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Telephone: Copenhagen 1 - 12 47 24

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Cover: Old Kalinga Woman with beads. Philippines.

(Photo: Joji Carino)

Contents:
Alaska: Territoriality and Political Independence:
Aspects of Inuit Ethnicity
by William C. Brower........................................ 1
Australia: Report Shows Huge Death Rate in Queensland's Aboriginal Reserves........... 3
Australia: Land, Power and Yellowcake (part I)
by Phil Niklaus........................................ 6
Australia: First National Conference of Aboriginal Writers................................. 15
Bolivia: Indigenous Communities from Eastern Bolivia
Fight for their Territorial Rights.................................. 18
Brazil: Murdering Roads........................................ 21
Canada: Designing a Nunavut Constitution........................................ 32
Colombia: First Meeting to Discuss Experience in
Indigenous Education........................................ 37
Colombia: Our Children Learn with us........................................ 40
Colombia: The Holding of the Choco's Second
Indigenous Congress........................................ 43
Colombia: An Indigenous Council Denounces........................................ 47
Chile: Third National Assembly of the Mapuche People........................................ 49
Ecuador: 'Vision Mundial': The ILV's Replacement?........................................ 56
Guatemala: Guatemalan Refugees in Chiapas
by Luis Colménar........................................ 68
Indian Ocean: The Uprooted Ilwa........................................ 75
Mexico: New 'Conquistadores' Rob Land from the
O'Tom People........................................ 77
Pacific: The Pacific Peoples. Interview with
Roman Bedor........................................ 84
Pacific: Conference for a Nuclear-Free and
Independent Pacific........................................ 87
Pacific: Palau: Self-Determination, American Style........................................ 91
Philippines: Prime on the KRD Project........................................ 93
Papua New Guinea: Not Beasts of Burden........................................ 102
USA: Let us Continue by Paula Gunn Allen........................................ 106
Venezuela: Indigenous Reply to Catholic Christianity........................................ 109
Book Review........................................ 110
TERRITORIALITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE: ASPECTS OF INUPIAT ETHNICITY

by William C. Brower, Ph.D

One of the most important aspects of Inupiat ethnicity is their sense of territoriality and political independence. A major thrust of land claims and the increasing political-economic power held by these native residents of Arctic Alaska focuses upon their self-perceived identification with the Land, the North Slope. Land-oriented ethnic identity acts as a significant unifying principle among the Inupiat. Such identity has two components: the materialistic and the idealistic.

The materialistic component arises from physical features of the North Slope. Communities are situated at particular geographical places. Travel routes, burial sites, and animal resource locations all are specific "places" well known to the people.

The idealistic component of land-oriented ethnic identity stems from the time depth of cultural occupation of the region. People use the North Slope for many purposes, such as travel, camping, and hunting. Of prime importance to the hunting culture of the Inupiat, the Land provides sustenance in the form of animal resources. So crucial is this that a spiritual association develops with the Land. This may be difficult to describe accurately, but the Inupiat sensitivity toward, and their understanding of, the Land is undeniable.

Political independence relates to the Inupiat sense of territoriality. Certainly the North Slope does not have true political independence from any other government. It is subject to the policies and laws of the State of Alaska and the United States. Decisions made in Juneau and Washington bear directly upon the North Slope. Now, then, does "political independence" have anything to do with Inupiat ethnic identity?
It must be remembered that the crucial factor here is the sense of independence felt by the Inupiat. Presently that sense is constricted by large-scale state and national influence on the North Slope. Industrialization of the region received a major boost with the discovery of oil and natural gas at Prudhoe Bay in 1968. The subsequent development of the petroleum fields and the construction of the Trans Alaska Oil Pipeline confirm the "reality" of intensive industrial presence on the Slope. Recent exploration activities have accelerated within the National Petroleum Reserve ("Pet-4"). Since, unlike Prudhoe Bay, Pet-4 includes the communities of Barrow, Wainwright, and Nuiqsut within its borders, local native peoples feel particularly stressed by such close industrialization. Additional stress may be anticipated to stem from future full-scale development of Pet-4, outer continental shelf reserves off-shore, and proposed coal recovery operations.

While some non-native persons believe that the Inupiat are totally opposed to the industrialization of their homeland, in fact, what many natives do oppose is not having a voice in development decision making. As a result, the part of Inupiat ethnicity dealing with political independence really centers on asserting their control into decisions made about the North Slope. To the native people such assertion represents their efforts to break white domination over decisions made about Inupiat lands, and for Inupiat people – but not by Inupiat themselves. In short, they demand more self-determination.

William C. Brower is an anthropologist at the Johnson State College, Vermont.

REPORT SHOWS HIJUDE DEATH RATE IN QUEENSLAND'S ABORIGINAL RESERVES

The death rate from infectious disease in Queensland's big Aboriginal reserves is 90 times higher than the State average, according to research published in the latest 'Medical Journal of Australia'. The research, based on Queensland Government data not normally made public, also shows that the death rate on the reserves from heart disease, violence and accidents is three times higher.

In two research papers in the 'Medical Journal', Queensland University researchers say there is evidence to link the poor health in the reserves with the history of forced resettlements and mixing of different tribes, the dismantling of traditional rites and the paternalistic and authoritarian approach used in running the reserves.

But when approached for comment yesterday, a State Government official questioned whether the researchers should have used the State health department statistics in their report. The health authorities originally made the semi-confidential data available to defence counsel for Mr. Alwyn Peter, an Aborigine who pleaded guilty to, and was convicted of, the manslaughter of his de facto wife. The health data was used to prepare a sociological study of life in the reserves for the court.

A spokesman for the Health Minister, Mr. Austin, said yesterday it would be a matter for concern if the data used had not been obtained through the proper channels. "Our people will be looking at the report very closely to ensure that the data used have not been wrongly obtained", the spokesman said.

One of the authors of the 'Medical Journal's report, Dr. Paul Wilson, a sociologist, said yesterday that the reserves with the highest death rates were those run by the State Dept. of Aboriginal and Island Advancement (DAIA), where there was
most interference in traditional lifestyle. The researchers studied the death rates on Queensland’s 14 biggest reserves, most run by DAIA, some by churches and others by shire councils. They have a population totalling 11,500.

Dr. Wilson said that the residents of the reserves were much more likely to die of such diseases as pneumonia, bronchitis and gastro-enteritis. In urban Australia, it was very rare for such diseases to be the primary cause of death in adults and this was much more a feature of Third World countries, he said. But the reserve dwellers were also hit hard by a scourge of advanced societies - cardio-vascular disease.

Dr. Wilson said that poor hygiene and housing played a part in the atrocious health records in the reserves. But the researchers found a close link between poor health and lack of social cohesion and morale brought about by Government interference.

"One thing we are very sure of: as the level of Government intervention rises, the social and psychological health appears to diminish," Dr. Wilson said. "We are not writing these papers, as a political argument against the Queensland Government. This is the way the data have come out."

One of the important findings in their research was that even where there were reasonably high standards of public hygiene such as sewerage and good water supply, the relatively high mortality rate was not necessarily diminished. But conversely, the researchers found that reserves where traditional culture had been retained, such as in rites and language, health generally appeared to be better.

(Source: Age, April 1983, Australia)
LAND, POWER AND YELLOWCAKE

by Phil Niklaus

As the rain-swollen rivers and wetlands gradually subsided with the onset of this year’s dry season in the Northern Territory, the final push was on to secure aboriginal approval for two major uranium mining projects planned for the Alligator Rivers region.

On the line were the massive Jabiluka ore body to be developed by Pancontinental Mining Ltd and its US-based partner, Getty Oil, and the smaller but rich Koongarra deposit leased by Denison Mines Ltd, a wolly-owned Canadian corporation. In the five years that have passed since the Fraser government gave the go-ahead to the mining and export of Australia’s vast uranium resources, activity has been inexorably building in the Top End’s uranium province, about 225 km east of Darwin. The giant Ranger complex at the base of Mt. Brockman, which went into production last year, is now rated the second largest open-cut uranium mine in the world — expected to produce 110,000 tons of processed uranium or “yellowcake” over its 15-year life.

The orebody at the Nabarlek mine, 28 km by dirt road to the east of Cempelli in the Arnhem Land aboriginal reserve, was extracted by Queensland’s Mines Ltd in four months in 1979. It will take nine more years to process the stockpiled ore, estimated to contain 12,250 tonnes of yellowcake.

The planned Jabiluka and Koongarra projects would nearly triple the production of uranium in and around the existing boundaries of Kakadu National Park, proclaimed three years ago between the South and East Alligator Rivers.

The boundaries of stage one of the national park have in large measure been drawn to accommodate the extensive uranium reserves found in the region. The Ranger mine, a joint venture of two private companies (Peko Mines Ltd and Electrolytic Zinc Company of Australasia Ltd) and the Australian Atomic Energy Commission, is surrounded on three sides by national park land, and the proposed Jabiluka project to the north lies within three kilometers of the park. While stage one of Kakadu has been mapped around both Ranger and Jabiluka sites, Denison’s 12.5 square kilometre Koongarra project sits squarely within its confines — “a window in the park” it is euphemistically called. The area was excised from the park in 1979 as a special mining lease held by Noranda, another Canadian corporation that subsequently sold the project to Denison.

Indeed, more dust than usual was kicked up along the rutted roads that weave through and around Kakadu National Park as this year’s Dry wore on. With several hundred aboriginal traditional landowners the only obstacle in the way of the Jabiluka and Koongarra projects, officials from Pancon and Denison scurried about the countryside mustering support for the proposed developments. Meetings between mining representatives and the traditional owners of the land, off and on for more than a year, increased in frequency and duration as decision day approached over the two mining projects.

The intensity that marked those harried final days of negotiations was hardly surprising — the stakes were very, very high.

The Jabiluka deposit, believed to be the largest in the world, dwarfs even Ranger. The Pancon-Getty Oil consortium expects to extract enough ore by underground mining methods to produce 212,000 tonnes of yellowcake over the 27-year life of the project. Even at today’s deflated uranium prices, that’s more than $8 billion worth. And if the uranium market is not what it was, the Jabiluka developers can take solace in the $150 million in gold they will reap as a bonus of their mining activities. Meanwhile, Denison has already invested in excess of $50 million through the purchase of the Koongarra lease from Noranda.
For some Aboriginal elders with traditional responsibility for the areas proposed for mining, no sum of money can compensate for the disturbance of the land they hold sacred. Big Bill Neldjje, of the Buntij clan, is a Parks and Wildlife ranger at Kakadu who lives with his people at the Cannon Hill station, just 12 km north of the Jabiluka site.

In the region, it's just "Big Bill" - people know who you are talking about. He is an impressive looking man, tall, with a build that belies his 60 years. Big Bill, one of the principal custodians of the land proposed for the Jabiluka mine, has opposed the project since its inception and continued to do so throughout the lengthy negotiating period. In March 3, in a letter read into the Hansard Parliamentary record, as the Jabiluka meetings began to move into high gear, Big Bill wrote: "Everybody is pushing us. Pushing, pushing, pushing. Now they want us to sign but they don't understand what it means for us. This is our life. Everybody said 'you're asking far too much money'... Now I'll ask you one question. How much is your life worth? How much do I have to pay you so I can take your life away? People will say that we are just trying to make trouble now and stop everything, but we don't want trouble. We just want you to understand what we are giving up... our life. It will cost Panocon money. It will cost us our life."

The local Aborigines at Kakadu are concerned that the Koongarra project as now planned would cause contamination of water and wildlife, which remains a primary source of their food, and otherwise disrupt the area's sensitive environment. They believe that uranium mining is totally inappropriate for a World Heritage national park. The implications of the Aboriginal refusal to negotiate with Denison could extend well beyond the Koongarra project itself, given the widespread deposits of uranium discovered but not yet leased in the region.

Since the freeze on exploration leases - instituted by the Labor Government of Gough Whitlam in 1972 - was lifted more than a year ago, emissaries from multinational mining interests have been canvassing the Alligator Rivers region in droves, staking out areas of potential uranium and other mineral development. More than 200 applications for exploration leases have been filed for Arnhem Land alone, with another 54 in the still-undeclared stage two area planned for Kakadu National Park.

Both the existing Ranger mine and the planned Jabiluka project lie inside the proposed second stage of Kakadu, a 6,567 square kilometre expanse between the East and West Alligator Rivers to the north of the declared park. And Ranger and Jabiluka just scratched the surface - uranium in the area is thicker than mosquitoes in the Wet.

Talks with mining executives over lease agreements are conducted "on behalf" of the traditional aboriginal owners by a special negotiating team of the Northern Land Council, established in its present form by the Land Rights Act to "protect the interests" of Aborigines within its area of jurisdiction in the Northern Territory.

The negotiations are directly accountable to the all-aboriginal, all-male council, which has grown to 55 members representing communities throughout the northern half of the Northern Territory. The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976 further gives the NLC the responsibility to "consult" with the traditional land owners in the region and to take no action until two conditions are met: the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land must understand the nature and purpose of the proposed action and as a group consent to it; any aboriginal community or group affected by the proposed action must have been consulted and given adequate opportunity to express its view to the land council.

Unlike the uranium deposits leased before June 4, 1976 - the date the landmark land rights legislation was introduced
in Parliament- the present backlog of mining lease applications will be subject to aboriginal veto. Consultation thus takes on added meaning, as affected Aborigines will have a clear choice over whether further mining should take place, rather than simply negotiating the terms of forced agreements.

Whether the decisions by Aborigines on the new lease applications inundating the NLC today will be based on informed judgements will depend largely on the manner with which the NLC fulfills its mandate to "consult". It is a question that goes to the very heart of the Land Rights Act and, in a wider context, to the issue of aboriginal self-determination.

