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BUSHMEN AND THE POLITICS OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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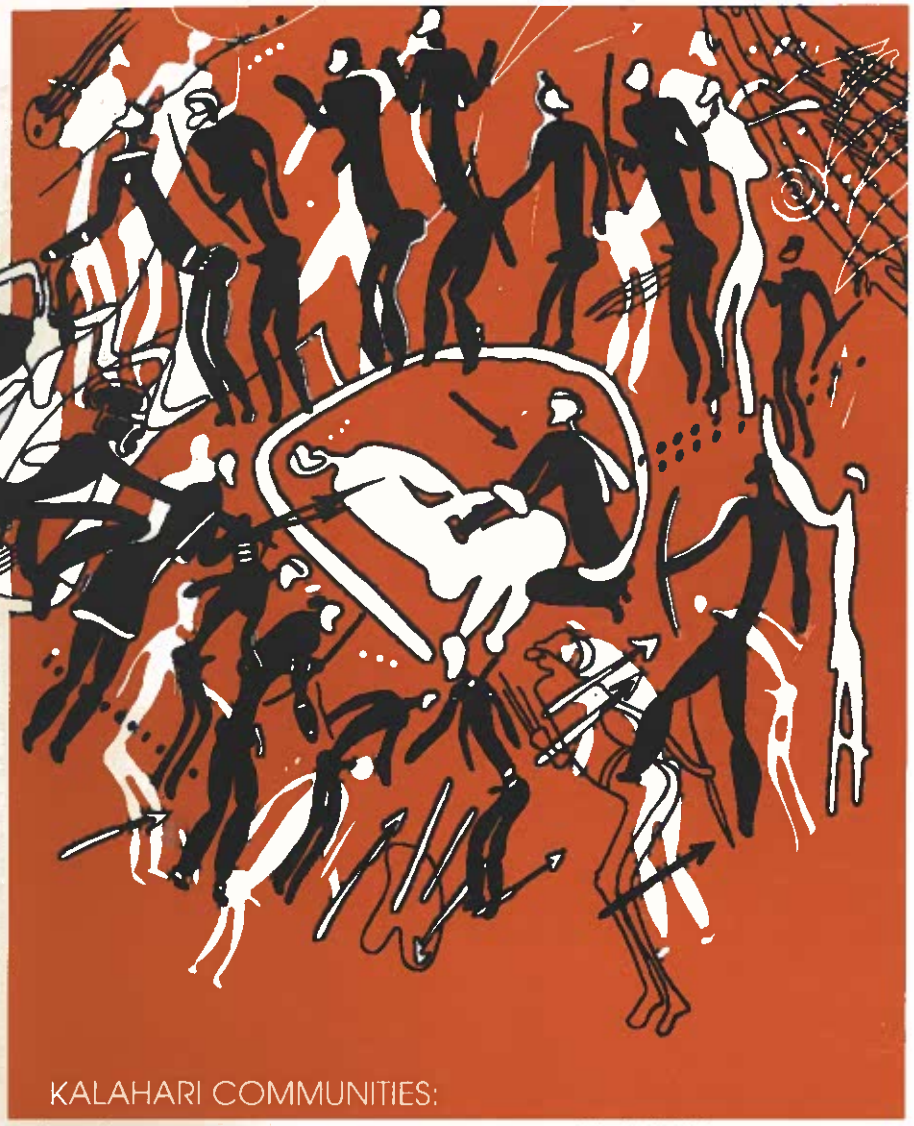

KALAHARI COMMUNITIES:

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ROBERT K. HITCHCOCK

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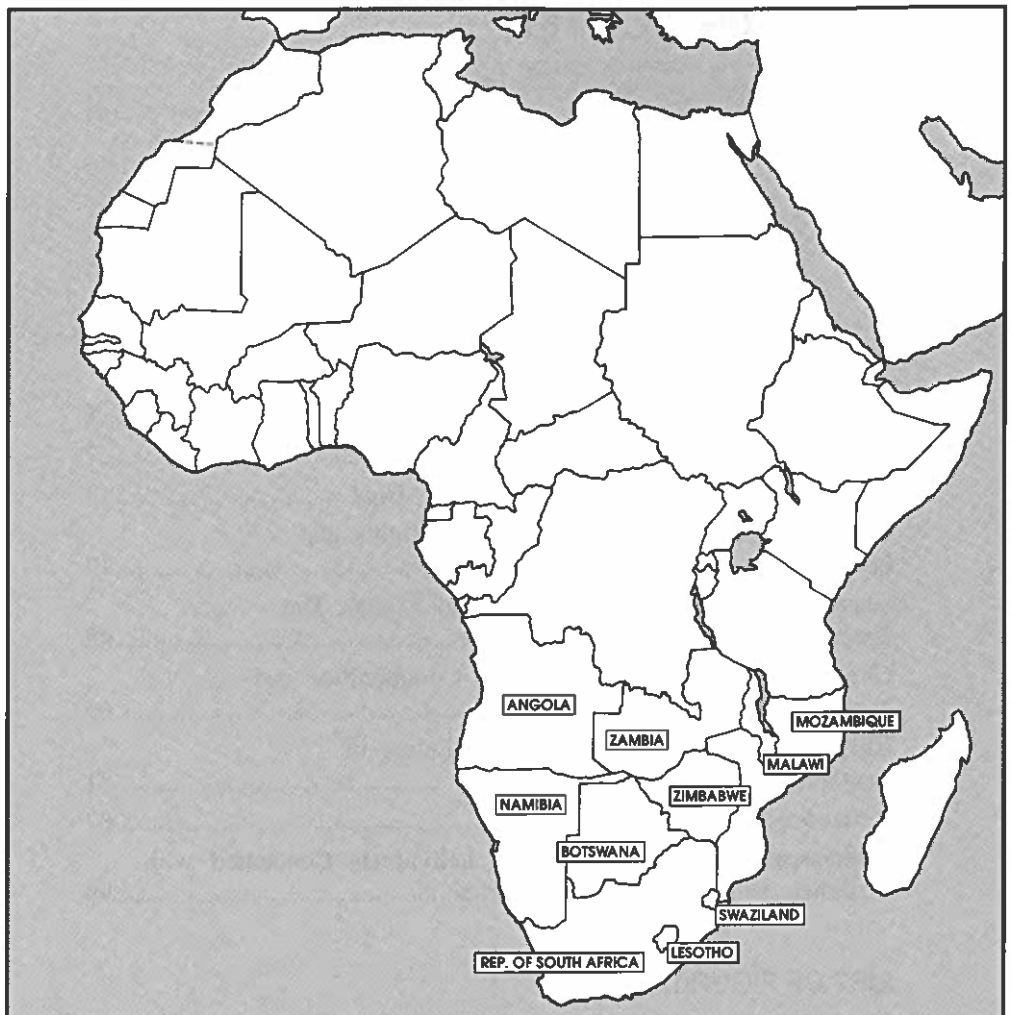


Map of Namibia, Botswana and Adjacent Nations

PREFACE

The data and conclusions presented in this volume were drawn from a series of research and consultancy projects carried out in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe over the period from 1975 to 1995. Some of this work was sponsored by the respective governments and by the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF), the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), the Ford Foundation, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The Namibian section of the study was drawn from consultancies and research carried out for the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN), the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative (NNFC), the Ford Foundation, and the United States Agency for International Development's LIFE (Living in a Finite Environment) Project.

Supporting information was obtained during the course of a consultancy carried out by Associates in Rural Development (ARD) in Bushmanland and Kaokoland in May-June, 1992. This work was conducted as part of the Decentralization: Finance and Management (DFM) Project which is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development's Research and Development Bureau (USAID/R&D). Some of the information on the activities in the Nyae Nyae and West Caprivi regions of Namibia were provided by Namibian government ministries and departments, regional and local officials, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID/Namibia) and a number of NGOs (non-government organizations), including the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and the Rossing Foundation.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the members of the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, the staff of the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia, and the Board of the Foundation. Many thanks are due to the leadership of the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, including Kxao Moses =Oma, NNFC Manager, /'Angn!ao /Un, NNFC Chairman, Tsamkxao =Oma, NNFC President, and Tsamkxao Moses, NNFC District Representative. I also wish to express my appreciation to the members of Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari), the Kalahari Support Group, the !Xuu and Khwe Trust, and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa.

Several people were of assistance to me in the finalization of this volume and in discussing approaches to the analysis with me, including Alec Campbell, Richard Lee, Megan Biesele, David Green, Ulla Kann, Nomtuse Mbere, Alan Osborn, Rodney Brandenburgh, Dori Bixler, Peter Bleed, Neil Parsons, Hannie Loermans, Marit Karlsen, John Hardbattle, Gakemodimo Mosi, Axel Thoma, Magdalena Brormann, Wendy Viall, Dave Cole, Liz O'Neill, Froukje Zwaga, Jean Guernier, Eric Wood, Huey-Min Wood, Holly Payne, Brian Jones, Claire Ritchie, Phillip Stander, Marshall Murphree, Fanuel Nangati, Patrick Molutsi, Karen Griffin, Barbara Wyckoff-Baird, Stuart Marks,Michael Painter, Sonia Arellano-Lopez, Janet Hermans, Elizabeth Wily, Patrick Dickens, Tony Traill, Trefor Jenkins, Patricia Draper, Henry Harpending, Elizabeth Cashdan, Rocky Chasko, Nolen Ndlovu, Chakana Petje, Lew Binford, Braam Le Roux, Edwin Wilmsen, James Ebert, and Melinda Kelly. Dorothy McEwen, Sherry Masters, Darlene Neid, and Karen Griffin assisted greatly in the preparation of this report.

The people of the Kalahari were very kind to put up with my questions and to share their suggestions, ideas, and thoughts with me.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of =Oma Tsamkxao, Gary Childers, and Patrick Dickens, who gave so much to the people of southern Africa.

Lincoln, June, 1996 Robert K. Hitchcock

INTRODUCTION

Over the past fifty years a dramatic upsurge has taken place in activities designed to promote development and human rights among indigenous peoples around the world (Burger 1987; Wilmer 1993). More and more calls have been heard from indigenous groups and their supporters for promotion of civil and political rights. In the case of Africa, attention generally has concentrated on what can broadly be called socioeconomic rights, especially the right of everyone to a standard of living that is adequate to assure health and well being; sufficient food, water, and shelter; and social security. The plight of indigenous peoples in Africa has been underscored recently by the specters of genocide, land use and ethnic conflicts, and widespread growing poverty.

Much of the attention paid by the media to Africa in the past several years has concentrated on the difficulties that the continent is experiencing. By the mid-1990s, per capita income in Africa was lower than it was three decades before, and its share of world trade was literally half of what it was in 1960. Food production levels had declined, and a substantial proportion of the export earnings of African countries had to be devoted to servicing international debts. Development assistance to Africa was reduced at the same time as the need for such assistance was on the rise. A significant percentage of Africa's population was living in absolute poverty, and over 100 million people were malnourished (United Nations Children's Fund 1995).

The African continent has had to face a number of difficulties, not least of which is the fact that it has had one of the world's fastest population growth rates. The population to resource ratio is such that many areas are becoming overexploited. This situation has

been exacerbated by civil conflict, as can be seen today in the cases of Rwanda, Burundi, and Liberia. The combination of economic, environmental, and political problems has given rise to the crises that some African countries and regions have experienced. As General Olusegon Obsanjo, a former president of Nigeria and an influential international observer put it,

> Africa has become peripheral to the rest of the world on global issues. Everywhere in Africa the evidence is of dereliction and decay, and we are rapidly becoming the Third World's Third World (Obsanjo, quoted in Duncan 1990:20).

It is the so-called vulnerable groups that are bearing the heaviest burdens of Africa's crises; these groups include indigenous peoples, women and children, rural farmers, and refugees. In 1995, it was estimated that Africa had over 6.75 million refugees, only a portion of whom had adequate assistance in their countries of asylum (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1995). Many of these people were living below the poverty datum line and generally did not have sufficient food, income, and land to enable them to maintain a decent standard of living.

While a number of the world's indigenous groups have become involved in efforts to promote human rights and development at the international level, the indigenous populations of Africa took part until recently only to a limited extent in international forums such as the meetings of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations. One reason for this situation, according to some analysts, is that many of the indigenous peoples of Africa reside in remote areas, are marginalized politically and economically, and lack secure access to resources (Veber, Dahl, Wilson, and Waehle 1993). They are frequently cut off from information about international events such as those sponsored by the United Nations or multilateral donor agencies. As one government planner in Botswana put it, "They have little or no chance to get jobs, much less travel to New York or Geneva to take part in international meetings."

For purposes of this volume, the term "indigenous peoples" will refer to those groups who are descended from the original inhabitants of a territory or state. Sometimes called "aboriginal peoples," these groups are found in a number of African countries. Relatively little is known about the contemporary statuses of many indigenous African populations. Some of them were hunter-gatherers whose lifestyles have changed substantially over the centuries. Others are

pastoral nomads or small-scale farmers who reside in rural areas. Still others have entered the national economy as marginally successful food producers and specialized workers. In quite a few cases, members of indigenous groups are relatively poor and as a result some of them have had to become dependent upon the largesse of other groups or the states in which they live for their very survival (Veber, Dahl, Wilson, and Waehle 1993; Miller 1993; Kent 1996).

Human rights and indigenous peoples have become increasingly important foci of discussion in Africa in the past two years, in part because of the genocide in Rwanda and the continued land use and other conflicts in Kenya, Burundi, Sudan, and, recently, Botswana. Representatives of African indigenous groups and organizations attended the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) meetings of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva in July, 1994 and 1995 and have plans to do so in 1996. In March, 1996, two representatives of Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari), John Hardbattle and Roy Sesana, spoke to the United Nations Human Rights Commission about the problems facing the Khwe (Basarwa) and other people of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana. It was stressed that indigenous peoples' goals in Africa included land rights, social justice, and the provision of development assistance.

One of the most difficult problems facing ethnic minorities in Africa has been the assimilation policies of the governments of the states in which they reside. Most governments encouraged the teaching of national languages in the schools, and they sometimes imposed legal and land tenure systems aimed at establishing nation-states which frequently did not take into consideration the needs of indigenous minorities.

Of the world's continents, Africa has the largest number of minority groups at risk (Gurr 1993). Over half of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa have at least one minority that is experiencing severe problems (Gurr 1993:42-48, 360-363). Some of these people are the victims of latent discrimination, others of active discrimination, and still others outright genocide. As a result, some groups are involved in active separatist movements, though the majority of these peoples engage primarily in non-violent political and social action (Gurr 1993). The most severe victimization is that conferred upon those groups who actively resist their governments, such as those in southern Sudan, where the Dinka and the Nuer reside

(Deng 1995; Hutchinson 1996). Ethnic conflicts have been intense in Burundi and Liberia over the past year, with hundreds of people being killed.

In Africa one sees potential social conflicts with dominant groups, often at great cost of life, destruction of the means of subsistence, and suppression of group identity. There has been a general reluctance on the part of some African governments to recognize cultural diversity. While African states value pluralism at some levels they do not always implement it at all levels, especially in remote areas. The consequence, according to African indigenous peoples, is that human rights of all kinds are at risk in a number of areas on the continent.

Small-scale ethnic minority populations in Africa sometimes had to put up with fairly harsh treatment at the hands of their governments and their neighbors. Foraging and part-time foraging populations in particular were often required to provide tribute to more powerful societies. In a number of countries, they were enslaved or pressed into service as workers on farms or in the mines. In many areas, they had their rights to hunt taken away from them, and their access to other natural resources was reduced significantly.

One of the most significant problems facing indigenous minorities in Africa, according to a number of groups (e.g. Hadza, Pygmies, Bushmen), is that they have been forced out of areas where they lived as a result of the establishment of national parks and game reserves. A number of African countries are involved in the expansion of the number of parks, reserves, and specialized conservation areas. Others are involved in programs that restrict access to resources (Anderson and Grove 1987). The imposition of hunting laws has made inroads on the subsistence and incomes of local people and has exposed them to problems such as elephants coming into their fields and eating their crops or destroying their water points.

Over the past decade or so, there have been more and more cases in which governments and environmental organizations in Africa have been responsible for carrying out programs that have had deleterious effects on rural populations. As some indigenous leaders have noted, "Governments want to control us, missionaries want our souls, and environmental organizations want our resources and our support." This support, unfortunately, is often extremely costly to indigenous peoples and others living in areas with valuable wildlife and plant resources.

Non-government organizations (NGOs) are involved in a wide range of environmental and socioeconomic development activities, including the running of ecotourism projects to the promotion of small businesses and income generating activities. Unfortunately, the benefits of tourism usually go to the NGOs or to tourism companies rather than to local people. In a few instances, such as in Cameroon and Uganda, local people are allowed to collect limited numbers of resources such as firewood and medicinal plants (International Institute for Environment and Development 1994).

The question that a number of Africans are asking today is whether or not it is appropriate for environmental organizations to be involved in promoting activities that are having such negative effects on their lives. As one Tyua woman in western Zimbabwe put it, "Just because these people say that they are helping preserve the environment does not mean that they should be able to violate our human rights."

Clearly, it is not only governments and multilateral development banks that should be required to follow international standards concerning the carrying out of environmental and social impact assessments prior to and during the course of project implementation. Environmental organizations, too, need to be made aware that they must take the rights of the people with whom they deal into careful consideration.

Political authorities, including both colonial and post-colonial governments, often turned a blind eye to what was happening to small-scale ethnic groups in their territories. The result was that a sizable number of groups became dependent upon other groups, governments, or international agencies for their survival. There are relatively few cases where governments went so far as to promote economic and political self-determination for indigenous groups.

The Bushmen (Basarwa, San, Khwe) of southern Africa provide useful illustrations of some of the kinds of problems and opportunities facing indigenous minorities in Africa. First of all, they tend to be very poor. They are characterized in many cases by high rates of unemployment, low incomes, and relatively low standards of living. They usually live in remote areas and have little access to social services. Poverty rates are high, and they often find it difficult to get land.

Bushmen often receive harsh sentences in court cases, and they represent a disproportionate part of the prison population in the countries where they reside. In places where Bushmen have settled

either spontaneously or have joined government-sponsored or private settlements, there are problems of nutritional stress, health difficulties, high rates of alcoholism, and significant degrees of social conflict (Marshall and Ritchie 1984; Hitchcock and Holm 1993).

