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Cover Photo: Yanomami Woman & child. Couto de Magalhaes
(Roraima), Brazil. Photo - Teresa Aparicio

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On May 15th 4-500 Aborigines took over the 16th floor office of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs in Canberra demanding talks with Prime Minister Hawke and Aboriginal Affairs Minister Clyde Holding about the proposed "Preferred National Model for Land Rights" which the Federal Government intends to present next financial year in some form or another.

The protest was the culmination of a week long action by Aboriginal peoples from all over Australia who had assembled in Canberra to give the Federal Government a sense of the opposition to the proposed legislation. As many as 600 Aborigines travelled from all parts of Australia to make their views felt.

The current protest concerns the new "Preferred Model", the consequent amending of the Northern Territories 1976 Act and the Disbanding of the National Aboriginal Conference which was actively fighting against the introduction of the Bill. All Aboriginal organizations have been united under the Aboriginal Land Rights National Support Group in their condemnation of the way the Federal Government has handled the land rights issue. The "Preferred Model" is the total rejection of three of the five main principles the Minister has stated nationally and internationally would provide the basis for any nationwide land rights legislation (see IMGIA Newsletter No.37).

As a result of the protest the "Preferred Model" has been suspended. Aboriginal peoples have been asked to form state by state fora to formulate in a national forum in the summer a position on land rights. However the Government have as yet not provided means for these fora to take place nor has it guaranteed that it will take any notice of what emerges from these consultations. The present state of affairs is
more a delay of existing Government intentions rather than any
commitment from the Government to take into consideration the
desires and aspirations of the Aboriginal people.

There follows an extract from a letter of protest which
IWGIA has sent the Australian Government which outlines the
issues in more detail:

"Last year there was a climate of hope regarding Aborigin-
ial Affairs. The speech by the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs,
Hon. Clyde Holding, in December 1983, had set out a path which
could have been a landmark in Australia's history. The five
principles on land rights which emerged from the speech were
reiterated by the Minister at the Working Group for Indigenous
Populations in Geneva in August 1984. These principles were:

1) Aboriginal land to be held under inalienable freehold
title;
2) Aboriginal control in relation to mining on Aboriginal
land;
3) Protection of Aboriginal sacred sites;
4) Access to mining royalty equivalents;
5) Compensation for lost land to be negotiated.

"The first issue which greatly concerns us here in IWGIA
has been the proposed code called the "Preferred National Land
Rights Model" which was put forward in February and is to be
presented in some form next financial year. The "Preferred
Model", in one stroke, breaks the first three of these five
principles and counters what the Minister himself has stated
both nationally and internationally. IWGIA, after consulta-
tion with Aboriginal representatives from the full range of
indigenous organisations in Australia has no other choice but
to accept that the "Preferred Model" or anything similar which
should replace it, would be disastrous to the future of Abor-
ingen land rights and cast a cloud over Australia's human
rights stand as a whole.

"The second issue is one of the effects of the "Preferred
Model" which is to amend the Northern Territories Act of 1976.

Even though this land claim was by no means perfect, espe-
cially in the areas where traditional Aboriginal land is occu-
pied by Europeans under pastoral leases, in national parks or
in towns, it was certainly a step forward in other areas.
It allowed for existing Aboriginal reserves to be handed over
and held under Aboriginal title and allowed some Crown land
to be claimed. Gains in the Act on the issues of mining and
land titles stand threatened under the "Preferred Model" or
any similar successor.

"The third issue of great concern to IWGIA has been the
news of the disbanding of the National Aboriginal Conference
which will take place at the earliest at the end of June.
The NAC has been a member of the World Council of Indigenous
Peoples (WCIP) and has been putting forward a strong case for
Australian Aboriginal peoples both nationally and internation-
ally in recent years. The claims by the Federal Government
are that it failed to keep its accounts in order, it is over-
bureaucratised and that it is unrepresentative. There are
several points of concern here. The accounts which were check-
ed stretch back almost two financial years and it is surprising
that irregularities, if they do exist, should be revealed at
the very time when the NAC has been most vocal against the
Federal Government. Secondly, the structure of the NAC was
itself financially supported and made use of by the Federal
Government, yet this very structure, which many Aborigines
felt was imposed by the Government for its own convenience
was one of the reasons for its disbanding. Thirdly, there
remains the most important issue which is the right of any
Government to unilaterally disband an indigenous organisation
or interfere in its internal affairs, particularly when that
organisation is part of an attack on a grossly unjust piece
of legislation.

"The conclusion which IWGIA has been forced to form from
these three issues is that the Federal Government of Australia
is not only backing away from its progressive past intentions
but is actually undermining those very principles which had given the indigenous world some hope. In addition, at a time when Aboriginal organisations have become united in condemnation of a proposed code for land rights, the Federal Government has disbanded a major voice of protest. The effect is to stifle Aboriginal opposition and confound its unity at a most opportune moment for the Government.

"We are aware that on May 21st an agreement was made between Aboriginal leaders and Prime Minister Bob Hawke that the "preferred model" will be suspended for the time being while the Aboriginal organisations conduct State by State fora on the issue of land rights which could be put forward to a national forum later in the summer. This will be a welcome opportunity for the Aboriginal people to make their case provided they are given the means to do so. In addition it is hoped that these fora will provide the starting point for genuine negotiations to take place including Aboriginals fully at all stages. As yet, we are not aware that the Federal Government has made any such guarantee to take note of the indigenous perspective or to take into consideration the views and aspirations of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. This perspective clearly includes issues such as Sovereignty and compensation for land claims as well as buying back land for the traditional owners.

"We very much hope for a time when the Federal Government of Australia will match its clear and upright stance on the human rights of Black peoples in South Africa and the indigenous peoples of Kanaky (New Caledonia) with a similar regard for the just claims of those indigenous peoples living in its own country. We also hope fervently that any future land rights proposals by the Government will live up to the standards set out in the 5 principles and also that freedom of expression and organisation will be recognised for the Aboriginal peoples within the Australian Commonwealth."

IWGIA also sent the following telegrams to Aboriginal organisations on May 16th:

National Aboriginal Conference

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) strongly condemns government action in disbanning National Aboriginal Conference STOP This unilateral action on spurious grounds designed to prevent effective aboriginal protest against proposed unjust land rights model STOP IWGIA respects NAC's work and hopes future re-organisation possible STOP IWGIA sends greetings of solidarity and support to all aboriginal peoples at this difficult time STOP

Aboriginal Land Rights National Support Group

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) strongly supports justified aboriginal protest at Australian Federal Government actions STOP Disbanding of National Aboriginal Conference designed to stifle and confound indigenous protest at outrageous proposed legal code to force unjust model for land settlements on aboriginal peoples including amending the NT Act 1976 STOP IWGIA send aboriginal people greetings of solidarity at this difficult time STOP Please inform your constituent organisations and send them our greetings STOP
AUSTRALIA: ROYAL COMMISSION ON BOMB TESTS VISITS LONDON

Back in the 1950s scientist Dr. Medley Marston suggested the Australian public was being "hoodwinked" about the safety of the British Atomic Tests in Australia's desert.

At the time attempts were made to discredit Dr. Marston's views as "alarmist" and "exaggerated".

But 30 years later, as the royal commission into the tests enters its sixth month and its seventh week sitting in London, evidence is emerging that there might very well have been substance to Dr. Marston's claims.

The commission has a long way to go - it will probably be in London for another month before resuming in Australia - but even at this early stage enough evidence has been given to bring into question the comfortable assumptions of the past about health and safety aspects of the tests and the extent to which the UK took Australia into its confidence.

Just this week serious doubt has been raised about whether two of nine atomic bombs exploded on the Australian mainland were fired in safe conditions.

British mathematician Mr. Ronald Siddons says that he believed the so-called "Black Mist" Totem One bomb and the One Tree bomb of the Buffalo series, should not have been fired.

Mr. Siddons, a deputy director of the UK Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, says the Totem One bomb exploded at Emu in South Australia in October, 1953, was fired under conditions which he considered "too risky" for the safety of nearby populations.
He said the decision to fire was based on faulty pre-test data which predicted the likely areas of contamination.

The major error in the data was that it was based on a bomb with half the yield of the one that was actually exploded.

Mr. Siddons said in the case of the One Tree bomb, exploded at Maralinga in September 1956, a decision to fire was made despite the pre-test predictions showing that wind conditions could lead to higher than acceptable levels of contamination reaching the outback town of Coober Pedy.

These revelations alone are disturbing enough, but the deeper the commission delves into the tests the more areas of concern it uncovers.

Not the least is the apparent disregard shown by both the British and the Australians for the safety of Aboriginals.

The Aboriginals appear to have been treated in an ad hoc manner, at best.

The British, it seems, relied on Australians for briefings on the Aboriginals, but the information provided, evidence suggests, was far from adequate, which is not surprising when full-blood tribal Aboriginals were not even included in the Australian census at the time.

Further, there has been an admission by one scientist, responsible for safety planning, that not enough attention was given to the well-being of Aboriginals, who were more susceptible to the effects of contamination because of their lifestyle.

Dr. David Barnes, a health physicist, admitted ignorance to the fact that tribal Aboriginals were barefooted, slept on the ground and were scantily dressed.

It was not until after the Emu Totem Test in 1953 that safe radiation levels which specifically dealt with Aboriginals and their special circumstances were introduced.

But Aboriginals may not have been the only ones to suffer. It seems Australian servicemen, might not have been fully briefed about safety precautions and the possible dangers of the exercises they were involved in.

One theme that runs through the evidence is an apparent ignorance of Australia by the British.

Some British scientists, responsible for planning important health and safety aspects of the tests, have shown a disturbing lack of knowledge about Australia.

The admission about ignorance of the lifestyle of the Aboriginals is the most disconcerting.

But there are other worrying examples. One scientist said he did not believe dust-storms were a matter for concern in the airborne transport of contamination because “they only moved dust up and down in the same place.”

He was surprised to learn that dust-storms could move tonnes of material hundreds of kilometres. He also did not know that rainwater in outback Australia was collected from the roofs of buildings. He had based calculations of the possible contamination of water tanks on the assumption they were filled directly from the sky.
Thermal conditions caused by the hot desert surface made it almost impossible to maintain a constant level to determine levels of contamination.

Evidence has also shown that there was a deliberate propaganda campaign run throughout the history of the tests to dispel public fears.

The Australian Government was a willing partner in these exercises.

The most serious example of how far those running the tests were prepared to go to keep the public on side is shown by the evidence of Lord Penney, who as Sir William Penney, was the director of most of the tests.

He admitted he had asked for an article written by Dr. Marston to be edited before publication because it contained "alarmist passages".

Other examples include the decision, again of Lord Penney, to ask meteorologists to explain away any civilian sightings of a blast cloud as "probably a rain cloud."

Another case involves the British scientist who went into the bar of the pub at Onslow in north-west Australia disguised in a tatty boiler suit while he used a concealed geiger counter to measure possible contamination.

Radiation was an emotional issue, he said. And he felt it was wiser for him not to appear in the pub in a white coat with a clicking geiger counter in case it alarmed the locals.

We will have to wait for the commission's final report to see what it makes of all this and other evidence, but it is clear the evidence is causing concern to the British Government.

It was not all anxious to open the matter of the atomic tests - a subject which has been festering in Australia since the late 1970s.

All the British Government could see emerging from the inquiry was a bad press, and most worrying of all, the possibility of demands for compensation.


Bark Painting from Snake Bay, Melville Island (Identity)
BANGLADESH: OPPRESSION CONTINUES

In spite of hopes that the regime of H.M. Ershad, President of Bangladesh, has been mellowing its harsh treatment of tribal peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, reports as from late 1984 indicate that the oppression continues.

The Bangladeshi military regime continues to terrorize the traditional people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts as part of its plan to exterminate them with a view to settling the outsider Muslim Bengalis in their tribal homeland. The hostile Bangladesh Government has cleared valley after valley of tribal plough-land farmers by sponsoring state-terrorism and settling over half a million Muslim Bengalis from outside in their ancestral villages and farm lands. 40% of farm land in the CHT was flooded with the construction of the Kaptai Hydro-electric Dam. Most of the remaining 60% of farm land has since been seized by the Bangladesh armed forces for the Muslim Bengalis. This policy of the Bangladeshi regime is responsible for the recent massacre and indeed all the previous massacres of the defenceless tribal plough-land farmers.

The indigenous people of the CHT have neither official nor police protection from the Muslim Bengalis' invasion of their lands, properties, women, religions, culture and lives. So tens of thousands of them have fled their homeland and sought refuge in India and those who have failed to cross the border have had to live in the nearby forests. They are in need of food, clothes, medicine, shelter and security.

In May, 1984, very serious fighting took place at Bhushanchara near the border of Mizoram when the local Muslim Bengali officers illegally and forcibly acquired tribal farm land for the Muslim Bengali settlers from the plain districts of Bangladesh such as Patuakhali, Barishal, Khulna, Jessore, Faridpur, Comilla and Noakhali. The Bangladesh army and police took the side of their fellow Bengali Brethren and attacked the tribal villages in the Bhushanchara area. Hundreds of tribal men, women and children have been murdered. Five thousand tribal people sought refuge in the Indian State of Mizoram and at least ten thousand tribal people fled to the forests because they had no official and police protection. Now there is not a single tribal people in the area and the Bhushanchara is completely under the occupation of Muslim Bengalis. The government is now pouring in millions of rupees to settle the Muslims there. In this way the Muslim Bengalis have occupied almost all the valleys in the CHT. The indigenous nationalities of the CHT are facing the prospect of total extinction.

The Bangladesh Army's Hellish Tyranny at Bhushanchara of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

On June 30, 1984, the new Bengali settlers came to forcibly reap the rice crop from the ripe paddy fields of the Chakma inhabitants at Bhushanchara. This was instigated by the Bangladesh army troops who then hid themselves. When reaping was started, the Chakma inhabitants tried to stop it. Then and there the Bangladesh soldiers emerged and aggressively fired directly on the Chakmas. They then attacked vast areas of Chota Harina, Bara Harina, Chedoa, Garjantali, Suguri Pa and Maudong. More than three hundred unarmed innocent Chakmas were murdered. The captured tribals were divided into three groups - old and young men, elderly women, and young women. Men and old women were shot dead. The young women were raped freely, some of them were killed and some were converted to Islam.

In fear of them (Bengali soldiers), about 18 thousand Chakma men and women fled to Mizoram. Their farm lands, ripe paddy crop and all other properties were plundered and handed over to the new imported Bengali Muslims. When the Indian defence forces wanted to send them back to Bangladesh, they did
not want to return for fear of their lives. This is because
they have completely lost their faith in the army and also the
people of Bangladesh. The rulers of Bangladesh and the Presi-
dent are always disseminating self-motivated propaganda to mis-
lead the world community. They are hoodwinking the internation-
al community by falsifying the truth and also trying to justi-
fy falsehood. For this reason they have no wish to return to
Bangladesh.

They think that their only hope is that the United Nations
Organization would take immediate measures, because they have
received information from public sources that the issue of the
Chittagong Hill Tracts has been raised in the United Nations
Organization in order to bring back peace and order.

BANGLADESH: EVEN AFTER 20 YEARS, 25,000 CHAKMA REFUGEES HAVE
NOT ACQUIRED CITIZENSHIP

Staff reporter: The fate of 25 thousand Chakmas, who left
their country and fled to Arunachal Pradesh, India, is uncer-
tain even after 20 years. Even now they have not acquired citi-
zension. In May this year, five thousand new Chakma refugees
have come to Mizoram. This influx of refugees is the result of
continuing dissatisfaction and turmoil in the region of the
Chittagong Hill Tracts. According to the Border Security Force,
these Chakma tribesmen who have come from the other side of the
border and taken refuge this side, are suffering from lack of
security. None of them wants to return. The infiltration of the
Chakmas into Tripura, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and other north-
easterly States of India has gradually been increasing for the
last few years. The Chakmas live more or less in the three dis-
tricts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts - Bandarban, Rangamati and
Khagrachari. But the largest number of Chakmas live in the Ran-
gamati district. In May, 1984, a terrible turmoil took place
at Bhushanchara near the border of Mizoram. A spokesman of the
Border Security Force informed that according to their news
that conflict of Bhushanchara was caused by a land dispute.

The camp of the Chakmas was attacked. At least 90 people
died. Then the influx of new Chakma refugees entered Mizoram.
The Chakmas, who came to this side of the border, complained
that military repression on the other side of the border com-
pelled them to leave their homes.

Informed circles think that the situation has become more
complicated by the breakup of the armed wing of the Chakmas,
the "Shanti Bahini", into two groups. The Shanti Bahini is now
divided into two belligerent factions of Priti Kumar Chakma
and Santu Larma. Disagreement in the opinions of the two groups
increased after '82 and now conflict between the two groups is
taking place regularly. In fact, the "civil war" started after November '83. However, the Shanti Bahini still wages guerilla-type attacks everywhere in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In January this year, the Larma group in Kachalong kidnapped five foreign experts of an American oil exploration company and extracted fifteen million rupees in cash and 19 Kgs gold as ransom. The hostages were released after 49 days.

Experienced circles report: Since the time of the former President of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, the settlement of non-tribal people has been accelerated. The Shanti Bahini comment: In accordance with the Chittagong Hill Tracts’ Manual of 1900, outsiders are not allowed to settle in that region. They do not like the immigration of non-tribal people into Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachari and that is the dispute.

Meanwhile in April this year, the present President of Bangladesh, H.M. Ershad, called the members of the Shanti Bahini to surrender. The "time-limit" for surrender was once again extended. The Bangladesh Authorities claimed: many hostile Chakmas surrendered in response to the call of the President. But it has been learnt from the news coming to this side of the border that the call for surrender has totally failed. Even now the hostile activities are going on full swing.


BRAZIL: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES SITUATION - THE CASE OF THE YANOMAMI, MARUXI AND INDIANS OF RORAIMA IN GENERAL (1)

By René Fuerst

The northernmost of the Brazilian States, Territories to be precise, is that of Roraima. It is the least populated (pop. 120,000), has the lowest population density per km² (0.50) and yet has the highest percentage of indigenous inhabitants (25%).

Bordered by Venezuela to the north, Guyana to the east and the Brazilian State of Amazonas to the south and west, Roraima covers an area of 240,000 km², that is to say six times the size of Switzerland. The terrain of this vast and largely uninhabited Territory is 5/6 more or less hilly forest and 1/6 in the north east almost flat savanna. The border with Venezuela follows the line of the watershed of the rivers Grinoco and Amazon, reaching its highest point at Mount Roraima (2,075 m.). The Rio Branco, a tributary of Rio Negro, and its affluents irrigate the whole Territory where the warm climate 1985 was as humid in the forest as it was dry in the savanna.

Boa Vista (pop. 60,000), the capital of Roraima, is situated 500 km from Manaus and 3,500 km from Sao Paulo. The as yet unmetalled roads and the air routes link with Caracas, Georgetown and Manaus. While the savanna is already occupied by "fazendeiros" (cattle raisers), the forest is being more and more invaded by "garimpeiros" (or prospectors). On the

(1) Translated from French, this is the text of the General Report of the IWGIA Investigative Mission among the Indians of Roraima, Northern Brazil, January 3rd-19th, 1985, that was submitted by René Fuerst, member of both the Mission and the Board of IWGIA. A more detailed but confidential Report was submitted by Teresa Aparicio, member of both the Mission and the IWGIA's Doc. and Res. Dpt.
subject of external relations, according to information from the South American Handbook (Brooks, 1977), the first non-indigenous exploration of the area was in 1670, the first missionary came in 1725 and the first ranchers in 1787. In other words, part of the indigenous population has been in contact with the Brazilians for a long time, that’s if it hasn’t already been absorbed by them.

Nevertheless, a quarter of the largest group of indigenous people in the whole of America who are still isolated live in Roraima: the Yanomami or Yanoama, as they are called in Venezuela. To these forest Indians (pop. 5,000) one can add the Makuxi (pop. 15,000) and the Wapixana (pop. 5,000) of the savanna (Karib and Arawak groups respectively) which already have secular contact with the missionaries and the cattle raisers. Along with other but smaller groups, they make up 15% of the current total indigenous population of Brazil.

The situation of northern Brazil was particularly important for an INGIA investigative mission, taking into consideration the Indians of Roraima, their relatively high population, their varying degrees of contact and their diverse perspectives of the future. The visit resulted from an invitation from UNI (Brazilian Union of Indigenous Nations) signed on November 19th, 1984 by Ailton Krenak and Alvaro Tukano. In fact Alvaro Tukano had already envisaged the possibility of such a visit when he attended the meeting of the Working Group for Indigenous Populations to the United Nations in Geneva in August and it had been suggested at the meeting of the Board of INGIA in Copenhagen. That was when the members of the eventual Mission were appointed: Teresa Aparicio from the Secretariat and René Fuerst from the Board in his capacity as Board member responsible for the Amazon area (2).

The first objective of the Mission was to attend the
meeting of the indigenous chiefs of Roraima, to enquire into the existence of the Brazilian indigenous movement. This has taken the form of regional meetings since 1974, national meetings since 1982 and the presence of UNI since 1980. The second objective was to visit a vaccination campaign currently in progress to examine and evaluate a health programme for the Yanomami undertaken by the CCEPI (Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park) since its foundation in 1979. This programme has been supported by IWGIA since 1980. Our overall intention was to gain a better understanding of the Brazilian indigenous situation in general.

If we have been able to achieve these objectives within the short time available and without any difficulty it is first and foremost thanks to the prompt financing the Mission received from NORAD (Norwegian Agency for International Development), it is then thanks to the transport facilities and the accommodation provided by the CCEPI and the Catholic Consolata Order and finally thanks to the authorisation from FUNAI (National Brazilian Indian Foundation) which allowed us to visit indigenous territory without going through the usual preliminaries. All the organisations mentioned here deserve thanks from myself, from IWGIA and from the whole indigenous cause.

* Uniao Nações Indígenas

Brazilian Indigenous Movement: The Example of the Meeting of Surumu (January 7th-9th, 1985)

In the afternoon of January 6th we left Boa Vista for Surumu on board of two vehicles belonging to the Catholic Consolata Order, one heavy and one light truck. While my colleague had to ride in the former, together with 50 hardened Indian travellers, I was lucky to be allotted to the latter with two nuns and Terencio, the Makuxi chief who had represented his people at the second National Meeting of Brasilia in April 1984.

Surumu is located 200 km north of Boa Vista and we arrived there at nightfall after four hours of bumpy and dusty travelling. Half-way, at the so-called "Three Hearts", we stopped to drink a coffee. As the store was situated on an Indian reserve controlled by FUNAI, it was something of a surprise to find ourselves face to face with enormous supplies of alcohol at a place where its sale to Indians is normally forbidden!

At Surumu, beautifully situated in savanna bordered by mountains, we were fed and lodged at the Consolata Mission. It consisted of among other things, a hospital and a school, and in fact contained the necessary facilities for a meeting which over ten years has developed into a gathering lasting several days and involving some 100 indigenous chiefs from Roraima. It was to this meeting that we had been invited to participate on the morning of January 7th.

***

In the finally tally of 150 people one part consisted of representatives of the following peoples and indigenous organisations: the Makuxi, the wapixana, the Yanomami and UNI represented by Ailton Krenak and Alvaro Tukano. The other
part consisted of non-indigenous observers such as the Bishop of Roraima and the priests and nuns of the Consolata. I could also see representatives from FUNAI, CINI (Brazilian Missionary Indigenous Council) and CCPY present, the last being Claudia Andójar. In contrast to former meetings, and at the insistence of the priests, indigenous women were not admitted. However, there was one Xerente Indian woman from Central Brazil there, an ex-nurse of FUNAI staying at the time with the Makuxi, who arranged one of the seven work groups which were organized on regional rather than ethnic lines.

More than the international flavour we provided, it was the three Yanomami Indians and two members of UNI who gave the meeting an unprecedented character. While the Yanomami were concerned above all with familiarising themselves with the medium of public debate, the possibility of meeting other Indians from Roraima and of expressing themselves before a sympathetic audience, the members of UNI made it their duty to raise the consciousness not only of the Yanomami but the indigenous peoples of Roraima onto a national level in general. In fact this is an important task which the Church has deliberately neglected up to now.

To judge from their letter to the new President of the Republic (see the Appendix), one of the main concerns of the indigenous chiefs of Roraima is, quite naturally, the demarcation and evaluation of their ancestral lands. Like the Yanomami, the Northern Makuxi demand a continuous and unique territory, rather than a series of disparate reserves, which are easily invaded. With respect to their territory, they quite rightly want it evaluated for its cattle raising potential. Afterwards came questions of health and education: in both cases the chiefs consider that indigenous features should be used in care of and teaching other indigenous people as they are more suited than their white counterparts. On
the subject of education, they want it to be bilingual and bi-cultural because they know, unfortunately, that in the long term the Indian can rely on no one but himself.

The reason that the Indians of Roraima do not get what they want is not because they do not know what they want nor is it because they accept with good grace whatever their speakers propose for them. As I said before, the degrees of contact as well as perspectives of the future vary from one indigenous people to another and we cannot use these as a line for argument except from case to case.

Consequently, the immediate needs for these peoples must also be taken case by case: for the Yanomami conservation of their as yet, unoccupied lands and their still relatively sound health, for the Makuxi and the Wapixana recuperation of their already occupied lands and their poor education facilities. And, the indigenous chiefs of Roraima have proved that they are aware of these needs better than anyone else, particularly better than those people who still often wish to act as their interpreters fired with too much ardour...

On this account, the following declaration given to my colleague by an indigenous representative at the Surumu Meeting seems to me as relevant as it is significant: We, the Indians, he said, have two main enemies: the Brazilian government and the Christian church. If we fight them both we will disappear physically and culturally. For this reason we have allied ourselves to the least dangerous enemy, that is to say, the Church.
Brazilian Indigenous Peoples Situation: The Yanomami Case
(January 13th-15th)

Our lands are still not demarcated. That's why they continue to be invaded by the Whites who take our riches from us and transmit their sickliness to us. And it is those sicklinesses which kill my people, who are one of the oldest in Brazil and Venezuela. It is in these simple but accurate terms that David set out the issue. He was one of the three Yanomami who for the first time was taking part in the Surumi Meeting and the only one among them to speak Portuguese.

It was the question of the illegal invasion of their lands that we tried to investigate further on the ground during our trip to Couto de Magalhaes. Twice in succession, in fact, the indigenous post was passed over by a small plane whose purpose was none other than drop supplies to “garimpeiros”. Given the frequency of such trips, this indicated a massive invasion and could well have been that recently denounced in Rio Apiau, in the heart of indigenous territory.

Couto de Magalhaes should supply us with the evidence for illnesses that result from sporadic contact with the “garimpeiros” or even indirectly through mediation of other Yanomami. Considering their principal objective was the vaccination of the local inhabitants, the medical team are constantly curing all sorts of illnesses which have been introduced recently and which can lead to death such as flu, measles and whooping-cough.