The field work for consultations is largely in the hands of the NLC's staff support bureau, which has tripled in size in a major reorganisation begun in 1981. The Bureau, as it is now officially called, further assists the full council with the avalanche of business awaiting NLC attention. As the act does not define "consultation", the determination of what it should involve is left to the NLC's bureau staff under the direction of general manager Chris Clare. Clare came to the NLC a year ago as part of the bureau reorganisation, after many years with the federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs in Darwin. While he maintains overall responsibility for bureau affairs, liaison between the bureau staff and the council is the responsibility of Wesley Lanhupuy from Elcho Island who has the title of bureau director.

The Rev. James Downing, who coordinates community development work for the Uniting Church in Darwin, says he has reservations about the adequacy of the consultations and negotiations over proposed mining projects as they are carried out by the NLC staff.

"The process appears to be in every case a reading out of the documents. I don't think the traditional owners have any understanding of what's happening or the implications of what's in those documents. There is much evidence of pressure on the Aboriginal people and totally inadequate time to grasp and talk about those things."

The project established to study the social impact of uranium mining on Aborigines in the Northern Territory, which maintains a staff and office in Goompi, was critical of the NLC consultation procedures in its bi-annual report to Parliament in March, 1982: "Consultation and information flows to remain issues of concern. Even the most casual observer is aware of the tremendous pressures placed on individuals summoned to meetings convened in the name of consultation."

The committee, chaired by Professor Colin Tatz of Macquarie University, is responsible to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs through the council of the Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra.

One member of the NLC bureau staff (one of several who would only talk anonymously and away from NLC offices) said the seemingly endless stream of meetings has a "totally divisive, fragmentary" effect on aboriginal communities. "The number of meetings associated with negotiating settlements and monitoring the mining industry is probably the major impact of all European influence. They're (the traditional owners) constantly being picked up by some helicopter to take them to a meeting with Europeans to discuss the impact of Europeans on their lifestyle. If they want a three month break, that can be and is overridden by pressure of government and industry to fulfill legislative requirements for consultation. They play the pipe and the Aborigines have to dance."

The die was cast in May 1977 with the release of the second Fox report. In that document, the commissioners said that despite widespread anti-mining sentiment expressed by Aborigines during the inquiry's lengthy hearings in 1975, "in the end, we form the conclusion that their opposition should not be allowed to prevail."
While many of the Fox conclusions and recommendations have since been either modified or ignored completely, that one was not. Under the conditions of the Land Rights Act, no aboriginal veto would be allowed over mining projects with leases secured before the 4 June 1976 date, when the landmark legislation was first introduced in Parliament.

It was in that context that the Northern Land Council set about negotiating agreements with uranium interests in the region. "The NLC can't do anything about mining - they know that," one observer in Darwin said. "They're just trying to swing the best deal possible."

The sign-in book in the reception area of the Northern Land Council offices in Darwin contains the following entry, dated 8 July 1978: "We're watching you with hope - keep that uranium in the ground." The signature is that of George Wald, the eminent American biologist from Harvard who has long criticised the nuclear industry's safety codes and practices. While Dr Wald and the world watched, though, the NLC has supervised the negotiations that have resulted in the start of two mines and now approval for a third.

One of the most adamant opponents of uranium mining in and around aboriginal land is Leo Finlay from Boorooloola on the eastern coast of Arnhem Land. Finlay is now deputy NLC chairman under Blitner. He has been his community's adviser and has served on the council since the forerunner of the NLC was first established in 1975.

During a break in the marathon council meeting held on 16-18 June at the Daisy Yarrirr Hostel in Darwin's Casuarina subdivision, Finlay sat in the shade of a gum tree and talked of the steady growth of the uranium industry in the Arnhem-Kakadu area.

"I'm still opposed to uranium mining - no one will change my mind on it. I don't like the countryside being destroyed by uranium. It's already happening now. Ranger opened the gateway and now they're pouring in. It will be out of the control of the Aboriginal people soon. I don't think it (the NLC) will control anything. It's out of hand altogether. It's money talk. A lot of Europeans are pouring into the area... there's no control."

The opposition by Finlay and some traditional owners of the Jabiku area eventually gave way; the writing was on the wall. On 27 February, the NLC agreed to "initial" the Pancon agreement, well before the traditional owners of the land and other affected Aborigines had expressed their view.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Doug Anthony, followed suit in March by giving commonwealth consent for Pancon and Getty Oil to begin looking for markets for the 4,590 tonnes of yellowcake to be processed annually at Jabiku after the first year. Five days before the 30 June signing of the agreement, the Northern Territory News, a media cheerleader for uranium development in the region, ran a front-page banner headline: "Jabiku Go-Go-Go - Aborigines in Agreement". What followed was a non-story, with the people contacted neither confirming nor denying that agreement was at hand. It was as if aboriginal approval of the project were a fait accompli...

Opposition to the Jabiku project eventually ended in late June, about three weeks after the Prime Minister's dedication of the Kakadu park headquarters. The agreement between the 20-odd traditional owners and the mining company was accomplished following a 10-day bargaining session at the Pancon camp at Jaja, midway between Jabiru and Gempleni.

 Tight security was imposed during the final stages of the negotiations, as the NLC team of negotiators hammered out the details of the complex mining agreement with Pancon executives. When a park ranger from Kakadu tried to bring some mail to Big Bill, he was taken aside and asked to leave by an NLC official.

Another ranger suggested that the negotiations as carried
out by the NLC are designed to assure acceptance of the agreement. "A lot of meetings amount to pressure, out and out. It's a long process—it's blitzkrieg towards the end. The old blokes have just been worn down."

Following a three-day visit to the Kakadu area in late June, as the Jabiluka negotiations were nearing conclusion, Senator Susan Ryan, the Labor Party's Shadow Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, sent a telegram to Mr Fraser charging that the traditional owners in the region had been subject to "pressure" during the Jabiluka talks.

Senator Ryan described her impressions of a trip to the uranium province that included inspections of both the Jabiluka and Koongarra sites. "Traditional owners I met with do not perceive that they have any real choice about mining. They believe they will be harassed continually until they agree to mining. If, as seems probable, the Jabiluka agreement is signed this week, it will not be because the aboriginal traditional owners really choose it, but rather because they see agreement as the only way out of a situation of intense and sustained pressure..."

Ian Wilson, Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, said in a letter dated 20 July 1982, in response to the Ryan telegram: "...I have examined the extensive documentation submitted to me by the NLC recording the meetings held with the Aboriginals who are the traditional owners of the Jabiluka project and with those groups who may be affected by the mining proposal. I have also examined detailed reports provided by officers of my department who were invited to observe certain key meetings held with the traditional owners and other Aboriginals with strong associations with the project area. My conclusion is that the NLC has fully met its obligations under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act..."

Mr. Wilson approved the Pancon agreement on July 20, three weeks after the signing by Aborigines. With approval finally given to the Jabiluka project, the rush for uranium ran into a snag down the road to the south. There, the traditional owners of the Koongarra site turned down the Denison project, at least for the present.

(to be continued)  (Source: Australian Society, Dec. 1982 and Feb. 1983)

AUSTRALIA: FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ABORIGINAL WRITERS

The First National Conference of Aboriginal Writers was held in Perth, W.A. from the 5th. to the 11th. February, 1983. It was attended by Aboriginal writers from all over Australia. Delegates included: the novelists Colin Johnson of Melbourne and Faith Bandler of Sydney; poets Maureen Watson from N.S.W. and the well-known West Australian poet, Jack Davis, one of the conveners of the conference; and the film maker, playwright and poet, Jerry Bostock who was connected with the founding of the Black Theatre in Sydney. Traditional storytellers such as Daisy Utemorrah and Puru Gronack from the Mowanjum community, W.A., Dinah Garadjj and Mrs. Kerinama from the N.T. and Larry Colley and Joshua Booth from the Jigalong Community, W.A. also came along. Cheryl Fulton and Rod Gibbins were the two delegates from Tasmania.
At the conference the delegates unanimously passed a motion giving their complete support to the Tasmanian Aborigines in their efforts to prevent the destruction of sacred sites by the planned flooding of a large area of the South West of Tasmania. Deep within the rain forests and accessible only by a winding track leading from the Gordon river bank is Kutikina cave. Here, over 30,000 years ago ancestors of the present day Aborigines set up home and kept on using the cave for thousands of years. The site is of major archaeological interest in that it proves that mankind penetrated far south before the advent of the last ice-age and continued to live in the cave during the period when the great ice sheets descended from the mountains towards the southern seas. For Tasmanian Aborigines, this cave and other sites hidden within the rain forest are part of their spiritual and cultural heritage. As Cheryl, a Tasmanian delegate told us: 'To destroy them would be like destroying our souls.'

We, the delegates to the First Aboriginal Writers' Conference urge that all steps be taken by those able to help us prevent this catastrophe. Our sacred places must be protected and must be placed in the hands of their rightful owners: the Aboriginal people of Australia. Our Tasmanian brothers and sisters have suffered much, and see the planned destruction of an important part of their spiritual and cultural heritage as part of a continuing campaign to deny them their birthrights. They ask only for what is rightfully theirs: Land Rights over sacred sites such as Kutikina cave and other areas which they need for their economic well-being.

Photo: Bolivia. (Photo: Lisbeth Overgaard)
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES FROM EASTERN BOLIVIA FIGHT FOR THEIR TERRITORIAL RIGHTS

"How can you buy or sell the sky, or the heat of the earth? The idea is alien to us. Nevertheless, we are not the owners of the air's freshness or the water's song. How can you buy them? Each part of this land is sacred for my people."
(An Indian from Eastern Bolivia)

One of the central themes of the indigenous meeting held on October 1982 at the 'Peasant's House' in Santa Cruz, was the problem of community lands. The Indians felt that there was an urgent need to guarantee the ownership of their land because it is the basis for the economic, social and cultural development of their groups. The Guarayos and Chiquitanos indigenous communities (who were participating for the first time in an indigenous meeting), decided along with the other groups, to take the steps necessary to regularize their titles, at the same time finding out the situation with respect to cases being processed. It was after this Indian meeting that the communities of Eastern Bolivia began to collect documentation on problems concerning land titles, at the same time forming a commission of 13 Indian representatives from the Izoño, Ava-Guarani, Ayoré, Chiquitano and Guarayo groups.

This commission has just travelled to the city of La Paz in order to undertake the paperwork necessary to get titles to their lands. The commission talked about this problem with the Vice-President of the Republic, who gave them his support, advising them and accompanying them to the National Council for Agrarian Reform and the Ministry of Peasant Affairs, so that these agencies would co-operate in speeding up the necessary paperwork.

As a result of these activities the commission obtained information on 72 cases concerning communities and peasant holdings. The state of these cases varies from those about which details are not known to those that are being processed, are awaiting the President's signature, or are awaiting for a Supreme Resolution to be approved.

The commission's representatives were able to see at first hand the administrative difficulties that exist in order to obtain land titles. For example, they discovered that the National Council for Agrarian Reform does not have the printed forms necessary to give definitive property titles.

APCOB (Ayuda Para el Campesino del Oriente Boliviano - 'Aid for the Eastern Bolivian Peasant'), P.O. Box 4213, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, is lending its support to those groups or communities who are organized in pursuing the cases already in progress and for the legalization of occupied lands. The said legalization is usually undertaken communally, not by individual title, and this in the opinion of APCOB, is a fundamental step in order to assure that the indigenous peasant maintains his/her own social organization, which is the only way to guarantee their existence as indigenous groups.

(Sources: APCOB Bulletin, March 1983)
The Arara, a people in flight

After thirteen years, the 5,000 km Transamazon Highway is far removed from the road that General Médici announced would put an end to the misery of the North-East, the miraculous road that would carry "the people without land to the land without people". In North-East Brasil, the people are still without land, just as oppressed by drought and landlordism as they were in 1970. The State of Amazonas continues to be a land without people; the large ranches only fatten the cattle, who in turn fatten their owners who inhabit plush offices in distant Sao Paulo.

In many localities there are even fewer people. Thousands of them have been expelled from lands they once cultivated, fighting against panthers and malaria deep in the jungle. Along the Transamazon Highway and other roads opened during the heady days of the "impact projects" in the era of "Great Brasil", the colonizers that INCRA settled adjacent to the road network are being evicted by the large landowners. These had occupied areas sited further into the interior and today they are expanding their holding even up to the highway's edge.

Even worse is the fate of the twenty-nine indigenous peoples who, according to FUNAI itself, used to live in the regions of the Transamazon Highway's route when it was opened in 1970. Who bothers about them? Twelve of these peoples, according to the classification made by General Costa Cavalcanti, at that time Minister of the Interior, were "very aggressive".

Where is the aggressiveness of these twelve people? What could their stone machetes and arrows do against the implacable tractors and tremendous electric saws of "Great Brasil"? How many still remain?

The Trans-Amazonian cut up Arara's best land and facilitated the entry of big and small invaders. (Map drawn by Jørgen Ulrich).
Five dozen Arara survivors, combatants in this unequal struggle, succumbed in February 1981 to the "attractions" of FUNAI, who had been sporadically operating in the region since 1971. Tired of fleeing, tired of being targets for the invade who came via the road, they decided to no longer reject the presents left by FUNAI's functionaries. One year later, flu killed six of them. Against one solitary birth in this period, six deaths.

Many, however, continue rowing in the scrublands to the north and south of the road, stubbornly resisting seduction by machetes, glass beads and daily food rations. It is an insane, desperate exodus, interrupted by periodic skirmishes with hunters, farmers and labourers. Even the functionaries of FUNAI fall victim in these skirmishes. On the roads that lead to the hamlets, the functionary's feet are pierced by bamboo stakes while the Arara plant and camouflage - a means of defense that was also used by the Vietnamese in the war against the United States.

How many Arara have managed to maintain their independence up to now? Nobody knows. On the first day of this year, the backlander Wellington Figueiredo (an explorer employed by FUNAI) contacted a new group of Indians, thirteen in number, near the Penetecaua brook, to the north of the Transamazon Highway. But the head of FUNAI in this zone, Sidney Possuelo, who was responsible for the "attraction" campaign in 1981, admitted in an interview that many other dispersed family groups of ten or twelve Arara could be being eliminated without any news percolating through the jungle's green wall.