At the same time, in a continent where millions of people literally are struggling to obtain minimum amounts of food and income, some indigenous groups, including a number of Bushmen, are coming up with new and innovative strategies to promote self-help, increase incomes, and conserve natural resources. Numerous communities in southern Africa are organizing themselves into grassroots action committees and associations. Some of these groups have achieved at least limited success in bringing about development and raising living standards. The experiences of these diverse communities are useful since they provide insights into a variety of strategies for helping to improve socioeconomic, political, and environmental conditions at local levels.

A major trend in Africa is that groups are demanding both recognition and respect. They are seeking guaranteed access to economic resources and development assistance. Democratization is spreading in Africa, with the newest democracy, South Africa, established in April, 1994. Peace treaties among warring groups have been signed, as was the case recently in Mozambique and Angola. There are more and more efforts to devolve decision-making to lower-order institutions. In Africa today, greater emphasis is being placed on economic recovery, good governance, and poverty alleviation.

The goal of the International Year of Indigenous Peoples, as outlined in Resolution 45/164 of the General Assembly of the United Nations passed in 1991, was strengthening international efforts "for the solution of problems faced by indigenous communities in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education, health, and so on." Indigenous peoples throughout Africa hope that the United Nations and the world's countries, companies, development agencies, donors, and non-government organizations take this goal seriously.

THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Bushmen of southern Africa are indigenous peoples who, like many others, are deeply committed to ensuring their basic socio-economic, political, civil, and cultural rights in the context of a region that is undergoing rapid transformations. The Bushmen of southern Africa today are the second largest population of former foragers in Africa. These peoples were the aboriginal groups who resided in an area stretching from the Congo-Zambezi watershed in central Africa south to the Cape. They once existed in relatively large numbers, with as many as 150,000 - 300,000 people dispersed widely in the region (Lee 1976:5). Even today, after centuries of conflict, genocide, incorporation, and exploitation, they still number over 100,000 people and can be found in six of the countries of southern Africa.

Today there are over 104,000 Bushmen in southern Africa, with the breakdown as follows: 9,750 in Angola (the number updated from Burder 1987:166, Table 1), 49,475 in Botswana (data from the Remote Area Development Program and anthropological research), 38,275 in Namibia (updated from Marshall 1989:4 and Hitchcock 1992), 4,700 in South Africa (data from the !Xuu and Khwe Trust and the Land Claims Committee, Southern Kalahari Bushmen), 1,600 in Zambia (data from the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, WIMSA), and 1,275 in Zimbabwe (numbers updated from Hitchcock and Nangati 1992).

These peoples, who speak as many as 80 different dialects, exist in a wide variety of socioeconomic situations. In South Africa, some 4,500 San reside in refugee camps made up of former soldiers and their dependents (Uys 1994). Others live on freehold farms where they are visited by tourists, as is the case at Kagga Kamma (White 1993). Namibia's Bushmen live in urban areas, on freehold farms, in

government sponsored settlements (e.g. Tjum!kui in Eastern Otjozondjupa), and in small rural communities on communal land where people make their living through a mixture of foraging, pastoralism, and rural industries (Marshall 1989; Biesele 1993). Many of the Bushmen in Botswana reside in government-sponsored settlements which contain water sources and social services (Hitchcock and Holm 1993). The Bushmen Angola, Zambia, and Zimbabwe live in small communities scattered throughout the Kalahari and adjacent areas, growing their own food, working for other people, and playing important roles in the economies of the regions where they reside.

The terms "Bushmen," "San," "Basarwa," and "Kwe" have all been used to refer to indigenous peoples of hunting and gathering origin in southern Africa. All of these terms have problematic histories. The state of debate about "San," "Bushmen," or "Basarwa" as possible appellations for the general group of small, click-speaking, yellow-skinned peoples in southern Africa can be illustrated by the case of two Ju/'hoan brothers, both active in national and local politics in Namibia. At a large community meeting in the Nyae Nyae region of northeastern Namibia in 1991, each of them argued differently about the word "Bushman." One said that he never wanted to hear the term used again in post-Apartheid Namibia. The other argued that the term could be ennobled by the way in which they themselves now chose to use it. Thus, he argued, the term "Bushman" could be used in a positive way for all the people in southern Africa who shared ethnic backgrounds and customs.

As for "San," many people at the meeting had heard of it, but they knew it has a pejorative connotation in Nama, the language from which it comes. In the 1960s the term "San" was used by the Harvard Kalahari Research Group as a replacement for "Bushmen," which was believed by researchers to have negative social connotations and to be sexist. None of the people at the meeting advocated use of the term San, and they said that they were familiar with no other over-arching term besides Bushmen. Some linguists have suggested using "Khoesaan" an overarching term for both Khoekhoe and Nama peoples, and the term "Khoesan" has been used in the listserver for a news group on the World Wide Net (internet) based in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. As "pan-San" or "pan-Bushman" consciousness grows in southern Africa, one can assume that a general term will emerge.

The various countries in southern Africa use different names to refer to those populations known popularly as Bushmen. Namibia

uses Bushmen to refer collectively to the various former foraging and agropastoral groups in the country. South Africa currently uses the term Bushmen, although other terms have also been proposed, such as Khoesaan. The term used most often in Botswana is "Basarwa" (singular, "Mosarwa"). This term is said be derived from a word signifying "people of the south". In the past, the term "Masarwa" was used, but this word was seen as pejorative because it did not signify the status of being a person. Angola does not yet have an official term for Bushmen and other non-Bantu peoples, but they are sometimes referred to as Kwankhala, Bushmen, or Bosquimanos (the Portuguese term for Bushmen). Neither Zambia nor Zimbabwe have official terms for indigenous peoples, although in the latter case the term Amasili is used on occasion.

A variety of terms for Bushmen have been put forth at national and international meetings, as occurred, for example, at a Botswana Society workshop on rural development in Gaborone in April, 1992 when it was suggested by John Hardbattle, head of the indigenous non-government organization Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari), that the term "/Noakhwe" be used. Alec Campbell and others in Botswana have recommended use of the term "Khwe" (Kwe) which means "people" in Central Bush languages. Botswana has taken the position that *all* residents of the country are indigenous and so does not accept the designation of "First People."

The government of Botswana has made efforts to avoid the problem of ethnic identification in its programs, since, in its eyes, this is reminiscent of the kinds of terminology used by those espousing *apartheid* (separate development). Instead, Botswana has used the term "Remote Area Dwellers," which covers all of those people living outside of villages in rural areas. A Setswana term for this appellation is *tengyanateng*, which, according to some, means "people from deep within the deep," a description that is not necessarily appreciated by the people to whom it is applied.

The Remote Area Development Program (RADP) in the Ministry of Local Government, Lands, and Housing (MLGLH) has concentrated its development efforts on a target group defined on the basis of its spatial location (remote areas outside villages), sociopolitical status (marginalized), and socioeconomic status (impoverished and subject to discrimination). Changes have occurred over time in the coverage of the Remote Area Development Program since its founding in 1974 as rural people have moved into settlements established by the various district councils in Bot-

swana. Currently there are 67 Remote Area Dweller (RAD) settlements in Botswana. Some of these settlements have been turned into officially gazetted (recognized) villages and no longer are served by RADP extension personnel.

It is preferable, according to linguists and to local people, to use the word(s) in their language that they use to refer to themselves. The people of northwestern Botswana (in Ngamiland and northeastern Namibia (in what was known as Bushmanland, now Eastern Otjozondjupa) call themselves Ju/'hoansi, which means real, genuine, or "true" people, while those in the central Kalahari region of Botswana call themselves G/wi and G//ana. Adopting terms of self-appellation acknowledges the new sense of empowerment of indigenous southern Africans.

Possibly the biggest problem facing the Bushmen and other indigenous people in southern Africa has been the expanded pace of development and socioeconomic change in rural areas. As the economies of southern Africa evolved, there was greater pressure to utilize the range, mineral, and other natural resources of the region. The colonial administrations in southern Africa pursued policies of separate development in which advantages were given to whites over indigenous groups. In many instances, Bushmen had no say whatsoever over the kinds of activities pursued in their areas. They were dispossessed; their resource access rights were restricted; and they were denied the right to participate in the political arena.

There is evidence that the Bushmen of southern Africa did not always react passively to the treatment they received at the hands of states and other groups (Gordon 1992; Hitchcock and Holm 1993). Rather than submit meekly to being exploited as laborers in the livestock and mining industries, they would refuse to work or ask for fair wages and benefits. They resisted the imposition of ranches, freehold farms, and game reserves in their areas. In some cases, they spoke to government officials and the media about poor treatment. Some of them sought to take cases to court and to institutions such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ). People in a number of Bushmen communities requested anthropologists to tell their story to the public. Bushmen advocacy groups have lobbied hard for the rights to their ancestral lands and natural resources. There are also cases of Bushmen seeking political office so that they have better chances of influencing the direction that development will take in their areas.

BOTSWANA: SOCIOECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT IN BUSHMEN COMMUNITIES

> Our guiding principle in international affairs is that every national group has a right to selfdetermination, that the essence of democracy is that minorities and ethnic groups comprising a nation should not be subjected to any form of discrimination, and should happily accept the authority of the national government in the knowledge that they form no insignificant part of the national community (Khama 1968:26).

Development can be defined as the strategy whereby the social and material well-being of people is raised. As the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights notes, "All peoples shall have the right to their economic, social, and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind" (quoted in Hannum 1990:115). A number of African countries have begun placing greater emphasis on meeting basic human needs, poverty alleviation, democratization, and good governance (Tordoff 1984; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1991). The question is, to what extent are African's indigenous peoples able to participate in and benefit from these initiatives?

The Republic of Botswana in southern Africa (Figure 1) is a country that has been characterized as having an enlightened policy towards its indigenous minorities (Peter Mmusi, Vice President and Minister of Botswana's Ministry of Local Government, Lands, and Housing, personal communication, 1990). Botswana contains a fairly sizable population of Bushmen, or, as they are known in Botswana, Basarwa, with nearly half of all the Bushmen in southern Africa being found there. While Bushmen make up less than 4

percent of the total population of Botswana, numbering currently just under 50,000 people, they have received a fairly significant amount of attention from government planners, researchers, and human rights agencies over the past century.

The Bushmen of Botswana provide illustrations of some of the kinds of problems facing indigenous peoples in Africa: they tend to be very poor; they are characterized in many cases by high rates of unemployment, low incomes, high infant mortality rates, low standards of living, little access to land and the courts, high rates of imprisonment, and low literacy levels (Gulbrandsen, Karlsen, and Lexow 1986; Biesele *et al* 1989; Kann, Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990; Mogwe 1992; Hitchcock and Holm 1993; Chr. Michelsen Institute 1995).

Popular writers about Bushmen have had an unfortunate tendency to portray them either in a romantic light, seeing them as foragers living self-sufficient lives in a kind of savanna Eden, or as the victims of oppressive neighbors and state governments. As Gordon notes, "Of all the people living in southern Africa, those labelled 'Bushmen' have been the most victimized, brutalized, and oppressed in the bloody history of the region" (Gordon 1990:30-31). Botswana has been said to be somewhat of an exception to the generalizations about oppressive treatment of Bushman populations. As Tshekedi Khama, the regent of the Bamangwato, the largest Tswana tribe in the country, noted in a 1935 meeting sponsored by the South Africa District Committee of the London Missionary Society, contacts between Bushmen and Bamangwato were friendly in part because each required goods and services that the other group had (Botswana National Archives [BNA] file S.204/8). Ethnic conflict generally was avoided in Botswana (Datta and Murray 1989:58).

Many of the attitudes and policies affecting Botswana Bushmen today are a product of a long history of discriminatory or, in some cases, preferential, treatment. A number of different approaches were used in dealing with Bushmen and other indigenous minorities in Botswana. These approaches ranged from *laissez faire* and benign neglect to ones that advocated protection or assimilation (Silberbauer 1965:7, 132-138, 1981:12-17; Russell 1976:181-185; Hermans 1977:57-58, 61-66; Gadibolae 1985:27-29; Miers and Crowder 1988:177-194; Datta and Murray 1989:61-68). Nevertheless, in spite of the best efforts of sympathetic chiefs, colonial government administrators, missionaries, human rights organizations, and concerned individuals, Botswana Bushmen saw their socioeconomic statuses improved only marginally.

International organizations, the media, and the public at large paid a fair amount of attention to the Bushman human rights issue from the time Bechuanaland (the former name of Botswana) was being considered for Protectorate status in the 1885-1895 period (BNA files HC.3/2/71, HC 16/17, S.43/7, S.6/1; Hermans 1977:57-58, 61-66; Gadibolae 1985:27-29; Hitchcock 1987:240-243). Some Tswana and British Protectorate officials felt that little, if anything, should be done to change the ways in which Bushmen were treated (Hermans 1977; Hitchcock 1987; Miers and Crowder 1988). In one of the

first official reports to the colonial government on Bushman status, John Smith Moffatt, a Resident Magistrate, said that cases of mistreatment should not be handled "by taking aggressive steps" (BNA file HC 3/2/71, April 16, 1887). He went on to say that efforts to change Bushman status would "disturb the whole country" and that they "would embarrass the slaves" (BNA file HC 3/2/71).

There were some reform-minded Batswana who pressed for better treatment of Botswana's Basarwa. In the latter part of the 19th century, Khama III, the chief of the Bamangwato, the largest of the Tswana tribes, directed that Basarwa and Bakgalagadi workers be provided with cattle as payment for their labor (Schapera 1970:89; Parsons 1973:35). In 1911, Khama abolished the payment of tribute by clients (Schapera 1970:89). Similar rulings were made by Chief Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse and by Chief Sebele I of the Bakwena (Schapera 1970:90). Khama and other members of the Tswana elite attempted to use their personal influence to promote sociopolitical change. The problem, however, was that their efforts had little impact on people living far from the tribal capitals.

Although the Protectorate Administration would have preferred to ignore the Bushman issue, events overtook them. In the early 1920s, when the League of Nations conducted investigations of slavery, questions were raised about the treatment of Bushmen, Bakgalagadi, and other peoples in Botswana (BNA file S.34/8; Hermans 1977:61-62). Most Batswana maintained that the Bushmen were not ill-treated and that they were not slaves (Hermans 1977:62; Gadibolae 1985; Tagart 1933).

In 1926, a member of the Bamangwato elite, Simon Ratshosa, did a report on "How the Masarwa Became Slaves," something which brought official attention to the issue of Bushman sociopolitical and economic rights (BNA files DCS 5/2 and DCS 8/6; Hermans 1977:62-63; Miers and Crowder 1988:181-184). The Secretary of State called for an inquiry into "hereditary service" in the Protectorate (BNA file S.43/7). On August 3, 1926 the high commissioner made a statement in the Bamangwato tribal capital, Serowe, concerning the status of Bushmen:

> It has been said that the Masarwa are slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will, the Government will no allow it. It is the duty of the chiefs and headmen to help these people to stand on their feet (statement by High Commissioner, BNA file S.43/7).

This statement reiterated British attitudes about the ways in which Bushmen were treated, thus responding to public concerns about colonial passivity with respect to the slavery issue. At the same time, it was a not-so-subtle attempt to transfer the responsibility for taking care of "the Bushman problem" to the Tswana.

The primary methods for dealing with mistreatment of Bushmen on the part of the Protectorate Administration were (1) to make public proclamations and (2) to undertake investigations. British administrators sometimes took a dim view of the Bushmen, feeling that they tended to move about too freely and that they were guilty of transgressions against people with property, particularly stock theft. In 1928, a letter from the Resident Magistrate in Francistown to the Government Secretary in Mafking contained the following statement:

> I point this out as it seems to me that the sudden release of more or less savage Masarwa who have been under control and authority of their lords and masters, the Bechuana, may wander around the country stealing and killing cattle when they feel inclined, and if they collect together in big communities, as they appear to be doing on the Crown Lands at the Nata, the Government will have a difficult business at hand (letter dated 12 November, 1928, BNA file S.43/7).

There were, on the other hand, officials who, like Assistant Resident Commissioner Almar Gordon Stigand, argued that "it was desirable to attempt to improve the lot of the Masarwa" (BNA file S.204/8). It is clear that the personnel of the Protectorate Administration had mixed opinions on the emancipation of the Bushmen.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) examined forced labor at its annual meeting in 1928. One outgrowth of this discussion was that British Government officials wrote to the High Com-

missioner to find out if there would be any problems with Britain becoming party to an agreement concerning labor relations. The reply was that Botswana enforced the Masters and Servants Act of the Cape Colony (Hermans 1977:63; BNA files S.6/l and S.47/3). There is little evidence, however, that much effort was expended in enforcing labor regulations or requiring people to pay their workers fair wages.

Stung by criticism of their treatment of Bushmen, Tshekedi Khama, requested in April, 1930 that an inquiry be done into the status of Bushmen in the Bamangwato territory (BNA file S.63/9; Miers and Crowder 1988:185). While nothing resulted immediately from Tshekedi's suggestion, adverse publicity over an incident involving Bamangwato attempting to kidnap Bushmen who had left their employ led to renewed pressure on the British Administration to conduct a commission of inquiry (BNA file S.360/2). This pressure was reinforced in 1931 when it was learned that three Bushmen were badly beaten, one of whom later died. It was noted in a letter from the Resident Magistrate in Francistown that the man who died had over 300 wounds on his body (BNA file S.194/9).

At this point, the Resident Commissioner, C.F. Rey, decided that something had to be done to blunt the public criticism of what was going on in Botswana. Rey's efforts to cover himself and his administration on the Bushmen issue led to the instigation of an official inquiry on the status of the Bushmen in July, 1931. The inquiry, which came to be known as the "Masarwa Commission," was conducted by Edward S. B. Tagart, a former Secretary for Native Affairs in what is now Zambia. The focus of the inquiry was on the conditions under which Bushmen were employed by the Bamangwato and their rights to payment and property. Corporal punishment was also a major focus of the inquiry (High Commissioner's Proclamation, 11 July, 1931; BNA file S.204/8; Tagart 1933; Miers and Crowder 1988).

The "Masarwa Commission" investigations and Tagart's report led to the initiation of a survey of Bushmen in the Bamangwato tribal territory (Joyce 1938). It also resulted in the British Administration issuing two proclamations on the protection of laborers and on the affirmation of the abolition of slavery (BNA file S.370/7). In spite of these proclamations, Bushmen continued to have difficulties disposing of their own labor and receiving fair payment for their services.