Situated 300 km west of Boa Vista and one hour’s flight over the forest, Couto de Magalhaes is the FUNAI post supposed to control the inhabitants of the river of the same name, that is around 300 Yanomami who are in touch with those of the Rio Catrimani (pop. 300), of the Rio Mucajai (pop. 300), of the Sierra dos Surucucus and the Rio Paraíba (pop. 3,000), the last being the most important concentration of isolated indigenous people in Brazil. The medical team there comprises Daniel Lévy-Brull of Médecins du Monde, Claudia Andújar and Carlo Zacquini of CCPY. While Daniel gives the vaccines that we have just brought from Boa Vista, Claudia records them on an individual identity card, noting the state of health and the vaccinations given by the CCPY since 1984, and Carlo, one of those rare Whites to speak the Indian's language fluently, serves as interpreter. On this occasion the team was assisted by the post chief, a health worker from FUNAI acting as a radio operator but in reality with no authority to call for medicines or even a doctor as he would wish in cases of emergency. In addition Ailton Krenak, the first member of UNI to visit the Yanomami and my colleague Teresa were present.

As one sees it, the functioning of a health programme here faces serious obstacles. While it is difficult to find a Brazilian doctor who would choose to sacrifice a few months of his privileged life for the underprivileged, those who come voluntarily and unpaid from Europe do not have the approval of the respective authorities. In the case of the vaccines, they have to be brought in each time by plane and this is done occasionally by CCPY at enormous expense, especially as FUNAI refuses to collaborate with a campaign which is normally their duty! As for the Indians, and above all those who are present at the moment of vaccination, identifying them proves more complicated than that of their state of health and demands on the part of the CCPY a knowledge as much of linguistics as ethnology. To all these obstacles others are added, often unforeseeable, such that the sudden appearance of an epidemic amongst a distant and inaccessible group or else it happens that one of the members of the medical team themselves falls ill and has to be evacuated in con-
ditions even harder to endure than to imagine.

For my part, I cannot say enough in praise of the prompt action and devotion of Claudia Andújar and Carlo Zacquini or similarly that of Daniel Lévy-Bruhl to whom this was moreover his first experience outside Europe and one of an entirely unusual nature.

***

On January 17th, just at the time of boarding a small plane which had kept us waiting until late afternoon and to the pilot of which we had to remember the arrangement on the radio, the Yanomami asked us to take one of them with us. It turned out to be an old woman whom Daniel had discovered had an abdominal tumour and whose transfer he had not insisted upon.

Being completely naked, and her relations not wanting to be parted from one of the few pieces of clothing in their possession, it was another Indian, the wife of a FUNAI employee, an Indian himself, who agreed to give her a very presentable white dress. Never having left her native land, the dense Amazon forest, before, the woman sat rigid during the flight as well as during the journey by car from the airport at Boa Vista to the "Casa do Indio".

The next day, the day of our departure, the January 18th, when we gave the details of our trip to the regional deputy of FUNAI, we realised that not only the woman's health and identity card but her only luggage, a bunch of bananas for her food, had been lost... Under such conditions what will become of her in the future and what of the future of her people now that the invasion of their territory seems to me irreversible?
Conclusion

By way of a conclusion, I would like say that this Mission and this Report have given me opportunity to make a point about an indigenous situation which I have close to my heart, which I know well from the past and which I have not fundamentally changed since 1975, the day when I was brushed aside by the Brazilian authorities for having participated in the same kind of missions and for having written the same kind of reports...

With regard to the Brazilian indigenous movement, I surely hold its representatives such as Allon Krenak and Alvaro Tukano in great esteem. Although their activity on behalf of UNIC gives me more satisfaction than the inactivity of FUNAI or else the over-activity of CIMI, it does not yet fully convince me. In fact, if there is a change or even a movement going on in the Amazon region, it is not so much at the level of regional or national organisations but at that of an obvious raising of consciousness of those Indian communities which are truly committed. To judge from the Surumu Meeting, the Brazilian indigenous movement is defined and manifest more by its essence than by its existence, and ought not to be compared with certain political organisations of the South American Andes.

As for the Brazilian indigenous situation in general, the scandalous example of the Yanomami is sufficient in itself to illustrate the overwhelming fact of survival in the face of hardship. And, here again, it is neither the activity of UNIC nor that of FUNAI or else CIMI but that of a few committed members of CCPY which shows that all hope of change is not lost and there still lives in the Amazon region a chance of Indian survival worthy the name.

Appendix: Letter from Roraima Indian leaders to the Brazilian President.

Surumu, 9th January 1985

His Excellency
Tancredo Neves
President

Mr. President,

We, the Tuxaus and the leaders of the Indian Communities of the Federal Territory of Roraima, have debated together during our Annual General Assembly, the following matters as described below:

Land Dispute

1. We represent approximately 40 per cent of the population of this territory, and we wish this to be considered by your government when planning a project concerning this territory.

2. We have against us the continuous pressure from two members of the Parliament, Mesars. Mozarildo Cavalcanti and Joao Batista Fagundes, who insist upon the entering of mining companies in our areas.

3. We demand the demarcation of the indigenous areas of this territory, as well as the withdrawal of the invaders, as an indispensable condition for the survival of our people.

4. We demand the creation of a continuous area that meets the conditions for the survival of the Macuxi Communities, residing in the region between the rivers, Tacatu and Mau, with borders to the North of the country as well as
Venezuela.

5. We demand the creation of the Yanomami Park and the withdrawal of two diamond searchers, who find themselves in the region.

Health

Negligence in this area has caused the loss of the life of hundreds of members of our communities, and now we fear the threat of the closing of two hospitals in Missao Consolante currently taking care of our needs.

Education

A guarantee for schools and education to which we have a right, and which we understand to be the duty of the Indian National Foundation (Fundacao Nacional do Indio) and the Ministry of Education. No benefits have been received by us.

We need your attention and the means in order that our children can have this right guaranteed.

Hoping to receive your attention to the matter, we remain,

Respectfully yours,

BRAZIL: YANOMAMI LIFE AND LAND IN DANGER.

By: Claudia Andujar*

Armed Invasion in Surucucus: Nonconformism of radical Anti-Democratic Sectors.

This time the invasion in Surucucus was dismantled, but the threat continues, and our concern with this destructive crime is immense. The invasion was not successful thanks to an accidental event: a leak to the press on the eve of carnival which alerted FUNAI to the invasion.

With the support of General Arsildo Martins de Magalhaes, governer of Roraima, and the Military Police, FUNAI was able to prevent the invasion taking place during the four days of carnival. Nevertheless, our apprehension continues due to the existent pressures to open the Surucucus for mining under any circumstances.

The commander in charge appears to have support in Brasilia, and names which are mentioned in this connection are for instance Joao Fagundes, General Deputy of Roraima, and Cesar Calis, Minister of Mining and Energy, as well as other parties (within the State Government of Amazonas and the Federal Territory of Roraima), interested mainly in the wealth of the Surucucus.

In order to accomplish such a well-organized operation, many resources were mobilized: a considerable number of well-armed men, several airplanes, as well as reliance on the backing of the "Independent Television Network" of Manaus.

* Claudia Andujar is the co-ordinator of the CCYP <Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami Park>. See also René Fuerst's article, published in this Newsletter.
The publication of the Mining Decree, which President Figueredo signed last December is inextricably connected with these events; because the Surucucus could still not be legally opened for mining, a “high command” was formed with ample means to effect an invasion by air, including military equipment only used by the armed forces.

The operation started on February 14 with the arrival of five airplanes over a period of two hours carrying sixty of the 3,000 “garimpeiros” (prospectors) set to take possession of the Sierra region, however, the landing fields were discovered, and the governor of Roraima prohibited any more flights with “garimpeiros” or food in the area. On February 19, FUNAI, with the help of two bi-motor planes and the military police, ordered the “garimpeiros” off the old landing field of Dococo, which the invaders had been to clean and start operating. Sixty-seven invaders and 2,500 kgs. of goods were taken back to Boa Vista, and the governor offered to pay the return trip of the “garimpeiros” to their place of departure. At the same time, the Deputy, Joao Batista Fagundes, sent a telegram and several messages by radio, encouraging the talking over of the Surucucus. However, the commander of the invasion, the contractor, Jose Altino Machado, was eventually arrested (1).

The CCPY, very concerned about the situation, sent a telegram to the recently elected President Tancredo Neves, requesting his support. The entire text of the telegram reads as follows:

“Very worried and believing in a democratic government, request from your excellency a declaration in favour of the non-violation of Yanomami indigenous lands and the immediate withdrawal of the invaders in accordance with article 198 of the constitution stop cordially yours (signed) Claudia Andujar, Coordinator and Eunice Paiva, Lawyer”.

The invasion was a brutal and criminal act with the aim of creating an irreversible situation; an open violation to Yanomami life and land rights, people whose area was demarcated by the Minister of the Interior in 1982, and for administration purposes, recognized as an indigenous park, with official certificate of registration 1.817 on January 8, 1985.

This assault is a warning to all of us. In the case of the invasion of Surucucus, the last great Indian nation, the Yanomami, still relatively isolated, was threatened with extinction. We were also surprised to find out the existence of economic and political groups, organized and ready to achieve their ambitions by violence, disobeying the law and creating social disorder in the country which is itself preparing for the return of democracy. The enemies of indigenous peoples reject the more elementary rights of human beings and are cynically and coldly ready to invade, plunder and kill.

In the case of the Yanomami Park, there appears to be a plan of destruction so that in the next two years the Surucucus Highlands will be explored in any way, and at any price.

Nevertheless, the Surucucus people are not the only ones in danger in the Yanomami area. Currently, twenty-five Indians of the Yanomami regions of Rio Catrimani from the community of David Yanomami, the Napatanspietheri, are for the first time re-organizing themselves for self-defense purposes in their region. They are seriously threatened by the presence of the “garimpeiros” who arrive in the area by river and land and who receive supplies by air.

1. Later released. He is now awaiting trial in Boa Vista.
In spite of the warnings and interventions from FUNAI, from the military and the federal police, the “garimpeiros” refuse to leave the indigenous area and a more efficient action is needed every time.

Another area in grave danger is the region of the Ericó, Uraricaú and Surubai Rivers, in the Northeast of the Indian Park. Some time ago the “garimpeiros” of the region of Santa Rosa restricted their activities to the border of the indigenous area, that is as far as the Pacasibi Canal. Nowadays this limit has been crossed and countless caverns and cliffs are being explored above the Ericó River, approaching dangerously close to the indigenous malocas and the FUNAI observation post in Ericó. The enormous movement of “garimpeiros” and supplies and machinery, along two routes, both within the indigenous area, leaves an impression that the “garimpeiros” do not confine their activities to the exploration of the invaded area alone, but occupy other parts of the Yanomami territory, where there is evidence of mining.

Considering this, the CCPY makes an urgent call to organizations and persons, who have supported the Yanomami people, to call attention of public opinion and the media to the dramatic situation that plagues this people, asking relevant organizations for precise and definite declarations in favour of the preservation of Yanomami lands through the following:

1. Public explanation of the act of vandalism committed through the invasion of Surucucus last February;
2. Investigation and publication of the names of the persons implicated in the crime;
3. Legal action on a federal level against those implicated in the crime; and a prompt and firm stand from the federal authorities in the case of a new assault.
Taking into consideration the fact that the Indian Yanomami Park has not been officially declared, nor demarcated, we request the relevant authorities to do so, in accordance with FUNAI Certificate No. 1017, dated January 8, 1985, which recognizes Property No. 9, 419.108 HA in the capacity of the Indian Yanomami Park.

The immediate formation of several posts in strategic points is also necessary, where the trespassing "garimpeiros" can be observed and can be effectively evicted.

The "garimpeiros" of the Region of the Apiáu and Alto Catrimaní Rivers in the Yanomami Area.

Last year, several Yanomami Indians and many "garimpeiros" died in the canal region of the Apiáu River, traditionally a Yanomami area and officially demarcated by the Ministry of the Interior in 1982. All were victims of malaria and subsequent hepatitis. Malaria is lately becoming virulent in the regions of the Apiáu and Catrimaní Rivers, and many cases of immunity against chloroquine have been noted. Malaria has been rampant from 1983 in the areas at the mouth of the Naulina River, catching people totally unawares. This is the outcome of the expansion of the mining activities in the Apiáu Region, which has transmitted the disease through contact with the isolated Indians.

In the meantime, it appears that the "garimpeiros" are not affected by these incidents sufficiently enough to cease their activities. The Indians, therefore, angered at the death and illness of their relatives, are getting organized. These also include those, who in the past saw possibilities for the exchange of goods with invaders. Last January, the Indians together with other Yanomami Communities, rebelled against the invaders and took the initiative, demanding the
Immediate withdrawal of the invaders. Almost fifty warriors, painted in black, armed with bows and arrows and some rifles bought from the "garimpeiros", invaded the working places of the "garimpeiros", situated between the Catrimani and Apiúna Rivers. These Indians are natives of the Catrimani, Pacu, Anauaú and Mucaiji Rivers under the command of the Indian David Sairixana, one of the Yanomamis, who most understands the tragic consequences for his relatives of the illegal trespassing of "garimpeiros".

During the first attack, the warriors burnt the sleeping quarters and the gardens of one "garimpeiro" and broke his work tools. Afterwards they confronted approximately forty armed men who were searching for diamonds in a second location where there were "many houses similar to the ones from the Mucaiji village", with gardens, planted with products of long and short duration, two canteens and much "cachacha" (1).

After the initial shock, and the Indians getting over the death of their relatives, the Yanomamis decided not to enter an open war against their adversaries, but simply explain to them that they were acting against the law because they were searching for precious stones and metals within the limits of the Indian Yanomami Park and demanded their immediate departure. The "garimpeiros", on their part, indicated no knowledge of being within Indian territory. The Indians left the area the following day, promising to return with re-enforcements if the "garimpeiros" did not leave their land.

On February 26, a new group of Indians, more than twenty, accompanied by the Military and Federal Police, proceeded to the Apiúna River area to comply with the law, that is, to expel the "garimpeiros" from the Yanomami River.

(1) Beverage containing high percentage of alcohol, similar to rum.

Yanomami Girl. Photo: Teresa Aparicio
Apiaú – Contact Situation.

For approximately three and a half years, several prospectors for gold have been secretly operating between the Apiaú and Alto Catrimani Rivers, with hundreds of white “garimpeiros” working and living in small groups too, all sustained by airdrop supplies. In certain places, they are even helped by certain Yanomami Indians in cultivating millet, beans, bananas and “Aipim”.

The “garimpeiros” from Apiaú come from Mujacá and Cara-caraí, where they can enter the Indian area by river or by foot.

In 1985, FUNAI, together with the Federal Police, attempted the evacuation of the “garimpeiros”, however, it was unsuccessful. The same year, FUNAI was informed of the deaths of 2 white “garimpeiros” in Apiaú, which cannot be explained by anything other than, according to the Yanomami Indians, the result of conflicts between the invaders and an even more isolated Yanomami Indian group, the Moxihatote.

In 1984, at least three members of the Yanomami Community of Apiaprautheri died as a result of malaria, whilst dozens suffered the ill-fated consequences of the invasions. One of the victims was the wife of Tuxuá (Maloca Chief) Vital, who still keeps painful memories of the bitter consequences of the construction of the Perimetral Norte (see INGIA document No. 37). In 1977, its local group lost half of the population as a result of the measles. It is worth mentioning that all the Indians from the Alto Catrimani Region, Jundiá, Lobo d’Almada and Apiaú live in isolation.

FUNAI is currently installing an observation post on the Apiaú River, close to the Indian parks, in order to keep better control of the entry of non-Indians into the indigenous area of this region.

Small Yanomami groups, who inhabit the Apiaú region, and who during the past years, have taken shelter in the Micaí area and are often employed by the colonizers of the Alto Alegre region, find themselves in a precarious health situation. They are very affected by tuberculosis and are ready to return to their traditional habitat, Apiaú, close to the post, when it is installed.
CANADA: WAITING FOR CONFLICT ON MEARES ISLAND

Indian leaders from across British Columbia and the Yukon have thrown their support behind Meares Island bands, vowing to supply money or bodies to prevent MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. from logging the West Coast island.

One of the leaders warned that, if there is bloodshed in a confrontation between the forest giant and protesters, the blame will be the white man's.

"We are not promoting violence, we never have," James Gosnell, Nisga'a tribal council president, told a news conference. "I don't know what will happen"

Mr. Gosnell and representatives of 10 other tribal councils in British Columbia were attending an Assembly of First Nations three-day conference in Vancouver on the Constitution.

Squamish band chief Joe Mathias urged the provincial Government and MacMillan Bloedel to "step back from the brink" of a confrontation with Indians, possibly through MacMillan Bloedel's leaving Meares Island alone and accepting other forest land for logging.

George Watts, chairman of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth tribal council, which has filed aboriginal claims to about half of Vancouver Island, including Meares Island, said the bands would defy the law if necessary.

In late January, Mr. Justice Reginald Gibbs of the B.C. Supreme Court ruled that MacMillan Bloedel has a legal right to log Meares Island, north of Pacific Rim National Park. Judge Gibbs said that, if the Clayoquot and Ahousaht bands ever had aboriginal title, it had been extinguished by the Crown.

Judge Gibbs rendered his decision after listening to five days of argument in which the two bands sought an interim injunction to stop MacMillan Bloedel from logging on the 8,600-hectare island until claims to aboriginal title could be heard in a full trial, which could not be held for about a year.

Two appeals of the ruling were subsequently launched, one by natives and another by residents of nearby Tofino.

The controversy ended up in court after environmentalists and Indians staged sea and land blockades last Nov. 21, preventing company crews from preparing the island for logging. Other unknown protesters drove metal spikes into trees, which does not harm the trees but poses a danger to loggers and sawmill workers.

Meanwhile, Bill Ohs, employee relations officer for MacMillan Bloedel's Kennedy Lake Division in Port Alberni, said the company would not make public when survey crews would begin work on the island.

Lawyers for the Clayoquot and Ahousaht bands have filed documents in the B.C. Court of Appeal asking for a stay of proceedings against Judge Gibbs's decision until an appeal of his ruling could be heard.

Since then, roughly 150 elderly women and men, children and their parents, natives and whites have made the short journey across Browning Passage, joining others already encamped on Meares Island - one of the largest of the islands that clog Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island's western coast.

The protesters say they plan to tie themselves to trees, lie in front of logging equipment and generally make nuisances of themselves.
They hope television pictures of pensioners and children being carted off to jail will force MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. and the Government to give up plans to log the island.

All week, they have warned themselves around fires, chanted to Indian drumming and hooted at a company helicopter that occasionally hovered overhead.

Most of the protesters are Indians from the Opitsat and Ahousat bands, which include the island in their land claims. There are two reserves on the western part of the island.

"Meares Island is the economic base for our people," said Chief Moses Martin, who is supported by 10 other B.C. tribal councils. "Our people have been born unemployed and we are probably going to die unemployed - that's why Meares remains so important to us."

Although many of the trees on the island are estimated to be hundreds of years old, there was some logging on the island many years ago.

The province granted a 21-year lease for the timber in 1965 to Sutton Lumber and Trading Co. Ltd. In court it was argued that the lease, which MacMillan Bloedel inherited, was improperly renewed. The judge said that could be determined at the trial.

Mayor Penny Barr represents the 1,000 Tofino residents who not only look across at the island but also draw their water from it. She says she is prepared to launch another suit if the watershed supplying the village is endangered.

The village also worries about its tourist income. The island is on the edge of Pacific Rim National Park and logging scars could spoil the now-stunning views as they already ruin much of British Columbia.

The company says its government-approved, five-year logging plan avoids the village watershed and the side of the island most tourists or residents see.

It has the support of its union.

The company says the timber of the island would create about 24 jobs for 35 years in a province staggering for the past year under nearly constant 15 per cent unemployment rate. It plans to log 1 per cent of the island each year for a decade.

Many believe the giant forest company could have avoided much of the controversy by participating in a public process to establish land-use plan for the area. It abandoned consultation and instead went to the Government with its own proposal, which was endorsed.

Michael Mullin, a local resident who is one of the main organizers of the protest, says he wants to keep the situation peaceful.

"We have the power of right behind us and we don't need to be violent. We don't need to shout and don't need to push. All we have to do is be here."

INDIANS IN CANADA'S Pacific province of British Colombia won a major court battle on March 27th against a giant forestry firm with an injunction halting logging on an island until their land claims to the area are settled. Leaders of the "nuuchaanul" tribe wept openly in court when they were granted the injunction which prohibits logging on Meares Island by the MacMillan Bloedel Logging Company.

For months, the huge trees standing on the 100 square kilometre island near Vancouver, have served as a symbol of long-standing aboriginal land claims in British Colombia.

Indians and environmentalists have been camping on the island since last year vowing to stop the company even if it meant shedding blood.

MacMillan Bloedel received permission from the provincial government to log 36% of the island. "We, however, were planning to log only one per cent of Meares each each year for the next 35 years", Nancy Scott, a spokesperson for Canada's largest forestry firm told IPS on 27th.

The court injunction is expected to have profound implications for future land claim disputes in British Colombia.

Source: IPS. (Norway)

CHILE: A HISTORY OF DISPOSSESSION AND DISCRIMINATION

By Patricia González

Historical Introduction to the Mapuche People

We the Mapuche people have just completed 443 years of struggle. It is almost four and a half centuries that we have endured warfare, massacres, pillaging, dispossession of lands and discrimination of all kinds. This barbarous history began with the penetration of Spanish colonialism in 1541. The Spanish colonisers penetrated Mapuche lands, which consisted of more than 1000 kms. from Copiapó to the south, with the clear intention of subjugating the people to blood and fire, cutting off heads, ears and breasts as well as branding them. The encomienda system (dividing of lands and Indians among the conquistadores) was another method used to enslave the Mapuche and force them to work in the gold placers. The colonialist policy of Spain was to subdue the Mapuche people and hold sway over them until they were destroyed. This bloody and unequal struggle lasted for more than 300 years.

History shows that the subjugation was only partial and relative. The situation at the end of the ill-named "War of the Pacification of Araucanía" in 1883 shows this. In practice it was genocide complemented with the Law and alcohol. Lawyers became specialists in dispossessioning lands, judges sentenced any Mapuche who protested and the priests threatened them with eternal fire. Nevertheless they did not manage to exterminate the Mapuche people, even when the population dropped from 2 million when the Spanish arrived to little more than 83,000 at the end of the War of Pacification.

Thanks to the strength of its unity, this indestructable people managed to resist the long undeclared warfare. The Mapuche people not only managed to adapt themselves to this extremely difficult situation, but also developed and increased numerically. The demographic increase among the Mapuche
people (today numbering more than 1 million persons) is indeed a reason for pride.

However, social and cultural discrimination and injustice has not ended, but continues today with the same ferocity as in the last century. One government after another has passed laws which in practice allow the worst injustices to take place, particularly in agrarian matters.

**Anti-Mapuche Laws**

Since the independence of Chile in 1810, successive laws have been depriving the Mapuche people of their lands, their identity and their culture. In 1852, together with the creation of the Province of Arauco, it was established that the Mapuche would be considered, in fact, as minors, preventing them from carrying out any judicial act unless controlled by the governors and judges of the indigenous population. These functionaries, who had to watch over the rights of the Mapuche, ensured that the indigenous population continued to be deprived of its lands through countless legal and illegal tricks which could never be undone.

In 1866 a new law made the appropriation of indigenous lands easier both for the Chilean State and for landowners. Between 1874 and 1883, two new pieces of legislation established the so-called "colonias" or "reducciones" for indigenous people, in which the Mapuche were confined to lots of 20 ha. of land per person. For 34 years, using a regressive system, the bourgeois Chilean State divided up more than 800 indigenous communities, creating in this way almost 14,000 small properties, in some cases smaller than one hectare, entirely insufficient for survival.

All these laws which were imposed on us aimed at the assimilation or incorporation of the Mapuche into the society and culture of the bourgeoisie, in other words, our complete disappearance as a culture and ethnic group. Furthermore, no legal body recognised the existence of differences in culture, ethnicity, customs, traditions or even our language. The dominant legislative system favoured and still favours only the dominant classes. It was, and is, directed in favour of non-Mapuche in clear detriment to our people. Clear proof of this can be seen in the division of indigenous communities, the authorisation for selling the lands and for their seizure. The imposition of a system of reducciones or reserves in the territory of the Mapuche people, with its accompanying myriad of regressive and aggressive laws, was, and is, a discriminatory policy.

**Ten Years of Dictatorship**

Today, ten years after the establishment of a Fascist regime set up by the financial oligarchy, the multinationals and Yanqui Imperialism, we can see that a policy is in operation which is not only similar to that of the last century, but in some aspects comparable to that of the Spanish conquistadores. The ferocity with which the Mapuche were persecuted immediately after the coup shows this. The landowners of the area were given carte blanche to persecute, kill and despoil the Mapuche. Many have been condemned to life imprisonment by military judges. Many have disappeared for ever.

The legislation which the government of Salvador Allende planned with the fundamental objective of "recuperating, increasing and protecting all indigenous lands" was annulled by Pinochet by the passing in 1979 of two decrees which allowed for the parcelling up of Mapuche lands if sought by one single inhabitant. According to the same legislation, inhabitants (comuneros) are indigenous, but "lose this status when they become owners of accessory land". This is nothing other than driving in the capitalist system of exploiters and exploited. Logically, the Mapuche have a clear place among the exploited. To carry out this clear exploitation, functionaries are contracted to carry out the division of lands and act with the brutality of Pinochet's agents. The economic model takes charge
production. The government which follows the Pinochet regime will have to be one which is democratic and which re-establishes liberty and builds a new democracy where we can plan our demands and struggle to put them into practice.

Our Mapuche brothers do not only want to recuperate their lands, which is most important for their struggle, but to demand more lands, obviously fertile. For this they must demand the expropriation of all the farms which lie in Mapuche territory as well as the expropriation of all machinery, animals and all work equipment.

The Organisation and Present Struggles of the Mapuche People

In September 1978 the Mapuche Cultural Centres appeared, today called the "Asociación Gremial de Pequeños Agricultores y Artesanos Ad-Mapu", whose principal objective is to maintain the identity of the Mapuche people and its unity. At present the organisation brings together more than 1,350 communities and has cultural centres in Santiago, Temuco, Concepción, Osorno and other places.

The group "Ad-Mapu" had its third National Assembly between January 24 and 27, 1983 in Temuco where more than one hundred Mapuche representatives from Santiago to Chiloé met together. There it was clearly stated that it was necessary to continue struggling for the rights of the Mapuche people. The fundamental fact was to possess and develop Mapuche culture and "to liberate ourselves from the social, political and economic domination of the dominant system which is aimed at us".

The Assembly approved numerous resolutions of an organisational nature and set out demands which summarise the means of defending legitimate rights. For its resolve and significance we reproduce here one of the declarations of the Assembly: the "Alternative Project for the Mapuche People".
Considering:
- That the Mapuche people have a long and rich history of struggle which was traditionally manifest in our defence of the land, our culture and existence as an autonomous people;
- That the occupation of Araucania meant the interruption of the developmental process of our people and the marginalisation of our population in indigenous reserves.

We declare ourselves:
- For a new society, just and democratic, in which we can participate as a people with equal rights vis-à-vis other social sectors of the country. We believe that a new democracy without the participation of the Mapuche people cannot be a democracy.
- In favour of the development and progress of society, participating in the strong unions of peasants and workers in our country. Our historical place is to be together with those participating actively in the process of social, economic and political transformation of society.
- For the autonomy and self-determination of our people in as much as we should be managers of and protagonists in our own process of development.
- Finally, and with what has gone above, we demand participation in the drawing up of a new political constitution which reserves and guarantees our rights and cultural heritage in accordance with our existence as an ethnic population.

Solidarity for the Mapuche People

We have a heavy responsibility before our people, a responsibility which cannot only be turned into solidarity support from exiles. We should consider that our Chilean brothers are providing new examples of daily combat against Fascism.