Attacks and reactions

When in 1970 the tractors that were opening the Transamazon Highway vibrated at less than two kilometers from the Arara's main village, some 200 Indians retreated into the jungle, leaving behind them five large malocas (communal dwellings) and many plots of land cultivated through slash-and-burn methods. Over the following years, the colonizers whom INCRA brought there ate a lot of banana and manioc that had been planted by the Arara. At various other points along the road, from near Altamira to kilometre 120, countless colonizers occupied the area and consumed the produce of the Indian's plots.

The road divided the Arara's land in two: to the south up to the Iriri River, and to the north up to the Jaraucu. Disquiet reigned in the settlements and provoked the dispersal. The Arara's flight was not the result of fear of imaginary dangers. Long before the road's arrival, contact with furtive hunters, rubber tappers and other whites had caused destruction and many tragic deaths. Through this experience, the Arara learnt that it was better not to wait to be attacked. They began to strike at their adversaries.

From this tale of blood and cruelty a few examples can be mentioned: the attack by copaiba wood extractors in 1943, which resulted in two Indian deaths; the hunting party in 1969 whose bullets laid low 12 Araras, while the hunter's distribution of poisoned food killed others; and an attack by hunters at kilometre 80 which caused various deaths in 1973. These are only the well-known and publicised incidents.

Only one possible reaction to this fear could arise. In the flight that has no end, any white person whom they encounter is considered an enemy, including those who leave presents in the Tapiris (shacks) built on the sides of tracks adjacent to the cultivated plots, or in the abandoned dwellings. In 1976 three employees of CPRM (The Mining Resources Prospecting Company) were found dead at kilometre 130. A year later a peasant was found dead at kilometre 115 and an employee of FUNAI was wounded during an attack on the "attraction" post. In 1978 an Indian Wai-Nai employed by the post was attacked with arrows. Two backlanders and another FUNAI functionary were attacked in 1979 and gravely wounded. The Guard Post at kilometre 120 was attacked in 1980, with two officials being pierced by arrows.
As always occurs on the frontier, the small fish kill one another, while their larger brethren take part in the war from a distance, pulling the strings. In 1970, in addition to the official colonizers the road attracted, the powerful Cotrijú (Cooperativa Trípica de Ijú (RS)) arrived in the zone. This company acquired some 390,000 hectares located between the Transamazon Highway and the Iriri river, where it endeavoured to install two thousand families of colonizers. With certificates guaranteeing the non-existence of Indians that were issued by FUNAI itself, the Cotrijú company started to open up a road running from north to south that began at kilometre 120. According to the report of Bita Carneiro in the ‘Journal de Brasil’ (18.1.81), "guided by unclear interests, the very functionaries of the attraction post assisted with the topographical tasks and the construction of the Cotrijú Company’s road."

The Arara's reaction made the Cotrijú desist, so delaying the project. In 1978 FUNAI published its Decree No. 528, delimiting the area to the south of the Transamazon Highway, beginning from the farms of the colonizers settled by the INCRA on the road's left hand side, up to the Iriri river (some 40 kilometres as the crow flies). The stretch along the highway between kilometre 80 and kilometre 120 is included in the earmarked area.

When Sidney Possuelo took charge of the "attraction post" in 1980, he asked the president of FUNAI to delimit another zone as well, this time to the north of the road between kilometre 60 and 80. This new area was also further on than INCRA's colonizer's plots sited on the roadside. There an "attraction post" was founded, through which contact with thirteen Indians was established on 1st January this year.

Thankless Work

What has been the outcome of this thankless work of "attraction"? In spite of the noble dedication of a Sidney Possuelo, the "attraction" of the Arara accelerated the clearing of the area for the large-scale agricultural companies. In the reservation, those Arara who are subjected to contact are surrounded by large ranches and will continue to be exposed to incursions by the hunters, rubber tappers and fortune hunters, as well as big businessmen attempting to "stretch" their lands.

Those who were lucky enough to survive epidemics such as the influenza of March 1982 (that the Arara "attracted" by Sidney had contracted during a visit to the city of Altamira which the functionaries could not prevent), will have the alternative of being integrated into the regional economy at its lowest level - i.e. as labourers. On the other hand, returning to what was said at the beginning, Amazonas' "land without people" is, in reality, a land of great unpopulated zones, which surround islands of poverty that were attracted by INCRA's lies about colonization, i.e. on the gold mines and other illusions fostered by official propaganda.

Altamira, Marabá and other regional urban centres have seen a tenfold expansion in their number of inhabitants over the period of a few years. The majority have been turned into a reserve army of labour for the agricultural and mining companies, and more recently for the infrastructure projects that these companies need to undertake, such as the hydroelectric scheme at Tucuruí.

For their part, these hydroelectric companies will be the next big headache for the Araras after their forced exile. These companies have planned to establish several reservoirs on the Xingu (the Altamira hydroelectric complex), which will flood part of the Arara lands, almost certainly forcing them to a new settlement.

These dams will also flood stretches of the Transamazon Highway, which will have to be re-routed, causing more incursions by the tractors. This in its turn will bring a new spate of invaders into the indigenous area.
The roads accelerate the invasion

The Arara's desperate exodus is but one facet of the extent of the tragedy that has befallen various indigenous peoples as a consequence of opening the Transamazon Highway. We can recall, among other sad cases, the decimation of the Parakanã, an indigenous people who possibly hold the record for being the victims of forced removal in Brasil.

Already by the early 1950s, a railway line entered into the lives of the Parakanã. The Tocantins Railway was opened, and it was deemed necessary to "pacify" those Indians who did not accept the destruction of their jungle so that a railway line might be constructed. Therefore, in 1957 the SPI founded a post and gathered together 190 Indians under their "protection". One year later, more than 50 Parakanã were dead as a result of influenza, and those who had managed to survive this "pacification" once again retreated into the jungle.

In 1970, with the opening of the Transamazon Highway, a new "attraction" of the Parakanã occurred. A further 40 Indians fell victim to influenza. The road advanced into the Parakanã's land, who became the victims of all kinds of abuses by the labourers and even the functionaries of FUNAI. The promiscuity of this contact reached such a point that at the end of 1971 a doctor reported that in the already decimated Parakanã population, 35 women had venereal diseases. Eight of these had given birth to blind children. By coincidence, perhaps, two of FUNAI's employees in the area who were examined by the same doctor, had chronic blennorhea. This illness, influenza and dysentery, among others, continued to claim Parakanã lives. A point was reached in May 1972 where only 80 members of this ethnic group remained, and the backlander Antonio Cotrim Neto presented his resignation to FUNAI on the grounds that he was "tired of being the Indian's grave-digger".

The Regime is self-perpetuating

The very process of genocidal development which stimula-
government with the presidency of Electrobras (the institution which today causes the inundation of indigenous lands) and afterwards was appointed as President of *Itaipu Binacional*, on an enormous salary.

During Cavalcanti's spell at the Ministry of the Interior, FUNAI, under the directorship of General Bandeira de Melo, distributed many certificates guaranteeing the non-existence of Indians to ranchers who were invading indigenous lands. Moreover, a son of Costa Cavalcanti was among those who benefitted from this in his capacity as a shareholder in the Sapé Agropecuaria Company. This was one of the many estates which received certificates in order that they could settle on Nam-bikwara lands, through which the Cuiabá-Porto Velho road passed.

General Costa Cavalcanti, 'comme il faut', is also a strong candidate for the position of President in the Government to succeed Figueiredo.

Another man who repeatedly crops up is Eliseu Resende, president of the DNER when Andreazzi was Minister of Transport, and consequently responsible for constructing the Amazon roads. In the Figueiredo government, with Andreazzi as Minister of the Interior, Eliseu became Minister of Transport. His defeat in the Minas Gerais election last November has caused him to fall out of the race for succession to the Presidency.

Those who have not wished to sensitise themselves to the tragedy that has befallen Brazil's indigenous peoples, will at least have had "economic" reasons for condemning the folly with which the Amazon highways were constructed. At the same time that the military government abruptly abandoned the railways (a form of transport ideal for a country with flat lands and of continental proportions), they crazily rushed into the road construction programme in order to ensure the expansion of the multinational automobile companies - just when the world began to feel the first effects of the oil crisis. Given that Brazil is almost wholly dependent on the importation of its fuel needs, the Government was forced to reconsider its National Road Plan.

Thus in 1976, when the failure of colonization along the Transamazon Highway was already public knowledge, President Colol ordered the work on the Northern Perimeter Highway, another pharasonic road projected to extend 4,000 kilometres along the whole northern frontier of Brazil, to stop. This road, which began its design stage in 1974, had begun, however, to wreak havoc: entire villages of Yanomami were reduced to half their population by measles, influenza and other diseases. Even worse, the irreversible invasion of mineral-rich indigenous lands at Roraima had already commenced.

The Federal Territory of Roraima, which today houses the major demographic concentration of Indians in Brazil, was crossed by another road as a result of the National Integration Plan, the BR-174. This links Manaus with Caracai. The Waimiri-Atroari, inhabitants of a large extension of land on the border between Amazonas and Roraima, resisted the building of this road (which passes right through the middle of their lands), as best they could. The resistance of these nations, as well as the publicized and unpublicized abuses which the government has subjected them to, are related in the important denouncing book by that expert on the backlands, José Porfirio de Carvalho, entitled "Waimiri-Atroari: la historia que todavía no ha sido contada" ('Waimiri-Atroari: the story as yet untold')

The "democratic opening"

The BR-364 from Cuiabá to Porto Velho was the only murderous road to be opened before the Transamazon Highway. In 1963 one could already travel, albeit dangerously, by the road opened through inhospitable and unhealthy jungle between the capital of the state of Mato Grosso and the then Rondonia Territory. From that time on, powerful economic consortia from Southern Brazil began to cast their eyes on, and aspire "on the map", all the lands in north-east Mato Grosso, including the luxuriant Vale do Guaporé, the ancestral home of the Nam-
bikwara. In October 1968, with the aim of 'clearing' the Vale do Guaporé for the large haciendas, the recently created FUNAI marked out the Nambikwara Reserve. This had an area of one million hectares...but it was sited in the Chapada dos Parecis, a desert, with 70% being arid land where at most a tenth of the Nambikwara population were living. Immediately afterwards, FUNAI began to hand over to the estates certificates guaranteeing the absence of Indians in the Vale do Guaporé. This process accelerated with the onset of the Médici Government (30.10.69), which included general Costa Cavalcanti as its Minister of the Interior.

The 'haciendas' established themselves without ceremony in the lands of the Nambikwara, devastating the jungle, polluting the rivers, destroying all the Indian's sources of food. Starving and pauperized, the Indians later discovered measles. The survivors were rescued by helicopters belonging to the Brazilian Air Force and FUNAI, at the end of 1971. All the Nambikwara under 15 years of age who had lived in the Vale do Guaporé had disappeared.

Forcibly removed on two occasions by the FUNAI, those Indians that resisted returned to the valley, despite the presence of the haciendas. Today, with the invasion consolidated, the estates are resolved to secure the complete extermination of the Nambikwara. This will be aided by a branch road off the highway through the towns of Pontes and Lacerda, and from there passing through the Nambikwara villages. The cost of tarmacing the road, which has a high priority rating by the Federal Government, is being financed by the World Bank.

As can be seen, the supposed democratization of Brazil is in no way benefiting the indigenous peoples, whose basic rights are every day less and less respected. The only "opening" that has reached Brazil's indigenous population has been the opening of roads on their lands.

(Source: Porantim, No 49, March 1983.)
DESIGNING A NUNAVUT CONSTITUTION

To the people who live in Southern Canada, Nunavut may be a new concept. But to those who live in Nunavut, geography, climate, history, language, culture, economics and the way of life have made of Nunavut a natural region with a clear community of interests for as long as anyone can remember.

Nunavut is a 'public government'. That is, it is a government for all the people who live in the area embraced by Nunavut. Nunavut is not a government only for Inuit, but a government firmly founded on the Canadian political tradition of public services and the power of participation for all people who live in a geographical area.

In Canada there are two main types of government. The federal government in Ottawa looks after certain subjects in all parts of Canada. These include old age pensions, the armed forces, relations with other countries, unemployment insurance, air transport, weather forecasting and icebreaking ships.

The other type of government is a provincial government, like the governments of Alberta or Quebec. These governments look after education, liquor administration, licenses for cars and trucks, regional and local government, lands and resources and many other things. The Government of the Northwest Territories is similar to a provincial government, but different. The NWT government does not have control of lands or resources, and is a government which can only decide things when Ottawa allows it to do so. In a province, the government can do what it wants according to its constitution, and in Ottawa can go to court to stop provinces from doing things which are not allowed by the Constitution - for instance, a province would not be allowed to print its own dollar bills.

Each of the two governments - provincial and federal - has full power within its own list of powers. In other words, Canadians in southern Canada have two powerful votes: they can vote for the federal government, just as in Nunavut we elected Peter Ittinuar to look after our federal interest, and they can vote for a provincial government that has real power to do things. In the north, however, we do not have a provincial-type government with real power. Creating Nunavut is an important step for our people because through Nunavut we will at least have a government interested as its whole and only job is solving the problems of Nunavut. Also, the federal government is giving more power to the Northwest Territories every year and a Nunavut government would receive the same benefits.

The most important question to be decided before Nunavut becomes a reality is the division of powers between Ottawa and Nunavut. Drawing a line on a map and calling a new territory Nunavut has no meaning unless the people of Nunavut have enough powers to run their lives and to control important matters which affect them. These powers have to be suited to the needs of Nunavut and not just to the theories of political scientists in southern Canadian universities.