Until the 1960s, little, if any, land had been set aside in Botswana for Bushmen. There had been two small-scale settlement schemes established for Bushmen in the 1930s. The first of these schemes was at Olifantskloof in western Ghanzi District. This scheme was run by the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration and was overseen by a Protectorate policeman, Sargeant de Lorme. At Olifantskloof several hundred people did a combination of road work, trapping, and preparation of hides and skins for sale. The scheme was abandoned after two years when the District Commissioner who supported it, W.H. Cairns, was transferred out of the district (Silberbauer 1981:13-14).

The second scheme arose out of the recommendations of Joyce (1938), who suggested that some land be set aside for Bushmen who wished to raise crops. In 1938 the government initiated a settlement scheme at Letlhakane in the eastern Kalahari. An Agricultural Demonstrator, Gilbert Molaba, was posted there, and he helped train people in how to raise crops (BNA S.360/2). Agricultural shows were held at which Bushmen and other rural people exhibited their crops and livestock (BNA S.263/9). A school was also started for Bushmen children. This scheme, too, lasted only two years before it was abandoned.

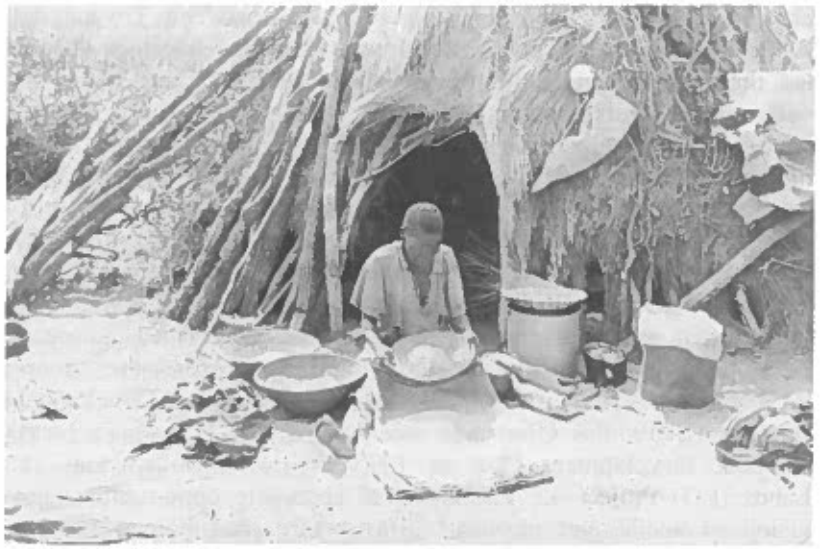
During the Second World War, relatively little was done in the way of development involving Bushmen. As the 1941 annual report for the Ngwato District stated, "No special Masarwa work was carried out, but a noticeable failure has been the considerable exodus of Masarwa to the mines" (BNA S.263/9). One reason for the considerable out-migration, according to local Bushman informants, was that the war had caused hardships for people, and they wanted to earn cash for their families (Hitchcock 1987).

Public interest in Bushmen populations and their situations increased in the 1950s as a result of a series of investigations by researchers from South Africa and the United States (Tobias 1956; Marshall 1976). For its part, the Protectorate government, realizing that the country was going to receive its independence before too long, decided that further efforts should be made to assess the socioeconomic status of Bushmen (Silberbauer 1965:7, 1981:16-17). In 1958, an administrative officer, George Silberbauer, was appointed to carry out surveys and come up with recommendations for handling what had come to be known even officially as the "Bushman Problem."

One of Silberbauer's first actions was to conduct ethnographic studies in Ghanzi District and the central Kalahari region. An outgrowth of this work was the suggestion that a portion of the central Kalahari be declared a reserve in order to protect the rights of local people (Silberbauer 1965). Silberbauer was also influential in helping shape some of the wording of what was to become Botswana's *Fauna Conservation Proclamation*. Under this legislation subsistence foragers were to be allowed the right to continue to hunt without fear of penalty. Subsistence hunters, defined in the *Fauna Conservation Proclamation* (Section 4[3]) as those groups completely or primarily dependent on hunting and gathering of veld produce, were recognized as a special case, and they were not required to purchase a license. The idea was that traditional foragers would be allowed to continue to forage as they had for generations, as long as they continued to depend solely on wild foods for their subsistence.

One of the other major contributions of George Silberbauer was that he was able to have the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) established. Covering over 50,000 square kilometers, the Central Kalahari was the third largest game reserve in Africa, and one of the few to contain people with foraging rights guaranteed under the conservation laws of the country. There was some disagreement over whether or not people actually had hunting rights in the CKGR since it had been officially declared as a game reserve. As Spinage (1991:60) notes, "The first item that was struck out from Silberbauer's draft regulations was that relating to hunting, with the observation that this was entirely contrary to the enabling legislation." In fact, it was decided by the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration to continue to hunt in the CKGR as long as they used traditional weapons (Phil Steenkamp, Lenyeletse Seretse, personal communications, 1976). Such a policy did not, however, prevent G/wi, G//ana, and other people from being arrested for hunting in the Central Kalahari.

At the time of independence in September, 1966 the Botswana government was considering the recommendations of the *Bushman Survey Report* (Silberbauer 1965:132-138). Silberbauer believed that the most promising sectors of assistance were in education and economic development (Silberbauer 1965:135-137). He recommended that Bushmen who were successful as pupil farmers be provided with boreholes and livestock to enable them to start as



Kua woman cleaning grain, Botswana (eastern Kalahari)

independent agropastoral producers (Silberbauer 1965:138). He also recommended diversification of the livestock industry in Ghanzi in order to expand employment opportunities for Bushmen (Silberbauer 1965:137-138). While few of these suggestions were followed up on immediately, they did serve as a rough model for subsequent development action for Bushmen.

The Bushmen Development Program

After Independence on September 30, 1966, Botswana was faced with having to promote development in a large country which was relatively impoverished and which had just gone through a serious drought (Harvey and Lewis 1990). One of the more embarrassing situations facing the Protectorate Administration was the Ghanzi Farms, a set of farms in the western part of the country owned largely by Afrikaans-speaking whites (Russell 1976; Wily 1979, 1982). It was on these farms that charges of "slavery" of Bushmen had been levelled against whites (Wily 1982:293). Afrikaaner farmers rejected the charges of slavery and mistreatment, just as the Tswana had in the 1930s (Silberbauer 1965; Russell 1976). As Russell (1976:179) notes, the relationship between Kalahari whites

and the Bushmen was very similar to that between Tswana and Bushmen, in part because their circumstances as livestock-keepers led them to employ similar strategies in their attempts to coexist with hunters and gatherers.

It was in the Ghanzi District where Bere, one of the first of the modern settlement schemes for Bushmen, was attempted (Guenther 1986:316-317). The scheme experienced difficulties in the early 1970s, and the Botswana government eventually took it over. The debates over this scheme helped pave the way for a different, more active, approach to Bushman development (Wily 1979, 1982).

In 1974, the government of Botswana established a special development program for Bushmen and, later, for other poorer rural citizens. Known originally as the Bushman Development Program (BDP), this effort was incorporated into Botswana's Fourth National Development Plan in 1975 as Local Government and Lands (LG) Project 32. Promotion of economic opportunities, provision of social and physical infrastructure, and human resource development were some of the objectives of the Bushman Development Program (Wily 1979, 1982; Gulbrandsen, Karlsen, and Lexow 1985; Hitchcock 1988).

A series of "working principles" were put forth in the original project memorandum for what evolved into the Bushmen Development Program. First and foremost, Bushmen were to be given encouragement to exercise their rights as citizens of Botswana. Second, development projects were to be initiated only after careful analysis and discussion with local people. Third, the integration of Bushmen into the larger society and economy of Botswana would be sought, providing that local people agreed with this objective. Fourth, self-reliance was a major goal. Fifth, projects were to be designed in such a way as to be responsive to the variable situations of people in different areas (Wily 1979). Thus, the Bushmen Development Program had as its major objectives participation, consultation, self-determination, and empowerment.

One of the first major areas of concern identified by the Bushman Development Officer and Bushmen in terms of rights was the land issue. The *Tribal Land Act* of 1968 transferred the land allocation powers of the traditional authorities to tribal land boards. This act basically mandated land boards to allocate land to "tribesmen" for residential, arable, grazing, or business purposes. The rights of Bushmen to their traditional foraging areas were not specified in

the *Tribal Land Act* nor in any subsequent legislation. Instead, the Act was interpreted by some to exclude Bushmen from even making applications for land since they were not considered to be "tribesmen" (Wily 1979:33). Getting recognition of Bushmen as citizens of the Republic of Botswana thus became a major concern of the Bushmen Development Program.

Traditionally, societies in Botswana, like the rest of Africa, managed their land and natural resources on a communal basis (Schapera 1938, 1943; An-Naim and Deng 1990; Veber *et al* 1993; Peters 1994). Under these systems of tenure, land cannot be bought or sold, nor can it be pledged as collateral for a loan. Residents of an area had rights to land and property on the basis of their being members of a social group (Schapera 1938, 1943). Land was held in the name of the group, and every individual in the various Botswana societies theoretically had the right to sufficient land and resources to support himself or herself.

Property in the form of land in Botswana consists of what one might describe as a bundle of rights. In many cases, the same piece of land can have a variety of claims on it for various purposes. It is not unusual, therefore, to have complex systems of land and resource rights which are spread widely throughout local communities. Overlapping rights and obligations are by no means uncommon in Botswana systems of resource tenure (Wilmsen 1989; Peters 1994).

Two of the primary factors in resource-related matters in Botswana were kinship and social alliances. People were allocated land rights on the basis of group membership or, in some cases, through provision by a tribal authority. Methods of obtaining rights to land in Botswana included (a) inheritance (birth rights) (b) marital ties, (c) borrowing, and (d) clientship, in which an individual enters a patron-client relationship and is given access to land in exchange for his or her allegiance (Schapera 1938, 1943, 1953, 1970). Land and resource rights could also be obtained through the investment of labor (e.g. through clearing of a field, the erection of a fence, digging of a well, or planting of a tree (Schapera 1943; Hitchcock 1980).

A number of Bushman, Tswana, and other informants maintained that in the past, landlessness was not a major problem in most Botswana communities, in part because of the land and resource distribution mechanisms that existed (Hitchcock 1978). In

some cases, individuals and groups could get land through colonization, the movement into an unutilized area and the establishment of occupancy. There were also cases where territorial acquisition occurred through conquest (Parsons 1973). Land conflicts between individuals and groups did sometimes occur in Botswana, especially in those areas where population densities were high.

Land is part and parcel of African sociopolitical systems, and it is often perceived as a territorial dimension of African societies (Shipton 1994). Local entities in Africa have rights over blocks of land (e.g. a band in the case of a foraging society, a lineage or other kind of descent group in the case of a pastoral or agricultural society). Among the Ju/'hoansi of northwestern Botswana and northeastern Namibia, a band averages around 25-30 people and resides in and utilizes an area ranging from 300-600 square miles (Marshall 1976: 157-159; Lee 1979:334). Rights in these areas, which are known as *n!oresi* (territories) are handed down from one generation to the next (Marshall 1976:71-79, 184-187; Lee 1979:58-61, 117-119, 334; Wilmsen 1989:168-186). These areas usually, but not always, contain sufficient resources to sustain a group over the course of a year.

Land was allocated to people in Botswana for a number of purposes: residence, arable agriculture, grazing, collection of fuel wood, building materials, wild food and medicinal plants, and procurement of specialized resources (e.g. termite earth for construction), establishment of businesses, and hunting (Schapera 1943; Hitchcock 1980; Peters 1994). In the cases of grazing and hunting areas, blocks of land were often set aside specifically for use by groups rather than individuals. There were also specialized hunting territories for high status individuals such as chiefs (Schapera 1943; Parsons 1973; Hitchcock 1978, 1980).

Traditionally, a land market did not exist in most African societies, something which colonial governments wanted to change. A key approach to agricultural and economic development in Africa was the privatization of land, a process which, it was argued, would provide individuals with the incentive to invest more labor and capital and at the same time to manage and conserve resources (for an excellent discussion of these issues, see Peters 1994).

Relatively few African societies recognized sale of land, although there were situations in which land was transferred from one person to another, sometimes in exchange for cash or some other good, though this was usually frowned upon by other group

Eastern Kalahari

members. In those societies where transfers did occur, there were limits on who could purchase that land and what could be used as exchange.

In July, 1975, Sir Seretse Khama, then the president of Botswana, announced a long-term program of land reform and livestock development for his country. Known as the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), the program was aimed at shifting land tenure from communal to leasehold in order to promote better land management and conservation. The underlying reasons for launching a land reform effort in Botswana were spelled out in a Government of Botswana White Paper published in 1975 (Republic of Botswana 1975). According to this document, the aims of the land policy were threefold: (1) to stop overgrazing and degradation of the range; (2) to promote greater equality of incomes in rural areas, and (3) to allow growth and commercialization of the livestock industry on a sustained basis. The best way to achieve these aims, it was argued, was through the granting of exclusive rights to individuals and groups who would then have an incentive to manage their grazing in appropriate ways.

In order to achieve the objectives of aims of conservation, production, and equity, it was suggested that the grazing land in Botswana be divided into three zones: commercial, communal, and reserved. In the commercial areas leasehold rights would be granted over blocks of rangeland; in the communal areas the basis of land tenure would remain the same as it was before; and land would be set aside as reserved "for the future" (Republic of Botswana 1975:6-7). Large-scale cattle owners would be encouraged to move to the commercial areas, where they could establish fenced ranches in exchange for rental payments to the district land boards. In this way, presumably, grazing pressure in the communal areas would be relieved, thus enhancing herd productivity and at the same time providing a more equitable distribution of land for rural people. At the time the TGLP was announced, there were few cases in Africa where a country had embarked on a nationwide program to replace the traditional communal grazing system with one based on private leasehold ranching (Hitchcock 1980; Peters 1994).

Funding for the implementation of TGLP was obtained from the World Bank under what was known as the Botswana Second Livestock Development Project (LDP 2). The funding was used to provide loans for individuals and groups of livestock owners who wished to develop their ranches, for the construction of trek routes,

and for improvements of cattle marketing and handling facilities. Some of the people who framed the policy realized that previous attempts at land reform in Botswana had not been in the best interests of all members of the population. As a result, efforts were made to include some social justice and equity provisions in the TGLP White Paper.

The grazing land policy underscored the basic principle of the traditional land tenure system in Botswana, which was "the right of every tribesman to have as much land as he needs to sustain him and his family" (Republic of Botswana 1975:4). There was also emphasis placed in the white paper on protecting "the interests of those who own only a few cattle or none at all" (Republic of Botswana 1975:6). As the TGLP policy paper stated, "Planning will aim to ensure that land development helps the poor and does not make them worse off" (Republic of Botswana 1975:2).

When it was found during the course of zoning surveys that many of the sandveld areas had existing water points and people in them, land use planners responded by zoning the land either commercial or communal (Hitchcock 1978; Wily 1979). No land whatsoever was zoned as reserved because it was felt that there was insufficient land for communal use already. Thus, in spite of the fact that the "reserved areas" were the only "safeguards for the poorer members of the population," (Republic of Botswana 1975:7), it was decided to forego zoning land in this way.

In response to this situation, the Bushmen Development Officer, district officials, and anthropologists fought hard to get the land rights of Bushmen recognized. One way this was done was to argue that the Bushmen had rights to land under the constitution as citizens of Botswana. A second strategy was to obtain legal support for Bushmen land rights, something that was unsuccessful given the opinions in the Attorney General's Chambers. A third method was to try and get a series of appendices attached to the TGLP lease that would allow people continued rights to land for resource procurement, residential, and agricultural production purposes. Yet another approach was to attempt to get the government of Botswana and the District Councils to set aside blocks of land that were large enough to sustain groups of people either as hunter-gatherers or as food producers (Wily 1979:137-148; Hitchcock 1978:412-428, 1980:27).

As it turned out, people who were required to move as a result of the ranches generally were not given compensation either in kind (e.g. in the form of alternative land) or cash in spite of the fact

that they had been promised this would be done. The Attorney General ruled that appendices to the TGLP lease were not legal. The only approach that was found to work was to get small blocks of land set aside as communal service centers or as Remote Area Dweller settlements (Hitchcock 1978, 1980; Wily 1979, 1982).

Perhaps the most important method employed by personnel in the Bushmen Development Program was to encourage Bushmen to speak for themselves, a process which the Bushmen Development Officer referred to as "politicization." Contrary to the common perception of Bushmen being "non-vocal" or "unwilling to speak in front of Batswana because of their relatively low social status," most Bushmen were more than willing to take a stand. Some Bushmen requested that they be recognized as citizens under the Botswana Constitution, something that some Members of Parliament expressed disaoreement with. Bushmen also requested formally that land be given to them by the government or by land boards. Unfortunately, these requests often fell on deaf ears. It a special meeting of land use planning advisory group members in Central District in January, 1977, for example, a high-ranking district official said that Bushmen, "if they are in the way, should be gotten out of the way so that we can put up our fences" (Hitchcock 1978:xix).

The most serious challenge to Bushmen land rights came from the Attorney General of Botswana. In 1978, a legal opinion was issued by the litigation consultant to the Attorney General's Chambers regarding land rights of Bushmen. As the Litigation Consultant to the Attorney General's Chambers put it in the document "Opinion in Re: Common-Leases of Tribal Land,"

> As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Masarwa have always been true nomads, owing no allegiance to any Chief or tribe, but have ranged far and wide for a very long time over very large areas of the kalahari in which they have always had unlimited hunting rights, which they even enjoy today in spite of the Fauna Conservation Act. The right of the Masarwa to hunt is, of course, very important and valuable as hunting is their main source of sustenance . . . without much clearer information it is impossible to give a confirmed opinion about the Masarwa. Tentatively, however, it appears to me that (a) the true nomad Masarwa can have no rights of any kind except rights to hunting (Ministry of Local Government and Lands File 2/1/1)

In other words, the government's main legal body had decided that the Bushmen could be denied land rights simply on the basis of their ethnic affiliation. Some of the Bushmen who heard about the ruling said that they were deeply disturbed by the fact that Botswana, a state which prided itself on being democratic and multiracial, was taking a position that was reminiscent of the *apartheid* policies of neighboring South Africa. A number of Bushmen said that they wanted to march on the Parliament and the House of Chiefs in an attempt to put forth their claims for fair treatment with regard to land. Several Bushmen approached social scientists in the county, asking them if they would put them in touch with international human rights groups and if they would help them make a claim against Botswana at the World Court.

