an enormous screen and is assailed by multi-channel sound effects. The production was a
gamble, entailing heavy investment in equipment and film on the part of Tim and June Liversedge. At present Imax films can only be shown in a limited number of movie theatres round the world—and not at all in Southern Africa (since the closure of the Imax Theatre on Cape Town’s Waterfront). But the building up of a library of such 70mm wildlife films of exquisite visual definition can be considered a long-term investment.

By contrast the 1994 Hollywood fiction film A Far Off Place, produced by Stephen Spielberg and based on two Laurens van der Post novels, tells the story of two American children (one is Reese Witherspoon) escaping across Botswana to Namibia from poachers in Zimbabwe, led by a kind Bushman played by Sarel Bok. The film was entirely made in Zimbabwe and Namibia.25

I do not know if the film-makers were induced out of Botswana by the allure of Zimbabwe and Namibia, or if they were inhibited from coming to Botswana by Botswana’s authorities. But it will be an enormous pity if Anthony Minghella’s forthcoming The No. 1 Ladies’ Detective Agency, produced by Hollywood’s best—Harvey Weinstein and associates—is not filmed here in Botswana where its heart is.

Notes

2. Zia Film Distribution, 369 Montezuma Avenue #320, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501, USA. Source: <www.ziafilm.com/data/directories/toc-tvseries.htm>
5. British Film Institute library, London, archive section, BFI Special Collections: British Board of Film Censors Observations on Scenarios 1934 (January to December), Nos 318 & 318a.
7. Personal communications from Themba Mgadla, Fred Morton, & Jeff Ramsay.
11. See correspondence especially April-October 1944 in Botswana National Archives—file DCK 4/7. I am very grateful to Gilbert Mpolokeng, assistant archivist now retired, for bringing this file to my attention.


15. Personal communication from my Maitseo M.M. Bolaane.


20. Personal communications from Jeff Ramsay.

21. *African Odyssey* (National Geographic Society, 1987-88. 60 mins)


24. For reviews see <www.senseafrica.com/greatdance/movie/reviews.html>