The tyrannical regime is already showing signs of exhaustion and weakness as the present economic and political crisis shows us. The conditions for its destruction are presenting themselves. Let us support our brothers in order to finish once and for all with the murderer of our people.

The alliance and unity with the working class ought to manifest itself in all its forms.

Only unity offers a guaranteed success in our struggle.

Con tain nehuenu marrf chi hine!
With all our strength we shall overcome ten times over!
COLOMBIA: LOPEZ ADENTRO: THE STRUGGLE GOES ON AS BEFORE

In the IGMIA NEWSLETTER No. 38, July 1984, we presented an article, which was previously published in "UNIDAD INDIGENA" of the Colombian Indigenous Organization, CRIC, about the situation of the indigenous communities in the North region of Cauc a and their struggle with the Colombian Institute of Agricultural Reform (INCORA). After their eviction from the hacienda of López Adentro, the struggle has continued to worsen.

The zone of López Adentro has been militarized and an indigenous priest, Father Alvaro, has been killed. The following is another article from the same source telling of the problems facing the people of López Adentro as well as the solidarity provided from neighbouring communities such as Pueblo Nuevo and Toribio.

The Community Organizes Itself

The community of López Adentro has been the worst-hit in Cauc a during the past months. Both its dead and its living are, at the moment, in the minds of all the indigenous communities of the region, because in spite of sickness (López Adentro being situated in the malaria zone), the inhabitants of "LOPEZ AFUERA", (as they themselves jokingly call it since they are now living outside the hacienda), persist in their determination "to acquire this land which has cost us so many lives and so much effort".

"It seems as if we have lived here for a thousand years", an old man from the community explained to us, and "as if we are going to die here, that is the way it is, because we are not going to go on looking for other reserved areas where poverty is so acute. At the moment, the inhabitants of the community take turns to "work and step up the revolt" to obtain solidarity from the nearest towns, Cali and Palmira, and to guard their camps, because they fear that the "vultures" will come at night and kill the people. The community has consolidated itself and the solidarity of the families is much stron-ger than before.

They miss their bilingual school and their community health centre, which they decided to operate two months before the eviction. They also explained, with anger and bitterness, about the destruction of all the cultivation of cereals, vegetables and grain for the community, in which they had invested all their savings and ten months of hard work. They have, however, overcome the unhappy period of the dramatic eviction from their land, and it is admirable to see how they are making plans for the future as to what they are going to sow, because as they say, "this land is blessed and everything comes on well and grows quickly."

All the communities very much admire their struggle to recover the land from the richer and stronger: the owners of the sugar plantations. Thus, the Indigenous Councils have decided to postpone their own demands for some time and maintain that as long as the military base at López Adentro is not removed and land given back to the community, the Indigenous Councils are prepared to mobilize in order to support the struggle, no matter how long it may last.

The Community of López Adentro has just - as part of the reserved area of Corinto - joined the neighbouring communities to set the dates of the election of candidates for the Indigenous Council.

At the moment, a meeting concerning Indian Legislation has been arranged with specific reference to the administration of the reserved areas and the functions of the various members of the Indian Council. The members of López Adentro have already chosen their candidates, and the election will show what their positions will be in the new Council.
Death of Father Alvaro

Following the death of Father Alvaro, we the members of the communities ceased all activities in order to march beside our departed friend, and to show the enemy that it cannot humiliate us. Over five thousand persons attended the funeral and the Indian communities imposed their will as to how the funeral was to take place. The Archbishop of Popayán, Silverio Buitrago, who refused to support Father Alvaro while he was still alive—we can confirm that he did nothing at all to protect Father Alvaro—, now used the death of Father Alvaro to state that the attendance at the funeral service should be a religious event only and so ignore the enormous amount of social work in which Father Alvaro was involved.

Confronted with such impudence, our leaders demanded respect for our organization in order to be able to express their own thoughts which were far from this religious hypocrisy.

Other organizations were then able to intervene, in for instance Cali, Palmira, Tolima, Antioquia, Chocó and Popayán, as well as members of the LA PAZ settlement who reminded Archbishop Buitrago that he was the one to authorize the eviction from López Adentro.

It is clear that the memory of Father Alvaro will always be with us. From the earth where his body has been buried, the seeds of his thoughts will flourish.

Upon return from the funeral services to pueblo Nuevo, the Secret Police had scattered nails over the Pescador highway.

Demonstration and Protests

On November 12th, while we attended a mourning service in memory of our departed friend, forty-five policemen stationed
in Toribío, went to the Palma road to fight another "great battle" against the twenty-five children from the bilingual school, using their usual insults to interrogate them about their teacher and the leaders of the community.

On the same day, the very same policemen searched the Community Council on the Loma de Paja road, looking for arms. In many parts of the community, the Indians held religious services in memory of Pather Alvaro. However, the "guardians of the order" understood these religious acts as subversive acts and they tried to stop them. When we were saying our prayers, the police from the Protectorate of San Francisco came and asked in a threatening way: "Why do you pray for that son of a bitch priest?"

When we started our protest demonstrations, several provocateurs turned up. As a result of an assault on the Delgado family on the Asio road, where a woman was injured, several dubious persons appeared in our community where they carried out investigations and tried to blame the community for these events.

On Friday, December 7th, fifteen shady characters arrived at Pueblo Nuevo with the purpose of making investigations. We learned afterwards that these men form part of paramilitary groups, whose aim it is to get access to the communities. The former Mayor, José Napoleón of Calldon, has requested the assistance of these paramilitary groups. On the day of the arrival of these persons, the people in the community started to use loud speakers to alert one another. Consequently, the group had to leave the following day.

On November 23rd, over five thousand Indians, all from the regions of Cauca, came to Santander de Quilichao to protest against the assassination of our friend, Alvaro Olcué and the eviction from López Adentro.

With the cries of "Friend Alvaro Olcué is among us! The military out of LOPEZ ADENTRO! down with the assassins! and "LOPEZ ADENTRO: Indian land or nobody's land!" the group from Toribío went into Caloto and then into Santander to express their indignation.

The protest march of all the delegations started at 11 o'clock from the town square of Santander de Quilichao, and from the church. The protesters marched quite orderly and approached the place where our fellow friend was assassinated, in front of the Hermanas' Lodging.

This act included the celebration of a mass and the placing of a plaque in memory of our friend Alvaro, upon which the following words were inscribed: "I shall return as if I were still here. Brother, know that our struggle shall continue on the face of this earth..." The planned mass was cancelled by Monsignor Silverio Buitrago. Later on, speeches were held by the Indian leaders and representatives of the other popular organizations. Around 2:30 p.m., we started to block the Pan-American Highway at the Cruce del Barrio el Tajo, until the government would promise to discuss the following demands:

1. Withdrawal of the military from LOPEZ ADENTRO.
2. Give back to the Community the LOPEZ ADENTRO land.
3. Punishment of the persons responsible for the assassination of Alvaro Olcué.

The Lady Mayor of Santander and the representatives from the government discussed with the commission from our organizator and so we agreed to meet on December 11 in Popayán with representatives from the central government in order to find a solution to the conflict. We raised the blockade at 8 pm.

The big demonstration was important because of the subs-
tential support we received from the citizens of Santander and its popular organizations, who joined our march in considerable numbers.

**LOPEZ ADENTRO Turned Into A Military Base**

After the eviction, López Adentro has been turned into a military base, and not even government officials are permitted to enter. In the meantime, the militarization of the indigenous zone continues, especially in the North of the Cauca. Our evicted brothers suffer the penalties of misery, in spite of the solidarity of the rest of the Indians and the popular sector. At the moment, many members are ill. Among the children illnesses like malaria are very common.


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**EAST TIMOR: JOURNALISTS IN EAST TIMOR HEAR DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS**

Three journalists from Reuters, Associated Press and the Asian Wall Street Journal have been visiting East Timor. The visit which took place at the beginning of March this year was the first visit to the country by foreign journalists in eighteen months.

In interviews with East Timor’s governor Mário Viegas Carrascalão, the foreign journalists were given an Indonesian perspective of the present situation. Jakarta is fighting the hunger and poverty on the island to improve living standards and tempt FRETILIN supporters down from the mountains. One of his priorities is to ensure that benefits reach remote villages.

Aid workers and diplomats in Jakarta say that living standards have improved as Indonesian control over East Timor has strengthened. There are no signs of conflict in the capital Dili and in other areas where foreign visitors are permitted. But the military says that more than 7,000 troops are stationed in East Timor to combat about 600 FRETILIN guerillas.

Officials told the journalists that there had been progress in rebuilding the farming industry. Hunger no longer appears to be a serious problem in the towns of Baucau, Viqueque and Lospalos where markets are busy with rice, fruit and vegetables on sale. Statistics indicate a sound recovery in crop production with rice output more than 33,000 tons last year, almost triple what it was in 1976 (although this is still only half the island’s consumption). Corn production almost quadrupled at the same time to 45,000 tons. The increases were stimulated by agricultural credit programs, guaranteed prices and advice from aid agencies.

The journalists were told that the progress was not evenly divided. The threat of food shortages and malnutrition remains in remote villages in the eastern highlands where FRETILIN operates. Settlements of thatched huts perched on rugged hill-
sides are barely self-sufficient in rice or corn and in some cases depend on food from other districts. But in western areas, where there is little guerilla activity, the villages are relatively affluent, with lush rice fields and vegetable gardens. Many homes now are built of cement, wood and zinc instead of such traditional materials as bamboo and dried reeds.

At Maliana in the west, 50 families of model farmers from neighbouring Bali were settled among local farmers to teach them growing techniques. The governor said that most Timorese have accepted integration into Indonesia. He said support for the guerillas has faded off dramatically, despite assertions to the contrary by FRETILIN exiles in Lisbon. "The East Timorese are facing the future like they've never faced it before," Mr. Carrascalao said. "They've changed their perceptions of Indonesia."

This perspective from an Indonesian angle can also be seen from other points of view. The "model farmers" from Bali constitute small-scale transmigration in East Timor. One should also place the accounts comparing the western and eastern parts of East Timor with the information contained in the TAPOL Bulletin Supplement of March 1985. The strategic villages in the eastern Lauten region are described. In "camps" under Indonesian control such as Lore I and II, Home, Kakavei, Leure, and Mahara. Conditions are reported as appalling, with great food shortages, lack of hygiene and constant harassment from Indonesian troops (including torture and extrajudicial killings). Even in the western Vikeke and Baucau regions which were reported as being quiet by the journalists, we hear of food shortages in Kelikai camp at the end of last year, as well as in Saelari, Lega and Bukoli. The list of atrocities which FRETILIN claim the Indonesians have committed against civilians is something which the reporters who visited East Timor recently also heard about.

The head of the Catholic Church in East Timor accused the Indonesian military of executing 84 men, women and children during a security operation last year. Monsignor Carlos Belo told the reporters that villagers in the eastern district of Vikeke had given him a list of the victims. The list included the names of teenage schoolboys, he said. The dead were buried in two mass graves, he said. "I saw the graves. The places where these people were buried. In one place about 70 and in another place 14."

He accused the military of carrying out the executions in a security sweep last August or September after 16 army engineers were killed by FRETILIN guerillas in the village of Claras. But Mário Carrascalao, said that these allegations were untrue. In a separate interview the Governor said up to ten people may have been killed in the anti-FRETILIN sweep, as some villagers were, inevitably, killed in crossfire during the sporadic clashes still taking place between Indonesian troops and FRETILIN.

Indonesian officials said Bishop Belo's allegations contained inconsistencies. They said he had earlier quoted villagers as saying that troops killed 200 people in the massacre but he now said he had the names of only 84. Bishop Belo had not himself seen the bodies, they said, and had not visited the graves near Claras until two months after the incident which sparked off the military sweep. However, the Governor said that if as many as 84 people had been killed, the whole of East Timor would have known about it and there would have been a revolt. Residents who formerly had links with FRETILIN contacted by Reuters in Dili also said Bishop Belo's figure of 84 seemed high. But the Bishop said: "I have the names of men women and some schoolboys about 14 or 15 years old."

In spite of reports by Amnesty International that it is still receiving accounts of torture and killings by Indonesian armed forces and that 1,500 East Timorese are still being held on suspicion of sympathies to FRETILIN, the UN Human Rights Commission has decided to cancel a review of alleged human rights abuses in East Timor.
The Human Rights Commission decision was taken behind closed doors which has made it impossible so far to find out the terms of the resolution. It is known however that Ireland, Finland and Australia voted against the decision. Indonesia had a large delegation in Geneva with no fewer than three ambassadors in the team. Portugal, on the other hand, whose task it should be to uphold the rights of the East Timor people sent only two officials who apparently did nothing to inform the Commission of the desperate plight of the East Timor people.

At the present time UN Secretary General Mr. Perez de Cuellar is pushing hard for a diplomatic "solution" that continues to ignore the right of the people to be represented in negotiations about their fate. Far from showing any signs of respecting East Timor's right to self-determination or acknowledging the depth of suffering being inflicted on the people, Perez de Cuellar told the press in Jakarta (Sinar Harapan 8 February 1985) that the atmosphere at the UN on the question of East Timor is "improving so much that I don't think it will come up any more. Or at least, that's what I hope." (see Tapol Bulletin March 1985).

Sources: Far Eastern Topical Talk - March 1st 1985
International Herald Tribune March 9-10 1985 (articles by Peter Millership)
Tapol Bulletin and Supplement March 1985

GUATEMALA: SANTIAGO ATITLAN
PREPARATION FOR A MASSACRE.

Santiago Atitlan, is a municipality of the Western Province of Solola, situated in the basin of Atitlan Lake between the Toliman, Atitlan and San Pedro volcanoes.

Dating from pre-hispanic times, this town constitutes a point of converging routes between Atitlan lake, the highlands and the Pacific Ocean coast. Santiago Atitlan has been populated for a long period and remains date from the late Pre-Classic Period (550 A.D.) through to the Spanish conquest. Santiago Atitlan was the capital of the Sutuhil region bearing the name of Tziquinihay prior to the Spanish conquest.

Nowadays, this town constitutes one of the major concentrations of Indian inhabitants in Guatemala. According to the official 1973 census, out of 16,641 inhabitants, 15,879 are Sutuhil Indians. During the colonial period - and even now - Santiago Atitlan has managed to preserve the distinction of being a "place where roads separate", and a political and administrative centre, as well as an important place for religious worship, whether Christian or Mayan. The town's Mayan wise men and doctors still enjoy high prestige in the region.

For several years, the government army has launched an oppressive campaign against the inhabitants, accounting for a substantial number of executions, and cases of "missing persons", actions that bring to one's memory past chapters of the history of this region.

In February 1980, the government army established a military camp in the football stadium of Cerro de Oro village, close to Santiago Atitlan; and in the beginning of July, a second one in a parish property of Panabaj village, close to the hospital. In the course of the year the executions started and persons such as Indian peasants, religious instructors,
businessmen and agricultural workers went missing.

During July 1980, amidst festivities in the village, approximately one thousand soldiers surrounded the town, exercising severe control over the comings and goings of the people, demanding personal identification from them. During the night, the army would enter the village and the number of arrested and missing persons would increase. In October the same year, members of the National and Civil Police came in four vans, surrounded the building of “Voice of Atitlan” radio and asked for several persons, especially for the persons in charge of some radio programmes. Not being able to find them, they left. Between the 18th and 20th of the same month, one additional religious instructor disappeared.

On 25th of October, the army visited Santiago Atitlan once more, kidnapping, on this occasion, the Director of “Voice of Atitlan”, Caspar Culán Yatás. He was brutally assaulted in the presence of his wife and children. He was carried off still unconscious to the military camp, and disappeared forever. The members of that radio association, exceeding 300, started to be persecuted and eventually, the radio station ceased its activities.

During the night, the soldiers would violently enter homes, plunder them and beat the inhabitants. The population was frightened, and in November most of the people spent all night in the Catholic church and the twelve Protestant chapels of the village, organizing surveillance groups and cautioning each other in case the army should invade the village.

On the 15th November, five members of the radio association were kidnapped: the president, the caretaker, a member of the board and one more. Three of them disappeared. Diego José Alvarado appeared in San Lucas Sacatepequez, in the cen-
tre of the country, tortured. They had taken out his eyes; mutilated the fingers and toes; he had been castrated and his chest was burnt.

In December, same year, the population of Santiago Atitlan, continued to hide during the nights in the churches and chapels and abandoned much of their agricultural work as the fields were far from the village. Some would stop their work at noon in the fear of going home in the dark. In January 1981, the village was again visited by the army.

During the first weeks of that month, on a day when the peasants had gone to the fields, one of them shot a wild duck. The army immediately reacted, shooting madly at the peasants. Several were killed and some eighty persons were arrested by the soldiers, then tortured in prison. Most of the peasants were later released, on the condition that they would not talk about the tortures they had suffered. Eighteen of the peasants were not released. Their corpses, with evidence of torture and mutilation, were later thrown from a helicopter. The people gathered together to bury the victims as they appeared over the following days. The army made an appearance in the cemetery and cautioned the peasants, telling them that they had only done their duty.

During the months of March/June, the arrests and disappearance of persons continued. On the 27th July, while celebrating the patron's festivities; many people were in the park and others attending a mass by Father Stanley Rother, the priest of the village. At 17:30 the army arrived and surrounded the church and the parish ground. When the mass finished, the army left the church, but the soldiers stayed to control the outskirts of the town.

Father Stanley Rother, was a North American priest, who has lived in Santiago Atitlan for the past 12 years, and was called by the Indians, Father Francisco. He would constantly go to the army and ask that the soldiers would leave the village alone. Unfortunately, on one occasion he openly accused the army of responsibility for all the executions and for the missing persons. In the beginning he was asked to leave, and because he did not do so, he was assassinated on July 28, 1981 by police wearing civilian clothes.

The executions and the disappearance of persons continued during 1982 and 1983. Many people from the village were threatened and a number of women were raped; some of them becoming pregnant. In 1983 another priest came to celebrate mass, but being threatened together with the nuns, did not wish to return. In 1984 the army dismantled the camp in Panama, but the soldiers constantly returned, assuming more control over the people through a civil patrol organization, called by the army “Self-Defense”.

In July 1984, another North American priest, Father John E. Vesey, known as Father John, took charge of the parish in Santiago Atitlan, and he was similarly threatened with death and an attempt was made to kidnap him. The Commission for Human Rights of Guatemala (CDHG) has received copies of letters written by Father John Vesey to the Consul of the American Embassy in Guatemala, Mr. Laurence Kerr on November 4 and 12, 1984. These letters reflect, according to this commission, the real and prevailing situation in this town and foresees a new threat against the inhabitants.

According to investigations effected by the Commission for Human Rights of Guatemala, in this town during the second part of March 1985, the army and government security forces have increased intimidations and pressure against the population with a view to engage in a new wave of terror. On the same
date, the army initiated a census, covering all the region of Santiago Atitlan and its surroundings, which constituted the first step in establishing a "model village" in Nahuala (Confirming the accusation, contained in Father Vesey's letter dated November 4) in which the army plans to relocate the survivors and displaced persons produced by the government plan of "cleaning Santiago Atitlan".

The tension experienced in Santiago Atitlan is severe because of the situation already described, and especially the testimony contained in the letters of Father Vesey, also confirmed by the investigations of CDHG. They anticipate that the army and the government are preparing a campaign of assassination and kidnapping.

The Commission for Human Rights of Guatemala calls the attention of the international community, requesting urgent and concrete action to protect the respectable and defenseless population of Santiago Atitlan, and to send immediate messages to the military regime, headed by General Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores, expressing concern for the situation of imminent attack that these people are facing. At the same time, there should be a setting up of observation groups where these atrocities do take place, so that the grave danger that threatens the region's inhabitants can be evaluated.

"FOR THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO LIVE."

Sources: Commission for Human Rights of Guatemala, Madrid, Spain

INDIA: ANOTHER CHAPTER OF BRUTALITY AGAINST TRIBALS IN BIHAR

The Banjhi police firing killing 15 tribals including Father Anthony, the former MP on the spot is being aptly described as a massacre. The police jawans forgot the law of the land, their basic role as a law and order enforcing agency and chose to act as an army unit taking revenge on the enemies. What followed was a tale of cruelty and brutality, so common in Bihar, adding yet another chapter to the unending pages on rural violence.

The magnitude and seriousness of the police firing on 19 April in village Banjhi forced the State Government to order a judicial probe into the incident. Unfortunately, however, the terms and references of the judicial probe would not touch upon the sensitive aspect of the tribal intransigence - the mistrust between the tribals and non-tribals - found in the tribal settings in Bihar. As a result, the whole exercise would come back to square one because mere fixing responsibility does not help.

The Banjhi police firing episode reveals emphatically that besides forced economic mortgage of the tribals caused by the gradual alienation from their own land, it is the cultural gap resulting in their intransigence which is more responsible for the perennial feud between the tribals and the non-tribal "Dikkus". The police always sides with the subtle exploiters and when the oppressed rise in rebellion in desperation, they come down heavily on them to maintain peace.

Owing to this basic reason of communication gap at cultural level, the attack on the house of land-owner Moti Bhagat by the tribals on 25 March was misunderstood by Bhagat and his henchmen and they sought revenge on the tribals by attacking and insulting their women in the Banjhi market place.

There is a huge pond in Banjhi which is shared by all communities to bathe, wash clothes and fish, although the contract
of the fishing right was settled with Moti Bhagat. The villagers were allowed to fish only after a contractor had taken his share of the profit home. The tribals would then enter the pond and fish on one side only, on the instruction of Moti Bhagat.

Body Found

All of a sudden, one day, the tribals were advised not to enter the pond as a deadly snake had been seen in it. This aroused their suspicion and they entered the pond. But instead of encountering the snake, they stumbled on a dead human body with injuries. The dead body was of a tribal person.

The tribals had reasons to believe that Moti Bhagat and his men might have been responsible for the murder. Infuriated they attacked Bhagat's house, causing minor damage here and there. Some educated tribal youths explained that the attack on Bhagat's house was intended to inflict a ritual punishment on the culprit rather to cause injury. This ritual is known as "Bitilaha" in Santhal society. The damage is done only to houses, and not to other property or people.

However, the same evening (25th March), Moti Bhagat's men roughed up the tribal women in the local village market which built up tension in the village. The tribals decided to set up a separate market place exclusively for them at a nearby village to avoid conflict with non-tribals. Subsequent to the 25 March incident, a police picket was stationed in Banjhi.

There was a sudden flare-up on 19 April morning when the local timber traders fired gunshots on the tribals who were shifting logs from one field to another. It is a clever practice by the rich timber merchants and money lenders to pile up logs in the tribals' cultivable land to keep the land occupied. The timber being shifted belonged to Dilip Bhagat.

The sound of gunshot worked like fuel in the flame. Drums were beaten to gather tribals from neighbouring villages, who started gathering with their traditional carriage of bows and arrows. The tribals called on Father Anthony Murmu who lived at some distance from Banjhi to protest against the provocative act of the "Dikus" to the village police outpost. In the meantime, the police enforcement led by a magistrate arrived at Banjhi.

Anthony Murmu called on the Special Duty Officer at the local police outpost and argued about the police apathy towards the firing incident. The argument developed into angry exchanges of words and the SDO ordered the police to lock up Anthony Murmu along with another young man Madan Murmu, in a room in the Panchayat Bhavan.

Meanwhile, the crowd waiting outside got restless and learning that Father Anthony Murmu had been forcibly locked in, they surged forward to secure their leader's release. The police at the same time started firing on the surging mob.

The mob ran helter-skelter. The bows and arrows were not used, although about a dozen men lined up before this correspondent to show their so-called marks of injuries by poisonous arrows. But when the newsman wanted to examine the injury of a local Bengali trader, he just laughed and told us "the false injury marks were made by the police after the firing as proof of attack by tribals".

While police were engaged in firing on the mob, some police jawans went to the room where Father Anthony Murmu and Madan Murmu were locked and started beating the two with rifle butts. The beating ended with shooting both of them dead.

The dead bodies were sent to Bhagalpur for post-mortem and buried there. Only the body of Father Murmu was handed over to his brother at Bhagalpur.

Meanwhile, Bibiana Baski, the wife of Father Anthony Murmu kept waiting for her husband to return. After learning that her husband was locked up prior to the firing by police, she had reasons to believe that the police had not killed her...
husband, though she had been told that he had been shot dead. Later her well-wishers brought her newspapers to convince her of the death of her husband at the police hands. Father Anthony Murmu was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1977 on a Janata Party ticket from Rajmahal constituency. Earlier he was a priest. But his interest in politics interfered with his religious activities and he joined politics by renouncing the priesthood in 1975.

Tension prevails in Banjhi. The government officials are not willing to go to the village. As such only six dead bodies have been identified. The District Magistrate of Sahabganj, B. Prasad, said that no government officer is willing to go to Banjhi with the photographs of the nine dead bodies remaining for identification.

**Patriot** Friday May 3rd 1985

**INDIA: "TRIBAL PROJECT AUTHORITY IN DEHRA DUN" AND THE REHABILITATION OF BONDED LABOUR.**

"If civilization is not to perish in this country (India)..., it is necessary to educate ourselves into accepting that respect for the rights of individuals is the true bastion of democracy".

(This quotation is taken from a Supreme Court judgement delivered on August 1, 1983, by Chief Justice Mr. Y.V. Chandra- chud and two other justices who ordered the infamous Bihar Government to pay Rs.30,000 compensation to Rudal Sah, who had been detained illegally for fourteen years.)

The Tribal Project Authority, Dehra Dun, is a body under the auspices of the Uttar Pradesh State Government. Connected with the project is the "Bonded Labour Rehabilitation Office" which was set up in September, 1978. The objectives of these bodies is to draw up economically feasible schemes for the development of exploited tribals in eight areas of Dehra Dun, called "development blocks". Much criticism has been aimed at these two offices - that they are inefficient, badly organised and lack co-ordination with other state departments such as that of "Hill Development".

In 1977, when the question of "Bonded Labour" and their timely rehabilitation was haunting the then Uttar Pradesh Government, it was decided that exploited tribals should also be given a fair deal. In order to do this, the 8 development blocks mentioned above were selected. And most of the inhabitants are classified as scheduled tribes. In spite of the setting up of these bodies, the situation for the tribals and poorer castes in the Hill Regions of Uttar Pradesh remains critical. It is a matter of utter shame and callousness on the part of those who time and again claim to be guardians of law that 16 years after Independence, millions of unfortunate Indians, even young children, are still forced to live in slavery.
Who is a Bonded Labourer?

Eight years after the Law for the Emancipation of Bonded Labour was enacted during the Emergency (1975-77), State governments entrusted with the implementation of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, are not clear as to what constitutes "Bonded Labour". In a country where half the population goes to bed hungry every night, human suffering does not make news. As bonded labour still exists after 36 years of republican constitution, and laws such as the "Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955" which is virtually useless, any remedy will not lie in more legislation and ordinances, but in implementation.

The problem of Bonded Labour in India has become acute owing to the increase of people below the poverty line and is, in reality, no different from classical slavery. The question of rural indebtedness and bonded labour are inextricably linked and, in turn, closely related to land and its ownership. The vast majority of these people have no access to enforcement agencies and so the landless in rural society, socially and economically weak as well as lacking in organisation, are unable to enjoy even such rights as are conferred upon them by law. There are no written contracts or records on which they can rely. Much of the extortion is born by them under coercive threats. The one-sided social and property relationships under which they have to eke out their existence, work relentlessly against them.