As it turned out, the Botswana government was quick to disavow the position of its litigation consultant (Hitchcock 1980). A number of officials stressed that Botswana was a country which by law did not discriminate against anyone. The Minister of what was then Local Government and Lands went so far as to state that "Any land board using the ethnicity of Bushmen as a reason to accept or reject an application would be dealt with severely" (Wily 1979:125). The problem was that the ministry generally refused to overturn land board decisions.

The Bushmen Development Program attempted to come up with a means of getting around the problem of land not being allocated to Bushmen. As Wily (1982:123) points out, one way of ensuring that Bushmen got land was to have land boards set aside areas for settlements. The first district where these schemes were planned was Ghanzi in western Botswana (see Table 1 for a list of the remote area settlements in Ghanzi and other districts in Botswana). Although there was opposition in Ghanzi District to the schemes, some of it deriving from farmers who did not want to lose access to sources of inexpensive labor, the district council agreed to set aside a certain amount of land to accommodate those Bushmen who wished to leave the Ghanzi Farms and establish themselves in their own places.

Several problems arose with the settlement schemes. The first one revolved around the size of the area to be allocated. While it was held that the area should be large enough to support a sizable population, with room enough for growth, the Ghanzi District Council decided to allocate blocks of land 20 x 20 kilometers in size

(400 square kilometers) for the proposed settlements at West and East Hanahai. A second problem was that the land boards were slow in providing for security of tenure over the land. A third difficulty was that the council and land board were reluctant to allow local residents to fence their areas, saying that this was not permitted under existing land legislation. People residing in these areas faced numerous difficulties, a major one being crop damage by livestock.

Some government planners had strong opinions about the kinds of policies that should be employed with respect to Bushmen. A number of Members of Parliament and District Councillors in Botswana indicated that they felt that Bushmen should be required to move out of the bush and be settled in villages. One minister told me that Bushmen should no longer have the right to hunt, since this kind of subsistence practice was "old-fashioned." Another minister said that the assistance program should be done away with since it was giving unfair advantage to people who "did not contribute to the economy of Botswana."

After 1978 there was a subtle policy shift in the Remote Area Development Program. Greater emphasis was placed on social services and infrastructure and less work was done in the areas of economic development and promotion of local institutions. In a statement made at the second Remote Area Development Program (RADP) workshop in June, 1979, the program's directors outlined what they saw as the goals of the program:

> The Remote Area Development Program (RADP) is an integrated rural development program which aims at bettering the general living standard of the poverty stricken communities by providing them with relevant education, health facilities, and healthy water supplies; over and above that by helping them to settle in one place so that they can be supplied with the social services (Remote Area Development Program 1979:3).

Thus, settlement was seen as a major goal of the program by the late 1970s. It is interesting to note that a major reason given for promoting "villagization," as some government officials termed it, was that it "would help civilize the Basarwa." Others said it would "teach them the value of work."

The serious drought of the early to mid-1980s and the more recent drought of 1991-92 brought into sharp relief some of the

problems facing rural people in Botswana. In some cases, rural communities were unable to plow, and they were forced to find alternative means of raising food and obtaining income. Large numbers of livestock died, thus reducing the chances of rural households for gaining income through sales of cattle or goats. Wild plant foods and game were also depleted seriously, thus reducing the opportunities for people to use resources that in the past served as primary sources of food and income.

The drought relief programs mounted by the Botswana Government and international agencies were relatively successful in preventing starvation. Special efforts were made not only to provide food for people but also to assist them through replacement of lost income. The disadvantage of these programs was that in some cases they led to greater dependency on the part of rural people on food and jobs from the government. Some Botswana officials noted that rural people invested less energy in their own activities such as agriculture when they had alternative sources of food and cash. Another problem was that some households in the rural area did not always get the food they were promised. There were also rural communities where the labor-based works projects (LBPW) were not implemented, thus causing local frustration (Gulbrandsen, Karlsen and Lexow 1985; Kann, Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990).

The issues of the rights to development and self-determination are critical one when it comes to the situation of those people living in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. In 1986, the government of Botswana decided that the residents of the CKGR should be encouraged, though not forced, to leave the reserve and take up residence in settlements in adjacent districts. Virtually all of the interviews of residents of the CKGR since that time have indicated that they wish to remain where they are. But in February, 1996, the Botswana government stated once again its objective of removing the people from the reserve, ostensibly to conserve wildlife and promote tourism. Any effort to require people to relocate would be contrary to Botswana's stated principle of social justice and would go against internationally accepted policies regarding relocation.

Both international and local institutions have expressed concerns about the human rights implications of the requirement for people to leave the central Kalahari. In 1996, the London-based indigenous rights organization, Survival International, came out against the relocation policy, as did the American Anthropological

Association, the U.S. and British Governments, and the European Parliament. In Botswana, opposition to the relocation was led by the Khwe advocacy organization Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari), who argued for a strategy where people would be allowed to stay where they were and to continue to receive development assistance.

The Botswana government, on the other hand, chose to follow a policy of "freezing" development in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. When the borehole at !Xade, the largest community in the reserve, broke down, it took months before it was fixed. Buildings and roads were not maintained in the reserve except for those going to Department of Wildlife and National Parks camps. Even drought relief feeding programs were slower in the central Kalahari than elsewhere in Botswana, a situation which threatened the well-being of people in several parts of the reserve. The resettlement plans and policies have serious implications for the rights of people in the remote area of Botswana. The question arises whether such decisions are legal under Botswana law and under Tswana customary law. The *Constitution of Botswana*, the *National Development Plan VII* (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1991) and the various government land acts and white papers on government land policy (e.g. Republic of Botswana 1975) maintain that all peoples, regardless of their ethnic background, have the right to sufficient amounts of land and resources to meet their needs.

It was at a Botswana Society workshop on sustainable rural development held in Gaborone in April, 1992, that members of Kgeikani Kweni First first spoke out against the N/oakwe (the term they used for Bushmen) being alienated from land and natural resources. Other speakers at that and subsequent workshops maintained that Bushmen were guaranteed land rights under Section 14(3) (c) of the *Constitution of Botswana* and that they were not to be disciminated against under Section 15. It was pointed out by a number of participants at the Second International Conference on San Peoples, held in Gaborone, Botswana on October 11-13, 1993, that the government of Botswana had no legal justification for denying people the right to stay where they wished.

A major problem facing Basarwa and other Remote Area Dwellers today in Botswana is that local authorities, including district councils and land boards, have taken the position that settlements developed under the Remote Area Development Program are

open to anyone. The argument that they give is that citizens of Botswana have the right to live anywhere they choose. In practice, what this has meant is that fairly sizable number of non-Remote Area Dwellers have moved into RAD settlements. In many cases, they have taken over the water points and have turned the domestic water sources into livestock watering points. As some residents have pointed out, some of the RAD settlements have become the equivalent of cattle posts, where larger stockowners get free water, paid for out of donor funds or Domestic Development Funds.

Ironically, a problem facing people in a number of places is getting access to sufficient water to meet their needs, in spite of the fact that water provision was a key part of the Remote Area Development Program. According to informants in a number of settlements (e.g. Ukhwi in Kgalagadi District), much of the water goes to livestock rather than people (van der Jagt 1995). Water levels have declined in some areas, and people are no longer able to get sufficient moisture to sustain them during dry periods. Springs have dried up and sip-wells are no longer yielding as much water as they did in the past. This is problematic since it has resulted in people becoming more dependent on groundwater sources, many of which are controlled by people who are not Remote Area Dwellers themselves.

Given the changes in land use and tenure in settlement areas, it will be necessary for planners to consider conducting careful investigations of land, water, and natural resource access. A serious problem in the past has been that the security of tenure of settlement residents has been uncertain (Kann, Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990; Wily 1994). In the case of West Hanahai and Ka/Gae in Ghanzi District, for example, outsiders moved into the areas with their cattle. Since people did not have clear tenure rights from the Ghanzi Land Board, it was difficult for them to remove the intruders. Similar problems can be seen in all seven of the districts where RAD settlements exist. The most recent case, at Qabo in Ghanzi District, saw the movement in 1995 of people with as many as 800 cattle into an area that had been designated as a settlement in a community-controlled hunting area (CCHA). The Botswana government is now faced with a situation of having what some people have termed a land invasion, a process not unlike that affecting indigenous peoples in south and southeast Asia, Indonesia, and the Amazon Basin of South America (Durning 1992).

Decisions have yet to be made about the tenure rights of residents of remote area settlements. In some cases, individual allocations for residential and arable purposes are given by sub-land boards and land boards. In other cases, the land rights of Remote Area Dwellers have been challenged, and it has been suggested that they not be allowed to get land in remote areas (e.g. in the Kgatleng District) (Kann, Hitchcock and Mbere 1990; Wily 1994).

In some areas of the country, Bushmen are leaving the settlements, in part, they say, because of the high levels of social conflict there and because they feel that they do not have access to resources and employment opportunities. Some of them note that they are not able to take part easily in *kgotla* (local council) meetings and that they have little, if any, opportunity to play an active role in local institutions such as Village Development Committees (VDCs).

A major factor affecting the future of a sizable number of Remote Area Dwellers in Botswana is the state of the wildlife population. As the aerial census data from the Research Division of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks have shown, the numbers of wildlife have declined substantially over the past 20 years. Numerous factors have been cited as contributing to this process, including habitat change, fences, human and livestock population growth, and direct offtakes through hunting. Suggestions have been made that one way to reduce the rate of wildlife decline would be to do away with Special Game Licenses (SGLs), the licenses that have been given to Remote Area Dwellers since 1979 who fit the criteria of being hunter-gatherers and who lack other sources of income and employment besides wildlife (Kann, Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990).

Admittedly, there are relatively few groups in rural Botswana which still depend totally on foraging for their subsistence. But there are many groups that hunt wild animals for meat and skins and who collect items such as ostrich eggs which are used in the manufacture of jewelry, an important source of income for sizable numbers of remote area households. Wildlife continues to play a significant role in the lives of many Bushmen both in terms of its economic importance and as material used in social exchange and reciprocity systems. As one Ju/'hoan man in western Ngamiland put it, "Wild animals are the glue that holds our society together." Doing away with Special Game Licenses thus could have a number of negative impacts on rural welfare and social cohesion. At the

same time, given the declining numbers of wildlife and problems in SGL use, changes are definitely necessary in the way that SGLs are handled. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks is currently in the process of considering what steps to take with regard to SGLs and community access to wildlife resources.

Most Bushmen understand full well that they cannot return to "the good old days" when they moved at will and were able to hunt and gather without restriction. As John Hardbattle of Kgeikani Kweni noted at an international conference on Africa's Indigenous peoples sponsored by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), and the Center for Development Research (CDR) in Denmark in June, 1993,

> It's pointless to go back 100 years, so we must use the machinery that now exists to better the Bushmen's lives. It's grim; there are no bright spots now, only red tape covering their future.

Some Bushman supporters have argued that Botswana should consider giving people back some land or alternatively allow them to continue to use areas that are now parks, game reserves, and ranches. Others suggest that they should be given compensation in the form of land, livestock, and cash to replace the losses they have suffered over the years.

The Bushmen themselves vary in their opinions about economic and social change. Some of them express a desire to have some of the benefits that development could bring. Others wished simply to be left alone. As one Kua woman in the eastern Kalahari put it,

> My mother and I do the gathering now. We get what we can find, and our only meat is tortoises. Our men are all away. One of my brothers is at the mines in Johanni (South Africa). Another is in jail at Serowe; a game scout found the bones of an eland in our camp and took him away. Yet another is at Mosetlharobega, looking after cattle. He gets paid little, sometimes only milk. We are hungry, and if this goes on much longer, we will have to go to Moiyabana and work in the homes of the Bakgalagadi or get food at the clinic. We do not want to ask others for help. All we ask is that our men get treated well and paid a decent wage. We just want to be able to live together with our men again. We want our own land, our own water, our own cattle, and our own crops. We can earn these things. We do not want them given to us. If we cannot hunt then we want to be able to raise our own food. We just want to be left alone, to live

in the desert as we always have (Senopile Kimee [pseudonym] of Bae cattle post, Central District).

A fairly sizable number of Bushmen interviewed by government personnel and researchers in the 1970s and 1980s indicated that they wished to remain in their own communities, while at the same time gaining access to social services and development assistance (Hitchcock 1978, 1988; Wily 1979, 1982; Gulbrandsen, Karlsen, and Lexow 1985; Kann; Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990; Mogwe 1992). In the 1990s, there is more discussion about leaving the settlements and forming small, decentralized communities in which people would have the opportunity to manage their own resources. This is also true in cattle post and ranching areas.

Bushmen in grazing areas who are freehold farm workers and cattle post laborers tend to have relatively low incomes, uncertain access to land, small numbers of domestic stock, low levels of literacy and education, low to moderate health standards, and limited access to development assistance (Hitchcock 1978, 1988; Kann, Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990; Mogwe 1992). A significant percentage of these individuals are at least partially dependent on better-off livestock owners for subsistence and income. Many of these people supplement their income through foraging, doing temporary work in towns, or selling handicrafts, meat, thatching grass, and firewood. While the average wages paid to farm and cattle post workers have increased somewhat, they have not kept pace with inflation. The average monthly wage in 1995 was considerably below that which would be required to ensure that the person was making enough to support himself and his family.

A significant problem faced by the Bushmen on the cattle posts is that the numbers of jobs available to them are on the decline. One reason for this reduction in livestock-related jobs, according to interview information, is that cattle owners preferred to have smaller numbers of skilled laborers. A second reason given was that more ranches now have fencing, which reduces the need for herders. In addition, some livestock owners lost animals during the droughts of the 1980s and early 1990s and as a result they now have lower labor requirements. Declining prices paid to livestock producers may well lead to a situation in which numbers of laborers are reduced still further.

The number of Bushmen households involved in agriculture had increased in the 1970s and early 1980s, but declined as a result of the

Kua hunter-gatherer camp - Eastern Kalahari, Botswana

drought and loss of household assets in the late 1990s. As an alternative to the agricultural programs, plans were made for ranches for Remote Area Dwellers (Kann, Hitchcock, and Mbere 1990). In these places people would be able to pursue a variety of activities ranging from raising livestock to natural resource exploitation such as harvesting of wild plants and game. There was also the hope that the ranches might also prove useful as a model for development elsewhere and possibly even as tourist attractions. Unfortunately, the first ranches allocated to Remote Area Dwellers by the Ghanzi District Council were withdrawn at the request of the Ministry of Local Government, Lands, and Housing, in part because of political pressure by influential individuals who wished to obtain them for themselves (Anonymous 1991).

More recently, progress has begun to be made on establishing projects which are community-based and which potentially could benefit local people, including Bushmen. These projects range from handicraft production to ecotourism and game ranching. A number of these projects are being implemented or given technical assistance and advice by Bushman advocacy groups and Bushman non-

government organizations. A freehold farm was purchased by a Bushman non-government organization, Kuru Development Trust, in northern Ghanzi District in 1995, and it is hoped that the farm can be used for a mixture of game and livestock ranching as well as tourism (Axel Thoma, Braam le Roux, personal communications, 1995). In several communities in western Botswana, Bushmen are raising cochineal, a small insect which is used in carmine dye, an important component in the manufacture of food coloring and perfume (Richard Hartley, personal communication, 1995).

A major factor affecting the future of Bushmen in Botswana is the degree to which the government supports the Remote Area Development Program. Given that most of the funds are aimed at people in the RAD settlements, the reduction of these settlements will likely have major impacts on their residents. There are a number of government officials who feel that there is no longer a need for a RAD Program, since in their opinion people can be supported through existing District Council programs aimed at helping people in gazetted villages. The poorest segments of the populations will be covered, it is argued, under existing programs, including those aimed at malnourished children, pregnant and lactating mothers, children under five, and those who qualify as destitutes.

Bushman advocacy groups, RADs, and development workers have all maintained that greater efforts must be made to provide the needy members of remote area communities with livelihood supports. These supports could come in the form of income obtained as part of a flow of benefits from community-based resource management projects. These projects could include such activities as sales of handicrafts, employment, and household benefits from photographic and hunting safaris. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks could assist in this effort, they argue, through expanding the number of employment opportunities for Remote Area Dwellers such as game scout positions and jobs as trackers in the Anti-Poaching Unit (APU) of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. The argument was also made that encouragement should also be provided to private companies involved in natural resource management activities to encourage them to employ Remote Area Dwellers as Community Escort Guides or as problem animal control (PAC) personnel.

Recently, it was recommended that a task force or government commission should be instituted to look into the possibilities of

coming up with livelihood supports for people who are poverty-stricken in remote areas. It has also been suggested that a kind of poverty-alleviation or basic needs strategy should be worked out to assist Bushmen and other people. Socioeconomic rights and development are high on the agendas of Bushmen and those who work with them in Botswana. Economic and social self-sufficiency and self-determination are goals that many Bushmen would like to achieve. Others say they would be content simply with having sufficient food to eat. "Our future is dependent on the government and how it treats us" said one man. As a woman in a small community some distance away from a RAD settlement put it, "It is up to us to make our own future." Bushmen in many areas maintain that self-help efforts will pay off over the long term rather than being dependent on the state or donor agencies. These individuals recognize that decisions are often made by outsiders, including personnel of the central government, district councils, land boards, safari companies, cattle owners, and even members of the Remote Area Development Program.

There is evidence of increased politicization among people in remote areas of Botswana. While no pan-Bushman political ideology has emerged as yet, there are indications that Bushmen are beginning to speak of themselves as a specific class of people deserving recognition and rights (Hitchcock and Holm 1993). Bushmen have taken part in elections since the time of Botswana's founding. There were indications in the last two elections that Bushmen allegiance to the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), the party in power in the country, has begun to erode, and that more Bushmen are voting for opposition parties (Patrick Molutsi, personal communication, 1995). A primary concern of Bushmen in virtually every part of Botswana where they reside are the rights to land and natural resources and the opportunity to make decisions for themselves. Without natural resources and at least some degree of self-determination, they say, Bushmen lifeways cannot survive. As one individual suggested, "We are forced to forage for our future."