At the same time, Nunavut is and will remain part of Canada. Unless its powers and structures are clearly practical within the Canadian political system, it will not be possible for Nunavut to grow stronger and serve its peoples, or help them become fully involved in the opportunities of Canada. The people of Nunavut also have responsibilities within Canada, and they must take those responsibilities for the benefit of all Canadians. If the people of Nunavut allowed outsiders to destroy the environment of Nunavut, for instance, Canada would lose its international prestige as a responsible country, just as Inuit would lose their economic base. The people of Nunavut receive many benefits from living in Canada, and they give much to Canada in return. This proper balance between local and national interest is the heart of the Canadian political system, and we must ensure that it develops into a strong bond between partners in the relations of the Nunavut and Canadian governments.
Canadians have always let a few people in governments write their constitutions in the past. But the best constitutions are those which are written through a public process which allows everybody to take part and to understand what is being done. Only in that way can people really believe in the laws and governments which they live with. In 1980 Canadians began to take part in rewriting their national constitution, and the results have been worthwhile. But even that work is limited to a few subjects. Now in Nunavut we have the chance to write a whole constitution.

Constitutional Conference on Aboriginal Rights.

A Constitutional Conference composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers of the provinces was held on March 15 and 16, 1983, to which representatives of the aboriginal peoples of Canada and elected representatives of the governments of the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories were invited.

The conference included in its agenda, among others, the following matters directly affecting the aboriginal peoples of Canada:

- Expansion of Section 35 to include recognition of modern treaties. Treaties signed outside Canada and before confederation, and specific mention of "aboriginal title" including the rights of aboriginal peoples of Canada (including the Metis) to a land and water base.
- Statement of the particular rights of aboriginal peoples.
- Self-government.
- Amendments on aboriginal matters not to be subject to provincial opting out.
- Ongoing process, including further First Ministers conferences and the entrenchment of necessary mechanisms to implement rights.

At the end of the Conference, the Government of Canada and the provincial governments agreed to hold a new Constitutional Conference on March 1984. It was also agreed that the 1984 Conference shall include in its agenda those items affecting Aboriginal Peoples in Canada that were not fully considered at the 1983 Conference, and the Prime Minister of Canada shall invite representatives of the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada to participate in the discussions.

Inuit participation at the Conference

During the First Ministers' Conference, Inuit representatives presented a short paper on self-government where the following principles were listed:

1. The maximum Inuit design and management of public services which affect them, including participation in programs and policymaking which significantly affects their regions;
2. Genuine political representation in provincial and territorial legislatures and the federal Parliament, and in official bodies which make decisions affecting Inuit;
3. Recognition of the Inuit use and occupation of lands, waters and resources which are the underpinning of the Inuit economy and way of life, and the establishment of clear Inuit rights in respect of these so that Inuit may ensure their own collective survival;
4. Access to adequate revenues to enable public bodies in the Inuit homeland to carry out their tasks;
5. Access to an economic base for the future, and protection of existing economic resources (e.g. wildlife);
6. Structures of government and other public institutions in the Inuit homeland which reflect and provide for the special needs and circumstances of Inuit and their culture, and with full protection for an inclusion of the rights and aspirations of non-Inuit residents in the area.
Many people at the conference were impressed with the reasonableness of these Inuit ideas, and they also read a small brochure describing the work of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum. The idea that Inuit should have a government which safeguards and reflects their culture and traditions does not upset southern Canadians, and the clear Inuit commitment to a pluralistic society in Nunavut is reassuring to those who talk about the danger of ethnically-based jurisdictions. Premier Minister Trudeau in his opening remarks at the First Ministers Conference talked largely about the problems and opportunities of native self-government in Canada, and much of the second day of the meeting was devoted to questions of self-government. The provincial governments began to warm up to the idea when they understood what was being proposed.

But Nunavut is not an ethnic government. It is public government within the Canadian tradition. Canadian federalism was designed to accommodate regional diversity, specific cultural traditions and the political rights of minority groups or regions. In Nunavut that philosophical federalism can reach its finest flower.


COLOMBIA:

FIRST MEETING TO DISCUSS EXPERIENCES IN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

From the 14th to the 16th January of this year, the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) organized the 'First National Meeting to Discuss Experiences in Indigenous Education'. The meeting took place in Bogotá. Attending were representatives of the UNUMA from the Eastern Plains, the CRIC from Tolima, the CRIC from Cauca, the USEMI ('Union of Secular Missionaries') group, an anthropological research team from the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a representative of the Education Office in Antioquia, an anthropologist who works in the Chocó region and a peasant delegate from the Swank Y Arroyo Molino zone of Bolívar.

The organizations invited to the meeting are developing educative programmes with the aim of establishing a pedagogic model adapted to the conditions and needs of the indigenous communities. These will serve as an alternative to the official educational curriculum.

They discussed aspects related to bilingualism, biculturalism, the creation of their own schools, self-financing, the training of school teachers, Decree 1142 and the relationship of the indigenous schools with the professional organizations and the communities.

As a result of the general discussion they arrived at the conclusion that it is impossible to completely unify educational material given the great geographic, historical, cultural and religious diversity of Colombia's indigenous communities. However, they did find common ground arising out of similar perspectives and experiences with respect to education, and these guide the search for the development of their own education.
General Criteria for Indigenous Education

With respect to the general criteria for indigenous education, the following goals were approved:

1. That the initiatives of the communities are collected and respected.

2. That the education they receive focuses on the defense and development of indigenous culture.

3. That the teachers are chosen by the communities and that they pertain to them.

4. That wherever possible, the teachers are bilingual.

5. That they teach reading and writing in the language with which they are most familiar. This will facilitate the learning of reading and writing skills in the other language.

6. That the education must train the children in the practical aspects which exist in their environment, respecting and contributing to the development of existing traditions.

7. That the schools educate the children in the objectives of the indigenous people's struggle.

Relation to the State

In the discussion over the relation of the indigenous communities with the State in the area of education, it was concluded that Decree 1142 of 1978 accepts in principle the proposals made by the indigenous organizations, but that up to now the government has done nothing to bring the said decree into effect. Participants in this meeting accepted the text of the decree, but with the following objections:

In the decree, the Ministry of Education reserves for itself the task of training and appointing teachers, as well as that of administering and coordinating the programmes of indigenous education. In place of this, it was stated that the teachers must be nominated by the communities themselves, that they could not demand the same level of formal education as that of the official teachers, and that it should be the indigenous organizations or communities who draw up the educational programmes.

With respect to the relation of the indigenous schools to the State, they approved the following conclusions:

1. That they make agreements between the communities or regional organizations and the Government for the management of education funds.

2. That the teachers be nominated and dismissed by the communities, and that the Ministry does not demand the same level of formal education which they demand from other teachers.

3. That the orientation and supervision of educational programmes be exercised by the indigenous organizations and communities.

4. That relations with the State are undertaken through the ONIC. This organization should supervise and approve the national agreement which affect indigenous education.

5. That the State supports the present educational programmes of the indigenous organizations through financing and approving them, so that the children attending the indigenous schools are able to continue their studies in the official schools.

6. That research in the field of education is controlled by the indigenous organizations and that allowance is made for their participation.

Recommendations

1. That the ONIC distributes to the different regions the documents they have published on indigenous education.

2. That the ONIC initiates a course for teachers in the indigenous zones of Antioquia.

3. That a meeting of indigenous teachers is called on a national level, but that beforehand they organize regional groups and meetings which will cooperate in the preparation of this event.
4. That there be an exchange of visits in order that experiences in different areas can be shared.

5. That there will be an interchanging of materials through the ONIC on topics such as the general history of the indigenous people, mathematics, sciences, etc. These can be used in the schools where the different educative experiments are taking place.

6. That a written report on this first meeting be circulated throughout the communities.

(Source: Unidad Indígena, April 1983.)

COLOMBIA: OUR CHILDREN LEARN WITH US

The Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in Colombia, the traditional territory of the Arhuaca, Kogi and Malayo indigenous communities, have decided to assume the right to educate themselves according to their culture, language and traditions.

"We the Arhuacos need to be educated and qualified, but we believe that this should be done in accordance with our beliefs and values. We want a bilingual education in Spanish and IKA and would like the school to assist in teaching us about collaboration and mutual aid. That is, how to live with-
out the egoism of one brother towards another, as our tradition dictates in accordance with our laws handed down by our father Serankua. We wish our children to learn the history of Colombia and of the rest of the world, but they should also know our own history, which we possess from the early days of our creation. Also we do not want our children to be encouraged to look down on, or make fun of, their own history, of which we are proud, for we could never be ashamed of what we are. We also want our children to learn mathematics and all the branches of science that we need to know today, but always based on our own values and needs. This is part of what we think.

When the first missionaries arrived in 1916, we thought that these people dressed in black were not good people, nor that they were well mannered. Neither did we consider them to be aware, respectful or friendly, for our indigenous forefathers told us that these people had been our enemies because they did not want indigenous tribes to exist. Nor did they want there to be Mamos, Caciques or Doctotes - they only wanted themselves to exist, only them, and not us.

Always from the times of our great-grandparents we have denounced the continuous abuses that the missionaries have committed against us. We all know the letters and reports that from many years back our Sakukus and leaders have sent to the civil and religious authorities complaining about this situation. Therefore, in the assembly of August 1982, which was attended by all our Sakukus, Mamos and a large majority of the Gunamu, we decided to depend on ourselves, recuperate part of that which has been snatched from us and demand respect for our rights.

On the 4th August 1982 six hundred Arhuacos met in Nabusimake (San Sebastián), the indigenous cultural and administrative capital. A governing council was elected and matters concerning the community were discussed. Luis Napoleon Torres was reelected. After three days of deliberation the assembly decided to occupy the premises of the Capuchin mission in San Sebastián, so putting an end to 70 years of missionary power, and recover health and education matters under community control.

On the 7th August the Bishop of Valledupar and the head of the Capuchin community signed an agreement handing over the buildings and schools they administered, as had been stipulated in a contract made with the government in the Concordat of 1973. The date set was 31st December 1982. They began to dismantle the school and the hospital, but on the 31st December the agreed hand-over did not take place. The Indians once again began to pressurize, while the Capuchinians forced the government to maintain their contract for education. They tried to stall, naming a "high level" commission, which travelled to the sierra. A second document of agreement was handed over. Now they are preparing another and the bureaucratic shuffle around the ministeries has begun. When will it end?

(Source: YAVI No.19, April 1983)

COLOMBIA: THE HOLDING OF THE CHOCO'S SECOND INDIGENOUS CONGRESS

Preceded by a large march through the main streets of Quibdó, the indigenous communities of the Chocó region began their Second Congress. Held between the 7th and 10th March, more than 700 indigenous people representing 73 communities took the opportunity to exchange their experiences, discuss among themselves and together search for alternatives and solutions to their problems.
Attending and participating in the Congress were delegations from the National Indigenous Organization (ONIC), of which the Regional Organization Embera Waunana (OREWA) is one of the Regional Indigenous Council from Cauca (CRIC) active members. Also in attendance were organizations and communities from Cristianía (Antioquia), Bareaquiruza (Risaralda), San Andrés de Sotavento (Córdoba), Dabeiba (Antioquia), the Cunas of Panamá and the Ingas of the Putumayo.

In terms of the numbers and delegations attending this event, the Congress was really representative. Women, men, the aged and youngsters all attended, many of whom were leaving their communities for the first time. They spoke about their preoccupations – the attacks the indigenous communities suffer from the colonizers, the actions of the timber companies and the gold prospectors, the neglect by both departmental and national government institutions, etc. – in their native tongues.

They also discussed their struggles and achievements. In an open and disciplined fashion all the indigenous people contributed towards the good organization and smooth running of the Congress, either in group discussions, participating in the civic guard, helping out in the kitchen, or entertaining with music and traditional songs.

The Congress elected a new Executive Committee for the ORESWA. In a plenary session the Congress unanimously elected those indigenous comrades who, while living in their communities, have been outstanding for their fighting spirit and the defense of their community’s rights.

Summaries of the conclusions presented by the different working groups will be given in this Newsletter and in the next issue.

The Commission on the land question

In this commission delegates from 31 communities participated, as well as delegates from the ONIC and San Andrés de Sotavento. Attacks on, and a failure to recognize, the indigenous communities indisputable right of ownership over lands that they have occupied for centuries, was an important theme for discussion. Lands have been invaded by colonizers, even when they are not distributed by the State itself to multinational timber companies so that they can cut down all the trees. They look upon the lands of the Chocó as being uncultivated, and as a result everybody thinks they have the right to cut down the forest and take possession of the indigenous communities resources and lands.

“We the Indians need our land, because it is our mother. We work on it, live on it, and from it we obtain our handicrafts and medicine. From the land we derive our language, customs and traditions. We are struggling at the present time because they have stolen our land.”

It was agreed to work hard to build the organization, to get councils formed and strengthen them, and to strive for a greater unity between the different communities as a means of defense against all types of colonizers. It was also agreed to struggle to recuperate lost land. The commission agreed to pressurize INCORA for the formation of reservations, in accordance with Law 135, passed in 1961. Natural resources will be protected and defended by the communities and their councils. They should be exploited in a rational and communal manner, so as to strengthen the ORESWA.

The Commission on Culture and Religion

In this commission the positive aspects of being an Indian were stressed. The older participants talked about how things used to be in the past, how they are today and how the traditions are being lost. They also commented on how the young people who go to school in Medellín and other places, either stay there or return with bad habits or customs alien to the community. They do not bring back the good things that they see or learn there. The young people listened, learned and contributed to the discussion. In this fashion a friendly
and useful discussion developed and agreement was reached.

"Recover and strengthen the elements of traditional culture, as a means of identification and pride: the dialect, sayings, medicinal plants, celebrations and adornments, handicrafts, stories, legends, musical instruments, clothes and decorations."

They concluded that it was necessary to inculcate the children and young people with an appreciation of, and a respect for, the communities traditional values. They should also learn and gain from the beneficial aspects of other cultures - but without looking down on their own. Given the harm that they have caused to the indigenous people of the Chocó and the country as a whole, it was decided to oppose the cultivation, dealing, sale and consumption of marihuana and other substances within the communities. The education provided by foreign missionaries was considered to be an assault against indigenous people and their culture.