Column Nine in the khasra (a record of land possession) was created to indicate who tills land. This column knocked the bottom out of the entire land management system and has remained in practice since it was set up by Todar Mall during the Mughal Emperor Akbar’s reign. This column legitimizes trespass on land. Any man who tills the land as a sharecropper or in lieu of his services as a farmhand, can claim to become the
real owner of the land if only he can retain his name for three years on the Khasra list after which time his name will be transferred to Khatuni - the land revenue record of land owners. Thus influential and politically powerful men have got their names entered in the Khasra for all three years at once by bribing petty officials without the real owners knowing anything about it. Anyone who is strong enough can capture land become a legal owner by going through this process. The only way to end the caste war is to make land ownership absolute, otherwise petty officials will continue to mastermind the whole operation by entering the names of tresspassers in the Column Nine of the Khasra and then transferring it to Khatuni. One such law will save the lives of many breadwinners of poor families. Conflict arising from this problem has led to deaths of people in land disputes, as muscle power decides the ultimate outcome.

The civil courts deciding the land dispute cases have only one issue before them - to examine who owns the land. The answer is pretty simple: The one who captures it first. In "Village India", the real power at grassroots level is wielded by feudal chieftains and their hirelings, more often than not with the aid of the local police boss.

There are over 3.21 million bonded labourers in India according to estimates made by State Governments and the Gandhi Peace Foundation. This is revealed in the final report of the Programme Evaluation Organization (PEO) of the Planning Commission (New Delhi, 1984). The PEO report has suggested fresh identification from household surveys for locating population below the poverty line. Rehabilitation of bonded labourers is incomplete in various states. The report says that the progress of rehabilitation work is very slow in spite of the fact that special importance is attached to it under a new 20-point economic programme.

According to the report, only 9,493 bonded labourers were covered under various schemes in all the 18 districts studied as against the number of 22,458 released. More than 50% of the released bonded labourers were yet to be rehabilitated at the time of the study. The plight of 58% of the released bonded labourers was reported to be pathetic due to lack of urgency given to the task by officials at various levels. Between April and July, 1984, only 4190 bonded labourers were rehabilitated as against the target 30,633 set for 1984-5. 98% of the estimated 3.21 million men and women under bondage have been trapped in the system after taking small loans or advances, mostly consumption loans. But this figure is likely to be a gross under-estimation because the definition of bonded labour does not include contract labour or inter-state migrants who are covered by two separate laws.

Increasingly, the new groups of people joining the ranks of the bonded labourers are Harijans and Tribals who are lured by promises of good wages to work as contract labourers away from their homes. A small advance puts them into permanent debt to the contractor. Once at the work site they are paid for less than the minimum wage and have to live in painful inhuman conditions, while exorbitant interest rates ensure that they will never be able to free themselves. The money power of the influential contractor keeps the law enforcers at bay. The PEO report sadly admits "if a bonded labourer is not rehabilitated soon after release he is likely to be exploited by the ex-master, causing his relapse into bondage."

In an otherwise gloomy and dark future there is something positive in the Bonded Labour (Abolition) Act, 1976. Once passed, the amended Bill will ensure that the term "bonded" includes contract labourers and inter-state migrants working in conditions of debt bondage. This is indeed a positive step which will greatly help activist groups fighting for the implementa-
tion of the law. The Government can further champion the neglected cause of the rehabilitation of bonded labourers by constituting special tribunals for handling the sensitive issue of bonded labour cases.

The Tribal Project Authority Dehra Dun is in reality "an ulcer with official roots". The Garhwal division of Uttar Pradesh where the PTA is centred consists of five districts: Dehra Dun, Tehri Garhwal, Uttarkashi, Pauri Garhwal and Chamoli. The division is headed by a Commissioner and a Deputy Inspector General of Police who assume responsibility for maintaining law and order and managing overall administration. In 1977, 8 development blocks were created in the 3 districts of Dehra Dun, Tehri, Garhwal and Uttarkashi (the area better known as the "Jaurisar-Bawar, Jauripur and Rawairi region"). These eight development blocks speak a dialect and observe social-religious customs which are different in comparison to other parts of the region.

The Tribal Project Authority (TPA) Dehra Dun is headed by an official known as the "Project Director" who is assisted by another official known as the "Project Officer". The Commissioner of Garhwal division is the chairman of the TPA. The headquarters of the TPA, is more popularly known as the Bonded Labour Rehabilitation office, exudes the stench of bribes and bureaucracy. The stairs are lined by poverty-stricken tribals hopefully trying to catch the attention of some official "godfather" who will identify them as tribal and change their destiny by granting them some cash subsidy. However, rehabilitation is something which usually happens on paper.

Under the hallmark of the Prime Ministers 20-point Economic Programme, the officials at TPA have made a mockery of the entire project.

Here are some of the hollow claims of the TPA:
1. 8,055 Bonded Labourers have been identified and released.
2. 7,886 Bonded Labourers were granted cash subsidies ranging from 3000 - 10,000 Rupees per family for rehabilitation purposes.
3. Out of 7886 released: a) 3330 belonged to the Kalsi and Chakrata development blocks of Dehra Dun district.
   b) 1362 belonged to the Jauripur development block of Tahr Garhwal district and 3194 were from the Naugan, Paurka, Mori, Dunda and Chingalsar development blocks of Uttarkashi District.
4. 1648 bonded labourers were living below the poverty line out of which 723 persons were landless and 1282 persons were homeless.
5. 2718 persons were provided with land out of which 1793 persons belonged to Dehra Dun, 284 to Tehri Garhwal and 541 to Uttarkashi Districts.
6. In all, 992 has. of the "so-called" agricultural land was distributed to 2718 bonded labourers.
7. Out of another 723 persons so identified as being "landless" bonded labourers, a list of 300 persons has been forwarded to the concerned District Magistrates of Dehra Dun, Tehri Garhwal and Uttarkashi districts.
8. According to a so-called survey conducted by the office, a) 6597 had their own homes b) 1281 bonded labourers were homeless.
9. This office in co-ordination with "Weaker Sections' Housing Corporation" has claimed to have provided 571 persons with housing facilities while the names of 877 Bonded Labourers for accommodation provision have been forwarded to WSHC based at Luchnow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh State.
10. 345 persons have been provided with employment under daily wages scheme, Class III and IV category employees.
11. Two co-operative societies of Danta (in Uttarkashi District) and Shihiga (in Dehra Dun District) have been given work amounting to Rs 6,000.
12. In a meeting, held on December 19th, 1983, in the office of the TPA under the Chairmanship of the Commis-
sionar of Garhwal Division, it was decided that as a policy matter five unemployed, semi-graduates will be provided with employment as Project workers and Additional Development Officers belonging to each of the development blocks of the three districts.

The other side of the coin:

Out of the 39 project workers appointed on 1/3/82 (on the basis of a written test held a year earlier): a) 7 were appointed from the districts of Dehra Dun and Uttarkashi and 32 from the Plains of Uttar Pradesh. They had had to pay Rs 10,000-15,000 to the then project director. Out of the ADOs appointed then, only one came from the three districts concerned.

Due to the continuous appointment of "outsiders" as "project workers" and ADOs in these three districts, the sensitive environment of this hilly area has been raped beyond recognition. A project worker from Moradabad during his posting in the Mori block of Uttarkashi District, working to give relief to rehabilitated bonded labourers, shamefully and rather brutally exploited a tribal girl, making her pregnant and then abandoning her later. The worker still works in the region. This may appear an isolated case but as supervision in the area is poor, this sort of thing could be continuing. The fear is justified in the light of similar exploitation of village girls in the small Gusar Udayagiri valley of the Kondhas in Orissa in 1981-82.

The then project director was responsible when blind and lame mules, goats and sheep of poor genetic stock were given to bonded labourers. The mules were purchased from the Agra-Mathura regions of Uttar Pradesh. The person who arranged the purchasing was subsequently promoted. Other problems arise from the process of identification and the subsequent rehabilitation of bonded labourers.

It is the village headman (Giram Pradhan) on whose recommendation a particular person of a lower caste is recommended for being declared as an official "bonded labourer" on the condition that he will share the incentives of the government economic aid with the Giram Pradhan. Further speaking, this identified bonded labourer in return has to mortgage his family members to work for the Gram Pradhan, otherwise he will not be able to enjoy government incentives periodically. Thus slavery persists as long as the loom weaves itself.

The ATP office has against all Government Rules and Regulations appointed 3 related persons into positions of responsibility which is giving the office a reputation of being run by a mafia class. The UP State Government had constituted vigilance committees under the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act for Dehra Dun, Uttarkashi and Tehri Garhwal districts in January, 1984. Their work under the guidance of the respective district magistrates is yet to be made public.

We have shamefully failed to emphasise that in the matter of identification, release and emotional rehabilitation of Tribal men and women caught in various kinds of "debt bondage", their most bitter and compelling need is that sincere understanding and compassion which alone can enable them to recover their chained pride in themselves as individuals and restore them their faith in fellow man.

Backwardness ultimately is a matter of socio-economic opportunities, missed or denied and the basic manifestation of this is illiteracy. Yet there has been little serious thinking let alone any determined action, to remedy this fundamental aspect of the problem.

50% of the beneficiaries have reported that the well-off and politically influential villagers did not like the rehabilitation programme of bonded labourers which could be due to
their difficulties in getting cheap labour. Since a majority of Bonded Labourers belong to scheduled castes, they painfully suffer from the outdated customary disabilities attached to untouchability and caste besides suffering as a bonded labourer.

Whatever the sanctions behind the notorious colonial style caste system in ancient times, the reasons for its survival and degeneration lies not in the scriptures but in abject poverty, illiteracy and an unjust socio-economic order, grave administrative laxity and collusion between the caste overlords and the police in the countryside. Wherever these factors do not obtain, caste barriers are crumbling. The criminalisation of politics has ensured that the unfortunate defenceless, mostly the landless Harijans have no chance of protection until and unless they pacify the powerful “Godfathers”.

Tribal India cannot be taken for granted any longer. In the absence of a dedicated government policy, the Integrated Rural Development Project is no longer viable. An oppressed Harijan may be content with a defeatist compromise with harsh social realities, which limit his freedom of choice.

The criminal fraud in the matter of appointments has to be investigated and the guilty men punished and publicly exposed. The only remedy is to revamp the entire set up by firm action. There should be an enforceable code of conduct for those working in this sensitive department. Sadly concluding under the present painful circumstances, bonded labourers and other weaker sectors of society such as the unemployed of the 3 Hill Districts of Uttar Pradesh are nothing but “Victims of Progress”. The present half-hearted rehabilitation-cum-welfare schemes have surely contributed towards the overall prosperity of those employed by dubious means. Only strong and determined political

will, based on a national consensus of careful organisation are the requisite ingredients for success of the rehabilitation of bonded labourers. It is for the Government and Society to offer this remedy.

H.V. Uttar Pradesh, India, September, 1984.

North Indian Valley (Photo: Gerald Berreman)
INTERNATIONAL: HUMAN RIGHTS AND INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS

by Wolfgang Heins

In 1982 Wolfgang Heins produced a detailed study of the problems facing indigenous peoples subjected to human rights violations by national governments. The work was a general analysis including a survey of important materials such as human rights instruments, declarations etc and definitions of terms such as minorities and indigenous. INGHA has taken the opportunity of publishing a shortened version of the text in order to provide some background information on some indigenous issues.

PART I. INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS: DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS, THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 If one tries to find a basic definition of "indigenous population, one is confronted with the fact that there are no references to indigenous populations in encyclopedias, but rather that it is included within the term "minority". However, within the United Nations, the terms "minority" and "indigenous population" have been kept strictly separate although numerous indigenous peoples are "ethnic minorities", and there are also non-indigenous minorities - eg. the Japanese in Brazil, Chinese in South East Asia, Asians in East Africa, and so on.

The term "minority" obviously refers to the quantitative size of a group as compared with a majority in any given society. Like the majority population, minority groups are believed to gain their strength from ethnic ties, a common language or religion, resulting in a sense of community definitively distinct from that of the majority population. Accordingly, minorities are termed as "ethnic" (formerly "racial"), "religious" and "linguistic" minorities. 1)

1) In East Europe "national minorities" is the general term for the description of all ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

Of course, in order to designate a group of people as a "minority" in the sense discussed here, not all three elements need be present. Rather, the exposition of a distinct culture and way of life as compared with those of the majority should be seen as the decisive criterion for determining the nature of a minority. This feature reveals the connection between minorities and indigenous populations: indigenous populations are very often minorities, with few exceptions (South Africa, Bolivia) in states where the majority populations were invading settlers. Thus this term could be understood to be a subterm.

For a better understanding of the theoretical questions underlying terminology, attention is drawn to four important definitions of "minorities":

The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its 5th session (1953) recommended to the UN Commission on Human Rights the adoption of a draft resolution on the definition of the term "minority". The following elements were considered to form the basis of this definition:

"(i) the term minority includes only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population;
(ii) such minorities should properly include a number of persons sufficient by themselves to preserve such traditions or characteristics;
(iii) such minorities must be loyal to the State of which they are nationals." 2)

Professor James Pavcett recently proposed the following 2)

2) Quoted from Capotorti, 1979, p.6.
working definition of a minority:

"(iv) a minority group is a group in a country which possesses, and has common will - however conditioned - to preserve certain habits and patterns of life and behaviour which may be ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious, or a combination of them, and which characterize it as a group. Further, such a minority may be politically dominant or non-dominant." 3)

Having discussed different features of the definition of the term "minority", Professor Francesco Capotorti, Special Rapporteur of the UN Sub-Commission, submitted his own proposed definition which, however, has not found general acceptance:

"for the purposes of the study, an ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is a group numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the state to which it belongs and possessing cultural, physical or historical characteristics, a religion or a language different from those of the rest of the population." 4)

In 1950, the UN published "Definition and Classification of Minorities" in which criteria of contiguity and origin were used:

“(a) Measured by the criterion of contiguity, the following types of minorities may be distinguished:
(i) Groups which constitute nearly the only population of a section of the country;”

4) P. Capotorti, Study on the Right of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, New York, 1979, p.7. For observations from governments on this definition, see Capotorti, ibid.

(ii) Groups which constitute the largest part of a section of the country;
(iii) Groups, settled in a section of the country, which constitute only a small part of the population of that section;
(iv) A group, the members of which live partly in a section of the country and partly scattered throughout the remainder of the territory;
(v) Groups which are scattered throughout the whole country;
(vi) Groups which live partly within the country and partly in one or more other countries.

(b) Measured against the criterion of the origin of groups and their situation in relation to the State, the following types of minorities can be distinguished:
(i) Groups which existed in the country before the establishment of the State;
(ii) Groups which formerly belonged to another State, but which afterwards came under the jurisdiction of the State through annexation or transfer of territory;
(iii) Groups formed by persons having a common origin, religion, language, etc., who have become nationals of the State. 5)

These attempts to define the term minority illustrates well the problems of definition. The following main elements are apparent in these definitions:

- the subjects of the definitions are sections of a given society which are described as politically non-dominant (with the exception of Fawcett);
- members of this section of population are nationals of the State;

5) Capotorti, op.cit., p.11.
- the group wishes to preserve its genuine traditions, its way of life and its cultural identity;
- the main features different from the majority population are ethnic origin, language, religion (culture - Fawcett);
- one author includes "numerical inferiority" to the rest of the population as a criterion [Capotorti];
- one other author (UN Sub-Commission) demands that "such minorities must be loyal to the State" - this being the only case where obligations are imposed on minorities (perhaps in return for rights?).

It is necessary to stress once again that to date there has been no generally accepted definition of minority, despite considerable efforts by scholars as well as by international organizations. Yet we are asked to define "indigenous populations" in order to get a clear picture of which populations will fall within our terms of reference and which will not.

In his study, Capotorti also addresses briefly the question of indigenous populations. He asserts that "in countries in which indigenous populations exist, these populations are generally recognized as constituting distinct groups which should have the benefit of a special régime."

Different criteria are applied to resolve the question of an individual's membership of a given group. Membership is generally determined on the basis of law. Criteria include the use of language (Norway, Venezuela), way of life such that s/he could not be classified with the peasant population (Venezuela) and official recognition of tribes by the government: "to be designated as an Indian eligible for basic Bureau of Indian Affairs services, an individual must live on or near a reservation and must be a member of a tribe or group of Indians recognized by the Federal Government" in the United States. 6)

6) Capotorti, op. cit., p.15.

At this stage it is necessary to confront the term "minority" with "indigenous populations" in order to see how one or the other term could assist us. As has already been explained, the first term is much broader, including population groups which wish to preserve their way of life and their cultural identity without necessarily being indigenous - migrant workers, refugees and immigrants are examples. In this way, indigenous populations could be regarded as a sub-term of minorities, provided there is no indigenous population which is not a minority. However, within the framework of the UN, minorities are considered to be distinctly different from indigenous populations and, accordingly, no human rights provisions addressing minorities could be called upon on behalf of indigenous populations.

If emphasis is given to the numerical aspect of a minority (numerically inferior to the rest of the population), it has to be recognized that there are indigenous populations which are, in fact, numerical majorities (eg. the Indians in Bolivia and in Guatemala). If, however, stress is laid on the criteria of "dominance", "preservation of their own life" and "cultural life", it would be safe to assert that indigenous populations, as a rule, are minorities and are assuming the role of minorities. Even if one is inclined to continue to emphasize the numerical aspect of definition, it is important to realize that instances of indigenous populations constituting a majority of the population of a state are very limited - in spite of increases in population. The reason for this is that in many countries, particularly in North, Central and South America, and in Australia, there had been a situation in which indigenous populations were not just outnumbered by invading settlers but were wiped out in acts of genocide.

Two further elements should be incorporated into any definition of indigenous populations, in addition to the elements
defining a minority (which, we feel, is a good starting point)—that is, the geographical and the historical aspects.

The term "indigenous population" refers to people who have lived throughout their known history, or at least for most of this time, in a recognizable geographical area. In order to talk meaningfully of indigenous populations, "indigenous" must be understood to refer to populations who are living in a certain limited geographical area, or at least close to a geographical area which has been their homeland. (The latter would include cases in which population groups were forced to leave their homelands for whatever reasons, or were deported to far-off regions—e.g., the Tartar peoples in the USSR.)

Two problems arise, the first with regard to cases in which indigenous populations were forced to leave their homelands to settle in a country entirely different from their own and who wish, in some cases, to return to their homelands, even after several decades. It is obvious that these cases must be decided on an individual basis, but it is our understanding that such populations are indeed indigenous populations provided they have not been voluntarily assimilated (in which case there would most likely be no strong inclination to preserve one's own culture and return to one's homeland). In a second case, populations might be scattered throughout their own countries or perhaps have even been driven into neighboring countries. Again, in this case one has to evaluate the individual situation: some people might assimilate, while others will establish groups aiming at the preservation of their culture.

The geography and history of their homeland, and the resulting cultural and social traditions (i.e., indigenous valuesystem), contribute towards a specific, unique cultural identity of indigenous populations, which offers a sense of community and mutual understanding. It also allows for clear distinction between members of the group and aliens. Again, there are problems. Whereas it might be relatively easy to determine questions of geography and homeland, the historical approach leads to the question of quantification: would it be necessary to specify the length of time a given population has to spend in an area before being recognized as indigenous? In Sri Lanka, for instance, both main population groups, majority and minority, began to settle in the years BC: thus it is easy to come to a conclusion here. But in the USSR, Tatars Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great invited German settlers in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries to cultivate land, people who are today called Soviet Germans (some Volga Germans); are they indigenous? or "how" indigenous are they? One possible approach would be to regard ethnic origin different from the majority population as a criterion. But in the USSR, there are 119 different recognized peoples. A second possibility would be to prescribe a certain time period—e.g., 5 to 10 generations—before a population is recognized as indigenous. It is clear that such a time limit is a rather arbitrary means of solving our problem. Yet we have to apply a time stipulation if we wish to use history as an element of definition. Accordingly, a constituent element of the definition of indigenous population should be that these people have been living together in community for all or most of their known history.

Before it is possible to conclude, we should look at the descriptive criteria, ethnic, linguistic and religious (and national and cultural put forward by East European sources and Fawcett, respectively).

One characteristic of indigenous peoples is a distinct cultural appearance, different from that of the majority population which settled later in the country. This distinct culture is visible in terms of a different way of life, a different religion, different language, and often a different ethnic origin (in anthropological terms, a different physical image). 71

71 The term "race" which was used in the pre-war and inter-war era, was later replaced by "ethnic origin". Ethnic origin does not mean any more than common origin, based on racial and other factors, but the norm of racial intermixing is appreciated more now.
If we consider the relative strengths of the three variables, ethnicity, language and religion, it seems that there is strong evidence pointing to ethnicity being the strongest single factor: religion, language and other factors will, as a rule, presuppose a common origin of any given population and we are not aware of any exception to this rule. In consequence, we hold that language, religion and other specific traditions flow from ethnic origin, which should be the decisive criterion.

There are, however, peoples who have, for example, been baptized to change their faith to Muslim, Christianity, etc., thereby becoming alienated from the mainstream of religious feelings (Reform Baptists, Pentecostals, etc., in the USSR; Jehovah's Witnesses in many countries of the world, particularly developing countries). They are not different in ethnic terms, but they are in faith. Despite this change they nevertheless continue to belong to the indigenous population, although they have become a religious minority.

Minorities of whatever category (religious, ethnic or linguistic) share a very similar fate to that of indigenous populations without, as a consequence, being ipso facto indigenous populations. An important distinction is that they will have a chance to improve their status by special skills (many minorities work in business, trade and administration) or by wealth acquired in the course of their work. On the other hand, members of indigenous populations are often living very much on their own, separated from the rest of the population and belonging to the lowest strata of society.

8) We do not feel that the term national offers much insight in respect of minorities and indigenous populations when simply added to the other three criteria. Nor does the term cultural seem to be separate and distinct inasmuch as language, religion and ethnicity are all expressions of culture.

While fully aware of the numerous limitations of a definition of indigenous populations even in the absence of a definition of minority, we propose the following working definition: Indigenous populations are peoples with a distinct ethnic origin, language and religion different from the majority population, who wish to preserve their traditional way of life and cultural identity and who have lived for all or most of their known history in or close to an area in which they live today.

Problems of definition have also been encountered by the drafters of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Tribal and Indigenous Peoples' Convention No. 107. As none of the traditional criteria such as race, language, tribal loyalty and cultural affiliations, proved capable of international application, the ILO followed a functional approach and indigenous peoples are defined by their living conditions instead of in terms of ethnic or cultural characteristics. Indigenous peoples would need assistance, not because they are indigenous, but because their standards of living are inferior in comparison to other social groups.

In article 1 of the ILO Convention, two definitions of the scope of the convention are given:

"Article 1 (1)
(a) Members of tribal or semi-tribal populations in independent countries whose social and economic conditions are at a less advanced stage than the stage reached by the other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special law or regulations;

(b) Members of tribal or semi-tribal populations in independent countries which are indigenous on account of their descent from the population which inhabited the country,
or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation and which, irrespective of their legal status, live more in conformity with the social, economic and cultural institutions of that time than with the institutions of the nations to which they belong."

The first definition relates to countries in Africa and Asia, whereas the second is intended to cover states in the Americas. The main difference, according to Bennett, is that countries in the first group won independence through the struggles of the natives themselves against colonial powers, whereas in the second group countries gained independence through the efforts of non-indigenous descendants of European colonists in whose hands economic and political power is now concentrated.\footnote{Bennett, 1979, Aboriginal Rights in International Law, p.17}

The definitions in ILO Convention No. 107 are rejected by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the following general definition (concept) has instead been proposed:

"The World Council of Indigenous Peoples declares that indigenous peoples are such population groups as we are, who from old-age time have inhabited the lands where we live, who are aware of having a character of our own, with social traditions and means of expression that are linked to the country inherited from our ancestors, with a language of our own, and having certain essential and unique characteristics which confer upon us the strong conviction of belonging to a people, who have an identity in ourselves and should be thus regarded by others."\footnote{Quoted from: Cobo, 1981, United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/476/Add.3, p.32.}

A recent document published by the World Bank\footnote{World Bank, Economic Development and Tribal Peoples, Human Ecologic Considerations, Washington, World Bank, July 1981.} has also addressed the problem of definition of tribal and indigenous peoples. In Annex I to this document, tentative explanations of seven different terms are given:

1. **Ethnic minority**: broadly encompasses all those races or groups not identifying with the dominant race, eg. Chinese in Malaysia.
2. **Native**: implies birth or origin in the region, and thus includes national peasants and all others born in the area.
3. **Indigenous**: adds to native the implication of not having been introduced from another region of the country.
4. **Aboriginal**: implies having no known race preceding in the occupancy of the region, hence also includes national peasants albeit those with a traditional way of life.
5. **Autochthonous**: implies creation in that site.
6. **Primitive people**: is now not acceptable in anthropology, because of its inaccuracy and pejorative connotations.
7. **Original**: existing from the start; first occupants of a region."
Having encountered a number of difficulties in arriving at a near all-inclusive definition of the groups mentioned in the resolution, it was proposed that common characteristics should be set down. Here I also take into account characteristics mentioned in the World Bank document.\textsuperscript{12)

(i) marginalised and neglected communities in rural areas with an ethnic identification and usually indigenous to and a minority in the country concerned.

(ii) geographical isolation or semi-isolation

(iii) information and communication links often unreliable, and it sometimes takes weeks for information to reach a larger town or the capital

(iv) non-literate: not possessing a written language; often not knowing or having unsatisfactory knowledge of the national language(s)

(v) unacculturated or only partially acculturated into the national society

(vi) ethnic distinctiveness from the national society: tribal or semi-tribal social organization

(vii) possessed of a common territory

(viii) non-monetized, or only partially monetized: largely or entirely independent of the national economic system

(ix) economic base more tightly dependent on their specific environment

(x) legal protection especially weak and incomplete either because there is no legal system reaching out to their habitat, or because the legal system is ineffective or there is special legislation often incapable of protecting them

(xi) ignorance of rights and how to have them implemented, including remedies

\textsuperscript{12) World Bank, 1981, op.cit., p.5.}

(xii) no, or only a fragmented, public and media information system to act as a watchdog

(xiii) local power structure which, as a rule, leads to a decriminalization of offences/crimes for members of the higher strata of the rural society

(xiv) national power structure usually not including social forces representing those interests for different reasons (trade unions, non-indigenous workers, indigenous peoples, leftwing parties, etc.). No lobby for them except, occasionally, churches or missionaries (ambiguous for a number of reasons) and anthropologists

(xv) strong political, social and economic forces pressing for encroachment into the land and habitat of indigenous peoples - i.e. (trans-) national companies, government development planning, military (border areas), settlers, missionaries (Christianization), etc.

An important consequence of all these characteristics is that often no-one dares protest in cases of conflict, and information on conflicts and violations of human rights often reaches the national society of the country late, to say nothing of the international community.
PART 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.2

The existence of a minority can be the result of a wide variety of factors - historical, economic, cultural and political.

In history, minorities were often created either by settlers first invading and later outnumbering indigenous populations (Indians, Indios-Americas; aborigines-Australia), by redefining borders between states following invasions, wars and peace treaties (Treaty of Versailles, Potsdam, etc; boundaries in Africa and Asia separating ethnic and linguistic minorities) and by populations movements, sometimes over large distances.