Bushmen in Botswana today are seeking ways to improve their standards of living. They are glad to get the help that the government has provided, but they would like more of a say about the ways in which that assistance is structured. They would also like to have the chance to make their own decisions concerning settlement, livelihoods, and development. As international trade liberali-

zation looms closer, Remote Area Dwellers, Bushmen, and other Batswana will be well-served to plan for the future.

A Motswana government planner pointed out in a discussion recently that it is in the best interests of everyone in the country for people to collaborate in their efforts to seek innovative solutions to what undoubtedly will be complex social, economic, and environmental challenges. Overall, he noted, the success of the programs designed to assist Bushmen will depend on the degree to which people themselves are able to participate in decision-making concerning development action.

Clearly, the pace of development is picking up among the Bushmen of Botswana. It remains to be seen if they will be able to become truly self-sufficient in the face of mounting economic, political, and environmental pressures. Given their strong desire to encourage sustainable development, ensure the equitable distribution of resources, and promote popular participation, it appears likely that at least some Bushmen groups in Botswana potentially could achieve their goals. If they are to be successful in their quest for socioeconomic rights and development, however, the Bushmen must have the opportunity to get long-term access to resources, including land, labor, and capital.

It is too early to say whether the Bushmen will be successful in their efforts to promote their socioeconomic and cultural rights in Botswana. There is no question that Bushmen have the determination to change their situations or that Bushmen and those who support them will continue to press for fair, equitable, and just treatment. The question remains whether Botswana will indeed follow the suggestion of its first president, Sir Seretse Khama, and allow the Bushmen, both as individuals and communal groups, the right of self-determination.

DECENTRALIZATION AND LAND RIGHTS: THE BUSHMEN COMMUNITIES OF NAMIBIA

After South Africa took control of South West Africa, now Namibia, in 1915, efforts began to apply some of the principles of *apartheid* to the territory. *Apartheid*, which means "apartness" or "separateness," can be characterized as a theoretical doctrine aimed at keeping separate the various groups defined as distinct by the state. The political program that grew out of the theory of *apartheid* included a series of laws and regulations which were geared toward strengthening already existing segregation policies. These laws were backed up by strong police powers of arrest, detention, and imprisonment.

One of the first steps of the government was to investigate the possibility of establishing native reserves, something that was done in the early 1920s with the setting up of a Native Reserves Commission. Some of these reserves were in remote places (e.g. Aminuis, Epukiro, Otjituo, and Eastern) and consisted primarily of groups who owned stock. In other cases, the native reserves were close to areas devoted to white settlement, and people in these areas were required to provide labor to the settler economy.

In the 1940s and 1950s political tensions were deepening in southern Africa. The policies of *apartheid* were being challenged at the local, national, and international levels. The ruling Nationalist Party of South Africa institutionalized separate development policies after its victory in 1948. Under national legislation, non-whites were are not allowed to live, travel, and work where they wished. They did not have the right to vote, nor were they allowed to have a say in policies pursued by the state.

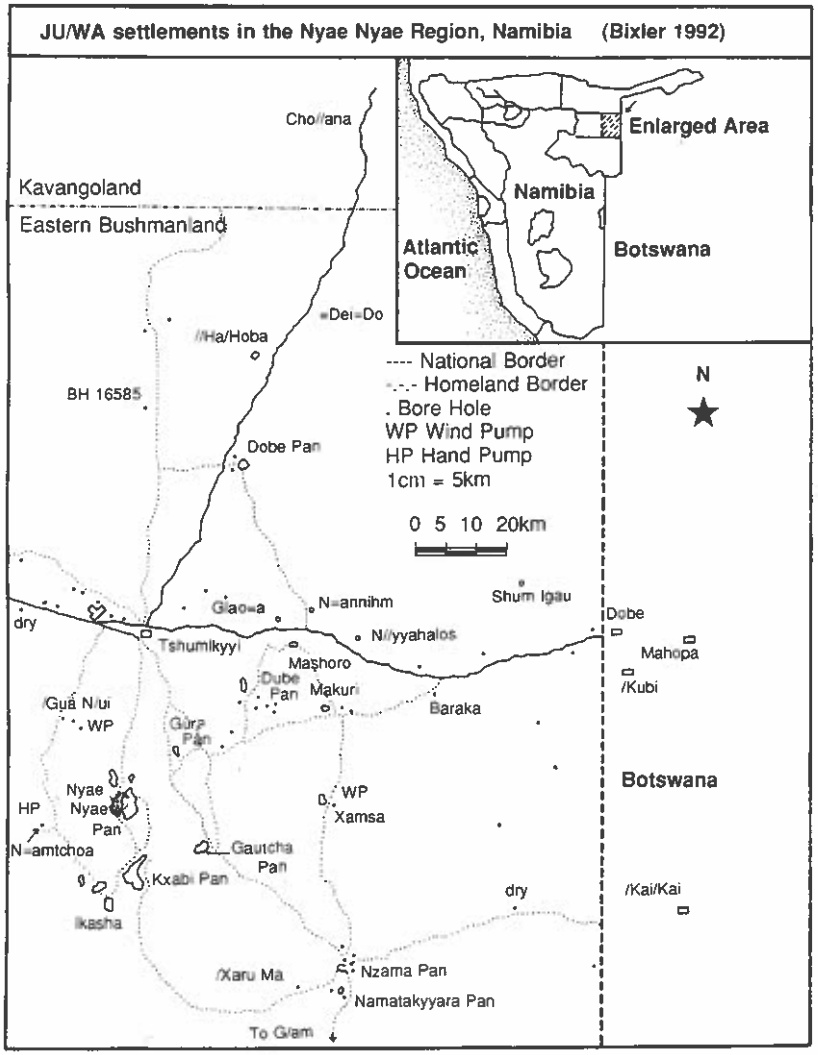
The passage of *apartheid* laws had a number of impacts in Namibia. First of all, it ensured continued economic domination by

whites. Secondly, it restricted the occupancy rights of Africans, often relegating them to unproductive rural reserves or making them stay as temporary laborers in white-owned farming areas. Third, it had a negative impact on African families, frequently dividing husbands from wives or parents from their children. The economic circumstances of many Namibians deteriorated, and dissatisfaction and social tensions increased.

Legislation was also enacted which dictated that social, economic, and political development would be different for the various groups. The 1953 Bantu Education Act stipulated that Africans should receive training which was geared toward their positions as laborers and workers in reserve areas. "Native Education" was placed under the Department of Native Affairs, and control of the schools was removed from church missions, which up until that time had been responsible for almost all African education. The Bantu Authorities Act (1953) provided for the setting up of local authorities in African reserves, most of whom were appointed by the government.

After 1954, the Ju/'hoansi and other Bushmen in Namibia were under the administrative oversight of the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development (Marshall 1976:13). The South West African Native Affairs Administration Act of 1954 laid out the bureaucratic structure under which the Ju/'hoansi and other Namibian populations fell. The Ju/'hoansi and other Namibian Bushmen were at the lowest levels of a several-tiered socioeconomic and bureaucratic system.

By the early 1950s, there were seven major ethnically distinct Bushmen groups in Namibia (Gordon 1992:7). The largest of these groups was the Hai//om, who resided in the Ovambo, Tsumeb, Grootfontein, and Outjo Districts. Numbering approximately 11,000, the Hai//om were affected greatly by the establishment of the Etosha National Park and the declaration of white farming zones in northern Namibia. Other Namibian Bushmen groups included the Khwe (Khoe) in Kwando and West Caprivi (N=5,000), the !Khu in Ovambo and Kavango Districts (N=6,000), the Nharo in Gobabis District (N=1,500), the //Khau-//esi in Hereroland and Gobabis Districts (N=2,000), the !Xoo (Magong) in the Aminuis, Gobabis, and Mariental Districts (N=300), and the Ju/hoansi of Eastern and Western Bushmanland and Hereroland (N=7,000) (Marshall 1989; Gordon 1992; Hitchcock 1992; le Roux and Thoma 1995).



At the time the Marshall family began their visits to the Nyae Nyae region of northeastern Namibia in the early 1950s, the area was one of the few places left in southern Africa where Bushman groups continued to forage and move about the landscape in intact bands (Marshall 1976:3, 12). In 1952, Lorna Marshall estimated that the total Ju/'hoansi population in the Nyae Nyae region was 1,000.

There were 37 different communities in the area, which covered both the Nyae Nyae region (Eastern Bushmanland) and the Dobe-/Ai/Ai region of northwestern Botswana (Marshall 1976:156-161). Group sizes ranged between 8 and 47, and the average population size for those groups counted exactly was 23 persons. Each of these groups resided in and utilized the water, plant foods, game, and other resources in what Marshall (1976:71) calls a territory.

The Marshall Expeditions to the Nyae Nyae region were carried out between 1951 and 1958 (Marshall 1976:1-3). At the time of their visits, the Ju/'hoansi were protected by regulations of the South West African administration, and research permits were required to enter the area, in part because the region was classified as Crown Land and "was closed to white settlers and to Bantu" (Marshall 1976:13). One reason for its being closed was that the government wished to prevent settlement in the Nyae Nyae region by pastoralists from Botswana or from native reserve areas to the south and north. Ironically, in this case, the *apartheid* system protected a portion of a Bushman group's traditional territory.

By the 1950s, there were a number of different groups besides the Ju/'hoansi who resided in or visited northeastern Namibia. Some of these people were Hereros who brought cattle into the region and established cattle posts. Others were Tawana or Kavango who came in for short periods to trade and allow their livestock to water at some of the region's pans. Still others, some of whom were Europeans, hunted in the Nyae Nyae area. Some of the people who entered the Nyae Nyae region came for purposes of obtaining laborers. Forcible abduction of families or individuals, a process known as "blackbirding," was done by both Europeans farmers and Namibian and Tswana agropastoralists, resulting in the loss of labor to local communities and contributing to processes of social change.

The pace of change in the Nyae Nyae region began to quicken during the time of the Marshall expeditions from 1951 to 1958 (Marshall 1976:60-61). The Witwatersrand Native Labor Association (WNLA) was recruiting Ovambo and Kavango men to the north of the Nyae Nyae region, and the trucks passed close by a number of the Ju/'hoansi communities. White farmers entered the area in 1955 and 1956, seeking laborers for their ranches and homes. In 1956 /Aotcha was occupied temporarily by several Herero families from Botswana. After about a year, these families were convinced by the authorities to leave (Marshall 1976:60).

The year 1960 was a turning point in southern Africa generally and the Nyae Nyae region in particular. In February the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, noted that the 'wind of change' was blowing through Africa. An anti-pass campaign on the part of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) led to demonstrations in front of police stations in a number of South African townships. On March 21, 1960 the police in Sharpeville opened fire on a crowd of demonstrators, killing 69 people. The Sharpeville massacre served to awaken the rest of the world to the severity of the racial problems in southern Africa. These problems were brought into sharp focus in some of the homelands of South Africa and Namibia, including the administrative center of Tjum!kui in what was later to become Bushmanland.

On Christmas Day, 1959, the South West African government officially opened an administrative post at Tjum!kui when Claude McIntyre was stationed there to oversee Bushman development activities (Marshall 1976:60-61, 158; Lee 1979:38, 85, 401, 431; Gordon 1992:175-181, 210-212). The Ju/'hoansi of Eastern Bushmanland were encouraged to move to Tjum!kui, which they began to do in 1960 when the first band, from /Aotcha, resettled there. The government promised the Ju/'hoansi jobs, agricultural training, rations, and access to medical care. As =Oma /Kaece noted, "At first we didn't want to go to Tjum!kui but we talked about it and decided it was a better life for us, and we should learn to live like other people" (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:69).

The Bushman Affairs Commissioner assisted the Ju/'hoansi by promoting agriculture while at the same time encouraging people to continue to forage. Infrastructure development included the establishment of a borehole, agricultural fields, a police station, a store, and a housing scheme (Marshall 1976:73, J. Marshall 1989:46-49). The Dutch Reformed Church established the Tjum!kui Bushman Mission in 1961 (Gordon 1992:176). People residing in Tjum!kui were hired to do jobs such as clearing roads and fields. Some people worked in the home of the commissioner while others did odd jobs around the settlement. Unemployment rates were high. The numbers of people with jobs ranged from 9 in 1969 to 85 in 1972 (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:8, 1989:49). The desire for cash increased, particularly after the establishment of the general trading store in 1961.

Tremendous population growth was seen at Tjum!kui: the numbers of people rose from 25 in the early 1950s to 120 in 1961 (Marshall 1976:158, Table 3; Marshall and Ritchie 1984:44, Table 2),

550 in 1965, 700 in 1970 (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:44), 830 in 1975 (J. Marshall 1989:49), 986 in 1978 (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:44), and 1,090 in October, 1980 (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:44). The numbers then began to decline: there were 716 people there in November-December, 1981, and 578 in 1982 (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:183). Today, there are between 350 and 400 people, depending on whether one talks to the Regional Administrator's office, the Tjum!kui school teachers, or local people.

The high population densities and low rates of employment at Tjum!kui, combined with the availability of alcohol, resulted in a whole series of social, economic, and health problems. The degree to which people in Tjum!kui could depend on wild foods declined as resources were depleted in the vicinity of the settlement. The diet deteriorated as people became increasingly dependent upon maize meal rations provided by the administration and foods purchased from the local store. Social tensions in Tjum!kui increased and reciprocity systems were disrupted and people refused to share what few resources they were able to obtain.

Health and nutritional statuses of Tjum!kui residents deteriorated during the period between 1960 and 1978. People suffered from malaria, tuberculosis, and other respiratory diseases. Infant mortality rates rose, in part as a result of increase in gastroenteritis. Alcohol consumption became a serious problem in Tjum!kui, particularly after the establishment of a liquor store there in 1981. Demographic and genealogical data indicate that the death rate increased during the latter part of the 1970s, and by 1981 it exceeded the birth rate (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:49-53). The incidence of anemia, related to iron deficiency, was high among children, and hookworm and other parasites were found in a number of individuals residing in Tjum!kui.

Life in Tjum!kui was characterized by poverty, apathy, and social dissatisfaction. Tensions increased to the point where fights would break out fairly frequently. The homicide and mortality rates from illness were so high that Tjum!kui became known to Ju/'hoansi as "the place of death."

According to Marshall and Ritchie (1984:6), 1970 marked a turning point in the history of the Ju'/'hoansi. It was that year that the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission relating to the establishment of a homeland for Bushman peoples were put into effect. The Odendaal Commission had suggested that West Caprivi

and Bushmanland could be designated as Bushman homelands. The original plan suggested that Bushmanland be a homeland for all of the Bushmen in Namibia besides the Barakwea who were supposed to receive West Caprivi, which, as is noted below, was subsequently turned into a game reserve.

Governmental decisions in 1970 saw 40,000 square kilometers of the Ju/'hoansi's ancestral territory ceded to other groups, including the Herero to the south and the Kavango to the north. A portion of the Ju/'hoansi's area was designated as the Kaudum (!Aodom) Game Reserve. Eventually, the Ju/'hoansi were left with approximately 6,300 square kilometers of their ancestral land, an area only 30% of what it had been originally. They also lost most of the pans that were focus of their *n!oresi*, their traditional territories.

One of the problems that the Ju/'hoansi and other Bushmen had to face in the 1970s was the efforts of the South African Defense Force (SADF) to recruit them into the military or resettle them in places where they were under the control of the military. The South African Police began to use Bushmen as trackers in the early 1970s. Subsequently, Bushmen from Angola and the Caprivi were recruited by the SADF. By 1975 the SADF had two major military bases in the Caprivi: Alpha and Omega. By 1978, according to Gordon (1992:185), Omega contained some 3,000 Bushmen. The soldiers received high salaries and their dependents were provided with rations, blankets, and other goods. One of the most significant effects of the SADF presence in northern Namibia and Angola was that Bushmen became more dependent upon the money, food, goods, and services provided by the military. Large amounts of cash were injected into local economies, some of which was spent on alcohol. Economic stratification was seen in the settlements where soldiers were stationed; essentially, there were a few relatively wealthy people and substantial numbers of poor ones. Social conflict became even more common than it had been previously.

Approximately 1,000 Bushmen from Angola, the Caprivi Strip, and Kavango were brought in to the Nyae Nyae region by the SADF in the late 1970s. They were settled at an army base at Mangetti Dune in Western Bushmanland. According to informants, tensions between the immigrants and the Ju/'hoansi were fairly high. There were also jealousies caused by the flow of money and goods into the region; these were felt especially by people on the margins of the sharing network (Claire Ritchie, personal communication).

The mid- to late 1970s saw another shift relating to land in the Nyae Nyae region besides the concentration of people at Tjum!kui. In 1976 Eastern Bushmanland was declared a nature conservation area under the Native Areas South West Africa Proclamation R188. The fact that the Ju/'hoansi had largely vacated their traditional areas and settled in Tjum!kui made the area even more attractive as a potential game reserve. By the end of the 1970s, a formal plan had been worked out to declare the entire area from Tjum!kui east to the Botswana border, virtually all that was left of the Ju/'hoan territory, as a game reserve.

A major goal of Nature Conservation was to establish boreholes in Eastern Bushmanland to attract game, thus enhancing the tourist potential of the region. Ju/'hoansi would be hired to work as rangers and guides and would only be allowed to hunt using traditional weapons. At a meeting in July in Tjum!kui, opposition to the idea of the game reserve was expressed by =Oma Tsamkxao and a number of other people. One of their concerns was that they might be precluded from returning to their traditional territories if a game reserve was established.

The master plan for Bushmanland National Park, as it was to be called, recommended that people be resettled away from the park area. Only Tjum!kui was to be left as a kind of communal enclave. The Ju/'hoansi would be employed as guides or, as they put it, as "tourist objects."

The decision to turn Eastern Bushmanland into a reserve was opposed vehemently by the Ju/'hoansi. Some of people felt that this plan would not only dispossess them of what little land they had left, but it would also lead to their being dehumanized and treated, as they said, "like animals." Opposition to the game reserve plan grew during the period from 1980 to 1984. Fortunately for the Ju/'hoansi, this campaign was successful, and the game reserve idea was shelved quietly.

One of the problems the Ju/'hoansi faced in Bushmanland was that the region was seen as having great potential by a number of different groups. Nature Conservation had its plans, but so, too, did the military and the Department of Agriculture. Mineral resources were sought by Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), and the Forestry Department wanted control over the timber in Western Bushmanland. And there was the omnipresent threat of pastoral populations that saw the region as having both water and grazing. The land issue became the central focus of concern of the Ju/'hoansi and the Foundation.