"We reject the social and cultural discrimination against our communities. We defend our Indian rights and our cultural values. We oppose all forms of imposition and manipulation of a religious or political nature. If we have to change, it is because our communities are convinced change is necessary and in our best interests."

(Source: Unidad Indígena, April, 1983)

COLOMBIA: AN INDIGENOUS COUNCIL DENOUNCES

The INGIA has received a request to publish the following denunciation from the Indigenous Regional Council of Tolima:

"The Indigenous Council of Vuelta del Río in the municipality of Ortega in Tolima is the victim of abuse, violence, torture, jailing, threats of death and the disappearance of an indigenous brother. In addition, persecutions are commonplace, as are orders of arrest issued against community members, who are forced to live away from their homes and work. This is done on the orders of the Mayor, Guillermo Corrales Ramírez, and the police under the command of Captain Gabriel González del Espinal, who both assist the landlord Rubén Villareal Saavedra. Saavedra, in alliance with INCORA propose to abolish the authority of the council and parcelate the settlements of Andrés Moreno and Bartolomé Cpaera. These attitudes have created a situation of grave conflict that lately have produced the following events:

1. On the 25th February at 4 a.m. the indigenous settlements of Vuelta del Río and Tetuán were militarized. Women and children were brutally beaten by 80 members of the police force, who were drafted into the area from various other places in Tolima.

2. Afterwards, on the 5 March at 2.15 p.m. the aforesaid mayor and landlord appeared with a large squad of police, carabineers and others. They began to kick and beat the population, finally throwing smoke bombs at the pans containing the food. As a result of this action, many women and children are seriously wounded.

3. From 12.30 p.m. on the same day, the police force was strengthened in the area. Directly under the orders of the mayor, they acted in a brutal manner throwing stones at the
indigenous people who were peacefully working in their fields. Many of the community members were tortured. Moreover, the pots in which their food was being prepared were thrown into the Saldana river. Due to this barbarous official action, 19 indigenous people were wounded, among them 9 women, who after being beaten were taken to the Ortega municipal jail, were they are still being held captive.

4. After this violent attack, their houses were burnt down, different varieties of crops were destroyed, followed by the militarization of the zone and the harassment of travellers. The population of the settlements of Vuelta del Río and Bocas de Teta contain some 200 families and house approximately 2,150 people. These people will have to leave the settlements, for the situation has become unlivable, even in their own homes. Moreover, they are being denied the right to acquire food, for they are not permitted to sow. Still less can they go to the town to make purchases, for there they are persecuted like the plague.

5. At present the settlements have been declared a "war zone" by the police. As a result, many children are detained on the roads and taken to the house of the landlord Rubén Villareal, where they are hung up and tortured in a variety of ways before being transferred to the warehouses of the INCORA Company. We are positive that all these events, as well as those that are still occurring in the indigenous settlement of Vuelta del Río, is the fault of the landlord Rubén Villareal Saavedra, the municipal mayor and the police.

The events described above give some indication of the drama at present being experienced by the indigenous population of Tolima. We request that all the popular organizations of Colombia express their solidarity with our indigenous comrades in effective and practical means.

This aid can reach us via the ONIC in the form of drugs, foodstuffs and -ash, as well as by sending letters of protest to the Chief Attorney at the Ministry of Justice, the Director of Indigenous Affairs and the Managing Director of INCORA."

Coyaima
9 March 1983.
Regional Indigenous Council of Tolima.

THIRD NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE MAPUCHE PEOPLE

We reproduce below the resolutions emanating from the third national meeting of the 'Association of Small Farmers and Artisans Ad Mapu'.

"The 'Association of Small Farmers and Artisans Ad Mapu', formerly the 'Mapuche Cultural Centre of Chile', held its Third National Assembly between the 24th. and 27th. January in the town of Temuco. More than a hundred Mapuche representatives attended from Santiago in the north to Chiloé in the south. The representatives stressed the need to continue struggling for the legitimate rights of ethnic people living within the dominant society. Representatives held that the Mapuche possess their own culture, and they should strive to liberate themselves from the social, political and economic domination they are subjected to by the existing system."
The resolutions passed at this Third National Assembly were as follows:

**The Mapuche's Demands**

Considering that:
- the rights of the Mapuche people are continually scorned by authorities that are part of the dominant society.
- our cultural values and the right to own our own lands are not recognized.
- the Chilean Constitution does not recognize us as a separate people who are different from the rest of society.
- they impose upon us economic models that are alien to our mode of life.
- it is necessary that we periodically evaluate and plan our destiny.

It is agreed:
- that the Ad Mapu Association draws up a draft Mapuche Law, which states our legitimate rights.
- that we nominate two representatives who would press for participation in the 'Commission of 24' that is charged with drafting a new Constitution for Chile.
- that a Mapuche school is established under the responsibility of the Ad Mapu Association, which would relate to our needs, be staffed with Mapuche teachers and have a curriculum that is in accord with our ethno-cultural traditions.
- that a date for a 'Day of the Mapuche People' be decided upon by a democratically convened national assembly. The agreed day would be presented to the authorities for official recognition.
- to undertake a Mapuche Census to discover the size of the present Mapuche population.
- to create with our own resources food warehouses to supply the communities with basic foodstuffs.

**Demands to be made upon Government institutions**

Considering that:
- we have been robbed of our lands and natural resources.
- the official education programmes do not take into account our cultural heritage.
- our lands have been, as they are today, common property where production is based on co-operation and reciprocity, we agree to continue to pressurize the authorities and the Nation over these most important demands:

1. The repeal of Decree Laws 2568 and 2750.
2. The return of all stolen lands in accordance with the boundaries laid out in the original land titles, and the legal recognition of titles not as yet legalized.
3. A ban on the sale of cemetery lands and other lands considered to be "sacred" by the Mapuche.
4. Compensation for Mapuche lands and natural resources that have been alienated from us (i.e. landing strips, airports, forestry reserves, mineral excavations, etc.)
5. That the legal authorities speed up the litigations dealing with land usurpations, and that the rights of the Mapuche people over their lands be respected.
6. Exemption of Mapuche lands from taxation, be these privately or collectively owned.
7. For the cancellation of all debts owed by the Mapuche to Government or private institutions.
8. For the passage of a law protecting natural resources such as forests, minerals, water and natural fauna.
9. The repeal of the projected Lake Bundi National Park, and that private companies be prohibited from exploiting Mapuche lands as tourist attractions.
10. We demand a separate item in the National Budget for assistance to the Mapuche people in the fields of social welfare, housing and education.
11. Develop a policy of technical and credit assistance that is adequate to the present day needs and resources of the Mapuche.
12. Install purchasing facilities in the communities so that agricultural products can be sold directly.
13. Found bilingual schools in the Mapuche communities that provide a full basic education and are located over the whole Mapuche area.
14. Organize the school calendar in accordance with our needs.
15. To create Mapuche youth hostels that satisfy the educational needs of the Mapuche youth.
16. Provide a minimum of 10,000 grants to Mapuche students for places at different levels within the formal education system.
17. Give more opportunities for Mapuche students to enter the universities.
18. Denounce and struggle against the ideological penetration and all other activities that the Summer Institute of Linguistics is trying to foment among the Mapuche people.
19. For the return to Chile of all Mapuche and non-Mapuche exiles, with no conditions being imposed upon them.

Work with institutions

Considering that:

1. The Mapuche people are systematically the object of scientific experiment and investigation programmes whose goals are generally unknown to us, and in the majority of cases are against our dignity, destroying our idiosyncrasy and life-style.
2. Generally, the implementation of "development" projects in our communities does not correspond to our real needs.
3. The major part of the finance destined for the "raising of living standards" among the Mapuche population has not been for the benefit of the Mapuche people.
4. The Mapuche themselves ought to decide on their development as they know their needs and aspirations.

5. Our people have the responsibility to oppose the actions of institutions who act against the interests of the Mapuche people.

It is agreed:
- that the Association's National Directorate sends out a call to all the institutions who work with the Mapuche with the aim of establishing a dialogue with respect to the criteria and contents of their programmes, as well as their methods of implementation. On this basis mutual agreement can be reached in the coordination of activities, and these should be in accord with our social and economic needs in the context of our cultural situation.
- that the Association's National Directorate informs the sectional leaders and the rank-and-file membership about the agreement reached with the government agencies.
- that any institution that does not have the authorization of the AD Mapu Association to undertake development activities among the Mapuche people be denounced by the communities.
- that our organization makes it a duty to programme, plan, coordinate and evaluate work with those institutions that collaborate with our people in order to attain positive developments in accord with our interests.

Alternative programme of the Mapuche people

Considering that:
- the Mapuche people have a long and rich history of struggle, especially with regard to the defense of our lands, culture and existence as an autonomous people.
- the occupation of Araucanía signified a break in the Mapuche's development and the concentration of our people on Indian settlements.

We pronounce that:
- we are in favour of the establishment of a new society
that will be just and democratic, in which our people will participate on equal terms with the rest of the Chilean population. We believe that a new democracy without the participation of the Mapuche would not be a true democracy.

-We are in favour of the development and progress of society, participating in a strong alliance with Chile's workers and peasants. Our historical role is to be at their side actively participating in the process of Chile's social, political and economic transformation.

-We demand autonomy and self-determination for the Mapuche people in the sense that we should be the promoters and protagonists of our own process of development.

-Finally, and with respect to the above, we demand participation in the elaboration of a new Political Constitution, so that it will be safeguard and guarantee our rights and cultural heritage in accordance with our ethnic identity."

Temuco, 27 January 1983.

(Source: Huerrquen, April 1983.)
'VISION MUNDIAL': THE ILV'S REPLACEMENT?

The problems posed by the presence of members belonging to religious or pseudo-religious sects in rural Ecuador is heightened by the manipulation of indigenous people who act against their own communities. Such is the case with respect to the activities of 'Vision Mundial' ('World Vision'), a kind of extension of, or development from, the 'Instituto Linguistico de Verano' ('The Summer Institute of Linguistics' - ILV). Vision Mundial maintains a foothold in Ecuador under the guise of carrying out studies, but no official organization knows what they are studying. They are especially strong in the highland indigenous communities, where the organization has a history of provoking conflicts between peasants.

With respect to this problem, Blanca Chamoso, a young indigenous woman of 27 years and coordinator of 'The Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador', states that the apparent goal of Vision Mundial is to obtain money from abroad, in alliance with the 'Plan Padrinos' ('Adoption Plan') and distribute this 'aid' to Ecuadorian children. Blanca Chancoso notes that this aid does not even arrive in its entirety, for Vision Mundial keeps a percentage for itself. She adds that:

"Vision Mundial began to work more openly among those communities where the ILV had already been working, from the very time that the ILV was expelled. The funds that previously were destined for the ILV in Ecuador are today channeled to Vision Mundial and Plan Padrinos."

The Adoption system

According to an official declaration by representatives of Vision Mundial, the organization was founded in 1950. It began activities in Ecuador a little over three years ago with the goal of "seeking aid from families in various countries who are interested in helping other families in different parts of the world. Vision Mundial never inculcates paternalism, neither is there any form of discrimination." According to Blanca Chamoso, however, it does appear that Vision Mundial discriminates:

"The system of adoption creates divisions, for only a few beneficiaries are selected. Even when a group is involved, this is also selected. This in itself creates divisions between the selected and the unselected. But an even more fundamental problem exists. They operate at two levels: one at an individual level, and the other at a structural level, or on the question of systems.

Let us proceed in a logical fashion so as to determine what occurs. Supposing that the adoption aid is not individual, but destined for a group. It is necessary to send letters in order to demonstrate one's poverty. This in itself is humiliating. You have to show off your poverty in order that they will help you. You have to extend a pleading hand to Vision Mundial, as if you were a beggar.

The person who receives aid immediately thinks: 'There are some good gringos'. This develops into the idea that 'The gringos are good', and rapidly into the notion that 'The lifestyle of the gringos is good'. The logical conclusion of this process is the belief that 'The system of the gringos is good. In order to better ourselves we ought to copy their way of life'. In this manner individual or personal opinions develop into attitudes that relate to the system as a whole. Once one becomes involved in the adoption system of Vision Mundial, this thought process begins. One does not question whether or not there is an enormous difference between the system and the individual. We do not deny that there might be 10,000 good gringos, but we do question their system."

We cannot overcome our misery, nor can the community as a whole overcome its misery with the existing individualist and capitalist system. This can only be achieved via a collec-
tive process. This idea has tremendous political implications, as you can see, implications that Visión Mundial rejects.

Another fundamental point of this adoption system is the profit that they make out of poverty. Every individual has to demonstrate that he or she is really poor. On the other hand, they do not consider the potential for change and problem solving via self-organization that exists within the indigenous communities. The gringos do not get enthusiastic about the people's collective potential. They are only interested in misery and seeing photographs of dejected people with their faces covered with flies. On this point a complaint has been lodged by the World Council of Churches. They are opposed to the system of fund-raising used by Visión Mundial because the organization exhibits the misery of our countries, spending 30% of their budget on television advertisements, just as they were selling a shampoo."

Today it's Tocagón: whose turn will it be tomorrow?

Traveling on the Panamerican Highway towards Otavalo, opposite Lake San Pablo, there is a small turn off that takes us to the community of Tocagón. The lane leading to the community is a narrow, winding and steep track only wide enough to allow one car to pass along it. Shacks made of adobe with reed roofs and surrounded by minute plots of maize and beans are to be found all along the lane.

With a population of nearly a thousand inhabitants, Tocagón is a community that, like others in the province of Imbabura and the Ecuadorian highlands in general, is extremely poor. Until recently it was neglected by the central government, falling outside the ambit of government sponsored development projects.