Some special problems related to colonialism should be mentioned here. Particularly in Africa and some countries of Asia, the colonial powers exploited tensions between ethnic and linguistic groups, for example by recruiting military and police personnel from minority groups and tribes who were then accorded certain privileges, arousing the envy of other groups. (The British colonial authorities in particular used ethnic ties in this respect.) The colonial powers also used minorities in different countries to recruit administrative personnel, enabling them to run the economy (e.g. the Indians in East Africa).

When these states gained their independence, this experience led to suspicion and even hatred in a number of countries. More particularly, the arming of certain groups in a given colonial area by the colonial powers to fight against liberation and independence movements had serious consequences for post-colonial developments in the new states. More recent examples are the arming of Angolan bushmen by the Portuguese to fight liberation movements and the arming of Indochinese Montaignard tribes (Meo, Mong) by the US Central Intelligence Agency which fought against the Communist governments in Laos and Vietnam (formerly against the Pathet Lao and FLN).

Economic, cultural and political factors are often closely interconnected and it is difficult to decide which factor should be regarded as the decisive one. This can only be analysed adequately on a country by country basis; general trends can rarely be observed.

The decolonization of British India, for instance, led to the foundation of two states, Pakistan and India (now also Bangladesh) as the Islamic League feared the Muslims would be outnumbered in a pro dominantly Hindu-populated India and vehemently urged the British Crown to establish a separate Muslim state. After large-scale movements of refugees and fighting between Muslims and Hindus, minorities of Muslims emerged in India (11.2% in 1971) and Hindus in Pakistan (1.5%). In addition, at least two groups in Pakistan (Pashtuns and Baluchis) and a number of indigenous peoples in India, particularly in the border areas (Nagas, Mizo) are continuously urging autonomy.

In a different perspective, the borders newly-created in Africa in the process of decolonization 1958-1962 were declared sacrosanct, although proposals to adapt borders to the aspirations of separated peoples had been made. The OAU especially had throughout its existence taken the view that any change of borders would automatically violate the terri-

* OAU - Organisation of African Unity
torial integrity of the country concerned.

In Eastern Europe, with the exception of Yugoslavia, there is a clear policy of assimilation pursued by all governments. In earlier years, political persecution played an important role, in addition to the extending of withholding of social rewards (higher education, adequate jobs, social security, travel abroad, etc.) More recently, with some exceptions, governments turn more and more to a refined system of social rewards, administrative destruction/dowgrading of expressions of national cultures, and selective political persecution in the more 'extreme' cases (Crimean Tartars/USSR; Pomarks/Bulgaria; Albanians/Yugoslavia).

Analysts of political developments in Western Europe have continuously stressed the near absence of minority problems because of their economic well-being. Reality has proved the contrary. There have increasingly been a large number of eruptions, sometimes combined with violence, which were often difficult to understand for both government and majority populations in the country concerned. With very few exceptions (perhaps Switzerland deserves mention) almost all countries saw manifestations of minority demands and dissatisfaction with their lot. Basques and Catalans in Spain, the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland, Slovenes in Austria, Corsicans and Bretons in France, Sami in Norway, gypsies in the Federal Republic of Germany and other European countries, Flemish and Wallons in Belgium are but a few examples of this trend.

The documents published on campaigns and meetings of Indians in Canada and the USA and of Indios in Central and South America have highlighted their revived consciousness and determination to preserve their culture and way of life despite continuous efforts by government and economic interest groups to seize their land and to exploit their resources on a wide scale. The Americas is the first area where indigenous populations have created a continental organization: the South American Indian Parliament (1974). Moreover, it was from these populations that the founding of the first worldwide movement of indigenous peoples originated, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), with representation from the Americas, Alaska, Scandinavia, New Zealand and Australia, and its headquarters are in Canada. Most of the fights taking place today over land, living conditions, preservation of cultural identity and attempts to gain at least some political influence seem to take place in the Americas, especially in South America.

Both international organizations and scholars have repeatedly stressed that the application of the term "minorities" in different regions of the world might be difficult and irritating, for too many problems with borderline cases and questions of definition and criteria inhibit its consistent application in all regions. Equally attempts to apply consistently the designation "indigenous population" run into considerable difficulties. This is due to problems of systematic nature (see discussion above) and to problems related to the significant distinctions in features in different regions of the world. The second aspect should be described now.

In the Americas there is no difficulty in applying the term "indigenous population". Tribes of Mongol origin used the Bering Straits approximately 10,000 years BC and then settled North, Central and South America. Spanish and Portuguese colonists began to conquer the Caribbean, Central and South America in the 16th century and destroyed all the highly developed Indian cultures (Inca, Aztec). They originated the slave hunts in West Africa. Approximately 10 million Africans were brought to America during the course of three
or four centuries.

Later an increasing number of settlers from Great Britain and central European States came to North America. In the 19th and 20th centuries new groups of settlers arrived; this resulted in the creation of new minorities (Japanese in Brazil, Germans in Chile, Paraguay and Brazil). In conclusion it can be said there is a clear distinction between indigenous peoples (i.e. Indians) who are today minorities (except in Guatemala, Bolivia), minorities such as Germans, Japanese, Italians, Africans, and the majority population which includes Mestizos (parents: Indians/White) and Creoles (parents: Black/Spanish).

Similarly in Europe, most indigenous populations still live in their homelands - eg. the Basques, Corsicans and Serbs in the West, and Estonians, Pomaks and the Hungarian minority in Romania in the East. This is true even when indigenous populations are separated by borders (the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia and Albania; Armenians in the USSR and Turkey; Kurds in Turkey, the USSR, Iraq and Iran). The problem is, however, that the rest of the population is also indigenous in the strict sense (with the exception of the immigrant minorities). Thus there are more differences in life style and cultural orientation, including language, in comparison to the society as a whole. One borderline case in this area is that of the gypsies who, because of their nomadic life, could be regarded as indigenous people in relation to nearly all European countries.

In the Middle East there is not one homogenous population as opposed to one or more indigenous peoples. Most states consist of, say, three to six communities. Consequently, the question arises as to which of these communities could accurately be designated "indigenous people". In this context we tend to regard a population as indigenous if it is possible to observe that it wishes to preserve its culture and way of life even in the face of strong pressure from the government demanding partial or complete assimilation to what in its opinion should be the national character of its population. While freely admitting that this approach meets with a number of borderline cases and is less precise than the author would wish, it would include peoples such as Kurds, Assyrians, Turkmenes, Arabs (Israel) Copts, Armenians, Berbers and Bedouins.

In Asia we note over centuries considerable waves of peoples leaving their country for another, sometimes returning, sometimes not. It might be difficult to define a people as "indigenous" because it depends on the point in time one looks at a certain country. The term could easily be used when there is a homogeneous majority and one or more indigenous minorities - eg. Ainus (Japan), Meos (Laos), Kalin- ga (Philippines), Chakmas (Bangladesh). In Sri Lanka about 200 BC Tamil from Southern India started to settle on the island; today they demand their own separate state, Tamil Eelam. (There is also a second group of Tamils who were brought to Sri Lanka by the British to work on plantations.) The Sinhalese majority settled in Sri Lanka 500 BC, just 300 years earlier.

A more clear-cut case is that of the Timorese community on East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and, according to various reports, between 100,000 and 200,000 people have died as a result of famine, or been murdered or "disappeared", for which the government is being held responsible. This is, however, a special case because of the inva-
as the political power structure is also very often organized along ethnic lines (administration, executive, political parties) instead of a structure crossing through ethnic lines, discrimination and persecution are the immediate results of competition for power. We could identify indigenous peoples as populations over a period of time displaying unwillingness to be part of the state in which they live for the moment since they feel they cannot preserve their cultural identity in that state (Eritrea/Ethiopia; Anya Nya/South Sudan; Ibo/Nigeria). In exceptional circumstances a population in an area which should become part of an already existing state refuses to do so and campaigns and fights for its own state (Sahara/Western Sahara).

Another, more promising approach seems to be to regard hunters and gatherers as indigenous peoples in this sense of the term. We would then include Berbers Tuaregs, bushmen, as being among our subjects. It is admitted, however, that Africa presents most difficulties for arriving at a sound and precise definition. We nevertheless feel that some working definitions could be found after more discussion on the meaning of indigenous populations with regard to Africa.  

Finally, in Alaska Indian Tribes such as the Aleuts and Inuits are indigenous peoples who have just begun their campaigns for improvement of their social situation and preservation of their cultural identity.

We conclude that it is inappropriate to apply the term "indigenous people" indiscriminately to all regions of the world because significant distinctions as to population, history and other factors warn against this oversimplification. Interestingly, Angola and Guinea-Bissau have recently ratified ILO Convention No. 107, and the ILO will be exploring with these governents how to define the groups covered by the Convention.

13) Some examples: the Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi; Chad under Toumbalbaye; Bembé ethnic group in Zaire; Tulané ethnic group in Guinea; Hausas and Inos in Nigeria.

14)
However, it should be recognized that this term could perform quite a helpful role in identifying communities in Europe, the Americas and Asia at least. In the Middle East also the term has a certain function, albeit with modifications. In Africa the term seems useless in its full meaning whereas a modified version - people who live today as hunters and gatherers - could serve as a criterion to distinguish which peoples in Africa could reasonably be regarded as people within the meaning of indigenous peoples as discussed in this section.

It should be emphasised that there are a number of peoples in different regions whose roles are similar or identical to that of indigenous peoples. As a rule these people will be minorities without having historical any roots in the country in which they live today. Lebanese in West Africa, Indians in East Africa, Chinese in South East Asia, Jews in Europe and America, are just some examples in question. They also try to preserve their cultural identity within an atmosphere which, generally speaking, is suspicious and even resentful. The rich members of these groups may even contribute to this negative perception by the majority, leading to hatred and envy. Often it is only a question of time before an outburst results in individual or state violence (Asians in Uganda; Jews in Nazi Germany; Chinese in Indonesia). These peoples cannot be regarded as "indigenous peoples" in the genuine sense; yet the circumstances predestine them to violent mass reaction in cases of crisis and turmoil. Human rights violations by a state who acquiesces in atrocities, or even stimulates them, are most likely.

However, as may be demonstrated with regard to Africa and other regions, there are sometimes newly-established communities of people who are both ethnically and linguistically identical to the rest of the population, but different in their religious aspirations. They may belong to internationally established churches or sects (e.g. Jehovah Witnesses, Hare Krishna Society) and thereby arouse suspicion and prejudice from their fellow countrymen. We cannot really define them as indigenous peoples because the ethnic and linguistic criteria must be regarded as superior to the religious one, and one cannot really argue that the "preservation of culture" of which religion is but one aspect, is the legitimate goal of these societies. Nevertheless, their being and acting differently from the majority within a given society puts them into a vulnerable position à vis à vis both society and government.

Within the context of international protection of minorities, it has been proposed that also migrant workers and refugees and, more particularly, political refugees could be regarded as minorities within the framework of an internationally accepted definition. This proposal has been rejected by most scholars on the assumption that members of minorities enjoying national and international protection of their rights have to be nationals of the state concerned. Those groups of people, who might fall into a situation comparable to indigenous peoples, are certainly not indigenous peoples in the genuine sense of the term. However, reactions from the authorities might be similar when they try to preserve their own way of life in a country which is opposed to that way or only accepts partial or entire assimilation into the national customs and values.
MELANESIA: THE ISLAND PEOPLE BEGIN TO MAKE WAVES.

By: Robin Osborne

According to the map, there is no "Melanesia". But exist it does - in the consciousness of the five million people, who inhabit the Pacific Islands between the western tip of Indonesia's giant Irian Jaya province (West Papua) and independent Fiji in the east.

An awareness of their being Melanesians, which derives from the work of anthropologists and present-day nationalist leaders, is rapidly making them the most significant political group in the South Pacific. In the conservative local context both the independent Melanesian states and the non self-governing Melanesian peoples are "radicals", discontented with the region's status quo.

New Zealand's former Prime Minister, Sir Robert Muldoon, complained after the Canberra meeting of the South Pacific Forum two years ago: "The discussions were spoiled by the ganging-up of a certain block of nations, which happened to be Melanesian.... They have tried to ruin the cherished South Pacific tradition of consensus." Specifically, Muldoon was unhappy with the Melanesians' determination to speed up the Forum's proposed timetable for independence in New Caledonia.

On the surface there appears some truth in the idea that the Melanesians are veering leftwards: while Muldoon's successor, David Lange, would not think so, the Australian PM, Bob Hawke, does harbour such fears. They are the result of major warning signals - Vanuatu's forging of diplomatic links with Cuba, and the sending of youths from New Caledonia to Libya for training - as well as minor ones such as the seizing of a $5 millions US-owned tuna boat for fishing illegally near
the Solomon Islands.

In spite of such signals the Governments of Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Vanuatu, and Fiji (where immigrant Indians outnumber the 300,000 mostly Melanesian locals), are politically conservative and moreover, economically dependent on Australia, the "big brother" of the South Pacific, for trade and aid.

While some of their foreign policies have opted for the "moral" stance - Vanuatu, for instance, is the region's only member of the non-aligned movement - their economies are firmly of the free-market mould. While sometimes mismanaged, they are not poor.

The same can even be said of the two Melanesian groups waging national liberation struggles - the Free West Papua Movement (OPM) of Irian Jaya and the Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) of "Kanaky". That leaders of the former have been to Moscow in recent years, and security trainees from the latter to Tripoli last year, says less about their ideology than their need for help.

Hank Joku, an OPM leader who lives in Papua New Guinea, said: "When you're drowning, you don't stop to ask details about the person who is saving you". The OPM has not received weapons from the USSR or any other source, except those captured from Indonesian troops.

Yann Uregel, of FLNKS, said in Sydney, that the delegation to Libya had been much overplayed by the conservative press in France and Australia. Mr. Uregel, retired teacher, was the mission's leader but, as he confessed, "I was not entirely happy about the idea. However, the Libyan trip has been swamped by the recent dramatic events in New Caledonia and even the minimal skills learned by a handful of Kanaks during two weeks in Libya have no doubt helped the FLNKS gain the concessions from France that it has.

Both liberation groups are orientated towards village-based communal values, usually with a strong streak of Christianity going through their traditional customs. While Melanesian societies are well known for fighting for their rights, mostly land rights, their tradition is to try all avenues of negotiation first.

It is significant that the takeovers of West New Guinea by Indonesia and New Caledonia by France have encouraged previously hostile clans to unite against a common enemy. Ironically, the coloniser's language often forms the link.

Language differences highlight the cultural diversity of the Melanesians. On the island of New Guinea, home for over four million Melanesians, there are over 1,000 mutually unintelligible languages. Even to the unaccustomed eye, there are many contrasts between the Melanesians, skin colour being only one.

The term Melanesian was coined in 1832 by the French navigator, Dumont d'Urville, from the Greek "mela" for black to describe the "islands of dark-skinned people". In spite of the differences modern anthropologists conclude that to speak of a Melanesian race is valid because of many shared characteristics and dissimilarities from races such as the Poly- and Micro-nesians.

According to a Papua New Guinea lawyer and philosopher, Bernard Narakobi, the common factors nowadays are political as well as genetic and cultural. Narakobi was a founder of the Melanesian Alliance Party which now controls the North Solo-
mons province. He is an ex-seminarian.

"I see the Melanesian way as a total cosmic view, embracing all aspects of life. The village aspect is the classic view, the absence of written literature, but a strong oral tradition, and different technologies to those found in Asia and so on.

"Modern Melanesia is this, but now includes our common historical links, through the colonial contact period to the various independence experiences we have had. We have learned a lot, especially through Vanuatu's fight to get rid of France. When Julius Chan sent troops to help Fr. Lini, that was true Melanesian solidarity. "We are right behind the Kanak cause and the West Papuans, too."

He would like to see a more formalised Melanesian Federation of states, probably excepting Fiji because of its Indians and the Polynesian admix. The loose union should include a free Kanaky, even one reliant on France.

There are signs that an informal Melanesian "Club" exists. After last year's Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Port Moresby, a meeting between the leaders of Papua New Guinea, and other "blood related" people, including Jean-Marie Tjibaou, the head of FLNKS discussed topics not on the main agenda - like guerrilla struggles. Fiji was not present. Its PM, Ratu Mara, is deemed too regal and conservative by most other leaders.

Mr. Louis Uregei, president of USTKE, the Kanak trade union coalition, made a point of close liaison with aboriginal representatives while in Australia last week lobbying for support.

This highlighted the other Melanesian link, for the 20,000 Torres Strait islanders are Melanesian. So are the later wave of Pacific islanders who were "blackbirded" last century to work the Queensland sugar plantations.

Their land rights struggles are the same as the Kanaks noted the elder Uregei, Yaim when he addressed a meeting of aboriginal activists in Sydney last month.

Vanuatu is the lynchpin in the Melanesian power play. Kanak leaders have often met PM Lini. They coordinate their activities through Port Vila. Lini has faced the experience of armed French colonists and a Paris government which did not wish to withdraw from the region.

While he refuses port facilities to US navy ships, as a nuclear protest, he is a friend to the West Papuans, allowing an OPM bureau to operate and being prepared to criticise Indonesia's presence in Irian, which he has called "more brutal than the occupation by Japan."

Melanesians have done well to gain the respect they now command in the region. They fared badly in colonial times being regarded as primitive and savage. No doubt the past 10 years, when most of Melanesia was decolonised peacefully, have produced strong racial identity. The real test of fire, involving "Kanaky" and Irian Jaya may strengthen that even further.

Source: The Guardian, 1 February 1985
NICARAGUA: NEGOTIATIONS MAKE SOME PROGRESS

In March and April this year negotiations were held in Colombia an Mexico between indigenous representatives and the Government of Nicaragua. The results have been positive to the extent that talks will continue in Argentina on May 25/26 and that a tentative ceasefire agreement has been reached. The wording of the agreement stops short of total ceasefire but several areas are covered such as medical and food supplies and the extension of the December 1st 1983 amnesty to cover more indigenous prisoners.

The following three statements come respectively from 1) Indigenous leaders who were present at the Colombia negotiations in March. 2) The World Council of Indigenous Peoples which has been playing an important role in the negotiations. 3) The communiqué which arose from the Mexico negotiations signed by Brooklyn Rivera and Luis Carrión.

1) DECLARATION OF INDIGENOUS LEADERS REGARDING THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF NICARAGUA'S ATLANTIC COAST REGION

WHEREAS:

1) the Miskito, Sumo and Rama are indigenous peoples and nations of the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua;

2) the Miskito, Sumo and Rama are currently engaged in a struggle to protect their rights to self determination, their aboriginal lands, and their traditional ways of life;

3) MISURASATA, the coalition of Miskito, Sumo and Rama nations, has initiated a process of negotiations with the government of Nicaragua in order to achieve peace in the Atlantic Coast region and the recognition of the basic rights of the indigenous peoples and nations;

4) MISURASATA in the negotiations is asserting the land rights of the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast and their right to self determination through political and administrative autonomy, claims which are fundamental to the survival of indigenous peoples and nations throughout the Americas;

5) governments throughout the Americas have failed repeatedly to accord indigenous peoples and nations their rights to their aboriginal lands and self determination which arise from their status as pre-existing sovereigns;

6) the Nicaraguan government has professed its commitment to advance the interests of indigenous people within its revolutionary process, and therefore interested observers are focusing on the Nicaraguan government to see whether it will incorporate within its ideology full recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and nations, or whether it will follow the path of other governments which have pursued ethnocidal policies against indigenous peoples and nations;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that we the undersigned:

1) support the MISURASATA's position that the Miskito, Sumo and Rama, as with all indigenous nations and peoples, are sovereign indigenous nations who possess national rights of self determination and the right to determine their economic, social and cultural development in accordance with their own values and traditions;

2) support the MISURASATA's position that the Miskito,
Sumo and Rama, as with all indigenous nations and peoples, possess the right to their lands and waters, including all natural resources within the territories where they traditionally have lived and worked, and which they have not ceded freely by treaty or other manner, and that these rights preclude the Nicaraguan State from claiming or retaining any part of the unceded territories of the Atlantic Coast indigenous peoples and nations;

3) support MISURASATA’s position that the Miskito, Sumo and Rama, as with all indigenous nations and peoples, have the right to be free from external jurisdictional control, unless pursuant to a valid treaty or other agreement voluntarily made by the legitimate representatives of these indigenous peoples and nations;

4) urge the government of Nicaragua to end all military activity and repression against the indigenous people of the Atlantic Coast region;

5) urge the government of Nicaragua to make a commitment to return to their traditional villages and chosen way of life the indigenous people who have been relocated against their will to government camps and settlements or who otherwise have been forced to abandon their chosen ways;

6) urge the government of Nicaragua to accept the proposal of MISURASATA to guarantee self determination for the Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples through autonomic regional government;

7) urge the government of Nicaragua to negotiate in good faith with MISURASATA, recognizing that the form of autonomy by which the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast will realize self determination cannot be achieved by unilaterial action of the Nicaraguan state, but rather must arise from joint efforts and dialogue with the indigenous peoples exercising the powers and responsibilities of sovereigns;

8) urge all interested parties to support the efforts of MISURASATA to negotiate peacefully with the government of Nicaragua in order to achieve recognition of the rights of the indigenous peoples and nations of the Atlantic Coast region, as described herein.

2) BOGOTA DECLARATION

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), an international organization having consultative status with the United Nations, along with its five regional non-governmental indigenous organizations consisting of the Regional Coordinator of Indian Peoples of Central America (CORPI) representative of indigenous organizations of the Central American Nation-States, the South American Indian Council (CISA) representative of indigenous organizations of the South American Nation-States, the Pacific Regional Council representative of indigenous organizations of the Pacific Nation-States, the Nordic Sami Council representative of indigenous organizations from Canada and the United States of America.

Hereby makes this Declaration to the government of Nicaragua, to the indigenous organization MISURASATA and to the governments, peoples and communication services throughout the World, that:

The principles upon which our Indigenous Peoples in the Americas and throughout the World are founded are principles upon which the WCIP are guided.

The Nation-States of Republics of the Americas which to-
day exist are the products of invasions, occupation and colo-
mination of our nations and original peoples. These Nation-
States and Republics have institutionalized and systematized
oppression upon our peoples, imposing models and systems in-
consistent with the truth of the circumstances of our exis-
tence.

During the colonization process of Nicaragua and during
the rule of the government of Nicaragua, the Rights of Indi-
genous Peoples have not been fully recognized nor respected
to the contrary, the Indigenous Peoples have been victimized
by the denial of recognition and respect of their fundamental
rights.

With the change in the government of Nicaragua and with
the establishment of the administration of the Sandinista
Front of National Liberation, the Miskito, Sumo and Rama
peoples had hoped to finally achieve the full recognition
and respect of their historical indigenous rights.

After five years of the Sandinista regime of the govern-
ment of Nicaragua, the indigenous people are continuing to
struggle to achieve the recognition and respect for their in-
alienable rights such as the right to autonomy, to territory,
to the natural resources and to the practice of their indige-
nous culture, social organization, economic system and politi-
cal process.

The failure to recognize these rights and the applica-
tion of a policy of genocide in the form of violence and re-
pression against the indigenous people has produced violence
in kind. This continuing conflict has been capitalized upon
by antagonistic political forces foreign to the indigenous
struggle, resulting in jeopardizing the struggle and worse-
ening the situation for our brothers and sisters.

The WCIP, with its regional organizations recognize and
affirmatively support the indigenous organización MISURASATA
in their efforts to achieve, with the Nicaraguan Government
a just recognition of the inalienable natural rights of the
Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples who, from time immemorial, ha-
ve inhabited the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.

The WCIP, with its regional organizations further decla-
re that policies of systematic genocide against our peoples
have been and continue to be present in the majority of Na-
tion-States and Republics throughout the Americas, OUR MOTHER
EARTH. We call upon, we demand that each national government
examine with the most serious frame of mind, its present go-
vernment policies and practices and conform them to the prin-
ciples of humanity, respecting fully the rights of indigenous
peoples, in order to achieve the full peace and amicable co-
existence of all peoples.

The WCIP with its regional organizations unconditionally
support the efforts of Peace with recognition of Indigenous
Rights, efforts which are approached bilaterally, fully res-
pecting the dignity and sovereignty of both parties, begun
since October 1984 and continuing to this moment between MI-
SURASATA and the government of Nicaragua.

The WCIP with its regional organizations further decla-
re that indigenous peoples are not social classes or oppres-
sed ethnic groups; we are nations and/or peoples discrimina-
ted against, oppressed and exploited racially, culturally,
spiritually, socially, economically and politically.

We suffer this discrimination, repression and exploita-
tion within our own regional territories as well as through-
out the Nation-States and Republics of the Americas and in oth-
er regions of the World.
The WCIP with its regional organizations expresses its sincere hope that the present negotiations to achieve peace with justice, conducted between the indigenous representation and the government of Nicaragua will be conducted in an attitude of mutual respect for the dignity and humanity of each other, taking into full comprehension the realities of the peoples for whom these negotiating parties represent.

The WCIP with its regional organizations appreciate and thank the government of Colombia and the national indigenous organization of Colombia ONIC, for their efforts and support in facilitating these negotiations between the government of Nicaragua and the indigenous organization MISURASATA. We furthermore appreciate and thank the Colombian Government and ONIC for their generous hospitality shared with the international indigenous observers.

3) COMMUNIQUE

The delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua and MISURASATA organization that have met in Mexico City April 20-21-22 of this year, giving continuity to the negotiation process initiated in Bogota last year, communiqué to the people of Nicaragua and to the international community, the following:

A) During the course of the conversations, maintained in an atmosphere of mutual respect, have achieved concrete advances to the mutual understanding in the exploration of measures to promote peace and the well being of the people of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.

B) The Government delegation and MISURASATA, as they have not arrived at definite agreements regarding the fundamental issues to a just solution to the
present conflict and as a consequence, pacification in the region has not been achieved between the Government Armed Forces and the MISURASATA Forces. They will continue discussing in future rounds such issues (land, autonomy, natural resources, total ceasefire in the region, etc.)

c) Both delegations demonstrating good faith and good will to progress concretely in these negotiations, have established the following agreements:

1) To bring immediate relief to the present situation to the Indigenous Communities of the Atlantic Coast, moreover to create a more favourable climate to the continuation of the negotiations, the Government of Nicaragua and MISURASATA, establish:

a) The Government will facilitate the reestablishment of medical and food supplies through its institutions, as well as assistance to the communities by humanitarian institutions in coordination with the Government of Nicaragua. Also, will facilitate the reestablishment of subsistence activities (fishing, hunting, agriculture and trading) of the indigenous and creole communities affected by the present conflict in the region.

MISURASATA will orientate its bases to support and observe the realization of this agreement.

b) The Government and MISURASATA agree to avoid offensive actions between the Government Armed Forces and MISURASATA Forces, in this way to support the implementation of the com-

mitment of the content in section a.

2) The Government of Nicaragua will extend immediately the Amnesty Decree of December 1st, 1982, to include all Miskito, Sumo, Rama and Creole that are still in jail due to their participation or connection with MISURASATA or MISURA. This will take effect within seven (7) days after signing this document.

D) The next round of discussions will take place in the City of Bogota, May 25-26, 1985.

E) Both delegations thank the hospitality and the facilities given by the Government of the United States of Mexico to the realization of the meeting.

As well, both delegations thank the presence of the Ambassadors and Representatives of the Governments of Canada, Colombia, France, Netherlands, Sweden and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, that have been stimulating the efforts of the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua and the organization MISURASATA. We wish to extend special recognition to the Government of Colombia that hosted the two first meetings of this process.