Ju/'hoan man at Gautscha watching over cattle in the Nyae Nyae area of Namibia

Decentralization Trends in Eastern Bushmanland

The Ju/'hoansi realized that if they wished to keep their land they needed to take steps to re-establish their occupancy rights in their traditional areas. At the same time, they were aware that if they were to be successful economically, they had to diversify their subsistence economy, establishing, in effect, a mixed system of foraging, farming, and livestock production.

The process of adjusting to life in the dispersed settlements was not easy. In some cases, government officials tried to convince people to remain in Tjum!kui. In other cases, officials went so far as to actually shut down boreholes. There were internal difficulties, as well. Conflicts occurred in some of the communities, especially / Aotcha, where there was a feeling that there were too many free-loaders and the set-up was top-heavy. There were on-going disagreements over access to livestock, disposition of bulls, and who was to go to various places.

According to informants who moved out of Tjum!kui into the initial farming communities, some of the socioeconomic benefits that they experienced included (1) a reduction in social tensions, (2) a positive change in the degree to which generalized sharing and

exchange was practiced, and (3) a greater tendency for people to feel a sense of community. There were more people involved in productive labor in the farming settlements, as well (Marshall and Ritchie 1984:129). Women were working more than they had in Tjum!kui, and this contributed to their regaining high social status (Claire Ritchie, personal communication). Overall, the Ju/'hoansi in the new settlements were very encouraged by what they had been able to achieve.

The success of the initial farming settlements served to instill a desire on the part of other Ju/'hoansi in Tjum!kui to replicate their actions. The difficulty was that most of the people lacked the resources necessary to underwrite the costs of the movement back to their *n!oresi*. There were also pressures exerted by the administration for people not to return to their former territories. As some people in Eastern Bushmanland noted in discussions with me, the desire to leave Tjum!kui was there, but the means to do it were hard to come by.

The decentralization trends among the Ju/'hoansi were enhanced in the early 1980s by a desire on the part of local people to establish a mixed economy and secure their rights to land and natural resources. As Ritchie (1987:63) notes, the idea to move back to their *n!oresi* came from the people themselves. It was facilitated in part by lengthy discussions among the residents of Tjum!kui. Some Ju/'hoansi noted in their discussions with me that it was a kind of push-pull process: Tjum!kui was an unpleasant place to be, which provided the push factor, while the pull came from their *n!oresi*, "the places where our ancestors were buried and where we could live in contentment."

In early 1981, a scheme for a Cattle Fund was worked out by John Marshall and Claire Ritchie in which assistance would be provided to Ju/'hoansi to start their own herds and establish themselves economically. Cattle, tools, and materials were purchased with income from a fund derived from the estate of Laurence K. Marshall. The plan for the fund was formalized in May, 1981, and John Marshall discussed it with members of several communities (/ Aotcha, //Xaru, and //Xaru Ma). Information on the fund spread and people began seeking access to cattle, donkeys, and goats.

The motto of the Cattle Fund was "Helping people to help themselves." As Ritchie (1987:65) notes, the purposes of the fund were to help in raising funds to assist Ju/'hoansi in developing subsistence farming communities, and to work as a lobbying group

to help protect Bushmanland. One of the problems people faced was that they lacked experience in dealing with the media and with higher-level government administrators. The fund helped people on the one hand by publicizing their situation and on the other by serving as a kind of community liaison and advocacy body. One government administrator described the fund as a go-between, sharing information on what local people's opinions and desires were with the government and helping to explain the government's plans to the Ju/'hoansi.

The Cattle Fund purchased livestock and made the animals available to communities that agreed to undertake the work necessary to establish viable farming communities. The conditions for receipt of livestock were that people would build kraals and manage their animals with care. The Cattle Fund arranged for the purchase of livestock from various sources. It also advised people on how to do the various tasks necessary for maintaining their herds.

The most important constraint facing those Ju/'hoansi who wished to return to their *n!oresi* was access to water. In some cases, there were no boreholes in their areas. In other cases, boreholes existed but they lacked pumps. Many of these boreholes had been drilled by Nature Conservation, and the administration was reluctant to allow people to establish themselves and their herds at these places. There were a number of instances in which the administration denied the Ju/'hoansi permission to establish new pumps or repair existing ones.

The Cattle Fund worked hand in hand with the Ju/'hoansi in setting up the farming communities. The numbers of farming settlements began to expand, although there were complications, including problems with elephants destroying pumps and officials telling people that they could not stay on government boreholes.
In spite of the difficulties, people constructed kraals and gardens in a number of localities in Eastern Bushmanland. As Marshall (1989:53) points out, "Experience with the Cattle Fund showed that a few thousand dollars for additional cattle, basic tools, and equipment such as hand pumps and wire was enough to help Ju/'hoansi develop a viable subsistence in stable communities."

By mid-1986, ten Ju/'hoansi farming settlements had been established in Eastern Bushmanland. One of the problems that they faced was the threat of predators. The people of one community, / Dei /Do, were forced to leave their *n!ore* as a result of frequent difficulties with lions. At one point, a Ju/'hoan speared a lion that

was hanging on to the belly of his bull. The predation rate in 1986 was high (John Marshall, personal communication).

The most vexing problem for the Ju/hoansi remained that of land rights. The fear that the land would be taken away continued to be a subject of discussion in meetings. The people who had left /Dei /Do were prevented from returning to their area by Nature Conservation who claimed that the place was theirs since they had installed the water pump there. Nature Conservation continued its policy of drilling boreholes in Eastern Bushmanland, particularly in the northern part of the area. Efforts were made by development workers to compile data on land claims, and a lawyer was hired to compile the information in Namibia on land rights.

In October, 1986 a constitution for a Ju/'hoan Farmers Union was drafted, and it was discussed at length at a meeting held in / Aotcha. During the course of the deliberations, a management committee for the Farmers Union was elected. After a long set of talks, a vote was held and one individual, a young man, was chosen as chairman of the management committee, in part because of the fact that he was literate and had done well in school.

People at the meeting noted the fact that Nature Conservation claimed rights to parts of Bushmanland, particularly in the north, while Herero pastoralists were attempting to make inroads in the south. As one man, Debe Bam, said, "We must help people settle in those places because we will lose them." The Ju/'hoansi continued to have meetings in the latter part of the 1980s to discuss the issues of land rights and settlement establishment. One man, the Chairman of the JFU, Tsamkxao =Oma, pointed out that the people in Eastern Bushmanland did not want outsiders coming in and telling them how to use their land; rather, he said, they wanted to make their own decisions about land allocation.

The establishment of the Ju/Wa Farmers Union in 1986 was yet another turning point in the history of the Ju/hoansi of Eastern Bushmanland. The JFU was a people's organization that emphasized consultation, information dissemination, and decision-making about development strategies. It was also a forum for addressing policy issues such as what to do about gaining secure access to land, how to cope with outsiders wanting to move in to the area, and ways to work out distribution of livestock. The organization played a significant role in consciousness-raising. As Biesele (personal communication) noted, "The most important work of the Farmers Union, which later became the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, was

communicating new understanding and skills needed to reestablish the Ju/'hoansi communities at a time of great political change in southern Africa."

According to the Constitution of the Ju/Wa Farmers Union, an objective of the organization was "to improve and establish farming communities in Eastern Bushmanland and neighboring unoccupied areas which were traditionally the land of the Ju/Wa people" (Ju/Wa Farmers Union 1986:1). It did this in part by encouraging people in Tjum!kui to move back to their *n!oresi*. It also did it by identifying areas that were unclaimed by other groups and allowing people from outside the area, such as those from the Gobabis Farms to the south, to settle in Eastern Bushmanland.

The lack of formal governmental structures among the Ju/'hoansi meant that the move toward representational democracy was something of a challenge. There was a certain amount of discomfort with the idea of specific individuals having the right to speak for others. The egalitarianism inherent in the Ju/'hoan system mitigated against individuals accruing power or authority. As a consequence, the leadership issue was of critical concern and one with which the Ju/'hoansi grappled constantly.

The 1990s brought even more substantial changes to the Ju/'hoansi. On March 21, 1990 Namibia achieved formal independence. Some of the Farmers Cooperative members went to Windhoek to see the independence celebrations, while others celebrated the new government's inception in Eastern Bushmanland. That year, the Farmers Union was formally renamed the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative (NNFC). The new President of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, paid a visit to Eastern Bushmanland along with the Prime Minister and other government officials. Discussions were held between the NNFC and administration officials in Tjum!kui. There were also discussions with representatives of donor agencies with people from Kuru Development Trust, an organization devoted to assisting Bushmen in western Botswana.

After independence, a major change occurred in the relations between the Ju/'hoansi and some of the government ministries, most notably Nature Conservation. What had been a problematic set of relationships evolved into a cooperative and mutually reinforcing interaction. In January, 1991 the NNFC and the Foundation worked with representatives of the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation, and Tourism (MWCT) and Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) on an environmental survey

and land use planning exercise in Eastern Bushmanland. Several suggestions arose out of this exercise, including the recommendation that a joint committee be set up between ministry officials in Bushmanland and local representatives. It was also recommended that local people be allowed to take part in decision-making concerning natural resource management.

The Ju/'hoansi were able to bring their concerns to national attention in 1991 at the Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question. Representatives from the NNFC attended the meeting and made a presentation on the traditional Ju/'hoan land tenure (*n!ore*) system and the work done by the Farmers Cooperative. Subsequently, government officials, including the Minister of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and the President, Mr. Nujoma, recognized the legitimacy of the NNFC as being the equivalent to the traditional authority for Eastern Bushmanland. This recognition was later to prove useful when there were incursions of outsiders who brought their cattle into the region. The farmers cooperative was able to represent the interests of its constituency in negotiations with both the government and with other groups. The NNFC learned some valuable lessons from this experience, particularly in terms of ways to go about defusing potentially difficult land conflict situations.

The leadership of the NNFC played a significant role in the Regional Conference on Development Programs for Africa's San Populations held in Windhoek in mid-June, 1992. The NNFC representatives argued forcefully for the legal recognition of Bushman land rights in southern Africa. They pointed out the importance of local people gaining benefits from the resources in their areas. Protection of their land was imperative, they said, and they stressed the importance of having a representative body to speak for them on resource management issues. They also addressed the issues of education, training, and curriculum development, saying that it was crucial that the lessons taught in school were relevant to local needs and that they be presented as much as possible in local Bushman languages.

The current pattern of widely dispersed communities is in marked contrast to the situation in Bushmanland in the 1960s and 1970s when the population was aggregated at Tjum!kui. The dispersed settlement pattern helps to ensure that local habitats are not overtaxed by resource exploitation and rural development activities. Evidence indicates that the Ju/'hoansi have resource management systems which are relatively effective under low- density condi-

Ju/'hoan man poisoning arrows prior to going on a hunt in Eastern Bushmanland, Namibia

tions. There have been changes in resource management strategies as livestock numbers expanded and technological changes occurred. Pressures from outsiders who wanted to move into the Nyae Nyae region have continued. As a result, some people in the Nyae Nyae region wanted to establish new communities or spread existing ones out in order, as they put it, "to hold our ground."

Land Tenure and Resource Development in the Nyae Nyae Region

The most serious concerns expressed by the Ju/'hoansi related to water and land tenure. Some of them had heard that boreholes were going to be set aside exclusively for wild animals and that people would not be allowed to use them for their stock. This situation, they said, was reminiscent of the approach of Nature Conservation in the past, which established boreholes for game but not for people and their herds. They also expressed concern over the concept of a "conservancy," a land zoning category which they had heard might be implemented in Nyae Nyae.

In communal areas in Namibia, the government retains control of all wildlife resources, and all benefits go to the Central Reserve Fund. The government has the option of allowing private entrepreneurs to have concessions over blocks of land and the wildlife resources on that land. Indeed, this was what was done in the case of Eastern Bushmanland, when the government in 1988 granted trophy hunting rights in the area to Anvo Hunting Safaris. This concession was reiterated in 1991 by the Office of the Prime Minister (Ref. ES/1212/018, 13 December, 1991). In that same memorandum, the Secretary to the Cabinet stated that the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation, and Tourism and the Ministry of Finance should "seriously investigate the possibility to create a mechanism whereby a percentage of revenue generated by trophy hunting be channelled back to rural or local people of the areas." In order for this to be possible in communal areas, government will have to change its enabling legislation, something that it is in the process of doing currently.

Under current legislation in Namibia, the people of Bushmanland do not have security of land tenure, nor do they receive any of the benefits from safari hunting and tourism in their area. The most important issues facing the Ju/'hoansi today, therefore, are those involving access to land and natural resources. The NNFC and the foundation which supports it will have to work extremely hard over the coming years to ensure that the people of Eastern Bushmanland will not be dispossessed or denied access to revenues that are generated in their area. What this means, in effect, is that the NNFC and the NNDFN must make every effort to help frame national legislation relating to land and resource use. It also means greater attention will have to be paid to the decisions of government agencies.

The continuing state of indecision over communal land tenure contributes to a sense of insecurity for Ju/'hoansi communities. In addition, uncertainty regarding the official status of local government creates disincentives for sustainable resource management. Hopefully, these issues will be resolved relatively quickly so that local communities will be able to embark on development and resource management programs with the full knowledge that they will receive the benefits from them.

In the contemporary context, the Ju/'hoansi are in a position where they need to plan in a more concerted way for the use of their land and natural resources. In order to do this effectively,

however, they will need additional technical assistance, more resources for promoting local development, and enhanced access to training and educational opportunities. Community leadership and sociopolitical institutions are in the process of transition in Eastern Bushmanland. People are taking steps to consolidate community strength and improve livelihoods while at the same time they are coping with a variety of problems ranging from drought to land tenure uncertainty.

In many ways, Ju/'hoansi are speaking with a new kind of authority. They are having to deal with the challenges of shifting from a consensus-based system in which everyone has a say to a situation where representatives are having to gauge public opinion and then reflect those opinions in small-scale meetings. While the shifts have not been without difficulties, they are at a point where they are feeling pride in their accomplishments and are excited about new possibilities in the future.

Western Bushmanland and Western Caprivi Bushmen Situations

The militarization of northern Namibia in the 1970s and 1980s was characterized in part by the establishment of army bases where there were Bushman soldiers and the resettlement of Angolan and Namibian Bushmen in villages that some local people described as concentration camps. Vasakela, Hai//om, and !Xo!kung Bushmen were brought into Western Bushmanland in the late 1970s and early 1980s. By the early 1990s, there were 13 settlements containing some 2,100 resettled people in Western Bushmanland. Some of the households in the region were allocated five hectare agricultural plots by the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Rehabilitation in order to assist them in becoming farmers.

The majority of Bushmen in Western Bushmanland are supported either through food-for-work programs or through direct food relief, some of which is administered by a non-government organization, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). Unlike the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae, the communities in Western Bushmanland generally lack domestic animals and they do not have the right to hunt with traditional weapons. In general, the people of Western Bushmanland feel that they lack security of land tenure, and they worry about what might happen to them as the conflicts in Angola are resolved.

There are also a significant number of Khwe and other Bushmen in the Caprivi Strip. West Caprivi forms part of the western portion of the Caprivi Region, one of Namibia's 13 regions defined by a Delimitation Commission in 1992. Most of West Caprivi was proclaimed as a Game Reserve in 1963. Currently, the region contains approximately 6,600 people. The ethnic composition of the region is not as diverse as nearby Kavango, with two Bushman groups and one Bantu-speaking group, the Mbukushu, residing there. Many of the Mbukushu left in the 1940s because of an expansion of tsetse fly (*Glossina morsitans*) in the area, and later, some of them were moved westwards by the South West African administration after the game reserve was declared in the 1960s. Since Independence, Mbukushu have begun to move back into West Caprivi, particularly into the area close to the Okavango River.

Historically, West Caprivi has been relatively unstable, in part because of the military presence from the early 1970s through the 1980s. Several major military installations existed in West Caprivi, including Omega, Chetto (formerly, Omega 2), Bwabwata, and Buffalo on the Okavango River. Since Independence, West Caprivi has seen efforts to provide assistance to former soldiers of the SADF, the initiation of resettlement and rehabilitation programs involving former servicemen and their families, and implementation of a range of development projects, including agricultural schemes, training activities, and establishment of development brigades, most of which have been only marginally successful.

A West Caprivi Community-based Conservation Program is managed jointly by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism and Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC). The goals of this project are (1) to build up the region's natural resource base, (2) to strengthen the capacity of local communities to manage and conserve natural resources, and (3) to facilitate the return of social and economic benefits from natural resources to local communities.

As of late 1995, there were 24 Community Game Guards in West Caprivi, 21 of them Barakwena (Mbarakwena, Kxoe), the predominant Bushman group in the region, and 3 Vasekele (!Kung) Bushmen who lived traditionally in southeastern Angola but who were resettled in West Caprivi by the South African Defense Force in the 1970s. They have played roles in problem animal control, sometimes sleeping in the fields with local residents, and in confiscating illegal arms. There are some indications of an increase in wildlife populations in West Caprivi, particularly elephant.

A Chief's Council consisting of the Barakwena chief, two Barakwena elders, and the Omega base project manager was established in the early 1990s with the assistance of the NGO Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. This Council sometimes draws on local headmen in the region which are estimated to number currently around 16. A West Caprivi Steering Committee (WCSC) is also in place, and there are indications that the leadership of the committee is both articulate and well-informed.

The fundamental difficulty facing the Bushmen of West Caprivi lies in the indeterminate status of land and the indeterminate status of authority structures (both government and traditional) in the region. Formally, all of West Caprivi has the status of a game reserve (with the exception of the Kwando Triangle). The West Caprivi Game Reserve is divided into core wildlife areas and a "multiple use" area with human settlement and limited agricultural activity. The area falls under the jurisdiction of the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism, but the *de facto* situation is that other government ministries or agencies (Lands and Resettlement, Prisons, Agriculture) have taken the initiative to start projects or rearrange settlement in the area. The local institutions have lacked the capacity to negotiate effectively with government agencies and as a result have been unable to prevent plans being made elsewhere without consulting or seeking input and advice from the current residents of the area.

