

The life and death of this exemplary Captain marks an epoch in the history of the eastern indigenous campesino, peasant and provides guidelines for future leaders. We hope that present leaders can take advantage of the example of the life of Don Bonifacio Barrientos who passed away on the 3rd. of October 1985 at 8 o' clock in the morning, surrounded by all of his people who accompanied him in the hour of his death.

He was taken leave of by his people not with anguish but rather as a man who knew how to fulfill the obligations of his power, who knew how to lead for the benefits of the eastern indigenous campesinos.



(1986)

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) Newsletter, 45: 9-14

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BOTSWANA: IMPACTS OF DROUGHT UPON KALAHARI SAN POPULATIONS

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It has been suggested that the drought and famine of the mid-1980s in Africa is one of the most serious social and environmental catastrophes of modern times, surpassing even the devastating Sahel drought of 1973-74. Without the relief efforts of international, governmental, and non-governmental agencies and individuals, it is likely that tens of millions of people would face starvation. Rainfall shortages have had particularly heavy impacts on many of the indigenous agricultural, pastoral, and hunter-gatherer populations of Africa, whose traditional strategies for coping with drought have been undermined by changing socio-economic conditions.

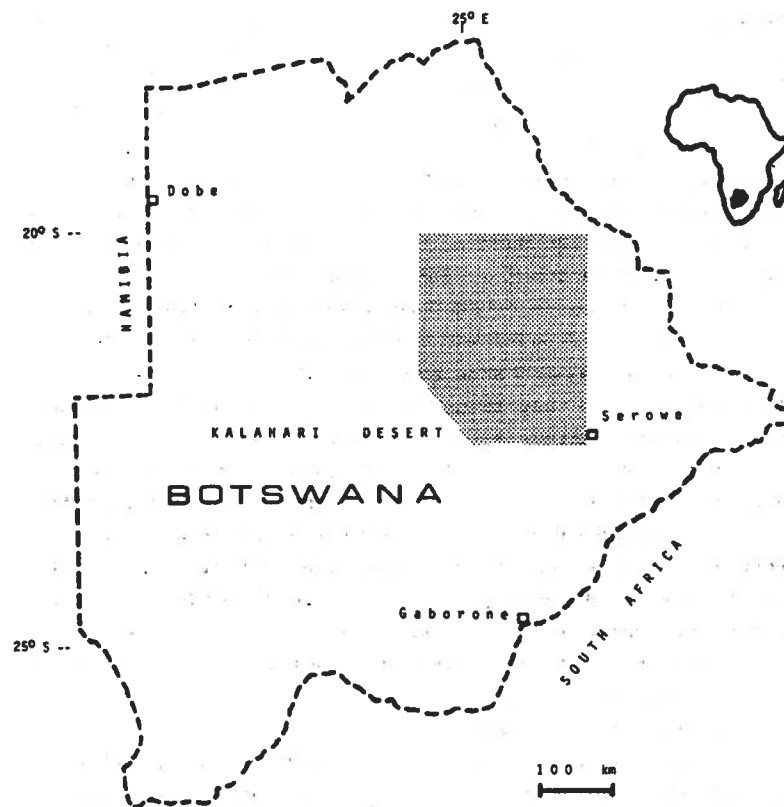
One country in Africa which has been badly affected by drought, but which has managed to cope with the situation relatively efficiently, is the Republic of Botswana. Although rainfall is low, and there have been a series of bad years which have caused widespread crop failures and significant livestock losses, Botswana has had few people die of starvation. This is partly because an efficient system of drought relief is in place. Besides immediate relief assistance, the Botswana government emphasizes post-drought recovery measures. Local-level institutions are relied upon to carry out relief and development activities, and the people are encouraged to participate in planning and decision-making. The result is that the negative impacts of drought are mitigated to a larger extent than is the case in many other African countries.

There is one segment of Botswana's population which has been described as being able to withstand the effects of drought with little difficulty, and this is the indigenous minority known as the San (Bushmen, Basarwa). Numbering

between 40,000 and 60,000 in Botswana, the San have been the subject of exhaustive scientific study for over three decades, and as such they have become perhaps the best-known foraging population in the world. It should be noted that while most San continue to forage for at least part of their subsistence, many of them have undergone significant socioeconomic transformations and are now involved at least marginally in food production or wage employment, particularly in the livestock and agricultural sector of the Botswana economy.

Some anthropologists have argued that the nutritional intake of San is more than adequate, even in drought periods. Ethnographic information indicates that the San and other hunter-gatherers have a whole range of strategies for alleviating subsistence stress, such as widening the number of species exploited, increasing mobility, food sharing, and allowing reciprocal access to territories in drought periods. The health and nutritional status of mobile San populations generally is excellent, and work efforts tend to be relatively low as compared to pastoralists and agriculturalists. Indeed, this rosy picture of the hunting and gathering way of life has led at least one researcher to characterize foragers as "the original affluent society."

Data collected among San over the past decade, however, calls into question the assumption that hunter-gatherers do not come under periodic stress. Starvation is by no means unknown, even among the !Kung, who suffered severe privation in 1974 after a failure of the mongongo nut (Riciodendron rautanenii) crop. Historically, the San have been known to leave drought-affected areas and engage in long-distance migration to new territories, as occurred when G/wi, G//ana, and other groups moved out of what is now the Central Kalahari Game Reserve during droughts in 1933 and 1947. The Ghanzi Farms in western Botswana saw an increase in squatters as



Map of Botswana and area under study (R.Hitchcock).

well as an influx of "desert San" during droughts in the 1950s and 1960s. During the 1960s drought, the villages which had feeding programs established in them served to attract San, some of whom remain settled on the peripheries after the drought was over.