This situation of neglect provides ample opportunity for private organizations who wish to work in the community. They are so much in need of development that on occasions the population do not consider what the community's best interests are, not the effects these organization's activities will have on communal values found in Quichua culture. Nor do they take account of the community's appalling socio-economic situation, which today does not demand piecemeal or temporary solutions, but requires structural changes in order to alter the existing situation.

The inhabitants of Tocagón do not even produce enough foodstuffs to meet their subsistence needs. With an average of one 'solar' (the equivalent of 250 m²) per family, it is impossible for the peasants to cover their yearly basic food requirements. Therefore, the younger members of the community are forced to seek alternative employment on neighbouring estates, where they earn a daily wage of 70 sucre per day.

A very few community members augment their income through the manufacture of woven mats, which they sell throughout Ecuador. The community possesses two schools that can educate up to 6th grade level. Previously an adult literacy programme operated, but this has ceased to function. Illiteracy in the community exceeds 70%.

Slogans saying "Out with Visión Mundial" and "I'm an evangelist for money" are painted on some of the delapidated walls in the community, introducing us to the conflicts that today rakes Tocagón. They are visible expressions of an internal struggle that on the surface appears as a religious conflict between Catholics and Protestant evangelists. This has produced an irreconcilable division between the community members, who possess the same cultural and ethnic heritage, suffer from the same problems, the same poverty, and have the same needs.

Today fear, suspicion, mutterings and sligh glances predominate. The people are not brothers, they are enemies. On the one hand there are the elected community leaders, rank-and-file members of the community and the representatives of peasant organizations. On the other side are the members of a evangelical sect and the employees of Visión Mundial.
Previously Tocagón community was united. The opening of new roads and recent administrative divisions have gradually been creating new communities. Thus, the communities of Huycopungo Grande and Huycopungo Chico, Cuatro Esquinas, San Miguel, Cachibiro, Tocagón Alto and Tocagón Bajo were created. Each possesses its own council, but the communal lands that beforehand only belonged to Tocagón today belong to all the other communities as well. These lands are utilized in accordance with the peasants specific needs, i.e. some are cultivated while others are given over to pastures.

José María Cabascango, General Secretary of 'The Indian and Peasant Federation of Imbabura' (FICI), explains the history of Visión Mundial in Tocagón community in the following manner:

"Jacinto Tocagón, ex-president of the Council and an organizer for 'Visión Mundial' in Imbabura province, was until about 1981 a comrade who consistently worked with the Federation. When Visión Mundial entered into the community differences and conflicts began to develop between us. He began to work outside the Federation with groups of evangelists inside the community. He worked for the sole benefit of these people, not for the majority. He only worked for the benefit of the 10% who are with them.

At first the people did not realize this, but they were a little upset when they saw that only a few were involved in the projects supported by 'Visión Mundial', such as the artisan workshops or the poultry unit. What they saw was that Jacinto Tocagón, who used to be a simple comrade along with the rest of us, began to substantially enrich himself with funds from Visión Mundial, in the process becoming the wealthiest member of the community."

On this question Blanca Chancoso notes: "That when Jacinto Tocagón became President of Tocagón Council, in an attempt to show his dynamism, he unlawfully assumed the representation

Otalave
(Photograph: Otavalena Indian from Imbabura Province, Ecuador. (Photograph: Rolf Blomberg)
of all those communities that previously were part of the community. On their behalf he signed an agreement with the Ministry of Agriculture for the forestation of communal lands, without previously obtaining the required authorization from all the Councils. He only had permission to do this from a sector of the present day community of Tocagón, who had agreed to proceed with the project on the higher lands, but not within the cultivated areas.

When they discovered that trees were being planted in communal lands, peasants belonging to the other communities began to protest and oppose this policy. A conflict developed, in the course of which the comrades pulled up those trees that had already been planted. As a result, thirteen community members were detained and the FICI put pressure on the authorities to release them.

With respect to the problem over forestation in Tocagón, Cabascongo states that, "As the leaders of the Federation, we have seen that the people attached to Visión Mundial are those who are directly responsible for the present state of affairs, for what is happening in Tocagón is also taking place in Caquáqui. In Caquáqui they also control the Council. The problem is that the Visión Mundial people have the custom of taking any aid, no matter what source it originates from, without stopping to think whether or not it is beneficial to the community, where the aid comes from and without asking everybody's opinion on the matter.

The officials of the Ministry of Agriculture are also to blame, because they did not undertake a socio-economic study of the community to see if these lands played an important role in the economy of the community members, as well as to discover whether the forestation project would benefit the communities or not. Now the Ministry of Agriculture is demanding that the present Council and community members who do not possess property titles to communal lands, adhere to the agreement that Jacinto Tocagón signed without consulting the inhabitants. They are also demanding the payment of $7,000 sucre. The community does not possess this amount of cash. The community members say that even if they did have this cash, they would not pay, because they are not responsible for the agreement."

The ideology of Visión Mundial

Francisco Gangotena, Director of the 'Brotheren & Unides Foundation', who has a great deal of experience working in the indigenous peasant communities, and Dr. Fernando García, Director of the Department of Anthropology at the Catholic University, explain the ideology of Visión Mundial and its activities in the indigenous communities.

"According to its own definition, Visión Mundial is "a humanitarian corporation in the service of the most poverty striken". However, the work that it has been undertaking in various highland and coastal communities in Ecuador from the time of the organization's foundation, has led to accusations by peasant and indigenous organizations that Visión Mundial create deep divisions within the communities. This is due to the very nature of the projects that Visión Mundial is implementing. First, they begin their work with religious groups and they state that they are working with Christian groups, but in reality they only work with Protestant groups."

"In many communities the religious problem is hidden, lying below the surface. But as soon as Visión Mundial begins to operate in a community these contradictions are heightened and tensions increase, leading to open conflict. Proof of this is the deep division found in 12 of the 18 communities where they are working. Secondly, they attempt to undertake projects from the outside, without any direct participation being encouraged. They pinpoint leaders within the communities who on many occasions (and specially if they are Protestants), have an individualistic attitude with regard to problem solving. They do not seek communal solutions to problems. Visión Mundial preaches the virtues of self-improvement through self-help and
self-involvement, but all of this is at the level of the individual. This attitude produces a polarization between different forces inside the communities.

"If we presume that it is not the intention of Visión Mundial to divide, then we would arrive at the conclusion that it is the methods that they employ which cause divisions to arise. The problems develop out of a basic principle of Visión Mundial’s world view: the recipients of the aid have to be self-help groups and the aid is always given on an individual basis to a few selected groups. With respect to the first point, economic inequalities exist within the communities and if assistance is provided to an individual who has training, education and ten hectares, obviously the results are going to be different to a case where the person has only a quarter of a hectare and has to migrate in order to meet subsistence needs."

Fernando García underlines the premises and manner of work that the ILV utilized when it operated in Ecuador: "The ILV is essentially a political and ideological missionary organization that hides these activities behind a smokescreen of supposed linguistic and applied anthropological activities. When we consider the regions in which the ILV has operated and currently operates, its global strategy, its policy guidelines, as well as the ILV's divisive effects on the indigenous population and rank-and-file popular organizations, it can be seen that the Summer Institute is an organization that acts in accordance with the North American Empire's project of control, regulation, penetration and repression in Latin America."

"The ILV's formidable communications and transport network, its establishment over large areas of Ecuador and its deep knowledge of these strategic zones from an economic, political and social point of view, means that the presence of these kinds of institutions constitutes a threat to the interests of Ecuador's indigenous people. The mechanisms used by the ILV are designed to reinforce individualistic and self-centered attitudes, in this fashion eliminating all thinking about, and talk of, organization, of co-operation and social solidarity."

"Moreover, the ILV's doctrine reinforces ideas of submission, passivity, apathy and acts to dampen the development of protest movements and recourse to political action. At the same time, they present an image of the United States as the ideal society, and of the Americans as God's chosen people. Their activities foment divisions within the indigenous communities as a consequence of heightened religious fervour, which makes any kind of unified action or social protest impossible. More importantly, their activities stimulate the tendency for traditional cultural customs to disappear, especially those related to magical or religious practices, ecological preservation and political mobilization. This, combined with a policy of 'aid' to the indigenous peoples that works to reinforce paternalistic attitudes and a dependence on outsiders, stifles the natural potential of the autonomous organizations. Finally, the ILV's activities provoke an acceleration and deepening of economic inequalities and social stratification within indigenous communities that traditionally have had an egalitarian social structure."

On this point Francisco Gangotena comments that, "Analyzing the ideological and theological beliefs that Visión Mundial expounds in all its activities, we see an exacerbation of religious differences between Catholics and Protestants. Another direct consequence of their actions is to foment divisions. They present Jesus Christ as being a wealthy person, which, given the desperate economic situation of the communities, enables them to attract people to their cause. One has to ask: what would happen to the communities and the people who are today influenced by Visión Mundial if the elements that cement their relationship - money - were to disappear?"

"This issue also explains the contradictions that emerge
between Visión Mundial and the other institutions that have been working for a long time in the communities, for these organizations do not place their emphasis on money. Rather, they lay a much greater stress on training, consciousness raising, popular participation and organization.

Suspicion with regard to the methods employed today by Visión Mundial, and in the past by the ILV, can also be extended to their sources of finance. Both the ILV and Visión Mundial also exhibit another common feature: both are, to say the least, extremely alienating for the indigenous peoples' who come into contact with them.

Reply of the Indigenous Organizations to Visión Mundial

On the 1st. and 2nd. of December 1982, indigenous and peasant organizations from Imbabura province held a meeting in the community of Mojandita Avelino Dávila to discuss the activities of Visión Mundial. The meetings conclusions were as follows:

1. The assembly unanimously decided to demand the expulsion of Visión Mundial, the ILV and other foreign based religious sects.

2. They demand the expulsion of the religiuous sects' foreign advisors.

3. It was agreed to support all those comrades in the communities who are organizing for the expulsion of Visión Mundial.

4. It was decided to demand that the communities and organizations' rights to political self-determination be respected.

5. The assembly agreed to establish an indigenous peasant co-ordinating committee to safeguard the rights of our people.

(Sources: Parts of articles that appeared in Nueva (Nos. 94 and 96, April 1983) and Revista de Hoy (February 1983). Both are ecuadorian publications.)
GUATEMALAN REFUGEES IN CHIAPAS, SOUTHERN MEXICO

by Luis Colmenar

In May and July two years ago, Mexican newspapers brought a couple of short articles about a new problem: the terror in Guatemala had become so fierce that large groups of peasants had seen no other way out than crossing the border seeking security in Mexico. The two groups were rather large: 500 Guatemalan peasants in one case, and about 2000 in the other, men, women and children.

The reaction of the Mexican Government was prompt and matter of fact wise: in both cases the Guatemalan peasants were turned over to the Guatemalan authorities, men, women and children. In one of the two cases the Mexican Government transported the Guatemalans as far as Huehuetenango, more than 100 km into Guatemalan territory, on Mexican military trucks. It is positively known that very few of these Guatemalan peasants are alive today.

That was the first time the new Guatemalan refugee problem was brought to the attention of the world opinion. And now it is long ago - two years - and the situation in Guatemala is more tense than ever. What has happened on the border between Mexico and Guatemala is a question of more than academic interest - to thousands of Guatemalan peasants it is a question of life and death, quite literally.

The two incidents mentioned above were only the first trickle of what was later to become a major exodus of Indian peasants from the border areas in Guatemala - most of the people in this exodus being old men, women and children. With them these people had only what they could carry on their back, and behind them they left their home - often in flames - and everything they owned.

The more lucky ones were the people who lived in the villages just across the border, on the Guatemalan slopes of the Cuchumatane Mountains. Some of them managed to make several trips across the border-line before they finally stayed in Mexico, some of them arrived with sewing machines, double beds and kitchen gear on their back, and a few lucky ones managed to bring along their horse or their mule.

The less fortunate ones were the ones who had to cross vast stretches of the Peten Jungle in Guatemala before reaching the Usumacinte River - the border river between Guatemala and Mexico - and swim across the Usumacinte and reach security in Mexico.

A Mexican nun who runs a rudimentary clinic in Boca de Chajul told about the Guatemalan refugees who kept arriving, sometimes as many as 200 in one day, only to this one camp: "They are green from anemia and malnutrition, their eyeballs are off-color and they can barely stagger into the camp. Some of them have had to walk up to three weeks through the jungle practically without anything to eat. Often they have tried to eat the bark of the trees. Each group tells the same story: many of the old people have been so exhausted that they have begged the stronger ones to continue and leave them there to die."

The conditions in the camps in the jungle are horrible, the ones who make it that far have saved their life in the first round, but not much more. The medical care in the camps is down to the barest minimum. In the two neighboring camps of Chajul and Puerto Rico more than 300 people died over a period of less than 3 months, most of them from malaria.

And it is not malaria alone. The doctor in the best organized of the camps, "la Sombra" near Trinitaria and less than a kilometer from the border-line, told me about the conditions: "When they are brought in with malaria we usually manage to fight down the fever. But due to their constant malnutrition they can't put up any resistance, and in a couple
of days they die from dehydration. This morning a little girl of ten years died that way. If she hadn't been so desperately undernourished and if we had had better equipment it would have been so easy to save her life."

It is worth adding that "the doctor" in La Sombra is a Guatemalan peasant who years ago took a three weeks' course as a nurse in his home town Nenten in Guatemala. Since La Sombra was born in December 1981 he has been the sole responsible of medical attention to a population that has reached 2,000. When asked why they chose to leave Guatemala the Guatemalans always tell the same story, it is like a thousand variations over one single theme, monotonous in its tragedy. The story of one of the refugees in the camp of Santa Rosa, a Jacaltenango Indian from a mountain village near Jacaltenango, will do for them all.

"One morning the soldiers came to our village and started searching our houses. They didn't tell us what they were looking for, but they arrested a lot of the young men in the village. They took all they could find in their houses, then they set fire to the houses, still with the women and the children inside." Today nobody is still in the village, all 250 who survived now live here in Santa Rosa.