The same lack of jurisdictional clarity applies to traditional authority. The Barakwena and Vasekele are united under one chieftainship, but they are under the threat of Mbukushu land claims and in-migration from west of the Okavango River. The Mbukushu do have historical connections to the area, having been removed from West Caprivi in the 1960s. A number of Mbukushu have returned to West Caprivi and have established residences and agricultural plots over the past five years. This situation has increased tensions between resident Bushman populations and the immigrants.

There have also been tensions arising from the uncertainty surrounding land tenure status in the region. Residents of Omega noted in 1995 that they were being requested to move out of the former base and that they had therefore to leave homes which they had paid for themselves. Some of the Barakwena and Vasekele have gone to Bagani, others have moved west to Chetto, Mashambu, and Dodge City, and still others have returned to their former territories (e.g. to Xhamxhom or //am//om). This decentralization

trend is similar to that of the Ju/'hoansi movement out of Tjum!kui in the 1980s. Allocations of plots 4 hectares in size have been made by the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Rehabilitation to people in several West Caprivi sites, including Bagani and Chetto. While the land has been demarcated, there is still a question about whether or not the plots have actually been registered in the names of the people who were allocated them. Land for grazing has not been provided, causing consternation among local people, some of whom have acquired livestock or are in the process of doing so.

The major problems facing the various communities in West Caprivi today are extreme poverty and insecurity of land tenure. A substantial portion of the West Caprivi population lives well below the poverty datum line. Some of them receive pensions, and a significant number of people are dependent on food relief provided through the Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN) and delivered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. A number of people, primarily men, have been able to get short-term jobs working on the tarring of the road from Bagani across West Caprivi.

One of the most critical problems facing West Caprivi, besides the prevailing socioeconomic conditions, is what is, for all intents and purposes, a "jurisdictional open access" situation (Hitchcock and Murphree 1995). Non-Bushmen groups are moving in to West Caprivi, and there are few, if any, efforts being made to control the in-migration. The administrative status of West Caprivi is somewhat confusing, since the presence of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Rehabilitation (MLRR) is substantial, especially in the Omega area, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Water, and Rural Development has projects in Omega and Bagani. Options for the region include deproclaiming the Game Reserve status of all West Caprivi outside the core areas while creating simultaneously one or more conservancies (specialized land areas which would be controlled by local institutions) in the area, or alternatively maintaining the current formal Game Reserve status for the entire area, with the Ministry of Environment and Tourism asserting its jurisdictional authority at inter-ministerial levels. The Barakwena and other Bushmen would prefer the former solution since they would like to ensure that they have long-term land and resource rights in West Caprivi.

ZIMBABWE: INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The year 1992 saw one of the worst droughts in recent memory in southern Africa. Some observers described the environmental situation as the poorest in a hundred years. It was noted in the Zimbabwe newspapers that a small group of Bushmen in the western part of the country were facing severe problems and that some of them may even have been starving. Different reasons were offered as to why the indigenous communities of western Zimbabwe were suffering such difficulties. On the one hand, people argued that the problems of declining aquifers, soil erosion, and degraded range resources were a product of colonial policies which resulted in inequitable distributions of land and natural resources. Another view was that the Bushmen were being squeezed into smaller and smaller areas by government and development agencies, decisions which set aside large areas as national parks, forest reserves, and other kinds of conservation zones.

The history of Zimbabwe, like that of other southern Africa nations, is one of conflict, exploitation, revolution, and political reconciliation. Zimbabwe's relatively stable political and economic situation today reflects a mixture of political pragmatism and diversified economic approaches which have enabled the country to get back on its feet after a long and bitter struggle for majority rule. The Bushmen of western Zimbabwe played important roles in this struggle, and they have been involved in post-independence efforts to involve local communities in decision-making about the management and use of natural resources (Hitchcock 1995; Hitchcock and Twedt 1995).

Known during colonial times as Southern Rhodesia, the country had a Royal Charter and was administered from 1889 to 1923 by

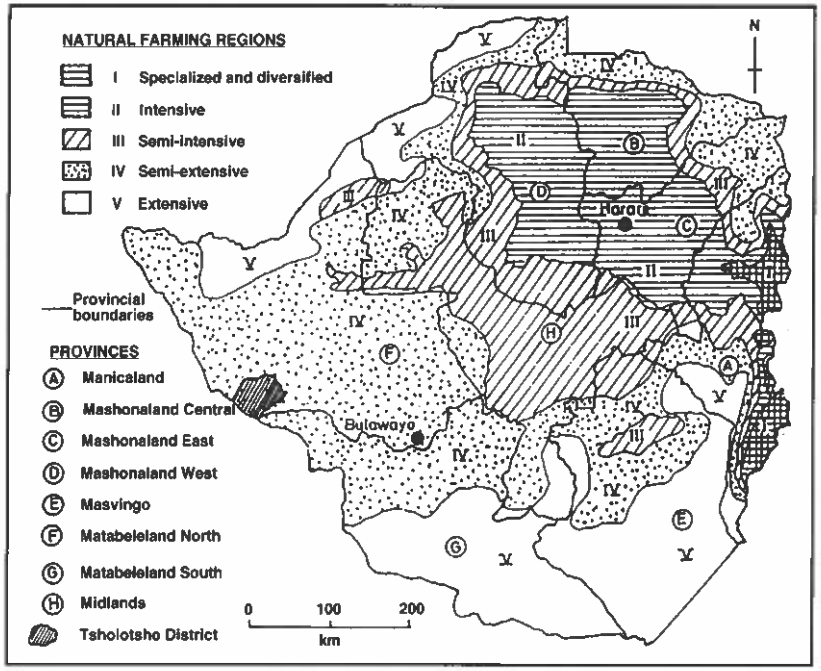
the British South Africa Company (BSAC). Rhodesia became the British Crown Colony of Southern Rhodesia in 1923, settling the question of whether the country would join the Union of South Africa. Legally, Southern Rhodesia remained under British authority and as such, any non-white discriminatory legislation was to be sent to London for approval, a practice designed to safeguard non-white rights. The policy proved to be ineffective, as the colonial government engaged in discriminatory policies throughout its history.

Southern Rhodesia provided an extension of the pyramid-type policy of segregationist South Africa. The policy was established by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, another version of the South African Natives Land Act of 1913. The country was divided into white-owned areas and black reserves. The idea was that whites would occupy the upper portion of the white pyramid with blacks forming the unskilled worker base. In the black pyramid, whites would hold the top political and administrative offices with blacks occupying the rest of the pyramid. This act defined and limited black property ownership to the designated areas, most often least productive and inaccessible to the railway system. Further acts were passed to protect white farmers from black competition in crop production as well as from the formation of black labor unions.

The Land Husbandry Act of 1951, drafted to further protect and expand the white economy, abolished the traditional system of land tenure in African areas. Tribal land became available for individual ownership which was designed to enlist black landholder's support for the existing political system as well as force those unable to buy land into the cities and the subsequent labor pools.

Attempts to establish a white-dominated Central African Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, coupled with the Land Husbandry Act of 1951, resulted in a powerful nationalist movement which ultimately would challenge the white-dominated political structure of Southern Rhodesia. Prior to this time, political discontent had been nurtured and expressed through both social welfare and religious movements (e.g. the African Watchtower Movement, and after World War II, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union ICU).

Southern Rhodesia, unlike British-governed Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi), was self-governing and had its own military forces. As such, it was determined to preserve its already-established, white-supremacy practices. Politi-



Republic of Zimbabwe showing natural farming regions and provinces

cal unrest in the native reserve areas led to the declaration of a State of Emergency which banned black political movements and saw their leaders arrested. Efforts were made by the state to suppress opposition. This led ultimately to the white Rhodesian government declaring itself independent of Great Britain in 1965.

Prime Minister Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was an open act of rebellion against Britain and isolated Rhodesia from formal recognition by other countries. The only weapon that Britain had against the outlaw government of Rhodesia was economic pressure which proved to be only partially effective, largely because of the support from Mozambique and South African governments. By 1966, a fifteen year long guerilla war had started, pitting black liberation forces against government troops. Guerilla warfare continued until 1980 when the Smith gov-

ernment was overthrown. This phase of the war (known locally as Chimurenga) was dependent upon both the political preparation among the African villages and the progress of Mozambique's struggle for freedom from Portuguese domination.

The cost of war, both military and civilian, coupled with the economic sanctions finally took its toll on the Smith government. Independence was finally achieved in 1980 under the leadership of Robert Mugabe. Mugabe promised a policy of reconciliation and set about the formidable task of uniting and reconstructing the new country. The new country employed a mixed economic strategy, with emphasis on both private and state-controlled economic development approaches.

Economically, Zimbabwe has done relatively well. In spite of the loss of some skilled whites, there has not been a labor shortage. New businesses have been established, and the country has continued to do well in agriculture and mineral production. The one area where problems continue is in land distribution; in some cases, rural blacks feel that redistribution of land has not been done quickly enough or in sufficient amounts. Questions have also raised about equity in political decision-making.

As was the case with Botswana, Zimbabwe played a leading role in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Mugabe was a leading spokesman for sanctions against South Africa. Zimbabwe has also provided military support to the government of Mozambique in order to protect the railway which goes to the port at Beira from attacks by the Movimento Nacional da Resistencia de Mocambique (MNR, or Renamo). Efforts were made by Zimbabwe to obtain financial and political support for the Frontline States, and it was instrumental in providing innovative leadership in the activities of the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC).

Zimbabwe had to confront major problems of social injustice, the legacy of racially based development strategies. It also faced stiff economic competition from its neighbors. The government of Zimbabwe set about trying to expand economically while trying to resolve problems of landlessness and poverty. President Robert Mugabe promised a policy of reconciliation and began the formidable task of uniting and reconstructing the new country. The aim of Mugabe's development program was to decrease reliance on expensive imports by promoting modest domestic activities and emphasizing self-sufficiency.

Like a number of southern African countries, Zimbabwe has concentrated a substantial portion of its resources on rural development. Some of the programs have been oriented toward establishing social and physical infrastructure, including schools, health facilities, roads, and water systems. Livestock production, agriculture, and small-scale business development have also been promoted. Zimbabwe also attempted to strengthen local groups and establish new political institutions such as district councils, ward committees, and village development committees.

The Tyua Bushmen of Western Zimbabwe

A good example of the problems faced by Zimbabwe in enhancing the well-being of rural people can be seen in the case of the Bushmen (Batwa, Amasili) in the Tsholotsho District in the western part of the country. Tsholotosho (known historically as the Nyamoandlovu District) is in Matabeland North Province, one of the eight provinces in Zimbabwe. Tsholotsho District is a relatively remote area, with limited physical and social infrastructure. It is a tree-bush savanna region bounded on the north and northwest by Hwange (formerly Wankie) National Park, on the east by commercial farms, on the west by the Botswana border, and on the south by the Amanzanyama (Nata River) which separates it from Bulalima Mangwe District.

Tsholotsho was well-known in southern Africa for its abundant wildlife populations and for the fact that it contained an indigenous group of former foragers, known locally as the Tyua (Chwa). Numbering approximately 1,200 in Zimbabwe and 6,000 in Botswana, the Tyua live in small dispersed settled villages that range in size from 10 to 120 people. Most of the Tyua today depend primarily upon crops (e.g. sorghum, millet, melons and beans), milk and meat from cattle and goats, and food obtained through purchase or reciprocal arrangements with livestock owners and villagers. A fairly sizable number of Tyua work for other people as herders or agricultural laborers, while some of them engage in wage work in towns or the mines (Hitchcock 1988, 1995).

Among the Tyua there were traditional leaders, known as // *kaiha*, who played a role in community decision-making and who were influential in discussions concerning resource utilization. According to Tyua informants, some of these individuals, who they

referred to as headmen and headwomen, sometimes organized group labor activities such as cooperative hunts, and they oversaw the distribution of meat and other resources. The traditional leaders also played significant roles in determining who was allowed to enter Tyua territories (*no*). Tyua communities also contain specialized hunters (*dzimba*) who led hunts and who guided European hunters and travellers when they came into the Tsholotsho region.

The rinderpest epidemic of 1896-97, combined with extensive hunting of large mammals by both European and local people, led to a significant reduction in wildlife numbers. The depletion of wildlife fueled concerns in the colonial government that the resource potential of the region would be lost unless steps were taken to stop the killing. One way to deal with the problem, it was decided, was to utilize the 'royal game' principle of Ndebele and other tribes's chiefs and to declare wildlife species as state property. It became illegal for individuals to kill game even if it invaded their fields or threatened their lives. As one Tyua put it, "The Europeans became the gamekeepers, and the Africans became the poachers." Animals such as elephants, rhinoceros, lions, and giraffe were ruled off-limits to subsistence hunters. People who killed these animals without permission were punished, and in some cases they were arrested and jailed for their actions.

In the period between 1890 and 1923, the Department of Agriculture oversaw the administration of game. The first full- time officer with responsibility for overseeing game management was appointed in 1928. The Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929 saw the establishment of several game reserves and national parks, including Wankie (now Hwange) Game Reserve. With the establishment of the protected land area, local people were required to cease their resource procurement activities. Police patrols were mounted by the Rhodesian government in the remote areas of western Zimbabwe and police were ordered to arrest what were described as "ivory poachers."

The game ranger who was appointed to oversee the Hwange area in the late 1920s, Ted Davison, undertook trips into the region to assess its status and to tell Bushmen and other residents that they were breaking the law (Davison 1977:17-24). Davison, unlike other wildlife management personnel, was empathetic toward Bushmen, as indicated in the following statement:

> These Bushmen, in fact, evoked a degree of sympathy. They were not really poachers in the worst sense. Just like a pride of lions, they killed only for their own needs, amounting to not much more than an animal a week. However, the law had come to Wankie Game Reserve and it had to be implemented.

Unfortunately, there were other, less positively inclined individuals, some of whom worked for the government and others who were "self-appointed conservationists." One of these men, H.G. Robins, was a former hunter who resided on a farm to the north of Wankie Game Reserve. According to Davison (1977:23), Robins was obsessed with the idea that the region was "infested with poachers, all of whom were concentrating their efforts on his land." Robins carried out patrols both by vehicle and on foot, looking for the tracks of Bushmen who he believed were responsible for what he saw as declining numbers of large game.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Bushmen were informed by government officials that they had to move out of the Wankie Game Reserve. Some of them did so, but others retreated into the dry interior along the Botswana-Zimbabwe border. Patrols were sent in to arrest people and to remove them from the game reserve. Oral history data indicate that the Tyua who left the reserve shifted into a more mixed economic system in which livestock production played a significant role. Some of the Tyua male household heads became herders (*badisa*) for Ndebele and Ngwato cattle owners, receiving milk, grain, and sometimes a cow a year in exchange for their labor.

In the 1940s a whole series of changes occurred in population distribution and land use patterns in the northeastern Kalahari region. In 1943 two fliers from the Royal Air Force (RAF) air base near Bulawayo disappeared and were presumed to have been murdered by a group of Ganade Tyua from Gum//gabi, a pan northwest of the Nata River (Hitchcock 1995). Twaitwai Molele, a well-known Tyua traditional doctor, and seven other Tyua were arrested for the crime and were put on trial at the High Court in Lobatse on September 25, 1944. At the trial evidence was presented by witnesses, but it was considered insufficient. The bodies of the men were never found, and the little material supposedly belonging to the men that was in the possession of the Tyua could not be traced to them directly. As a consequence, the Tyua were acquitted of the murder charge.

On December 22, 1944 Chief Tshekedi of the Ngwato tribe of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana) met with 70 Bushmen and told them of the displeasure of the tribal and colonial governments over the murder of the two cadets. People were informed that they could not bear any arms, that they would be relocated out of the region, and that they would no longer be allowed to hunt in the northern Kalahari region. Not surprisingly, local reaction was one of dismay.

In the late 1940s, according to Tyua informants, people were still being rounded up by police patrols, some of them mounted on camels brought from Tsabong in the southwestern Kalahari, and forced at gunpoint to migrate south to the Nata River area, where they were settled in villages. These villages, it turned out, were overseen by non-Bushmen peoples, including Kalanga and Ngwato, who were able to benefit from the presence of so many potential laborers. There are no official indications of any major violence on the part of either the British Protectorate Administration officials or the Ngwato tribal police, but informants maintained that they were beaten and tortured for refusal to comply with the orders to leave the area. From the standpoint of the Tyua, the actions of the Administration and the Ngwato Tribe were tantamount of dispossession and destruction of their way of life. As one Tyua put it, "We were forced to eat grass because they took away our land and our weapons." A Tyua woman pointed out that children and the elderly were starving in the Nata River region because of the actions of the government.

In the opinion of the Tyua, the disappearance of the airmen incident played into the hands of the government since it provided a justification for removing the Bushmen from the Northern Crown Lands, something which made it easier for the government to establish ranching and agricultural schemes in the region. Their suspicions were confirmed when, in the late 1940s, the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) established a ranching scheme northwest of Nata Village and close to Pandamatenga in Botswana and Matetse in Zimbabwe. Some local Tyua were employed to help build fences and later they worked as herders on the ranches. The ranch managers engaged Tyua to hunt lions for them. They also were engaged to shoot wildebeest to prevent the spread of disease and killed buffalo and larger antelopes such as eland in an effort to protect farm fences. The result was a further reduction in the numbers of wild animals in the region.

Construction of a veterinary cordon fence from the Botswana-Zimbabwe border to Dukwe and south along the side of Sua Pan in 1954 also had impacts on wildlife populations. The fence restricted the movements of wildebeest, zebras, and other mobile species, some of which died along the fence. When Hoof-and-Mouth (Foot-and-Mouth) Disease broke out among livestock herds, as it did in 1958, local people were stopped from taking meat and other goods from one locality to another, something which resulted in hardship since they were not able to earn income through trade. It also meant that people could not move their cattle from cattle posts to the villages, thus restricting access to milk and draft power. Some Tyua went to Francistown in Botswana or to Bulawayo and Wankie in Zimbabwe to find work. The women and children who remained behind had difficulties in getting sufficient labor to plow fields, and some of them said that they suffered severe privation because of the lack of food, especially meat. The only source of protein for some of the communities was the meat they were able to scavenge from elephants and other animals killed by safari hunters who continued to visit the area.