There were a number of San groups and individuals which employed a dependency strategy during drought periods, attaching themselves to wealthy cattle owners or villagers and providing an array of services such as herding, agricultural work, house construction, and domestic labor in exchange for food. Inevitable there were cases of San engaging in stock theft, but a far more common response was for people to diversify their economic strategies. Some groups obtained meat, salt and palm leaves which they traded with Kalanga and other groups for grain. In some areas, particularly in northern Botswana, men got involved in commercial hunting as guides and sometimes as hunters themselves. In addition, a number of men left the Kalahari for the mines of South Africa during the 1960s, a trend which increased in the 1970s. Ideological responses to droughts were also employed; these included conducting rain-making ceremonies and traditional San doctors in some cases came to be known for their powerful magic.

Remote area populations, including the San, are often not taken into account in drought relief programs, partly because it is believed - falsely - that they always do well nutritionally in drought periods. The 1979 drought was the first time that data collected by anthropologists and the country's nutritional surveillance system, based at health posts, indicated that San and other remote area populations were suffering severe nutritional stress. The Government of Botswana responded by establishing a special feeding program for remote area dwellers in six districts of the country. Remote Area Development Officers in 1979 came across cases of San having had to resort to abandoning group members who

could not walk in the process of undertaking forced marches to places where water could be obtained. Begging increased, and the numbers of people registered as destitutes with the Community Development Department rose significantly. There is little question that the feeding program served to save lives in remote parts of Botswana.

The trends seen among San populations in the 1960s and 1970s have been amplified in the 1980s drought. A combination of factors, including overgrazing, construction of veterinary cordon fences (which have reduced wildlife populations), enforcement of hunting laws, and changes in the status of land from communal to freehold and leasehold has led to a reduction in the land and resource bases of San populations. These factors have been exacerbated by a reduction in wild resources due to drought. Village dwellers have fallen back on collecting wild plant foods, which has increased the competition for resources in a time of scarcity. More and more San are migrating to cattle posts and villages in an effort to find food and employment. Dependency on other groups for income and subsistence is on the increase in many areas. Some San have begun to scavenge the remains of dead animals, selling bones to the bonemeal factory in Francistown. The few San who had been able to accumulate a supply of seeds for the coming planting season have eaten their stores, and San with livestock have been forced to either sell or consume their animals. The result is a reduction in self-sufficiency of many San in Botswana.

The Government of Botswana has attempted to counteract these negative trends by establishing a special Remote Area Dweller (RAD) relief program, where people are given rations of maize meal, beans and oil. As of mid-1985 some 21,000 people were being fed. In addition, some San have been able to take part in a labor intensive relief program, which pays two pula (about \$1.20) per day for work on such projects as

road clearing, office construction, and destumping of fields. Discussions with San indicate that many believe that the government has a responsibility to assist them, since it was the government which established the ranches which have displaced them and enacted the wildlife legislation which has resulted in many of them being arrested for hunting. At the same time, many San would prefer to simply be left alone to pursue their traditional foraging lifeway. Unfortunately, this option is not as open as it once was, since populations in the Kalahari have risen and infrastructure and development projects have expanded.

As a number of Kalahari San have stated, "These days hunger has grabbed us." Whereas in the past there were usually sufficient resources to sustain much of the population, today there is less land to which they can move to obtain additional food. Unfortunately, many San today see little choice between the degrading prospect of relying on government assistance and suffering from the lack of food and income. If the government of the Republic of Botswana is to prevent future droughts from having negative impacts on the San and other remote area populations, it will have to increase its efforts in providing employment, raising incomes, and conserving the environment. A crucial area of concern for Kalahari San populations is having access to sufficient land upon which to make an adequate living. It is apparent from an analysis of the situation facing many Kalahari San today that development must go hand in hand with relief.

BRAZIL: DEMOCRACY HAS NOT REACHED THE INDIANS

There is no democracy without a guarantee of rights to ethnic minorities. The New Republic has, until now, little altered the colonialist and ethnocentric practices which characterize our history. Tancredo Neves had some public commitments towards the indigenous minority, but his successors undertook to see that the rights of Indians continued to be reduced to mere rhetoric and a secular dead-letter, in particular as to the key question: the rights of these survivors of millennial cultures to the land on which they live.

The current government tactic is to reduce the centuries-old Indian rights, in particular, the judicial positions incorporated in article 198 of the Federal Constitution and Law 6001/73, (the Indian Statute). Both these legal instruments assure the rights of Indians to the land which they have occupied since time immemorial. In the statute various military governments committed themselves to demarcate indigenous territories before 1978. Only a quarter of the territories are now securely Indian, and even so, great areas have been subject to invasions. By means of an unconstitutional disposition, decree 88.118/83, which was no better than authoritarian rubbish, the previous government attempted to procrastinate, restrict and turn the unequivocal right of Indians to their land into an object of negotiation again.

The New Republic has neglected to revoke that disposition. It has indeed recognized some areas not demarcated before, such as of the Nambiquara, but only after being subject to internal pressures and international commitments. It has, nevertheless, failed to comply with its word. The proof of this is that forty indigenous areas, clearly identified, are waiting for legal guarantees in ministerial corridors while the disposition turns into old paper.