August last year the soldiers came to the little mountain village of San Francisco, at that time a village with about 400 inhabitants, and the same story was repeated. "The soldiers came on trucks in the early morning, they rounded up the whole population on the plaza in front of the church. Then suddenly they opened fire with their machine guns, and they went on shooting until nobody was alive". These are the words of an old Chuj Indian, one of the 12 survivors, one of the few who from miraculous reasons survived the massacre. I tal-

* INGIA will publish very shortly a Document in Spanish about this massacre at San Francisco, written by Ricardo Palla.
ked with him in the refugee camp Benito Juarez, near the Mexican tourist area around the Lakes of Montebello. The twelve survivors from San Francisco were not the only ones who arrived to the Montebello lakes in those days. In less than two weeks more than 15,000 Guatemalan peasants swarmed across the border into the same area, all of them from the mountain villages around San Francisco.

In all the camps I know—and there are about 60 of them, some small like Santa Rosa with about 250 people, some of them with 3-4,000 people like Chajul and Puerto Rico—I have only seen very few Ladinos—that is Spanish speaking Guatemalans. The situation looks very much like a determined genocidal attempt to wipe out Guatemala's Indian population. The Guatemalan Army is systematically burning down all villages in a 60 km zone along the border, and this zone is one of the densest populated Indian regions in Guatemala. All the refugees are Maya Indians belonging to the following language groups: Mam, Ixil, Quiche, Jakalteco, Kanjobal, Chuj, Pokomam and Pokomchi.

It is impossible to say exactly how many Guatemalan refugees there are in Chiapas today, but piecing together the scattered information 120,000 to 200,000 is a safe figure. And the refugees keep pouring across the border every day into Mexico.

The Guatemalan Indians have given up every hope of saving their life in Guatemala, they are completely at the mercy of the Mexican Government. But the Mexican Government has never signed the United Nations Refugee Convention (The Geneva Convention) and is under no formal obligation to give shelter to the refugees. And the Mexican Government policy has been one of unprincipled zig-zag. At times the Mexican Government has issued guarantees to the refugees (who are not acknowledged as refugees in Mexico, but as temporary immigrants), giving them a three months' permit to stay, with no guarantee that it will be renewed after three months.

But this admirably humanitarian line has been interrupted by incidents like the following. A Spanish nun who works on the border between Guatemala and Mexico told me that she had witnessed the extradition of a group of Guatemalans at a border point near Tapachula, just before New Year 1982: "The Mexican Government had leased five busses from the bus company "Cristobal Colon" and had rounded up about 200 Guatemalans who had made it as far as Guadalajara. The first of the busses that reached the border line crossed into Guatemala, and about 100 meters from the border the Guatemalans were ordered down from the bus by Guatemalan soldiers."

"When they were all down and standing away from the bus the soldiers opened fire and shot them down with machine guns. I couldn't take any more and went away, so I don't know what happened to the Guatemalans in the other four busses. I am afraid the same happened to them."

The Mexican Government has on several occasions guaranteed that nothing will happen to the Guatemalan refugees, but one fact makes these guarantees very fragile. General Rios Montt, the self-appointed military dictator of Guatemala, took over after a military coup in March 1982, supposedly as a more acceptable puppet than General Lucas who had made the international headlines too often in connection with an unrestrained terror in Guatemala (in fact Rios Montt was not much better: he was personally responsible of a massacre in the village of Jalpa before he lost the elections to Lucas' predecessor and was sent into a luxury exile as a military attaché in Madrid). Later the same year General Absalón Castellanos Dominguez was launched as the official Mexican Government's party's candidate to the office as governor in Chiapas, the Southernmost State in Mexico that borders directly on Guatemala. It was hard to understand why General Absalón Dominguez Castellanos was pointed out to be the governor of Chiapas: he had no political career behind him and no political experience whatsoever.
In fact the explanation is very simple. General Abalón Domínguez Castellanos graduated from the counterinsurgency course at Fort Gullick in the Panama Canal Zone together with General Efraín Ríos Montt.

Not a very promising guarantee for the guarantees issued. One thing remains sure: Mexico is in no easy position to launch any humanitarian, democratic or anti-imperialistic policy, entangled as the country is in its own particular Bermuda Triangle, caught between the ethnocide in Guatemala, Mexico's own economic and political crisis, and the political conditions of the International Monetary Fund, facing a foreign debt close to one billion US dollars.

The US ambassador in Guatemala Frank Chapin has made no secret of the fact that "Guatemala is the key to Central America", to use his own words, and it is an open question how Mexican the Mexican policy towards the refugees is.

Chiapas, Spring 1983.

THE UPROOTED ILWA OF THE INDIAN ÓCEAN

Diego García, a horse-shoe shaped coral atoll, 14 miles long by 5 miles wide, is an island situated in the Indian Ocean. One thousand and eight hundred people, known as the 'Ilwa', were up to 1965 living and working as copra plantation workers and fishermen on the island. Now, the island has been transformed into a US multi-purpose naval base with nuclear weapon capabilities.

In 1965, during the constitutional talks for the independence of Mauritius held in London, the British Government (the Labour government under Harold Wilson) and the Mauritian delegation led by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, ex-Prime Minister of Mauritius, made a deal. Diego García was bartered for the independence of Mauritius.

Thus, in spite of the United Nations resolution 2066XX which invited Britain "to take no action which would dismember the Territory of Mauritius and violate its territorial integrity", Britain detached Diego Garcia from Mauritius and included it in the newly formed colony, the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT).

Diego García was then leased to the United States for defense purposes. The US paid Britain $11.5 million to help them create the BIOT and to remove the islanders as they wanted a deserted island for a base. Between 1965 and 1972 the Diego Garciaans were all removed from their homeland and dumped in Mauritius. The way the British government went about that task has few parallels in contemporary history.

The Ilwa who went to Mauritius to visit relatives or to buy goods as they used to do, were told that there were no ships available to take them back. Others were given free trips to Mauritius and once there, were not permitted to return.
The British Government stopped sending food to the island. The company which owned the copra plantation (the sole employer on the island) was bought by the Foreign Office for more than £1 million and they deliberately ran down the plantation. The Ilwa were then told to leave the island or to starve.

Those who were still on the island in 1971 when the first American servicemen arrived were threatened and some of them have since told the press that they really believed that they would be shot.

In Mauritius most of the Ilwa lived in abject poverty in the slums on the outskirts of the capital, Port Louis. In spite of receiving £650,000 to resettle them, the Mauritian Government has done nothing. The majority of the Ilwa are still unemployed and a recent survey showed that some Ilwa have died of malnutrition, quite a few have committed suicide and some of the women and young girls are resorting to prostitution to earn a living.

The Ilwa nevertheless fought all the way for a better future. In the beginning they were alone but in recent years Mauritian support groups and the left-wing party (the MMM) joined them in their struggle. Petitions, sit-ins, and finally a hunger strike forced the then Mauritian Government to reopen negotiations with the British Government. A delegation which included three Ilwa women came to London in June 1981 to demand further compensation of £8 million.

In the meantime, Diego Garcia and the Ilwa started to make headlines in the national and international press and the British Government acted swiftly. A compensation of £4 million was finally paid. It should be noted that part of the money was to compensate the Ilwa for being precluded from returning to Diego Garcia.

A trust has been set up to administer the fund and is now working on a proper resettlement plan. Part of the problem is thus in the process of being solved but the dream of the Ilwa to return to Diego García will remain a dream so long as the American base is there.

(Source: Diego Garcia’s Support Group, 139 Drakefell Road, London SE4, UK.)

MEXICO:
NEW 'CONQUISTADORES' ROB LAND FROM THE O'TAM PEOPLE

In August 1982 the 'National Coordinator of Indigenous Peoples' (CNPI) was established at a meeting held in the Meschica community of Pajapan, Veracruz, Mexico. The principal objective behind the CNPI's foundation was to organize in one body all the indigenous peoples of Mexico on the basis of their customs and native languages, as well as their culture and material heritage.

The CNPI organizes the representation of the various member ethnic groups through a Supreme Council of Peoples and a Council of Elders. Each of these bodies contains one member from every community. The goal of these two Councils is to struggle, along with members from all the communities, for the defense of their natural resources (land, forests, water
and minerals). They will also lead the fight for a contamination-free environment and against the discrimination that occurs against the indigenous people of Mexico.

One of the most recent of the CNPI's actions has been to publically denounce the present situation faced by the O'Otam nation. In addition to a lack of health, education and electricity provision, the O'Otam are today faced with the prospect of being robbed of their lands, and are suffering from the discriminatory behaviour of incompetent and despotic authorities, who are acting like new-style 'conquistadores'.

We reproduce below an interview that representatives of the O'Otam nation (which is a member of the CNPI) gave to José Luis Ortega Pérez of the Mexican magazine 'Entrevista' at the beginning of this year.

"The O'Otam nation, more commonly known as the Pápagos people, are found in the Sonora Desert in the north-east of the State of Sonora. This region has been our homeland since before the arrival of the white man", state the representatives of the O'Otam indigenous people, who also recall that then the O'Otam lived in peace.

"Today we have many problems with respect to agriculture, health and education", they note without being able to hide their gloom when they think of their past greatness, when with unquenchable spirit they overcame inhospitable lands - an exploit that today only the Yankees would dispute.

The O'Otam demand their rights over the lands that they own and ask for the resignation of the INI-COPLAMAR director in Sonora, Mariano Carreño Carlón. They denounce this official because he obstructs this agency from helping the O'Otam, while at the same time he assists the landowners under the pretext that the Pápagos practically do not exist in this country.

Tired by this disgraceful and discriminatory behaviour, they occupied the offices of O'Otam AJKI (the 'Pápagos House' according to the Indians, and the 'Pápagos Indigenous Coordinating Center' according to the INI), reiterating their demand for the resignation of Carreño Carlón. They stated that Carreño had recently informed the press that in 1980 he had given 17 million pesos to the O'Otam, a statement which is completely false.

Later the Indians abandoned the building after they had been promised that their demands would be attended to. But to date no action has been taken. As a result the O'Otam have given a warning that the State offices of INI-COPLAMAR will be re-occupied if the corrupt functionaries like Mariano Carreño, who sell themselves to the highest bidder, continue to be protected and if the land problem continues to be ignored to the benefit of the influential. The INI, they stress, was founded to protect the Indians, and not so that functionaries could live from their sweat.

The benefits of agrarian reform have arrived very slowly in this region. Only a small amount of land has been legalized which has enabled large landowners, who have the support of functionaries attached to the State government, to rob the O'Otam of their lands.

The last straw has been that one of the landowners is nothing other than a North American! The Pápagos inform us that in 1907 in the Bajío municipality of Altar, the Wood family appropriated 35,000 hectares of O'Otam land.

The indignant O'Otam representatives demand that a far-reaching investigation is made into this estate, which shamelessly goes under the name of 'La Garranta', and as a result of which Robert Wood had advanced the US frontier into Mexican territory.

But the North American Wood is not the only large landowner in Sonora. So too are Alejandro Zepe, Domingo Pesqueira, Jacques Parra and Sotelo Méndez, who have illegally invaded the lands of the Pápagos at Cumarito, Cubabi and La Mocho-
mera, as well as San Francisquito with its area of reed beds, all of which are in the municipalities of Altar and Caborca.

María de Jesús Domínguez, the representative of the Pápago people in the Bajío states that, “We are in the same situation as in 1927. Nobody listens to us, we live in poverty and our lands continue to be sold to the rich and the colonizers without anybody paying attention to our complaints. Once they sent us a surveyor from the INI to measure our lands. But he was not on our side, being with the North American Wood. They want to deprive us of our lands at Cubabi and La Mochomera”, she added.

For her part, Virginia Valenzuela, who is also a representative from the Bajío, noted that “the land bequeathed to us by our ancestors has been occupied by a foreigner who holds papers of ownership”, and she asks, “why do they give titles to our land when our grandparents lived in these lands before the white man? And why did they not give our grandparents the titles?”

Rafael Alfonso García, the Pápago’s ex-governor and present representative of the Pápago community of Las Norias, explained that on the 21st November 1973 the legal process of obtaining communal land titles began. An attempt was made to deprive them of the land on the grounds that the land belonged to Carlos Valencia Ocaña and Benjamín Salzar Acedo, and that this notwithstanding the Pápago would be ‘given’ a few hectares.

“The O’Otam rejected this”, explained Rafael Alfonso García, who added that “we presented a legal document dating from the last century which upholds our ownership of the lands. This was accepted by the Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization so that they could study it, but later they said that the document had been misplaced.”

On the question of water, the SARH has promised to sink wells, but the O’Otam representatives state that the mutual interests of Mariano Carreño and the political bosses prevents these works from progressing at the necessary pace. Also, BANRURAL and the CFE have listened to their demands, but as with the SARH, pressures from influential people have prevented them from receiving aid in those localities where landholding disputes exist. This makes it increasingly difficult for the O’Otam to receive the aid that they require and has been offered to them.

“We have a lot of problems”, states Rafael Alfonso García, who mentions that they need schools and health centres. “We all suffer from worms”, he adds. “We have to travel many miles in order to obtain medical treatment. For this reason we urgently need a doctor and medicines in each of the seven Pápago settlements. It is also necessary that O’Otam young people be trained in first aid so as to be able to deal with emergencies”, noted the indigenous representative.

On the other hand, he pinpoints Mariano Carreño as being responsible for the harm done to his comrades who have been delegated by the Pápago people to push for a solution to their demands. Another of the most eagerly supported demands forwarded by the seven Pápago settlements is that they be given possession of the ‘Cerro del Tabaco’ (‘Tobacco Hill’), the location of their ceremonial centre (‘Viokam Toak’), where the Pápago have traditionally held their ceremonies. The Pápago fear that if they do not obtain the ownership of this site, one day they will be prohibited from holding ceremonies there.