Mexico D.F. April 22, 1985

For the Government of Nicaragua
Comandante Luis Carrión

For MISURASATA
Brooklyn Rivera
NICARAGUA: BOGOTA TALKS AVOID CRUCIAL ISSUES SAYS RIVERA
- Stop Press

After the Bogota talks between MISURASATA and the Sandinist government of Nicaragua held on May 25th and 26th this year, Brooklyn Rivera complained that the Nicaraguan Government would not discuss fundamental issues such as lands, autonomy and natural resources. In this situation the negotiations cannot move forward as they have been until now.

MISURASATA said that the Government had not done anything to improve the conditions on the Atlantic Coast as set out in the Communiqué from Mexico in April. It suggested that a new stage of negotiations should begin with the mediation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the InterAmerican Commission for Human Rights and the Episcopal Conference of Nicaragua.

Brooklyn Rivera, accompanied by WCIF President Clem Chartier said in Costa Rica on May 30th that MISURASATA would keep up its efforts to work seriously and honestly in the search of a peaceful solution when there was a real possibility of peace. The Nicaraguan government says that it is willing to renew negotiations with MISURASATA whenever they wish.

On the same day, Interior Minister of Nicaragua, Tomas Borge said in Puerto Cabezas that the CIA were trying to prevent the return of Miskitos to their homes in the Atlantic Coast region. As a part of their desire to restore peace to the region the Government had announced that displaced persons can return to their original settlements. However ex-Somocist and international mercenary forces were preventing Miskito from returning in safety. In addition those who want to return from Honduras were finding themselves under threat from what the Minister called “Operation Black Eagle”.

Source: IPS (Norway)

PERU: AYACUCHO - A PARADE OF VIOLENCE

Written by: Raúl González

It may seem that “Sendero Luminoso” and the army and the Police forces are beginning to lose control of the peasants they have been set to mobilize, and who now are fighting against each other, rushing Peru into the bloodiest spiral of violence in its history.

Here is a clear report, which also calls for a cessation of the violence which, as it is explained here, has now acquired its own dynamics and, worst of all, its own autonomy.

October, 1984. Three peasants from the annexes of Ccacas and Ccanies (Huanta), are walking through the annex of Chihuana, located 6 kilometers of Huanta in the disturbed province of the same name. They are taking with them their animals and some luggage. Suddenly, they are stopped by a group of fellow countrymen, and are taken to the Plaza de Armas of the locality. There (as became known later) they are accused of being spies for the Marines and are condemned to die.

It takes several days for the news to reach Ccacas, Ccanies, and Uchupata, three northern annexes in the highlands of Huanta, areas which have been organized into “Civil Defense” patrols by the marines. These annexes have been frequently accused by other peasants of committing several harmful acts and of organizing more than one attack against neighbouring communities.

When they know what has happened, they decide to rescue their fellows; which they think will be an easy task. But, as it happens all their attempts fail, and on October 19th, the
24 persons who were taking part in the expedition, are arrested by the peasants of Chihua.

A new rescue operation is then organized. However, this time they will not go alone: 10 infantrymen of the Army, who have been designated a commander, are going with them. At first, this commander refused to send his men "from north to south", but finally decided to send them when he discovered what was happening in Chihua and the neighbouring towns.

Chihua was considered as a community of "Sendero Luminoso". For a long time, it was known that "Sendero Luminoso" was giving commands and tasks to the peasants, and also recruiting soldiers for its army. Moreover, the members of "Sendero Luminoso" always called a list with the names of the peasants, and controlled everyone who entered or left the town. It was, therefore, a zone that had a discrete militancy, which was almost clandestine. The Marines on the other hand, had not even visited the place, for one very simple reason: it was the only quiet zone of Huanta. The person responsible for such efficient work was Nori Canchari, a woman born in Huanta, 25 years old, whom everyone respected and obeyed; she was "comrade Georgina".

On the 24th of October, Georgina and three other members of "Sendero Luminoso" (Comrades César, Julio, and Paulina), went back to Chihua after carrying out some tasks. They were really surprised when, entering the town, they saw 30 men armed with cane-knives, sticks, and, worst of all, accompanied by 10 Marines. At the beginning, they were disoriented, but then they went into the first house they found and tried to destroy every object or document that might endanger them. But, unfortunately for them, the troops had been following them. They were surrounded and, almost without having time to do anything, the members of "Sendero Luminoso" were tortured.
on the table of the house where they had tried to defend themselves. Georgina and her 'comrades' were weak, and confessed everything immediately: they even gave the soldiers the names of 40 people of Chihua, who were arrested in a few hours, and who had the same misfortune of anyone who is arrested in Huanta: they disappeared forever.

People say Chihua was really controlled by "Sendero Luminoso" and Georgina was considered as an unquestionable leader, with great legitimacy. From that day on, she was never to be the leader anymore. For the peasants, "Sendero Luminoso" had died.

At the present time, the inhabitants of Chihua have begun to go back to their hometown, following the "combing" operation carried out by Marines, which forced them to escape to other places. At present, they are all together again, but consider the members of "Sendero Luminoso" responsible for those 4o lives which they owe us", as they declare.

On the way out of Huanta, some people told us about the attacks, which several communities of the south have suffered. The authors were the villagers of Chihua. The reason: they were seeking for active members of "Sendero Luminoso".

II

When the Marines settled in Huanta, the first thing they did was to "comb" (or "clean") the highlands of the province. Then, they began to organize the inhabitants.

They carried out one of their first experiments in Pampacancha, a community located to the northeast of the province which, in 1983, had already been attacked by "Sendero Luminoso", after the peasants refused to give the help for which it was asked.
What happened then was very clear: Pampacancha was afraid to receive members of "Sendero Luminoso" again, because the marines had already threatened the peasants if they should persist in doing something, very common in the highlands of Huanta: receiving a man from "Sendero Luminoso".

The Marines settled in Pampacancha and they first began to train the people, so they could defend themselves. Then, they forced the people to help them, seek out active members of "Sendero Luminoso". The task was not difficult: Pampacancha did not resist, otherwise, the peasants would have been accused of being members of "Sendero Luminoso", and would have been killed.

In February 1984, the marines considered it was not necessary to stay in Pampacancha and they went to another locality to do the same thing. "Sendero Luminoso" took advantage of the opportunity, and its members went to Pampacancha, burned several houses, killed 15 persons, accused the inhabitants of being traitors, and told the peasants never to accept orders from the marines again.

The day after the attack, all the people of Pampacancha "descended" to Huanta and took refuge near the Municipal Stadium (which is used now as the general headquarters of the marines). At the beginning of March, the peasants went back to their community; accompanied by 25 well-armed soldiers. They harvested their land, and then they began to carry out a series of "joint" operations against the neighbouring communities. The peasants forced the neighbouring communities to organize themselves and to take a decision: were they going to help the "navies" - that is what the marines are called there, or were they going to help the members of "Sendero Luminoso".

In this way, repeating the experience of Vietnam, the marines forced the inhabitants of the highlands communities to "come to Pampacancha" and organize, not a "village", but a "strategic community", a real anti-authoritarian camp. The most affected community was Culluchacara, for its peasants refused to abandon their properties, their homes, and their animals to go to Pampacancha. They suspected that they were not going to have a place there to sleep, to live, to grow anything, and, most important of all, would not have anything to eat.

In April, the story was repeated. The marines go to Patasuco and the members of "Sendero Luminoso", that have organized the dissident people from all the communities integrated with Pampacancha, specially the people of Culluchacara, attack the camp with more than 300 men. As a result, the communal house is burned and 40 people - some women and children among them - die. The attack was carried out during the night, and the members of "Sendero Luminoso" surprised the men who were patrolling the outskirts of the locality.

A day later, the marines went back, they speedily organized several "mixed patrols", and went out to "comb" the zone. In this way, the "patrolpeasants" and the troops went to several communities seeking out members of "Sendero Luminoso". They also began to take the limited food and animals of these communities.

The "mixed patrols" were organized in such a way, that the peasants always had to go in front: they were the vanguard of the patrol, and the infantrymen were in the rear section. They always carried out the entries into other communities during the day. Therefore, at night, they were always expecting a return attack, for as always happens, the communities that had been attacked would agree to be organized
by members of "Sendero Luminoso", and they could attack the people who had hurt them.

The same problem has taken place in the community of Cacaxas, on the other side of the hill at El Galvario: as well as in Cacaxas and Uchupampa, where the camps are better organized. The marines call out a list with the names of the peasants to see who are leaving or entering the community. All the people have been registered and all outsiders are arrested, alive or dead, by the "patrolpeasants" who carry out the daily and nightly "Peasant Patrols".

In the northern part of Huanta, the annexes of Chacarae, Luricocha, Opanca, and Secillas have been amalgamated. The communities of Ishpico, Palmayoc, Quinarpa, and Pampachacra, have also been amalgamated in the northeast. In all of them, the same thing always happens: there are "Civil Defense" patrols which carry out several incursions and harm people who are organized by "Sendero Luminoso" to resist the attack.

III

Year 1982. The community of Urpay, in the District of Acos Vinchos (Huamanga), is frequently visited by columns of "Sendero Luminoso", which go there to spend the night and ask for food.

On the 26th of December of that year, everything was going to change for the people of Urpay. On that day "Sendero Luminoso" arrived, seeking the president of the community, a man named Sulca. "Sendero Luminoso" accused him of stealing 400 thousand soles from community funds, condemning him to death, and killed him. The whole community was congregated in the plaza and asked the "Sendero Luminoso" rebels to forgive Sulca. But they did not listen to the popular plea and on the contrary, threatened them saying that they would soon re-
The communers assembled and decided to do just one thing: they would never let "Sendero Luminoso" enter Urpay again. And how did they plan to keep out members of "Sendero Luminoso"? They decided to organize patrols, armed with axes, cane-knives and slings. In that way, they became one of the first peoples who volunteered to fight against "Sendero Luminoso".

Year 1984. A military detachment arrived at the community of Urpay. They were about 30 soldiers, and they told the people to integrate the groups which were being trained to defend themselves against "Sendero Luminoso". The people told their experience to the soldiers and pretended they were well organized. They told the soldiers how the members of "Sendero Luminoso" had never gone back to their community again since that terrible day of December 26, 1982. "Los Cabitos", as the members of the army are known in Ayacucho, did not understand anything and they threatened the people, forcing them to obey the "decree". And so all the people of Urpay abandoned their community. Their destination was Aco-Vinchos, the central seat of a new "anti-subversive" camp; a new "strategic community".

The people of Urpay settled at a place in the district; there, they improvised their homes out of hemp rugs and pieces of cardboard. They abandoned their animals and their homes; and that became a great worry for all of them. As days went by they had some new problems: they discussed and argued with the people of Aco-Vinchos, because they were using their firewood and some of the animals they had been able to take with them were grazing the pastures of the district.

In August, the peasants of Urpay had already received the best military training of all the other communities. Not even the soldiers were able to compete with them, for they were "too fast". Nevertheless, in August, they knew that it would soon begin to rain and their lands were waiting for them. They then decided to pose the problem before the commander. The people asked the military commander to let them go back to Urpay, and with them send "ten members of the forces of order; whom they offered food, for (they said): we have a piece of land that will be used for them". The commander decided to designate a group of people to go to Urpay to prepare the land, taking advantage of the rains. That is exactly how it was done. Afterwards, all the people got permission and they went back to Urpay.

They went back: their past history and the peaceful state of their zone let them do that. However, the other communities that were re-located in Aco-Vinchos by the guardians of order, were not so lucky. The peasants of Salallay, Canobamba, Pampa, and Pucarpata, are still suffering all the troubles the peasants of Urpay suffered. 24 annexes were re-located in Aco-Vinchos, and there are dozens of peasants who have to ask for the "little paper of permission" every time they want to leave the district. At five o'clock in the afternoon, they have to form two companies: A and B, and they have to begin patrolling from 6 o'clock until the next day.

There are 24 annexes which since July 11, 1984; the date on which the military arrived, have been away from their lands, they can not sow or harvest, and they are wondering if the animals they left in their communities are still alive. They distrust the three or five people who are daily sent to their annexes to see how all is doing there. And there is something else: the lack of services has caused a lot of internal problems among the people; problems which did not exist before they were re-located and which have become deteriorated recently.
Suso is a community annexed to Quinua, but it is nearer Acos Vincos than to the district of Ayacucho where the Independence of Peru and all America was sealed. Suso has two annexes: Huamampampa and Parccay. All of them, as well as the inhabitants of Quinua, have decided not to organize any "Civil Defense groups" or to organize anymore patrols. The reason: in Suso, there is a very old "patrol" that defends them from cattle-thieves and thieves, and at the present time, it is also defending them from "Sendero Luminoso" and even from the "patrolpeasants".

In September of last year, twelve members of "Civil Defense" of Acos Vincos surrounded one of the main leaders of Suso, they ordered him to kneel, and they wanted to make him promise that from that day on, Suso would not depend on the district of Quinua anymore, but on the district of Acos Vincos. The leader did not obey them, he was of course afraid of dying, but he did not kneel. Fortunately, at that same moment, some other men of Suso appeared and the men of Acos Vincos ran away.

The army has not yet given the order to do what the people of Acos Vincos are asking for: that is, that Suso should belong to them. That is why they have not formed a vertical organization in Suso, such as already exists in other communities. This can be explained because Suso is a zone where "Sendero Luminoso" has almost disappeared. For the people of Suso, therefore, their community is still in a dangerous situation: "What will we do if they (the men of the "Civil Defense") come and force us to organize ourselves?", they ask themselves. They do not have an answer yet. But what they know is that in Suso the party "United Left" is strongest for there are no members of "Sendero Luminoso". "And if the men of "Sendero Luminoso" come?," they ask. "We will defend
ourselves", they answer. But unfortunately, they will not be able to defend themselves against the "Civil Defense" groups if the petition is accepted and the soldiers, well armed, support the "temptation for expansion" that has appeared in many other zones where the "patrolpeasants" are the real chiefs.

These are four cases, four different and dramatic realities; four problems that show us the strategy used by the forces of the military in the emergency zone. These cases have introduced us to the anti-Sendero Luminoso organizations, which are also called "guerilla fighters", "peasant patrols", and "Civil Defense" groups. They put us in the center of the problems which the peasants are suffering at present, and give us some basis to judge the characteristics of the violence in Ayacucho, the cause of so many deaths, as well as to ask about "Sendero Luminoso" and its future.

Two years have passed since the Army Forces settled in Ayacucho, and we can say the strategy they used was based on one supposition: the zone is full of "Sendero Luminoso" who can move around like "a fish in the sea", as the maxin of Mao says. Then, they understood there were two things they had to do: first, to clean the zone, to "comb" it, as the military love to say; and second, to confront "Sendero Luminoso" with the civil population, so in that way, the rebels would not be able to move as "a fish in the sea" anymore.

For that reason, during the first year, when General Clemente Noel was the general in charge of the zone, they had to accomplish the first task: to "clean" the zone. And that is what the military did, with two strange consequences: 1.) there were not any "war prisoners"; and 2.) the civil population should understand, willingly or not, that it is the military forces which give the orders, and the power they have - including the one of frightening people - is definitely superior to any, the members of "Sendero Luminoso" may have.

For that reason, during 1983, the military efforts were dedicated to "clean" the zone and to find out "strategic areas" that is, where they had absolute control, so they could project their areas of influence, and gradually increase them over time.

The second year, when General Adrián Huamán Centeno was the general in charge of the zone, coincided with the fulfillment of the second objective: the creation of anti-Sendero Luminoso organizations. Where? In the places where the power of public force had become strong.

But the promotion of anti-Sendero Luminoso organizations had to face some limitations in the budget. For that reason, the Command, as General Huaman once let us know, was not able to attend to the basic necessities of the peasants. Those necessities became bigger when General Huamán was named chief for 1984, because of the re-situation of the "strategic camps". And this not only happened in Aenos Vinchos, but also in Ccros and Vinchos, just to mention two of which are considered "model organizations" by the military.

To face those two aspects of the military strategy, "Sendero Luminoso" took the following decisions: 1) to retire in an orderly manner from the zones where the army was acting (Huamanga, Cangallo, and Victor Pajardo), or better said, not to show any resistance against the army. It decided to move the center of its operations to the northern part of the department, that is, to Huanta and La Mar. Afterwards, Shining Path went to the edge of the Jungle, where may people from Ayacucho who had escaped from the "military combing" had
hidden themselves. 2) "Sendero Luminoso" decided to fight against all the organizations sponsored by the military, by killing the people. In that way, they thought, the people will "learn a lesson", and they would never help what "Sendero Luminoso" calls the "mesnadas" anymore.

The abandoning of the zones of Huamanga, Cangallo and Victor Fajardo by Sendero Luminoso, and its moving to Huanta, La Mar, and the edge of the Jungle, means a very great difference in their method of organization. In the central zone of the department, where there is a clear absence of members of "Sendero Luminoso", the military strategy is in a period of predominance and consolidation. Meanwhile, in the northern zone something different is happening: here, there are daily clashed, and that is why the military strategy is still combining its two aspects.

It is in this context, determined by the characteristics of military strategy as well as by "Sendero Luminoso"'s response, that we should place the so-called organizations of "Civil Defense", which are also known as "guerilla fighters". Even though these organizations share some common characteristics, they have a different concrete practices depending on where they are located.

All the organizations of "Civil Defense" have the following characteristics: a) they are organized by the initiative of the military, and participation in them is obligatory for the peasants; b) these organizations become "camps" in which all the communities who amalgamate - generally, neighbouring communities - will have to live; c) the only tasks of the peasants of the communities, are to defend the camp, to participate in "peasant patrols", and to do some kinds of communal work the military orders them to do.

Therefore, the groups of "patrol peasants" who live in the zone formed by Huanta, La Mar, and the edge of the Jungle of Ayacucho, also participate, with the marines in "anti-subversive operations" in some other zones which do not belong to their camp. To do that, the peasants only count on the help of their own arms: the warackas (slings), the knives and cane-knives, sticks, and their spears. Up to now, it has not been verified if the peasants use firearms for those "operations".

VI

The military strategy has disarticulated the country and broken all its ways of organization. The re-location of thousands of peasants in the "Anti-subversive Bases" or "Strategic communities", in order to form the "Civil Defense" groups, has forced them to leave their lands, to lose the planting and the harvest time, as well as to abandon their beloved animals. On the other side, several problems and conflicts are beginning to appear in the "camps". Some of these problems have appeared after organization of the "camp", because when the military organized it, they did not take into account the communal or ethnic rivalries, and were only interested in military and territorial benefits. Another set of problems has been caused by the deficiencies existing in the camps, which incite competition between the peasants and fights over things like firewood.

But that is not all. Each "strategic community" expects to continue growing, and to continue incorporation in to its military and territorial jurisdiction other communities. What happens, then? Those communities refuse to be incorporated in to a "strategic community", and they fight against its members. Then people of both factions die. And these are wounds which will not be easily healed.
For its part, "Sendero Luminoso", considers that all the people who face them, as well as all the "patrolpeasants" and all the ones who are not even "patrolpeasants" but are against them are the same kind of people. "Sendero Luminoso" calls all these people "mesnadas" and it fights against them all in the same way, without any rest. The members of "Sendero Luminoso" have not even understood there are many peasants who do not have any other alternative than to accept the vertical organization the Army imposes on them otherwise, they will be killed.

After almost five years since the armed actions of "Sendero Luminoso" began to take place, any observer could discover that if there exists any contradiction in the emergency zone, it is not between the peasants in one side, and the Army forces on the other. If there exists any contradiction in the emergency zone, it is among the peasants themselves, and it does not matter who is to blame for this only that the peasants are killing themselves. For this reason, members of "Sendero Luminoso" have got historically trapped, for willingly or for revenge, the peasants are against them, and they do not have any other answer than "punishment" and murder, which only generates more hate and more violence.

However, what concerns or should concern us most of all, is that unfortunately, the violence in Ayacucho has begun to transcend its two principal actors: the military and the members of "Sendero Luminoso". This violence is beginning to acquire its own dynamics, its own autonomy. And that is what is occurring daily in the province of Huanta, La Mar and on the edge of the Jungle of Ayacucho, where it has burst into a kind of civil war. It does not matter anymore who is right or wrong, or who threw the first stone. What is the result of all this violence? 20 dead people now, 15 tomorrow, 30 the day after tomorrow, and so on..... And they are not only members of
"Sendero Luminoso" or "patrolpeasants" anymore: they are just peasants who are responding to the attack of a community which probably occurred the day before.

Source: Magazine "QUEHACER".

PERU: DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION CISA FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIAN POPULATIONS

Genocide in the Andes

People who defend Human Rights and the governments of the world should first of all understand that the GENOCIDE which is taking place in the Central Sierra of Peru, is not due to the present government, and not even to the irrational members of the "Communist Party of Peru", called "Sendero Luminoso". Those directly to blame for the LATENT GENOCIDE are first of all, Francisco Pizarro and the priest Valverde, and all those who, in an inhuman way, have contributed to the slavery, the exploitation, and the total destruction of the Indian, the millenarian inhabitant of Peru. Internationally, there are two who are guilty in history: the ancestors of the Spanish State, and the ancestors of the Ecclesiastical State.

"Sendero Luminoso" appeared on the politico-military scene in 1980, with the utopian objectives of changing the dominant system and to hypothetically "finish" with hunger and misery. From the beginning, its "political" and "military" actions were violent: they began their activities murdering human beings, and calling themselves "Marxists", "Leninists", "Maoists", or "under the guidance and thought of comrade President Gonzalo".

In that way, the present stage of terror began for the defenseless peoples, the majority of whom are illiterate, that is, they do not know how to read and write in Spanish or in Quechua. There are also some communities whose members do not speak Spanish. In the minds of our brothers, the children, the young people, and the old, and in the minds of the ones who are dead and of the ones who still survive, it is impossible to understand words such as Russia, China, etc.,
and they do not even understand the names of the governors of Peru.

As it happens in all the constituted states of the world, every rebellion that appears, even if it is just or not, provokes a reaction in order to defeat it, and HUMAN RIGHTS DISAPPEAR IMMEDIATELY. The physical and institutional DEATH of the enemy is the final end. For the members of "Sendero Luminoso" of AYACUCHO and the places around it, the final end is to LIQUIDATE THE ENEMY. And that enemy is for them the Peruvian State and its structures, which they want change for other ones. On the other hand, according to the Constitution of the State, the duty of the forces of security is to protect and to care for those structures, and so, their final end is also to LIQUIDATE THE ENEMY.

WHO ARE THE "SHELTERS" AND THE INNOCENT VICTIMS IN THIS DIRTY WAR BETWEEN TWO FORCES WHO IGNORE THE INDIAN REALITY AND THE REAL IDENTITY OF AMERICA? Up to date, the only victims are POOR QUECHUA PEASANTS, old people and children. None of the dead people were bankers, industrialists, property owners or famous politicians; most of them were people who lived and are still living completely forgotten and discriminated by the dominant forces in history, by a history that is now being developed. They are human beings and they do not mean anything to the Peruvian State, who does not spend any money on them neither in Peruvian currency nor in dollars. They are the direct descendents of the real owners of the land and its riches.

If the people are called "tell tales" by the members of "Sendero Luminoso" or by the members of the security forces, they will be dead for sure. After each "attack" suffered in their communities by any of the groups who are now fighting, the communers are obliged to obey all kinds of orders and

It is of principal importance to take on account the horrible deaths, the burning of houses, the violations and murder of under age children, the illiteracy, the lack of lands, the denial of real history, the misery; and the racial, cultural, social, economic and political discrimination the Quechua people suffers, due to the oppression and colonization that we, the Indians, suffer all over America.

How shall we stop the genocide in the Andes of Peru?

1.- The integrity of the lives of the Quechua people should be guaranteed.
2.- Those responsible for the present exploitation, should be brought to justice.
3.- The leaders and militant murderers of "Sendero Luminoso" should be condemned.
4.- Those responsible for the arbitrary acts, abuses, and deaths caused by the members of the security forces, should be condemned.
5.- The people and institutions who use the misery of the peasants for their personal lucrative purposes should be condemned.
6.- The languages Quechua and Aymara should be officially recognized, and both children and adults educated in those same languages.
7.- Every system of exploitation and of social, cultural, racial, economic, and political discrimination should be completely eliminated.
8.- Emergency measures should be taken to protect the lives of the people against hunger, illness, and, consequentially, death.

9.- A morality should be imposed upon rulers and ruled in order to eliminate public corruption.
10.- Political measures should be taken to offer economic help to the region.
11.- All the "ex-landlords" and "landlords" (large landowners) who take advantage of the present situation to take revenge on the peasants, should be brought to justice.
12.- The lives and future of orphan children, as well as lives of old people, should be safeguarded.
13.- The government should provide peasants with seeds, and economic means, in order to reactivate agriculture and cattle-raising, which are now half-paralyzed.
14.- National and international public opinion should be mobilized, to make them understand the need of achieving historical justice for the Indian nations and/or communities.
15.- The spiritual sovereignty of Indian Nations should be recognized.
16.- The culture and history of Indian Nations should be recognized.
17.- The racial discrimination that is exerted through national and worldwide history should be eliminated.
18.- The perpetrators of the debasing of Indian Nations should be historically condemned.
19.- The political infra-structure of the Peruvian State should be re-structured by decentralizing the political power that is exerted from Lima.
20.- The whole population should be educated on the rights and values of Indian Nations, as well as on their contributions to the national identity.

Seven common graves with 33 corpses found near Huanta

In the place called BADO CHICO, located 14 kilometers from the Huanta-Huancayo road, to the northeast of Huanta, seven common graves containing 33 decomposed corpses have been found.

After a statement by several peasants of that locality, we journalists of this Province, travelled in a small station-wagon to verify the incidents which had been denounced. Indeed, in a geographical zone which consists of small, low valleys, ravines, and soft pampas covered by wild plants like molles, carob-trees, huancos, cactus, etc., there was a grave of 18 square meters. In that grave, we saw a dreadful sight: there were a lot of skulls and bones spread over the ground. As on other occasions, the dogs had already dug into the ground, and had dug out and eaten remains of the corpses.

For reasons of security, we have not found the other graves yet, for according to information, there are more common graves, 100 meters away from Bado Chico.

When the journalist Abilio Arroyo, who works as a correspondent of the magazine Caretas (Lima), returned to Huanta on the 19th of October, he denounced the discovery of the common graves before the Bureau of the Public Ministry.

After the statement was presented, the Provincial Prosecutor, Dr. Jorge Cárdenas Candiotti, and Judge, Dr. Juan Flores Rojas, left Huanta (on October 20), protected by members of the Investigation Police of Peru (PIP) and by Marines to go to Bado Chico.

There, four peons, helped by some policemen, began to dig into the ground using lamps and pickaxes, and they soon found two common graves, separated one from the other by just 1.50 meters. In the first one, they found eight corpses, and
in the second one, a total of 14. Twelve of the corpses belonged to men, and the other two, to women. All the corpses were completely rotten and, except for two of them, were completely destroyed. All the corpse had traces of strangulation, some wounds caused by caliber 22 bullets - some cartridges have been found in grave -, and some were caused with knives. All these corpses were taken to the Central Cemetery of Huanta.