The late 1950s and 1960s saw incursions of Kalanga and other cattle owners in the Tsholotsha and Nata regions. The Tyua came into conflict with some of the immigrants over burning practices. The Kalanga and Ndebele felt that the Tyua were burning the bush at inappropriate times and that it was destroying the grazing for their cattle. Efforts were made by the government to stop fire-setting, and some Tyua were arrested for their actions. In addition to efforts to control hunting and burning, the development of water points and dams led to increased livestock densities in the region, which led to a reduction in wild plants upon which Tyua depended. Tyua informants noted that the reduction of wild plant species had a negative effect on wildlife, This was especially true in the Kalahari Sands areas of Wankie Game Reserve, which make up 9,470 square kilometers of the 14,651 square kilometer reserve, or approximately 65% of the region.

The periods of heavier rainfall between droughts saw a build-up of fuel which was burned off by both foragers and pastoralists. The greater frequency of burns in dry seasons and dry years served to reduce local vegetation, which contributed to an increase in soil erosion. There was, again according to local informants, an increase in run-off, which led to the siltation of dams, lakes, and pools in the rivers. These erosional processes contributed to a reduction in fish

populations. Thus, the option of fishing as an alternative to hunting was no longer as available. Overall, subsistence security of Tyua populations declined substantially.

In 1980, an incident occurred which resulted in increased concern on the part of both the Zimbabwe and Botswana governments about wildlife and land use issues. In June, 1980, several Tyua and Kalanga were hunting illegally in Hwange National Park, and they had a firefight in which several Zimbabwe game scouts were killed along with some of the poachers. Subsequently, some of the people who were involved in the incident were hunted down and killed inside Botswana. This incident led to a greater presence of wildlife personnel in the region.

Human Rights Issues in Western Zimbabwe

The Tyua were well-acquainted with paramilitary activities. During the Zimbabwean War of Independence (1965-1980), they had been subjected to repeated military attacks by government forces and were forcibly resettled into "protected villages" where they were not allowed to have weapons, engage in hunting, or even protect their crops from marauding wildlife. In the early 1980s, after Zimbabwe achieved its independence, tensions continued to be felt in Matabeleland, where one of the major groups of freedom fighters, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Liberation Army, the military wing of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), had its primary base of support. Some of the former guerrillas felt that they had not been treated appropriately by the new government under Robert Mugabe.

Tensions erupted into conflict in late 1980 and early 1981. Some of the former guerrillas returned to the bush and began what turned into a low-level insurgency. Beginning in 1982 and continuing into the mid-1980s, the Zimbabwe government carried out counter-insurgency operations against what they termed "dissidents." These operations included military attacks on villagers, kidnappings of suspected terrorists, torture and murder of detainees, commission of a wide range of atrocities against the civilian population, and the restriction of the movement of food into the area. Before it was over, as many as 2,000 - 20,000 people were killed, and many of their bodies dumped into old mines which dotted the area. According to local informants, Tyua leaders in particular were targeted for

execution by government forces. By the late 1980s, the atmosphere had improved considerably, Tyua and Nebele were released from prison, and eventually a peace accord was signed.

Community-Based Resource Management

In 1989 efforts began to be made to promote community-based resource management and rural social and economic development in the Tsholotsho and Bulalima-Mangwe Districts where the majority of Tyua reside. Under the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975, the Tsholotsho and Bulalima-Mangwe District Councils began to devolve authority over benefits from wildlife to communities and wildlife committees under the Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). This program was aimed at increasing conservation while at the same time ensuring greater economic benefits to local people.

The CAMPFIRE Program has been cited as a model of community- based resource management (Adams and McShane 1992). A basic principle behind CAMPFIRE is the re-empowerment of local communities through providing them with access to, control over, and responsibility for natural resources. A second principle is that local communities should have the right to make decisions regarding those natural resources and any activities that affect them. A third principle is that communities should receive the benefits from the exploitation of natural resources.

In order to achieve the objectives of the CAMPFIRE program, it was necessary to obtain the voluntary participation of local communities and to provide the appropriate institutions under which resources could be managed and exploited. The assessment of the districts which have initiated CAMPFIRE programs in Zimbabwe, including those in western Zimbabwe in which the U.S. Agency for International Development has a regional natural resource management (NRMP) project (Binga, Bulilima-Mangwe, Hwange, and Tsholotsho) reveals that some progress is being made toward the empowerment of local communities and the provision of direct benefits. At the same time, it is apparent that greater efforts need to be made to devolve benefits and decision-making power to the community level (Hitchcock and Nangati 1992).

One of the problems with CAMPFIRE is that many of the decisions about resource management come from outside the pro-

ducer community. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the Tsholotsho District Council, which refused to allocate decision-making power to lower-level institutions such as ward and village committees. Communities were informed by the council that the money was going to be spent on a road and construction of social infrastructure. Nevertheless, there is evidence that some of the people at the community level in Tsholotsho are lobbying hard for greater access to economic returns from safari operations and a greater say in decision-making.

The Tsholotsho area, which is 738,200 hectares in extent, is administered by a district council, made up of 19 councilors elected in terms of the District Councils Act of 1980. The council is responsible for all development programs in the district. Local people maintain contact with the central government through a District Administrator who is the chief executive officer appointed by government through the Ministry of Local Government, Rural, and Urban Development. Since the district is made up of communal land, people do not have title to it. Arable land is held individually while grazing and wood land areas are held as common property in lower administrative units, villages and wards.

One of the problems facing local people is that they did not have access to non-wildlife natural resources such as timber in the communal areas of the country. Private logging companies, on the other hand, were able to benefit greatly from the extraction and sale of timber. Commercial logging had gone on in the area for years, though much of it ceased in 1991 due to depletion of hard wood species. Wood consumption for beer brewing, a major economic activity in the area, was estimated at around 6,200 cubic meters per year over the area (Fanuel Nangati, personal communication). The local authority eventually put into place control measures, especially on mukwa (Rhodesian teak) which currently is not being cut. The Natural Resources Committee of the District also monitored forest utilization in the area and attempted to discourage wasteful practices. Woodlots have been introduced in the area, and local schools have a Schools and Colleges Tree Growing and Tree Care Program.

In Tsholotsho, according to Tyua and other local people, community members are not receiving full benefits from the wildlife exploited by non-local hunters. In 1991, the district councils received Z$ 28,000 (about US$ 5,600) per elephant, even though hunters for safari companies pay US$ 250 per day and additional

amounts for the trophy. Pressures are building for district councils to increase the amounts of money that they get from safari companies doing business in their areas. According to Tyua and other residents of western Zimbabwe, elephants represent a major problem. They destroy crops in their fields, harass people and livestock, and sometimes kill people. Local people wanted to kill elephants but were not allowed to do so. Problem animal control (PAC) efforts of the Department of Wildlife Management and National Parks were not very effective. As a result, there was growing dissatisfaction among Tyua and other people about the ways in which the government was handling the elephant issue.

This situation worsened after 1989 when elephants were placed on Appendix 1 of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna (CITES), which meant that trading in ivory was banned. The price of ivory plummeted, but so, too, did elephant-related safari hunting and ivory carving employment opportunities. Local people had to contend with increased numbers of elephants raiding their fields and villages. In some parts of Tsholotsho and in neighboring Botswana, the herds of elephants were so large that they had a devastating impact on local habitats.

Under CAMPFIRE, funds derived from elephant hunting go to district councils which use those funds for development purposes. The idea behind this approach is for people are able to see the utility of conserving elephants, since they and their children are able to benefit from the schools, clinics, and roads that are constructed with the aid of these funds. It is hoped that there will be a greater tendency for people to bring social pressure to bear on poachers and to find alternatives to having game scouts shoot problem elephants.

The government of Zimbabwe responded to the poaching problems by stepping up anti-poaching patrols, which led in some cases to fairly serious confrontations between local people and game scouts. The district council, for its part, decided to establish a wildlife management area as a means of protecting game. It also initiated development projects aimed at bringing about a restructuring of livestock distributions.

As grazing quality deteriorated in the more heavily stocked eastern part of the district, people moved their herds to the west, close to the Botswana border, where they kept them on cattle posts that were managed by Tyua laborers. When the rains begin, they

take move the cattle back to the east. This transhuman pattern is known among the Ndebele as the *lagisa* system. In the early 1990s, with the drought having resulted in serious deterioration of the grazing and lowering of the water table in Zimbabwe, people tended to keep their cattle herds close to home. This meant a reduction in employment opportunities for Tyua. It also meant that Tyua did not have access to milk from the cattle, something that affected their nutritional status.

In general, the effects of the drought and changed resource management policies on the well-being of Tyua in Zimbabwe have been significant. The fallback strategies that they used in the past such as exploitation of smaller body-sized prey, trapping, and fishing were not as effective as they once were. Relatively few wild plant resources escaped unscathed from the drought. This was particularly true around villages, where utilization pressure is high. As a result, people were forced to turn to non-government organizations and state relief agencies for food and cash-for-work programs.

Tyua and other rural people in western Zimbabwe responded to the drought and deteriorating economic conditions in a number of innovative ways. A number of them diversified their economic systems, expanding the production of goods such as baskets for sale or seeking bones of dead animals which they sold to bonemeal processing factories. Households broke up, with adult males going to towns to seek work, leaving behind women and children who tended small stock and foraged for food and materials. Livestock sales increased as a means of generating income to purchase food. Local community members also initiated small-scale conservation and development projects.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the drought and economic deterioration in western Zimbabwe, some of the Tyua and other people have called for greater efforts at natural resource conservation and management. Community members requested that they be allowed to control the exploitation of wild resources such as vegetable ivory palm (*Hyphaene ventricosa*) since it is such an important resource for basket-making, a major source of income for Tyua and other rural women. Others recommended that limits be placed on elephants and other wild animals being taken by safari hunters in order to ensure that there are sufficient numbers of animals after the drought is over. Still others pushed for an expansion in the number and distribution of water points so as to spread livestock and wildlife out as a means of reducing grazing and browsing pressure.

Conventional wisdom about drought responses among foragers and agropastoralists holds that people tend to employ a variety of economic and social strategies in order to get through periods of resource stress. This is certainly the case among the Tyua in western Zimbabwe. It is also the case among the Doma (Vadema) in Kanyemba Ward of Guruve District, people reputed to be Zimbabwe's only other hunter-gatherers. Although poverty and malnutrition increased among Tyua households in western Zimbabwe, this did not prevent them from engaging in resource conservation and economic development activities. These kinds of efforts, if they are participatory and balanced in their approaches, hold significant promise in terms of enabling Tyua and other people to increase community self-sufficiency.

IDENTITY POLITICS AND THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN BUSHMEN

The 1990s have proved to be an extremely active period in the history of southern African Bushmen. Numerous meetings were held in which Bushmen from many parts of the Kalahari and non-government organizations representing their interests, took part (for a list of these meetings, see Appendix 1). The international news media paid a great deal of attention to issues with which Bushmen were concerned, ranging from the establishment of new institutional structures and the local and national levels to threats to the livelihoods of G/wi and G//ana Bushmen and Bakgalagadi as a result of Botswana government decisions concerning relocating the residents of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana.

The Bushmen of South Africa faced similar problems to those in Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe in that they had to contend with other groups intent on taking away their land and resource rights and restricting their civil and political rights. Historically, the Bushmen of South Africa were treated poorly by their neighbors, particularly by white settlers who moved into the interior of South Africa after 1652. Large numbers of Bushmen were killed or displaced, resulting in the near-depopulation of Bushmen in South Africa.

Today, there are approximately 4,700 Bushmen in South Africa, the vast majority of whom were resettled there in 1989-90 by the South African Defense Force after the end of the war with the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia and Angola. In the Schmidtsdrift area of the Northern Cape, there are former !Xuu, !Kung, and Vasakela soldiers along with their families on an army base. In the early 1990s, 520 soldiers and their families had members employed as farm hands and workers in the

vicinity of Schmidt (Uys 1995). There is also a very small population of Bushmen who were moved from their ancestral homes in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park to a tourist area at Kagga Kamma (Whyte 1993).

Currently, there are two major organizations in South Africa working with Bushmen populations (1) the !Xuu and Khwe Trust, established in 1993, and (2) the South African San Institute (SASI), established in April, 1996. The !Xuu and Khwe Trust is run by a board of trustees, half of whom are Bushmen drawn from the Schmidtsdrift population. Trust activities range from development planning to representing the interests of the Schmidtsdrift people at national and international meetings. Former 31 Battalion SADF soldiers and their families, the Bushmen were relocated in 1990 to a south African Defense Force-owned plot of land (36,000 hectares) 70 kilometers west of Kimberley, South Africa. The 4,500 Bushmen now face the strong likelihood of relocation because of land tenure questions involving Kgatla and Griqua who were originally removed from the Schmidtsdrift area in 1968. On 29 February and 1 March, 1996, a !Xuu and Khwe Trust meeting was held in which discussions were held concerning the purchase of a freehold farm for purposes of providing residential, arable, and grazing land for members of the population who wished to stay in the region.

The Trust sponsors a number of community development projects, some of them under the !Xuu and Khwe Cultural Project, which included a craft-makers cooperative, an arts project, an art center and a living museum. It also holds literacy classes and carries out educational programs and assists in training for projects aimed at generating income (e.g. sewing). The trust has a problem animal hunter's unit which operates in cooperation with the Department of Nature Conservation. Some of the problems faced by the Bushmen include the lack of resources in the area around Schmidtsdrift (e.g., firewood and wild plant foods) and the lack of hunting rights.

A different kind of community is seen in the case of the Kagga Kamma people. The Bushmen there participate in a tourism program in the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the Cedarberg Mountains of the Cape, South Africa. The Kagga Kamma people were arguably the last surviving Bushman group in South Africa. They lived in the far reaches of the northwestern Cape Province adjacent to the Kalahari-Gemsbok Game Reserve where for a generation they combined foraging and odd jobs with posing for

tourist photographs at the Park gates (Botha and Steyn 1995). In the 1980s they were forced to abandon the Park and took up an even more precarious existence as squatters and casual farm laborers on White farms. Their tragic plight drew the attention of the media. In the early 1990s an entrepreneur collected the Bushmen and took them to Kagga Kamma where they became the centerpiece of a Bushman "theme park" far from their traditional area (Whyte 1993).

Their life today consists of dressing in "traditional" clothing and presenting themselves before a daily stream of tourists. They make and sell crafts and perform dances for which they receive modest wages and rations. The 40+ Bushmen live on land owned by three entrepreneurs and take part in activities involving cultural and environmental tourism which they have only a modest role in decision-making.

Some of the members of the Kagga community have expressed a desire to have greater control over their own situations. It is for this reason that they and other Bushmen in South Africa are considering supporting the South African San Institute and other advocacy organizations. As Article 4.2 of the South African San Institute Deed of Donation and Trust states, the purpose of the organization is "to strive towards the general empowerment, development, and advancement of the beneficiaries, bearing in mind their unique cultural identity and their historical persecution as members of the San or Bushmen people." Bushmen in South Africa today are in the process of making a kind of political and cultural comeback, albeit in what Richard Lee (personal communication) sees as a distinctly postmodern way.

The Bushmen in South Africa are not content to simply sit and wait for government assistance or tourist handouts. Instead, they have formed advocacy organizations aimed at gaining land and resource rights and funding for development purposes. On October 9th, 1995, it was reported on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), that Derek Hanekom, the Minister of Lands of South Africa, and Anthony Hall-Martin of the Parks Board, met with 30 of the 200 San Bushmen who live in the vicinity of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park. The Bushmen there had put forth a claim to at least half of the national park as well as some neighboring farms. The point was made by Minister Hanekom that there was a possibility that the Bushmen could perhaps be given the

right to co-manage the Kalahari Gemsbok Park with the Parks Board. The rights of the Bushmen were thus seen as important by government officials, which in itself is a tacit recognition of their significance in the contemporary politics of South Africa.

From the ongoing strength of tradition in Bushman communities in the north like the Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoansi, to the tragic circumstances of the Schmidtsdrift and Kagga Kamma people, must be added a discussion of the broader class and ethnic politics of Khoisan peoples in post-Apartheid South Africa. The issue of African hunter-gatherer marginality gained relevancy and immediacy at a conference on Khoisan studies that held in Munich, Germany in July, 1994. At the meeting there was the usual assortment of linguists, historians and anthropologists and the tone of the meeting was suitably scholarly. But the atmosphere of probity and gravity was jarred on the opening day, when Professor Henry Bredekamp, an historian from the University of the Western Cape (a former "Coloured" university), rose to address the meeting, with deep conviction, in the following terms:

> This meeting has a great deal of significance for me because I am a Khoisan person. There are millions of South Africans like me who trace their ancestry back to the Khoi and the San peoples. These are *our* histories *our* languages you are discussing. Under Apartheid we lost much of our culture. Now we want to work closely with you in recovering our past and our traditions (Bredekamp 1994).

Bredekamp's intervention energized the meeting and before it was over, it was decided to hold the next Khoisan Studies meeting in Bellville at the University of Western Cape in 1997. The reason this decision is so significant is that it gives a new lease on life for the field of Khoisan Studies and for the Bushmen and other indigenous peoples of southern Africa themselves.

Recovering history appeared to be one of the most important cultural processes underway in post-Apartheid South Africa. It is also one of the most significant social movements world-wide in the late 20th century. Everywhere, indigenous peoples are in the process of rediscovering aspects of themselves that had long been suppressed (Durning 1992; Wilmer 1993). Recapturing histories is not simply a question of reviving old ethnic identities; it is also about acknowledging the birth of new ones, identities like those of the people in the University of Western Cape student body, whose

roots could be traced to not only to Khoikhoi and Bushmen, but also to Dutch, Malay, Xhosa, Tswana, British, and other sources drawn from three continents.

For centuries the masses of South African people labelled "Coloured" have struggled with the problem of identity. With the heightening of the struggle against apartheid, Coloured identity began to take on new meaning. Today, the Coloureds are combining forces with Bushmen and seeking to promote their collective and individual human rights. A prominent Coloured political figure in South Africa, Benny Alexander, recently had his name changed legally to Khoisan X. He and others are speaking out forcefully on the importance of forging their own identities in the new South Africa and on the international scene.

The efforts of the Bushman advocacy organization, Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari) to gain international support -- including that of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations -- to keep several small communities of central Kalahari Bushmen and Bakgalagadi from being forced off their ancestral lands has witnessed the collaboration of indigenous organizations in North America and Africa, as well as human rights, anthropological, and conservation groups from four continents. This kind of cooperation may not only affect positively the lives of the 1,000 or so people in the central Kalahari but also many other peoples -- both indigenous and non-indigenous -- who are struggling to maintain their identities and rights to natural and cultural resources in an increasingly complex world.

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