On October 22nd, we received another denunciation about the discovery of the corpses of eight persons in the same place, Bado Chico. Immediately, we went there by car, and when we arrived, we discovered the eight bodies lying on the floor, about 18 meters far from the right side of the road, and about 100 meters to the west of the other two common graves. These corpses - which belonged to four men and four women - were spread around an area of 10 meters; they were completely rotten and the dogs, the turkey buzzards, the ants, and the worms, were in the process of devouring them. According to the clothes they were wearing - made out of colorful, thick flannel - and to the fantasy rings and the long braids of the women, we could infer they were "patrolpeasants" from the highlands of Huanta. On their backs, the four men had some posters tied with strings, with the following inscriptions: "Long live the 'guerra de guerillas'"; "Long live comrade Gonzalez"; "That is the way the Yanahumas ('black heads') die". Next to the corpses, there was a plant of molle, where the rebels had hung a red flag with a sickle and a hammer in it. This terrible crime has also been denounced before the authorities.

On the 23rd of October, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the authorities of the province, under the protection of the policemen of the PIP, and accompanied by the journalists, went for a second time to the locality of Bado Chico with the purpose of exhuming the eight corpses. When they arrived and set to work, they noticed the head of one of the corpses was missing. When the policemen began to walk around to find the missing head, they discovered five new common graves, situated in the following way: eleven meters to the northwest of the eight corpses was a third grave, where four bodies were found, about 18 meters far from the right side of the road. The other four graves were found 15 meters away from the left side of the Huanta-Huancayo road. In the fourth grave, there were found six corpses; in the fifth grave, five corpses; in the sixth grave, three corpses; and in the seventh, one corpse. All these corpses were completely rotten, and they were probably buried about a month ago. Because of that, it was very difficult to identify them.

The 33 corpses were from seven clandestine common graves. They had traces of strangulation and bullet wounds. All the corpses had been buried completely naked, as were the 50 corpses discovered in August in Pucacayu. The other eight corpses in Bado Chico were found spread around the ground. According to the characteristics of this new crime, it seems it had also been committed by the members of "Sendero Luminoso". The corpses of Bado Chico total 41, 6 of them belonging to women.

With the dreadful discovery of the 41 corpses in the common graves of the locality of Bado Chico, it is the fourth time corpses have been found buried without clothes, shrouds, or coffins, since the period this region of the Central Sierra entered the history of horror.

Violence in Tambo - La Mar

The "guardians of order" are committing indiscriminate killings in the annexes of Ccosec, Ccochacc, Yapanca, Saytahuaytalla, in Huayaú, and in Vicus, located in the District of Tambo, Province of La Mar, 90 kilometers to the east of
Huanta.

FIRST. - Around the community of Cescsece, on October 4, 1984 at ten o'clock in the morning, while the people were celebrating the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, three helicopters arrived with about thirty members of the Marines and the Army (BIM, Cabitos No. 51 of Ayacucho) who, without any explanation, began to shoot in a savage way against all the people.

At that moment, the people of Cescsece were concentrated in the Plaza de Armas. Then, the members of the Marine and the Army began to sack several houses. They burned many of them and they violated all under-age girls. As a result of that wild action, 45 persons were left dead. Some of the persons who were killed were: Martín Yanes (55 years old), Modesto Condoli (50), Demetrio Luyo (35), Adalberto Huayta Huillca (34), Raúl Huallpa (3), Petronela Sánchez (44), Roque Sulca (18), Maura Sulca (28), Nemesio Jerí (40), Adelberta Huaytahuaylla de Malhuayssana (34), and her little baby of three months old, called Marcelina Malhuayssa. That little baby lived for three days lying in the arms of her mother, drinking the milk of her breast, even though the woman had already died. They were found at Cescsece, by the Toccoro River. In that same place, more than fifteen peasants died.

SECOND. - On the 20th of November, 1984, the Marines and some members of the Army, who were coming from Tambo and La Mar, arrived in a helicopter and on foot. They surrounded the following annexes: Ccochas, Yupancac, Saytahuayhua, which are located 35 kilometers to the east of Tambo. There the troops sacked and burned houses, they stole animals, and they shot 50 peasants. Some of the peasants who were killed were: Aurelio Cárdenas (64), Juan Guizarra (48), his wife and his three children; Petronela Cordero (58) and her three under-age sons; #Central Plaza

Alejandro Navarro (45) and his four children, all of them under 10 years old; Olga Tórrez (40) and her three children; Sergio Cordero (48) and his two sons of 13 years old, and others.

THIRD. - On November 21, 1984, at 7 o'clock in the morning, the members of the Marine and the Army violently entered the community of Huayá. After sacking all the properties of the peasants, the troops burnt the peasants' houses, and killed Flora Borda Cordero (50) and his son of six years old. Enrique Aybar Morales (72), born in the annex of Vicus, was hit with a pickax and decapitated. After that, his head was put in one of the windows of the School of that community.

FOURTH. - On November 26, 1984, at 8 o'clock in the morning, 40 members of the Police and the Army gathered together inhabitants of Huayá and declared curfew from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. An old man, Ricardo Espino (60), did not understand the meaning of the curfew, and he was killed when he went out. In that place, moreover, the Marines forced the people to form Committees of Civil Defense.

Fifteen girls, who were between 10 and 15 years old, were violated. The names of those girls are: Eloisa Yaros, Saca- goza Sánchez (10), María Yaros Aguilar (14), Maximiliana Sánchez (15), Laura Sulca (13), Victoria Sánchez (14), Cirila Uyhu (13), and others. The girls were violated by members of the Navy for three nights. These cruel men violated them by introducing a stick in their anus. After that, the girls were shot inside a house made of ichu, and, finally, the house was burned. Only five of the fifteen girls were buried in a common grave, in the patio of a house located in the annex of Huarcaro. The other corpses were swallowed up by the dogs and the birds of prey.
This report from Huanta was prepared by Rodolfo Tudela (Redaction Chief), Gregorio Miguel (Lieutenant Governor) and Vicente Navarro (Inspector).

"Sendero Luminoso" kills 22 cattle-thiefs in Huanta

In the morning of October 16, 1984, three members of "peasants patrols" from the annexes of Ccaccas and Ccanez, descended from the highlands of Huanta and went to Cangari, located 20 kilometers southwest of Huanta. Apparently, the men went to Cangari to graze their cattle there for about four months, for there is a lot of natural pasture in Condo-ri, and many people from different annexes practice this traditional system of leading their cattle to graze there.

But the real reason why these members of the "peasant patrol" went to Condori, was to explore the abundant cattle there. These three men was captured by members of "Sendero Luminoso", and they were not sent back to their communities. For that reason, members of the "peasants patrols" of the annexes of Ccanez, Ccaccas and Cidropata, decided to seek for their three accomplices, armed with sticks, knives, cane-knives and axes. They left their communities on the 18th of October, and they sought for the three men all day long. When they were going back to their communities, they were discovered between the annexes of Paqueq and Mainay (four kilometers from Huanta), by active members of "Sendero Luminoso". After that, they and the three men were taken to the canal-lock of the irrigation of Tambaiba, where the following persons were killed: Juan Flores, Julián Flores, Cirilo Flores, Leonardo Flores, Pascual Tambrac, Victoria Flores, from the annex of Ccaccas; Idelberto Tabuada, Fortunato Quispe, from the annex of Cedrocuchu; Marcialino Quisto, Máximo Vargas, Gaspar Castel- lu, Marcelino Ayala; Máximo Carrasco, Valentín Vargas, Fortunato Flores, Ricardo Vargas, Eulogio Rojas, María Flores, Crispen Flores.
According to the information given by the peasants from that locality, the members of "Sendero Luminoso" were about a hundred people, strongly armed, who had been observing the "patrolpeasants". These "patrolpeasants" belonged to the upper part of Huanta, and they were called "Yanahumas" (black heads). These "black heads" co-operated with the "guardians of order", and they were highly dangerous to society because they were cattle-thieves. According to some testimonies obtained in the re, these cattle-thieves had already stolen all the animals of upper Huanta, and they had begun to descend to the lower part.

The active members of "Sendero Luminoso" forced about thirty peasants of Cangari, who were cleaning their community irrigation canal, to promise to take the 19 "patrolpeasants" to the farthest and safest part of Huanta, where they could kill without any pity.

This morning, the relatives of the disappeared people arrived to Huanta, to denounce the disappearance before the Prosecutor of this Province, Dr. Jorge Cárdenas Candiotti, so he could realize the exhumation of the corpses.

In addition to this, on October 17, the "paramilitaries" killed peasants from the community of Runguyoc, located 5 kilometers to the southeast of Huanta. The "patrolpeasants" beheaded Toribio Infante Gozme (55), and after that, they abandoned his corpse in the Coillapampa gorge. At the same period, the 5th of October, members of "peasant patrols" burned alive Francisco Sacasa and Salomé Quispe García (husband and wife) in the zone of the Jungle of San Francisco, Apurimac River. All their property was also burned.

On the 3rd of October, the brothers Julio and Santurnino Guzmán Castillo were killed with knives in Pago Sarmiento (Santa Rosa).

Eight days ago, three corpses were found thrown in a deep gorge at Ayahuarcuna, and they are still there, even though the fact has been legally denounced before the Bureau of the Public Ministry.

It is probable that in the place called San Martín (Palmapampa), a zone of Jungle located five kilometers to the right side of the road, there is a common grave with the corpses of 200 people, presumed to be terrorists.

Bodies found in the Peruvian Highlands (Photo: CISA)
Introduction.

Ceylon or Sri Lanka, as it has been called since 1972, has been likened to an emerald, south of India. Towards the east, past the central mountains lies Uva Province, about 110 km. from the capital, Colombo. There, the Mahaweli Ganga river makes its way through the mountains. 20 km. from Mahaweliya town with its spider-like dam constructions and irrigation channels, we find a little village called Dambana, with mud huts and thatched roofs. It is the nearest outpost for the hunter and gatherer that live in the jungle, namely the Veddas.

The Veddas are indigenous people of Sri Lanka. When the Indo-Aryans invaded the country from northern India about 500 B.C., they were driven away into the jungles and forests of eastern Sri Lanka, where they have remained ever since, through periods of colonization beginning in the sixteenth century with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English.

The Indo-Aryans called themselves the Lion people, and the lion (Sinha) still stands as the national symbol for the Sinhalese people who comprise 74% of the country. They are mainly Buddhists.

The Tamils comprise about 19% of the population and originate from south India. Most of them arrived more or less at the same time as the Sinhalese, while others were imported by
the Englishmen as hired laborers to toil in the tea plantations in the 19th and early 20th centuries. They are mainly Hindu. The remaining 7% are the Muslims, descended from Arab traders who are believed to have settled in Sri Lanka around the 8th century A.D.

The mass media is constantly informing us about the troubles between the Sinhalese and the Tamils over the last 2½ years. This problem is more accentuated in the northern part of the country, where the two nationalities claim the land, on usufruct grounds, saying they were the first owners.

Judging from existing information about prehistoric times in the Indian subcontinent, early man probably first appeared in Sri Lanka about 500,000 B.C. A few objects have been found on the island that date back to the subsequent paleolithic culture of the second Stone Age period.

The two primary sources of the history of Sri Lanka are called Mahavamsa and Culaavamsa which started to take form at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. written by Buddhist monks. This literature says that no human beings lived on the island before the foreign invasion. There were only spirits called nagas and yakkas. At the same time as Buddha passed away, an Indian prince landed in Sri Lanka where he met a woman-spirit (Yakini). According to these tales of mythical beings, their offspring were the first inhabitants of the country.

The proximity of the two events emphasizes Sri Lanka’s historical role as the bulwark of Buddhist civilization. The well known anthropologist C.G. Seligmann says in his book "The Veddas" (dated 1911:4,"... there is no reasonable doubt that the Veddas are identical with the "Yakkas" of the Maha-
Like most of the world’s indigenous people, the Veddas of Sri Lanka have come to face an unenviable situation: their hunting and gathering way of life is rapidly vanishing. In the course of the past half-century, most of the several thousand Veddas still living in the island’s most remote reaches have abandoned their traditional jungle customs and have taken up lives as Sinhalese or Tamil peasants. Cultural assimilation with other societies has been going on for thousand of years. Waves of Sinhalese settlers have whittled away at the Veddas forest home. With increasing population pressure, traditional hunting grounds have become prime targets for intrusive settlements. The successive periods of colonization also diminished their land, mountains, valleys and rivers. It became tea, coffee, rubber, coconut and tobacco plantations. Teak was also attractive. Private entrepreneurs have engaged in both legal and illegal felling of forests. During the Second World War, the situation was further aggravated by the need to develop large paddy fields for the cultivation of rice, which was then in short supply, a process which reduced the ancestral land of the Veddas even more. Not very much is left of their original territory, and today there are approximately 2000 Veddas left. Still some pockets of Vedda resistance to assimilation remain. One of these is Dambana where there are about 600 people.

I would define a Vedda as a person who lives out of hunting and gathering, talks their unwritten language, respects ancient Vedda customs and believes in Gods and ancestor spirits. Most of the time one can hear by their name that they are Veddas. It ends with Warige, which means, clan. The word "Vedda" is a direct derivation from the Pali word, vyādhā, hunter. It is a name the outside world imposed on them. They call themselves, Wanniya-lāṭo, which literally means jungle-
dwellers.

The Veddas are thought to be the descendants of hunting people from prehistoric Neolithic times. They do not belong to the Indo-Aryan peoples, but to the Dravidian, who are considered to be the first inhabitants of the subcontinent.

Land Use.

The Veddas traditional residence pattern is patrilocal. They live in small groups scattered in the jungle, some in caves and hollow trees and others in simple lean-tos. The territory of each group had to be sufficiently large to supply all the members with game, roots, plants, flowers (dried and used as a sweetener) and honey. But as modern weapons have come into general use among the Sinhalese, the game has been reduced noticeably and the Veddas have had to take interest in agricultural pursuits. They have started to make chenas, swidden cultivation, on small plots of land, where they sow maize, manioc and millet. These plots can only be used for two years, then the soil does not yield a good return. Usually it takes 6-8 years before a cycle is closed and they are back to the first chena again. Chena farming is done half-heartedly and out of necessity, for there is no a healthy male who would not abandon farming for hunting if game were plentiful. Still, when the honey season arrives most of them disappear into the jungle to collect their chief crop. Another reason why they shift every other year is that most of the huts need re-building by then. Today they are made of bark or mud with grass roofs. They are not used to farming and seeds are thrown about haphazardly. The Veddas know nothing at all about paddy growing. They do not fence the chenas, and each year a good part of the crop is eaten by wild elephants and pigs.

Parks and development.

In the beginning of March 1982 Sri Lanka was honoured by
a three-day visit by Prince Philip, the President of the World Wildlife Fund. He was there to inspect the national parks and to launch an elephant conservation fund named: "Let them Live". He emphasized that the elephant must be protected at any cost. It was Sri Lanka's vital national treasure and the moment this beautiful animal disappeared it automatically opened the way for what he termed, "desertification".

Another far-away visitor who had come to Colombo was the old Vedda chieftain, Tissahuwey. He came because he had heard that they were going to make a national park out of his land, and the Veddas would not be allowed to remain. Accompanied by other representatives from his clan, he talked to the President of the country, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene, and to the Prime Minister. Both promised that the Veddas would be allowed to stay in the area they had lived in for generations. The Prime Minister subsequently sent a written document as verification (82 03 23).

On the 26th of January 1983 the head-lines of the Sri Lankan Daily News announced: "70 Vedda families to be re-settled under Mahaweli.... The Minister of Lands and Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamin Dissanayake who has described the shift of the Vedda families from their traditional homeland as an important event of the country, has made arrangements to travel to System C to see for himself the evacuation of the Veddas and their re-settlement."

The Mahaweli Development Project is a big irrigation programme that is going to use water from the Mahaweli river. This project received aid from several countries, among them Sweden, West Germany, England, Italy, Canada and U.S.A. It is the most important programme in the history of the republic of Sri Lanka.

The Vedda area is situated between two reservoirs recently built as part of the programme. The length of the park is about 50-60 km and its broadest width around 35 km. It will serve as an ecological "lung" and as a catchment area between the two tanks. The inhabitants of the jungle are thus suddenly regarded as a threat to Nature, and they are not supposed to live there. One of the most important aspects is the preservation of wildlife, mainly elephants and leopards. Of course, the Veddas are no threat whatsoever against either of these species. This is also acknowledged by the head of the Wild Life Department Mr. Lyn de Alwis, (The Island, 83 01 30). Anyway the National Park status makes human life there an impossibility.

Their whole way of life has become a criminal offense overnight, as a result of this decision. No Vedda has the right to catch any animal, take honey, plants or roots etc., which happen to be their basic food substance. Any hunting is considered poaching, and personnel from the Wild Life Dept. have been stationed at the different villages since 1983 to supervise compliance with the law. Any "poacher" would see his prey confiscated, be arrested and put on trial. The Veddas are mistreated, even their children, while the controllers share the appropriated meat or honey.

It is a consequence of this harsh policy that only one village remains in its traditional setting; all the others have been evacuated in the course of the last two years, and the inhabitants relocated to different land sections available within the Mahaweli Development Project. No consideration has been taken of clan unity or their traditional way of life. The Veddas are now mixed up with other peoples, likewise relocated; Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims etc. They are forbidden to return to their original villages, or even to fetch household items they forgot when they were moved. Permission can only
be obtained in Colombo after making a special application. This entire transition has, of course, been done in the name of "free choice" from beginning to end. Now it is only Dambana left, and they will all have to move voluntarily, before August or September this year (1985).

Civilization?

The government wants the Veddas to be "civilized", which means that they will become rice cultivating peasants, talking a "civilized" language, adopting a "civilized" religion and wearing "civilized" clothes. They have been allocated plots of land, 1 ha./family (an average Vedda family consists of 9 persons or more). The Ministry of Agriculture expects them to use irrigation techniques and intensive agriculture, with chemical fertilizers and insecticides, things that are totally alien to Vedda culture. There are no contingency plans in case the Veddas should not be able to meet the requirements of this programme. Vedda children are put into schools preferably dressed in English school uniforms, where they learn all principles in life for a western oriented society. The long chain of accumulated knowledge that had stretched throughout the generations is not necessary any more. They are prepared to enter the market economy and a society very different to their own.

In a situation like this it is easy to escape from reality via alcohol. The Veddas are one of the few people in the world who traditionally do not use any kind of stimulants at all, neither cigarettes nor alcohol. They chew betel or bark from trees, plants and nuts which give no physical or psychic effect whatsoever. Unscrupulous people from the nearby smaller towns have already considered the profits to be made by introducing alcohol addiction among the resettled Veddas. This has now been started.
It is doubtful whether this so called "progress" to a mono-cultivation is really something desirable. Unfortunately it tends to lead to malnutrition as a result of too little variation in diet. As hunters and gatherers they obtained the meat, plants, roots, millet etc., necessary. Rice alone can never substitute that. Among the Dambana Veddas I have already noticed the increasing number of spontaneous abortions. The body of the mother cannot nourish the fetus. Also the natural resistance to disease has declined. In January this year (1985), eleven cases of leprosy were counted in Dambana. The last case brought to a hospital was in 1982. Another threat comes from tuberculosis.

Ape or Man.

All too often the Veddas have had to fight for their rights, but all too often they have returned with empty promises echoing in their ears. After their last attempt to make the government aware of the consequences of its decision, they visited the National Museum in Colombo. They passed the ground floor which displayed the evolution of Ceylon and went up to the archeological department with old bones and reconstruction of prehistoric animals and entered a passage with a detailed scientific description of a primate tree and the races of a modern man, with a gibbon, chimpanzee and gorilla representatives on the left branch and the human being, with its different varieties on the right branch. In front of them there was a display-case with two statues, a male and a female. Above the case is written: "Veddas of Sri-Lanka". The Veddas cannot read, but they understood. To the left beside, is another display where two skeletons hang on the wall, one of Homo sapiens and the other of a gibbon. The resemblance is striking. The convincing final touch is the glass case on the right hand side where they found three craniums with the sign: "Three Vedda Sculls". Some of their tools and items were there, and
they looked at them dolely. With drooping shoulders they walked out of the history of Ceylon, passing the halls of kingdoms and maharadjas. They were doomed already. They were not supposed to exist in our time. Tissahamy returned home to his hamlet.

At the beginning of August it is hoped that there will be a presentation of the Vedda case to the UN Working Group for Indigenous Populations in Geneva, Switzerland. This is an opportunity for the Vedda to put their case to an international forum. Let us hope that with the mobilization of international concern on this issue, in the future we may still find Vedda hunters sleeping on top of the holy mountain Kokkagalla.

TIBET: FROM RESISTANCE TO EXILE
A STORY ABOUT EXPANSION, POWER POLITICS AND A FORGOTTEN REFUGEE PROBLEM
By Kim Rasmussen

The new forgotten Tibetans

The Tibetan refugees are a group one has not heard much about since Tibet - the country on the "Roof of the World" - appeared in the newspapers in the late 1950ies and in the early 1960ies, after the Chinese invasion and the subsequent desperate Tibetan resistance. But at that time the invasion of Tibet was received with great interest, although it took long time before the news reached the public. The event created attention and stimulated our appetite for mystery and adventure, not only because groups of poorly equipped Buddhist monks, peasants and nomads fought a superior and well equipped Chinese army for years, but also because it turned out that the CIA was involved, and so was the exiled Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa.

The People's Republic of China claimed their right to Tibet from the point of view that Tibet always had been Chinese territory, and the only reason why it may have seemed otherwise, is that various Chinese Governments had failed to put their claims to the Tibetan Government. Tibet, however, did not share this conception with China and emphasized that Tibet was an independent country. Both the Chinese and the Tibetans supported their points of view by historical facts. At least it could be proved that Tibet had been totally free from Chinese influence since 1912 when the Tibetans, after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty in China in 1911, threw the Chinese troops out of the country and declared the independence of Tibet.
Resistance - power politics

After the Chinese invasion in 1950, which was allowed to take place practically unnoticed by the rest of the world, and after the UN neglected the Tibetan Government's appeals for help, the Tibetan resistance began. The struggle which now started was not only caused by the Chinese endeavours to introduce economic reforms or structural changes, which in fact was much needed, but because the Chinese threatened "the central nerve" in Tibetan society - the religion - Tibetan Buddhism. Tibet was a country where almost all families had one or more family members living in monasteries in order to make them attend to more "important and productive" matters, and to prevent them from religiously oppressing the Tibetan population. But considering the fact that almost all social and cultural events in Tibet were closely related to religion, it is easy to understand why these blasphemous Chinese actions were received with anger.

Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists who had been driven away to Formosa by the communists in China, supported the Tibetan resistance and guerillas - later known as the Khampas. The resistance began and was strongest in East-Tibet, in the province of Kham, where reforms were introduced several years earlier than in the rest of the country. The freedom-fighters from this province formed the basis of the Tibetan guerilla force. The support from Formosa was not given for mercy-reasons but as a result of specific political interests. The Nationalists had been beaten, but by supporting the Tibetan guerillas they could indirectly fight the Communists in China. Later the Tibetans refused to accept this help because the Nationalists basically and still do have the same ideas about Tibet when they were in power as the present communist Government: namely that Tibet was, and always had been, a part of China. The only difference was that the Nationalists had not had the same power to exercise their
ideas as the Communists.

The same seemed to be the case with the USA. In order to avoid direct confrontations, Great Powers have always supported local guerillas round the world if the guerilla-actions are to their own benefit. During a period of cold war, the USA could use the Tibetan resistance movement to fight communism. One of the ways the CIA supported the resistance movement was by training a “handful” of guerillas in the USA and in Formosa. After the training, the guerillas were sent back across the frontier to Tibet in order to organize the resistance. The CIA stopped supporting the resistance before President Nixon’s historical visit to China in 1972. That was at a time when the USA needed to approach China, when the role of Formosa had become unimportant in high level politics, and it would be unthinkable to support guerillas, operating in a country with which one wanted good relations.

The Khampas were in a difficult situation and they were forced out of Central-Tibet where they had been operating. They, therefore, established base in Mustang, in Nepal, in 1960, from where they could launch attacks with limited effect against the Chinese on the other side of the frontier. The Tibetan’s success in struggle against the Chinese was determined by supplies of weapons, money and food given by the CIA. This CIA support was closely connected to the ability and sources of the guerillas and so the help was very unstable and the Tibetans never got as much as they had been promised. This resulted in famine and internal conflicts among the Khampas.

The last resistance came to an end when the Chinese put pressure on the Nepalese Government, made its army bomb the guerillas out of their base in Nepal and arrested the Khampa-
leaders. The great guerilla force had, as a matter of fact, become a heavy burden to the population in the sparsely populated and ecologically very vulnerable and infertile areas in the Mustang area. Nepal had never given the Khampa permission to accept their presence in these wild mountain regions.

The refugees

The influx of Tibetan refugees already started in the mid-1950ies, but in the beginning the refugees did not cross the Tibetan border. During the first years after the invasion, the Chinese control was strongest in East-Tibet - an area which today is not marked on any map as being a part of Tibet - but which has been incorporated in the neighbouring Chinese provinces. Thus, the stream of refugees in the beginning went from East-Tibet towards Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, in the center of the country.

The mass escape from Tibet did not start until 1959. This started after a great rising against the Chinese in Lhasa, during which the 14th Dalai Lama, the political and religious head of the country ("the God-King"), had to flee with a part of his government. The rising was suppressed by the Chinese, and the Dalai-Lama’s escape had the effect that the Chinese took over power completely. During the years 1950-59, the Tibetan Government had been forced to co-operate with the Chinese, and already in 1951 they had had to sign an agreement, the so-called "17-point agreement", according to which Tibet was to give up her sovereignty, if any, as a state. As a compensation for this, the Tibetans were promised home-rule and self-determination on an internal level; the continuation of the Dalai-Lamas and the Tibetan Government (the Khasag) and they were promised that the function of the monasteries and the role of religion should remain unchanged. However, the promises were not kept and this caused resistan-
ce from the Tibetans.

About 100,000 Tibetans fled together with the Dalai Lama to the neighbouring countries in the south: Nepal, India, Sikkim and Bhutan. During the escape from Tibet, many Tibetans died from exposure when they crossed the Himalayan mountain range, a gigantic wall between Tibet and the neighboring countries to the south; others died from "new" diseases like dysentery, malaria and tuberculosis - diseases which even today claim many lives.

The refugees were a mixed crowd of Khampa-warriors, peasants, nomads, monks and a few noble families. It was, even though some say otherwise, only a very small part of the Tibetan nobility who fled. Some of the nobility had already been arrested before they could escape, or else they had already entered into a co-operation with the Chinese - "historical adaptability".

Today, after 26 years of exile these refugees no longer live in refugee-camps as we have seen in the papers or on TV. The former tent-camps have been replaced by villages with more permanent buildings, spread all over India (incl. Sikkim and Bhutan). 85,000 refugees live in India, and 8-10,000 in Nepal. The remaining part of the refugees live mainly in the USA, Canada or Europe (especially in Switzerland).

The Tibetans, who used to live as nomads on the infertile Tibetan High-Plateau, 4,000 meters above sea-level, or as peasants in the southern and eastern valleys, have had to face a totally new way of living. Today they are refugees who live in tropical and sub-tropical areas where they are unable to carry out their old trades in a traditional way. Still they have managed quite well, even though they have not received aid for a long time. They have adapted themselves to their new surroundings relatively quickly, and on the whole they are able to take care of themselves financially. Many of the refugees who live in South-India, support themselves by agriculture, but it is a totally different form of agriculture from Tibet, i.e. other crops etc. Those who live in North-India and Nepal live by making their traditional handicraft products like hand-woven carpets.

When looking at the Tibetans as refugees, their history may give the impression of success, but one must not let oneself get humbugged into the belief that their lives are absolutely free from problems. The presence of the refugees is only just accepted by the host countries, they have very few rights, and the fight for survival is very tough. But, thanks to the existence of the Dalai Lama, as a political and religious figure, and a goal-oriented work from the exile government, it has been possible to maintain the contact between the numerous refugee groups, even though these have been scattered all over the world. Like this, it has been possible to keep a unique culture alive, a culture, which no longer exists in Tibet. The refugees took their culture with them - a culture with religion as the absolute centre.
TIBET: CHINA LOOSENS THE YOKE, BUT THE ARMY REMAINS.

By Ewen MacAskill

Thirty-five years after the Chinese invasion, Tibet is still visibly a land under occupation. The green uniforms of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are everywhere.

In Lhasa, the holy city of Tibetan Buddhism, soldiers guard everything from banks to bridges. It is almost impossible to walk more than half a block without seeing a soldier or a jeep. In the countryside there seems to be an army camp for every Tibetan village. Against a background of snow-covered mountains bored soldiers stand silently outside their tents watching the occasional bus go past.

The heavy concentration of troops can be explained partly on strategic grounds: fear of either India or Soviet Union. Many soldiers are also there to work on civilian projects such as laying a road from the airport to Lhasa. But mainly they are there because China has so far failed to convince the Tibetans that they have been "liberated".

Tibet is slowly recovering from almost three decades of repression as brutal as any this century, but this recovery will be only a limited one. Although the regime of the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping is more tolerant than its predecessors, independence has been ruled out for Tibet. The Chinese have come to stay.

In recent talks with representatives of the Dalai Lama, the God-king who fled to India during the revolt against the Chinese in 1959, Peking said that though he could return, he would not be allowed to live in Tibet but only make occasional visits.
Lhasa is divided between the Chinese and Tibetans. The Chinese occupy three-quarters of the city and have turned it into a little bit of China, identical to any urban area in the People's Republic, the architecture functional rather than attractive.

While the Chinese part of the city belongs to the twentieth century, the Tibetan quarter is closer to the Middle Ages. The streets are narrow, and banners and flags brighten the many old buildings.

In spite of the poverty, dirt and beggars, there is vitality in the Tibetan quarter. Lots of laughter, shouting and blowing of bugles. The Chinese tried to ban the Tibetan's traditional form of dress but, like many other policies from Peking, this has now been abandoned. The Tibetans dress in sheepskins, multi-coloured boots and ornate hats. The men wear their hair long, and carry swords and daggers.

They are a proud people, not in the least cowed by the soldiers or the Chinese public security men, who wander around the Tibetan quarter. Despite the abuses of the recent past, they are in the main tolerant of the Chinese who come into the Tibetan quarter to shop in the bazaar or to work.

The Chinese tried to wipe out the Buddhist religion. They destroyed almost all the monasteries and either forced into civilian life or executed most of the monks. But the Tibetans remain among the most devout people in the world. Round their necks are many icons, including portraits of the Dalai Lama. Westerners visiting Lhasa are frequently asked if they have a picture of the Dalai Lama or whether they have any news of his return. Almost every Tibetan house, both in Lhasa and in the countryside, has flying from the roof a prayer flag, a prayer written on a piece of cloth and tied to a branch.
As part of Deng's concession to religious freedom, the Jokhang Temple, the most important in Tibet and situated in Lhasa, has been reopened and thousands gather each day to pray. A few monks, wrapped in maroon robes, can again be seen wandering around the capital's streets. The Sera monastery just outside the city has about 200 monks, including a few novices. The Jokhang and the Sera, both of which have been extensively renovated and repainted after the ravages of the Red Guards, are among only a handful of temples and monasteries to have reopened.

But Deng's easing of religious restrictions is limited. Before the Chinese took over there were an estimated 6,000 monasteries and one in four males was a monk.

The Tibetans did not let their monasteries go without a fight. The revolt in 1959 was mainly the result of increasing Chinese hostility towards the monks. One of the saddest incidents of this uprising was the shelling by the Chinese of the Dalai Lama's summer palace to protect him. Unaware that he had already fled, they refused to move: thousands are thought to have been killed. The revolt ended in failure and about 80,000 Tibetans fled into exile, where they remain today.

Further devastation came seven years later when the Cultural Revolution began. Tibet suffered even more than China during this period. Some of the most committed of the Red Guards were either sent or volunteered to go to Tibet to wipe out any vestige of religion. The collision with the Tibetans was bloody. Countless executions have been reported, including people being buried alive and beheadings. Just how many people died during this period will probably never be known. While the Chinese are prepared to detail many of the atrocities that took place in China during the Cultural Revolution, they have been silent about Tibet.

The Deng regime in 1980 replaced the administrative head of Tibet with the more liberal-minded Yin Fatang. Yin, unlike most of this Chinese colleagues in Tibet, speaks Tibetan. His more relaxed policies have met much opposition from die-hard Maoists in the middle ranks of the administration. This led Peking to complain last year of obstruction from "Lettists" in Tibet.

One of the many ironies of Chinese rule is that while state interests dictate that China should be in Tibet, few Chinese want to live there. Most of the soldiers, administrators and teachers regard it as a temporary hardship post and pine for the more "civilised" life back home. Some go to Tibet for idealistic reasons, to help a "backward" people, but most are attracted by the extra cash. A Chinese geologist told me that in Peking he would be earning 56 yuan (about £19) a month but in Lhasa he was getting 151 yuan. He was also given substantially more leave than he would have received had he been in Peking.

The Chinese propaganda machine is still working hard to justify the "liberation" of Tibet. This propaganda stretches beyond books and articles to include even postcards. In a pack of ten bought in Lhasa, four underlined the fact that Tibet had been at various times part of the Chinese Empire, one for instance showed a painting of a Dalai Lama bowing before a Chinese emperor.

One of the main reasons put forward by the Chinese for the invasion was to rescue Tibet from feudalism. Tibet before 1950 was certainly no Shangri-La and there was extreme poverty. But there are few signs of major improvements under Chin-
ese rule. The Chinese press is fond of using pictures of smiling Tibetans behind the wheel of combined harvesters or watching colour television with their bicycles and sewing-machines in the background. But in reality the standard of living in the Tibetan quarter and in the countryside is still abysmally low. Tibet is the poorest part of the Chinese empire and as poor as any part of Asia.

The Chinese Government, aware of the neglect of the Tibetan economy, last year sent in construction crews from various Chinese provinces. The main thrust of their projects is to develop tourism. Last year there was only one hotel for tourists but this year five are under construction. Since 1980, about 2,000 tourists a year have been allowed into Tibet. The estimate for this year is 4,000 to 5,000; in 15 years it is expected to be 100,000 annually.

Lhasa is a risky destination for tourists. It is at 12,000 ft., and even the fittest travellers can be hit by altitude sickness.

While the lack of oxygen has a detrimental effect on many tourists, the tourists will also have a detrimental effect on some aspects of Tibetan life. One example of this already is the Tibetan sky burial, in which bodies are chopped up and fed to vultures. This takes place on a rocky hillside just outside Lhasa.

At first the Tibetans were tolerant of curious Westerners who went out to watch, but asked them not to take pictures. Inevitably, a few Westerners started taking shots and recently there have been several scenes in which angry Tibetans have chased Westerners off.

But the predominant image of Tibet, is not necessarily the Himalayas or the friendliness of the Tibetans or even sky burials. It will be Chinese soldiers.

The Tibetans could not have remained isolated from the world forever. The tragedy of their country is that they have not been allowed to come to terms with the twentieth century by themselves.


Most Refugees suffer exile with Dignity (Photo: Kim Rasmussen
VENEZUELA: SITUATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF VENEZUELA

Since the beginning of colonial times, the situation of the indigenous peoples of Venezuela has been characterised by a severe exploitation of their labour and the wealth of their territory. The desire of the colonisers was in all events to impose Western Culture without taking any notion of indigenous ethnicity into account. This European exploitation took various forms and used all types of violence to take from our peoples the fruit of their labour.

In the time of the breaking away of the American colonies, the descendants of Europeans in these lands held power and political centres appeared. In this context the institutional complex of the Venezuelan State was organised, which has entirely ignored the indigenous population of the country and contributed to the eradication of their rights. At that time enormous farm estates were created on indigenous community lands, with full support of different dictatorial governments which used every destructive military and political strategy they could with the objective of wiping out all vestige of our Indian identity.

The survivors of this upheaval only lived thanks to the tenacity of the indigenous peoples themselves who sought out the most inhospitable places to settle such as the jungle, savannas and mountain regions where colonialists could not. In these areas the hardships and difficulties are unexpectedly great.

The popular movement shattered the dictators, putting "democratic rule" into power which has, over 26 years markedly developed the capitalism of the country. Today those in power, corrupted by evil and immoral acts, have in complicity with the national bourgeoisie and the transnational companies, misgoverned and wasted the benefits of this nation. In the space of these 26 years, the indigenous peoples of Venezuela have, it must be said, had some small successes in improving some aspects of their life, but it is also certain that the colonialist attitude remains and the "claim of western superiority" has given rise to a paternalistic politics which denies the indigenous population active and effective participation in the planning and solving of its needs and has set in motion an ever-increasing loss of cultural standards which define these peoples' ethnic identity.

These policies have led to the formation of a typical indigenous bureaucracy which, relying on the protection of the system, carries out all sorts of harmful work. The people supporting this are becoming land-eaters, exploiters who taking advantage of the frontier mentality are managing to amass a fortune while the indigenous majority are forced to emigrate and wander the streets, making a cordon of poverty around the cities and other deprived areas. In addition they are forced into other parts of the country where they are cheated by farmers and land owners into taking ridiculously poor quality soils which cannot provide the indigenous cultivators their subsistence. In this way, recent times have seen an increase in the poverty, the need to move away and changes in the standard of social life among the indigenous population.

Venezuelan state policy has made indigenous people foreigners in their own territory, people who have had to put up with governmental inconsistencies and authorities who do not respond to indigenous demands for them to fulfill their obligations and respect indigenous rights to support as citizens of Venezuela. A series of crimes have been committed against poor indigenous workers which have been carried out by "security forces" on the pretext of defending the country and the
fight against smuggling. This problem has only happened because of the conditions found in indigenous territory and, above all, because governments have not developed the work potential to ensure that smuggling becomes unnecessary as a way of living. On the contrary, governments have developed the area so that the economic system is a free-for-all and where tourism, itself a problem on a similar level, is working as another instrument for depriving indigenous peoples of their rights. The so-called "development" which allows for indigenous participation means nothing. In recent years there has been development of coal mining with the support of transnational companies, in the Cerrejon of Guajira and the region of the Río Guasare. The indigenous Wayuu people on whose land these resources lie have not been given a role in their extraction. This complicity between the Government and the transnationals spells out an uncertain future for the indigenous population of Venezuela. Successive governments have sanctioned the presence of creole and foreign missionaries who, fired with religious fanaticism, encircle indigenous lands. They constitute colonial enclaves and, with scientific and modern means of subjugation, act as a cushion for the classes in power seeking to exploit and culturally exterminate indigenous peoples. These religious interests have at their support instruments of colonialism such as the Mission Law of 1915.

We have had many necessities and sufferings brought upon us from colonialist, dictatorship and other types of government. Yet our ancient cultures have not given in but have fought in the resistance struggle which is essentially for the liberation and reaffirmation of our ethnic identity. For our cultures are fundamentally communal and are embedded in the historical process.

1) The continuous taking of indigenous land by landowners, national companies and transnationals, constitutes a major factor of social and economic disintegration for indigenous peoples in Venezuela.

2) Our cultures are bombarded by all means of mass communication and face imminent destruction from having our deeply human essence and our distinctiveness presented in distorted fashions.

3) The presence of a transnational corporation in Wayuu territory which is extracting coal in Colombia is spreading noise and environmental contamination, particularly from an airstrip constructed by INTERCOR (a subsidiary of EXXON) which has divided our lands and destroyed our territorial integrity.

4) CARBOSUL, Carbones of Colombia S.A. has been granted four reserves in Wayuu territory, totalling 29,705 has. In addition the Tourist Corporation of Colombia has been granted 18,000 has. It is intended to turn the highlands of Makuira into a forest reserve of about 25,000 has. and there has also been an application for a 12,000 has. reserve for the Colombian army. On the Venezuelan side, the Wayuu face a government project to decree the creation of a National Park from Castilletes to Niemen. The Wayuu, who live in both Colombia and Venezuela have been left without lands by both national states and are considered as not having ownership over their ancestral lands.

5) The Wayuu settled on the spurs of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta and in the rural zone of Perijá district have had to face the encroachment of colonists avid for land.

6) In the course of this century Wayuu society has experienced the disintegration of its economic base and the transformation of its social structure. It has started to lose its own self-sufficiency and more than a half of the population has left in a stream of migrants to the outskirts of Maracaibo and the districts of Zulia State. Their predicament has worsened there by becoming wageless, or suffering the effects of discrimination at school or in the market place.

7) Lands of the Barí indigenous people from the Sierra de Perijá have been continually taken and turned into a road for the cultivators and traffickers of marihuana.
8) The situation facing our indigenous brothers, the Yukpas from the Sierra de Perijá is becoming more and more alarming. They face the same problem of losing lands. Many of them have settled on the outskirts of Machiques constituting the poorest group of the population. Others have migrated to Maracaibo which presents a picture of unbelievable poverty. Both in their own lands and in Maracaibo, these people have faced sickness from tuberculosis and hepatitis viral type B, which has led to many deaths – some 1000 in the last five years.

9) The Paujanos people from Laguna de Sinamaica have also suffered from the usurpation of their territory and the destruction of their natural environment and natural resources. Those who have survived have become wageless and forced away from their ethnic identity.

10) The exploitation of strips of land for oil in the Orinoco, ignoring all criteria for conserving natural resources, will have deadly consequences for the Karímas and Waraos settled there.

11) We can see that nothing has been done to retrieve the lands of the Cuiva and Yaruros which are in the hands of landowners of Apure State. Nor can we forget the deaths on the Rubiera in Colombia (which borders on the Venezuelan State of Apure), where in 1967 16 Cuivas (9 adults and 7 children) were killed.

12) As might be expected, nothing is known of the rights to land of the Kariñas which is occupied by the Mene Grande Oil Company.

13) Another region affected by development plans is the land of the Warao in the Federal Territory of Delta Amacuro which, since the encirclement of the Caño Manamo by the Corporación Venezolana de Guayana in 1970, has suffered in consequence the salination of water, the disruption of the ecological balance of the region, the deaths of numerous species and the gradual loss of land. In addition to this the Corporación Venezolana de Guayana has guaranteed the entry of deep draughted vessels into the zone by constructing locks.

14) The situation of the indigenous peoples of Bolívar State and the Amazon Federal Territory is no different from those mentioned above. Since the end of 1978 the Movimiento Indígena por la Identidad Nacional de Venezuela (MODIV) has been denouncing the penetration and usurpation of large areas of indigenous community lands by a "transnational" religious organisation of North American missionaries, "New Tribes Mission", which sets itself against any manifestation of autochthonous culture and which denies and transgresses the boundaries of the ancient culture of the area. Before the Law and Venezuelan State the Mission conceals itself behind a supposed role of evangelical instruction and leaves people unaware of its strategic position in areas which are ecologically rich and where mineral resources can be found.

15) The general situation of the indigenous population of Venezuela is becoming more and more alarming in the face of a State which is indifferent and which allows people to die of starvation or from the presence of diseases which are completely controllable. The stealing of indigenous lands is a constant factor which continues over time. Today the clashes of two cultures as well as a violence brought in from outside - ever more destructive and self-destructive - is encouraging a violence within indigenous society and changes in behavioural traits which were traditionally regulated by internal stabilising mechanisms. All this fights against ethnic continuity.

16) A few days after our great congress in Venezuela, we are facing a new attack in which the State has been notably complacent in the light of the aggression and the violence done to our brothers the Piaroa from the Amazon Federal Territory who up to this moment have had not one single official statement in their defence. For this reason we have made our cry of protest heard before the President of the Republic, the National Congress,
the general public and other official organs connected with indigenist policies. As a result of this some collaborators in the indigenous cause are at this time becoming victims and favourite targets for being discredited. They are accused of acting subversively among indigenous peoples in order to deny them the rights to self-management, self-liberation and self-determination. These things are done in order for the Venezuelan State to justify its not fulfilling its obligations to the indigenous population and to which they have a right.

To conclude our statement we would suggest that the World Council of Indigenous Peoples calls upon the government of Venezuela to act on the following:
- Exercise respect for indigenous peoples and that the Venezuelan State provides social protection for them.
- That the organs dealing in indigenous policies pass into the hands of indigenous people themselves.
- To urge the Congress of the Republic of Venezuela to openly declare the Ley de Etnias Indígenas.
- To restore the territorial rights of indigenous peoples with titles of collective and inalienable property.
- To respect cultural, linguistic and traditional heritages as well as the fulfillment of Decree 283 of the Rule of Intercultural and Bi-lingual Education, starting from the organisation of ethnic indigenous groups.
- To support the minimal conditions for a national organisation which represents different organisations and ethnic groups.

Presented by the Movimiento Indígena por la Identidad Nacional and the Asociación Civil Indígena de Pueblos Yukpa, (Venezuela).

Maracaibo, September, 1984.

VENezuela: NEW TRIBES - ANOTHER SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

By James Aparicio

The New Tribes began in the year 1941 when the Rev. Paul Fleming created the New Tribes Mission, better known as the World Organisation of New Tribes. Described as "a missionary organisation for the indigenous peoples of Latin America", it is a part of the Southern Baptist Convention which includes among its members ex-US President Jimmy Carter and his wife. It has been estimated that this Convention is the largest in North America numbering 13 million members.

New Tribes came to Latin America when the second World War was at its peak and when the USA needed material for the manufacture of boots and plastics. It has been said that New Tribes Mission was installed in South America with the aim of obtaining important natural resources for its country of origin and not for its evangelical work as was stated.

In the book "El Caso de las Nuevas Tribus" (Editorial Ateneo) it is said that the sect had economic links with the transnational General Dynamics and with a "so-called California Foundation named Distrito 1355 which tried to obtain a land concession on Colombian territory between the rivers Meta and Tomo, in order to grow rice and cereals which would be taken from Colombia in C-47 planes. Silica and cobalt was discovered in the area too." ²

There has been a suspicion of a link between New Tribes and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, an organisation "based in the USA which specialises in linguistic investigations." SIL, better known as the "Wycliffe Bible Translators", has been in Latin America since 1934 with the overt mission of trans-

lating sections of the bible into the native languages of those populations they consider "backward" and "primitive".3

There are several similarities between SIL and NTM. Both organisations are dedicated to missionary work among indigenous peoples, teachers coming from one or other of the institutions teach in both organisations, they have similar infrastructures such as airstrips, radios and communications systems and have both been accused of espionage and devaluing the indigenous culture of Latin America.

The lack of difference between the logistical resources of SIL and NTM can be compared with the similarities in the theological doctrines they use in their missions.

In a paper presented at the "Meeting of Indigenous Ethnic Peoples and Guanipa Mission, 81, held in Venezuela, the ideological work which the two missions carry out were characterised as follows:
- A Salvationist programme which is based on a pietist and "ahistoric" conception of "God's plan for salvation". 4 This tries to save the supposedly lost soul of the savage Indian peoples. Communities are submitted to a process of re-education where they are made to doubt their reality and end up denying their culture and ancient customs.
- An instrument of support which through the dichotomy which exists in the concept of spiritual man/matter, considers itself "concerned" with the secular needs of indigenous peoples. This is used as a trick to hunt out new members or followers. 5 This strategy is used by the missionaries as a legitimisation for their work in the jungles or wherever they are, in order to make themselves appear as saviours and good preachers.

3. See Marquina, Brígido (op cit.)
4. See Ponencias del Encuentro de Etnias y Misión Guanipa 81, (several authors)
5. See Ponencias del Encuentro... 1981.

- The integrationist concept which both NTM and SIL has developed which goes hand in hand with the notion that their principal mission activity is to civilize indigenous peoples and mould them into western culture.

The Venezuelan Case

On July 27th 1979, Diputado Alexis Ortiz of the Movement for Socialism (MAS) pointed out in statements to the newspaper "El Nacional" of Caracas, that the New Tribes Mission ought to be investigated. These open declarations led to the development of a public movement and the setting up of an Investigative Commission which would pave the way for discovering the role of the Mission in Venezuela.

It was discovered that the Mission had at its command more than 15 private airports and that all the missionaries were from the USA. It was demonstrated that just as SIL, NTM used Spanish and evangelisation as a means of penetration and political and ideological control, thereby introducing religious fanaticism among indigenous populations.

It was discovered that the linguistic methods used by NTM was the same as that of SIL including the use of SIL teachers.

One of the tactics of the North American missionaries in the face of opposition by some indigenous leaders was to spread it around the people that the leaders were communists and that they were evil or bad. By means of the prohibition of rites and drink they would interfere in the cultural norms and control the lives of the indigenous Venezuelans.

Investigations such as this into the work of NTM in Venezuela has been sought by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples for other countries. Above all their expulsion has been sought because they have carried out theological and educational work which deforms the culture and religious life
of the indigenous peoples of Latin America and the rest of the world. It is feared that in the face of the expulsion of SIL from many countries in Latin America, the New Tribes Mission is filling the position they held for many years in indigenous areas, manipulating religious ideas and using a so-called evangelisation to systematically work to gain internal ideological alignment with the interests of the USA. They use myths and beliefs to turn a supposed celestial wrath into obedience of the divine laws for following the USA.

The New Tribes Mission is in Panama. Its silent work presupposes that they are continuing with the same practices which are being carried out in other countries. In San Carlos they have a General Headquarters with communications equipment, vehicles for carrying out their proselitising - and who knows if they are not also involved in espionage or in collaboration with some transnational. We hope that someone will speak out, investigate or set some process in motion as took place in Venezuela in order to ascertain the extent to which this twin sister of the Summer Institute of Linguistics is nothing but another manifestation of US ideological oppression.

Source: Diálogo Social no. 174 Enero 1985 Panamá

WEST PAPUA: 51 REFUGEES RETURNED FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA

On May 15th, 51 refugees were sent back to West Papua from Vanimo camp in Papua New Guinea. They were accompanied by officials from Papua New Guinea and handed over to Indonesian officials in West Papua. Although the United Nations High Commission for Refugees says that the repatriation was voluntary, no one is able to enter West Papua to ensure that the future of the refugees is safe. It is not known where they are destined at this stage.

Earlier in March six leading refugees including Tom Treewe were removed from Blackwater Camp, Vanimo and have been sent to Telefomin in the Oktedi area. According to a UNHCR letter to TAPOL consequent to these six leaders leaving the camp, 70 refugees voluntarily offered to return to West Papua. However it was 51 who eventually left from Vanimo on May 15th. At the same time it has been reported that 200 Papua New Guinea troops have been dispatched to the border region with orders to capture leaders of the Free Papua Movement in order to prevent them persuading refugees not to return to West Papua.

This is all part of a renewal of efforts by the PNG and Indonesian governments to repatriate the 12,000 West Papuan refugees currently living in camps along the West Papua/PNG border. When the Border Liaison Committee met in Port Moresby in early May a plan was agreed upon to transport leading refugees back to Jayapura by air and then convince them to persuade the other refugees to follow.

The May repatriation was the first formal return of refugees accompanied by PNG officials. About one hundred are reported to have returned earlier in the year but in a more ad hoc manner. The constant fear of forced repatriation hangs over the West Papuan refugees to the extent that the leaders have put forward a Supreme Court application to enforce certain constitutional rights and freedoms. There is no real PNG policy to distinguish political refugees from border crossers or.
illegal immigrants and there has been no specific declaration of their rights. The application is to ensure that none of the West Papuan refugees be repatriated against their will and that they be protected from torture, inhumane treatment, unlawful detention, detention without trial or death by officials of either the West Papuan or Indonesian governments.

According to statements of over 100 representatives of the refugees in Vanimo, no one wants to be repatriated against their free will. They would indeed like to return to their homelands but at their own time, not under governmental supervision. However many PNG and Indonesian officials have made offers of support for the refugees via the PNG government, but as yet there has been no response. As many refugees are uncertain of their future, visitors to Vanimo have stated that many would welcome an opportunity to settle in Papua New Guinea or else in a third country in the South Pacific Region.

In this context it is worth considering the seventeen recommendations which the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists put forward in their interim report last year:

1. That no one be returned involuntarily to Indonesia
2. That the United Nations High Commission for Refugees be given full authority and responsibility in conjunction with the Government of PNG, to provide assistance to the refugees pending the achievement of durable solutions.
3. That nations, and national and international aid agencies, including the UNHCR, be urged to offer assistance to PNG to care for the refugees pending completion of durable solutions, and also to help to achieve such durable solutions.
4. That the administrative agreements for the distribution of aid to the refugees include the participation of the UNHCR and appropriate church agencies.
5. That the Indonesian Government take no immediate action against the families and property of refugees so that the prospects of voluntary repatriation are not diminished.
6. That the Indonesian Government make clear both the precise nature of criminal charges that refugees will attract on their return to Irian Jaya (West Papua), and the appropriate authority, civil or military, to deal with such charges, and that the Indonesian Government provide firm guarantees subject to UNHCR monitoring, that those who return voluntarily will face no other punishment or penalty.
7. That the PNG Government ensure that, for the time being, all refugees be given permissive residence status within PNG.
8. That the PNG Government invite the assistance of the UNHCR in the determination of the status of the refugees.
9. That the PNG Government ensure that before refugees are interviewed to determine their status, appropriately qualified advisors be made available to them.
10. That the PNG Government ensure that those refugees who have actively participated in political actions (mainly those refugees in the Black Water Camp near Vanimo) are given refugee status and settled within PNG or, if necessary, in other countries within the region. The remainder should be located where possible in their own clan/language groupings in PNG, but at some reasonable distance from the border to prevent them from constituting a continuing problem for PNG-Indonesian relations.
11. That the PNG Government should not discriminate against the refugees in decisions on the granting of citizenship.
12. That Australia has a special role to play in the future of the refugees from Irian Jaya as the most appropriate independent nation in the region, and in particular Australia should be willing to accept some of the refugees for whom third country resettlement is deemed necessary.
13. That the Indonesian Government, in the implementation of the policy of transmigration in Irian Jaya, be urged and encouraged to respect the culture, traditions and rights of the indigenous people of Irian Jaya.
14. That both the Indonesian Government and appropriate international organisations, within and outside the UN system, should investigate the situation in Irian Jaya, to examine the problems that have given rise to the refugees leaving the country, with a view to their resolution.
15. That an internationally supervised enquiry be held into the circumstances surrounding the death of Arnold Ap in view of statements made by the Indonesian Government conflicting with evidence made available to the mission and to others.

17. That Indonesia and Papua New Guinea ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

On May 24th IWGIA sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, Michael Somare:

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) concerned to hear 51 West Papuan refugees repatriated under PNG supervision 15/5/85 STOP Although reported as voluntary difficulties of ascertaining their fate in Indonesian occupied West Papua give rise to fears for their future STOP IWGIA urges PNG Government to take seriously offers from Provincial Premiers of Fly, Morobe and Northern Solomons to provide facilities for re-settlement of refugees STOP IWGIA also urges PNG Government to follow wishes and desires of WP refugees in where they wish to settle STOP Resettlement should not be encouraged unless future safety can be ensured and observed STOP Please do all you can to guarantee human rights of West Papuan refugees STOP
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