With regard to the attitude that the Governor of Sonora (Samuel Ocaña) has taken to their problems, the Pápago state that after having promised to hold periodic meetings with the indigenous communities in order to meet their needs, to date the aforementioned meetings have not materialized. Nor has the Governor agreed to meet with the communities.
Rafael Alfonso García's voice reflects desperation. Even though up to now they have been treated in a discriminatory fashion by the mestizos (i.e. Mexicans), the Pápagos still have not lost hope that one day their hardships will end. With regard to the General Director of the INI, Ignacio Ovalle Fernández, the O'Otam recognize his "love" towards the indigenous peoples. They add that they have read about his aid programmes for their brothers, which are very beneficial. But with the philosophical grandiloquence characteristic of the Indians, they point out that:

"Your road is a plain.
On it you will hear beautiful melodies by songbirds.
But also the vipers and coyotes hover.
Be alert and don't allow these dangers to damage you."

Attempts have been made to politically label the Pápagos, at times associating them with the PRI or with other parties. On this subject they state that "We do not recognize the white man's ('chuchica') politics and we do not understand why they associate us with political parties. We do not recognize their ideology and believe that they would not accept the O'Otam's way of thinking. We are not interested in politics, only in the solution of our problems, for we have our own O'Otam organization and our own general governor", they conclude.
THE PACIFIC PEOPLES

The INGIA Secretariat in Copenhagen was very pleased to receive a visit from Roman Bedor, the Micronesian Representative to the Steering Committee of the Pacific Concern Resource Center, Hawaii. Roman Bedor comes from the Republic of Belau. Talking to INGIA, Roman Bedor explained at length the concerns of Pacific Peoples about the increasing military build-up and nuclear development in their region.

The Pacific region covers nearly one-third of the earth. It includes many thousand islands, a huge ocean and hundreds of diverse cultures. It is an exploited region and remains a region where the heavy hand of foreign domination continues to be played. To France, the Pacific is a nuclear bomb testing ground; to Japan, it is a low-level nuclear waste-dump; to China, the Pacific is a missile testing site; to the Soviet Union, it is military toe-hold. And to the United States, the Pacific is a market for nuclear power-plants, a testing site for nuclear weapons delivery systems, a high-level waste dump, a deployment theatre for the mighty US nuclear submarine fleet, and the lodg ing for an expanding string of military bases.

But to many people like myself, the Pacific is a home, a home where we have lived for thousands of years. When the war ended, we were happy and relieved. We thought that the days of living with military bases were over and that we could again enjoy peace and freedom. Unfortunately, we came to understand that the ending of the war brought peace only between the countries which had fought each other. For us, the Pacific people, it was the beginning of another era of foreign militarization and the beginning of nuclearization in our region.

With the scars of war still fresh in the islands, the United States began testing its new nuclear weapons in the Marshall Islands in eastern Micronesia. From 1946 to 1962, 66 atomic bombs were dropped on the Marshalls. The people were relocated and were advised by the American military that "The nuclear tests are for the good of mankind and to end all wars." Today these people have not yet returned home as their atolls are still highly contaminated by radioactivity. One island is off limits for 25,000 years.

In the northern part of the Pacific lies Hawaii and the Micronesian Islands. Long after other Trust Territories have been granted independence, Micronesia remains today a United Nations Strategic Trust Territory administered by the United States. Micronesia consists of the Republic of Belau, the Federated States, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana and Guam.

Prior to World War II, most of Micronesia was occupied by Japan, while Hawaii, Guam and Tinian were military fortresses of the United States. Micronesians and Hawaiians were told that the military fortification of the islands was necessary for our defense and protection. But during the war, we found ourselves defenceless and unprotected as foreign soldiers, with our own people among them, fought in our islands. Our homes became a fierce battlefield and many of our people died. The United States even used Tinian to launch its nuclear attack on Hiroshima. For us, military bases in our islands drew us without our consent into a bloody war.

The southern region of the Pacific consists of the independent nations of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tuvalu, Tonga, Nauru and Western Samoa; and the territories of Tahiti-French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, New Caledonia, Cook Islands, and West Papua. Nearby are Australia and New Zealand, where the indigenous peoples, the Aboriginals and the Maoris, today challenge their domination by the most recent immigrants to their lands.

The peoples of the South Pacific face two direct nuclear threats to their survival: the testing of nuclear weapons by the Government of France in its Polynesian colonies; and the
mining of uranium in Aboriginal Australia.

In 1962, France lost its Sahara desert nuclear testing site to the Algerian Independence Movement. Forced to relocate its nuclear testing facilities, France chose Tahiti, which has been a French Protectorate since 1842.

Since 1966, France has exploded over 80 bombs—both atmospherically and underwater—at Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls in Tahiti. The tests in Moruroa have caused the Atoll to sink five feet into the ocean. Besides the Tahiti archipelago, other nations and territories on the eastern rim of the region are affected by radioactive contamination carried by the south-east trade winds and the inflowing ocean currents.

Consequently, Pacific peoples have continued to express their strong opposition to French nuclear testing. The Pacific Conference of Churches, the South Pacific Forum, the South Pacific Commission, the Pacific Trade Union Forum and the Pacific Concerns Resource Center are the means through which Pacific peoples come together across political boundaries in a unified struggle for a Nuclear Free Pacific.

The Republic of Vanuatu, which gained independence from Britain and France on July 30, 1980, has taken a strong stand on nuclear issues. Vanuatu declared its 200-mile economic zone a Nuclear-Free Zone. In February of this year, the Vanuatu Government prohibited two U.S. warships from entering Vanuatu Waters because the U.S. Government could give no assurance that no nuclear weapons were on board the ships. Subsequently, the Prime Minister of Fiji issued a statement which bans all vessels carrying nuclear weapons from entering Fijian waters.

Small nations and non-governmental organizations in the Pacific understand that we non-aligned peoples may need to continue to lead the way toward global disarmament and world peace.

We call upon the nations of the world to remember the innocent victims in the Pacific and to work with us in the long struggle for a world of freedom, peace and justice.

(Sources: material from discussions with Roman Bedor was supplemented with Roman Bedor’s address to the Committee of the Whole United Nations Special Session on Disarmament on June 1982.)

Conference for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific

The Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Conference to be held in Vanuatu on July 10-20, 1983, is a joint project of the Vanuatu Pacific Community Center (VPCC) in Vila, and the Pacific Concerns Resource Center (PCRC) in Honolulu.

It is intended that Pacific Island citizens’ movements will be in the majority at the conference, together with a limited number of Rim country participants. Rim delegations will include indigenous participation. Approximately 85 participants representing Pacific Island and Pacific Rim organizations active in the NFIP movement will attend the conference. Additionally, 6 representatives from fraternal movements in Europe and Southeast Asia and the international PCRC Steering Committee members will attend.

Aims of NFIPC/1983

1. To further integrate the independence/indigenous lands movements and the movement for a nuclear free and demilitarized Pacific. To integrate the problem of nuclear weapons as the end product with the parts of the nuclear cycle that indigenous people are confronting: uranium mining by transnational corporations, nuclear testing, nuclear waste and nuclear power plants.

2. To report on campaigns since 1980, with special emphasis on assessing the political impact of each campaign. To discuss and debate strategic priorities for the next period.
3. To assess network support and communications and develop strategies for working in broader groupings, including so far: uninvolved Pacific people and regional and international alignments.

4. To improve research and exchange of information on transnational/civilian/military nuclear activity in the region; and on advantages for self-sufficiency and independence of renewable energy and alternative technologies.

5. To evaluate experiences since 1980 with production and use of resource materials and define needs of the future. To devise ways to improve distribution, including translations, and communications media.

6. To participate in assessment and development of PRC structures, including Steering Committee role and function; role and function of offices; redefinition of network regions.

The Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Movement since 1983

Since the Nuclear Free Pacific Conference in 1980, there have been significant developments in the Pacific. Among them: Vanuatu's independence and its subsequent support for New Caledonian and Tahitian independence parties; the July, Kwajalein Atoll* landowners' opposition to the Compact of Free Association and their actions supporting the closing of the missile range. With firm grassroots support, Pacific governments and regional organizations have solidly opposed Japan's plan for ocean dumping of nuclear waste and have succeeded in causing Japan to postpone the plan. The radiation-pollution crisis at Moruroa has brought for the first time in several years vocal protest from the Territorial Assembly and from influential trade unions in Papua New Guinea and Australia and from government leaders in PNG, the Cook Islands and elsewhere. The Territorial Assembly has approved independent medical/environmental surveys and the strong protest has forced the French government to accede to the survey. Newly independent Vanuatu was the first to announce its refusal to permit port visits by U.S. nuclear vessels; the Fiji government followed suit.

Pacific developments anticipated in 1980 are being accomplished. An example is the plan which the radiation-affected Marshallese people have long sought, to bring an independent medical team to the Marshalls. Another example is the voyage of the Pacific Peacemaker, supporting the Maori Waitangi Day protest in New Zealand, calling in at Moruroa where it was rammed by French police vessel, at Kahoolawe (the U.S. Navy's Hawaiian target island) and finally participating in a blockade at the August 1982 arrival of the first Trident submarine at Puget Sound.

But many serious unresolved problems face the people of the Pacific. As their economies suffer in the world recession, they are ever more dependent on funds spent by the military -as in Micronesia and Polynesia. The transnational corporations, whether their investments are in hotels and tourism or mining and other resource exploitation, are destructive of the environment and careless of the pollution they leave behind, as evidenced by the uranium tailings from mines encouraged by the government on aboriginal lands in Australia. Too little land remains of that once owned by the peoples of the Pacific, whether they are Maoris in New Zealand or people of the small islands that are being used -and destroyed- as foreign bases for military purposes in Polynesia, Micronesia, and Hawaii.

The people of East Timor face genocide and those of West Papua continuous harassment by their common colonizer. With the aid of a major U.S. EXIM Bank loan in late 1982, construction of the Bataan nuclear power plant in the Philippines -located

* See INGIA Newsletter No. 33 March 1983.
near an active volcano and earthquake fault moves ahead.

The 1981 change of government in France did not end the nuclear tests at Moruroa, and the struggle for decolonisation of New Caledonia goes on, cruelly punctuated in late 1981 by the murder of an Independence leader, Kwajalein Atoll, still a target for intercontinental ballistic missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, now has become also an essential element of the Pacific Barrier radar system which detects and tracks orbiting satellites to be destroyed in anti-satellite warfare. Bombardment of Kaho'olawe Island goes on, even though in 1982 pressures mounted against the RIMPAC exercises in which not only the U.S. Navy, but also New Zealand, Australian, Canadian and Japanese forces combined in "war games" which include shelling the island. Despite accidents which have endangered their people, Japan is building more and more nuclear power plants and is searching for sites where local resistance can be overcome to locate reprocessing plants and other environmentally destructive installations such as central oil terminals. U.S. sales of reactors overseas and ever increasing nuclear weapons production mean that a search continues for nuclear waste dumping and subseabed disposal locations within the Pacific a favored area.

The movements for restoring indigenous control of the lands and waters of the Pacific and the movement for a nuclear free Pacific are joined in all of these struggles. The Conference for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific in 1983 will bring activists of the Pacific and Pacific Rim to assess the three years of PCRC efforts and to set directions for cooperatively meeting these shared goals during the next period.

For further information, contact:

PACIFIC CONCERNS RESOURCE CENTER (PCRC)
P.O. Box 37692
Honolulu, Hawaii 96827
Telephone: (808) 538-3522
Cable: NUCFREEPAC

Vanuatu Pacific Community Centre (VPCC)
P.O. Box 607
Port Vila
Vanuatu
Telephone: 2584
Cable: FREE PACIFIC

PALAU: SELF-DETERMINATION, AMERICAN STYLE

The U.S. State Department, despite popular rejection of its nuclear plans for Palau embodied in the "Compact of Free Association", has declared that the Palau Government must "find an acceptable method of reconciling" its nuclear-free Constitution with the Compact.

Two separate questions were asked on the ballot during the February 10 vote on the Compact in Palau. The first one, on the Compact, received about 62% of the votes; the second, on the nuclear provision, received just 53%, far short of the required 75% needed to allow for a nuclear presence according to the provisions of Palau's unique Constitution. Nevertheless, the State Department says the Palauans must now modify their Constitution to "comply with the mandate" for free association.

In four separate plebiscites in as many years, the Palauans have consistently refused to approve U.S. military plans for their islands. The State Department is now characterizing the separate nuclear question on the ballot as merely an "internal referendum question". But prior to the vote the U.S. agreed with ballot wording that specifically stated: "Before the Compact can take effect, Section 314 (the nuclear provisions) must be approved by at least 75% of the votes cast."

"The United States", wrote international law expert Roger Clark, "having acquiesced in, or perhaps even insisted upon, the way in which the issue was presented to the voters, is surely bound by the results." Moreover, said Prof. Clark, the U.S. and Palau governments cannot override the Constitution. "An unconstitutional treaty is just that - unconstitutional," he said.

According to sources in Palau, the Palau Government has
stated its intent to implement the Compact without Section 314 and a U.S. Government office for transition to Compact status is being established in Koror. Traditional chiefs, numerous elected leaders in the Palau National Congress, and many grass roots people are taking the position that it is time for the United States to consult with Palau to find a way to modify the status of free association with the Constitution of Palau.

Your support is needed.

1. **Internationally:** Write to your U.N. delegations. Palau is still part of the U.N. Trusteeship. We urge that you bring the issues of U.S. interference in Palau's self-determination process to the international arena through U.N. delegations from your respective countries. We suggest you request that the U.S. delegations to the various U.N. bodies be required to answer the charges raised through your countries' U.N. representatives. Letters should be sent to:

   U.N. Ambassador (from your country)
   United Nations, New York 10017

   Please copy your letter to us (Pacific Bulletin, P.O. Box 27692, Honolulu, Hawaii 96827) and to:
   
   Ambassador Fred Zeder, State Dept.
   Office for Micronesian Status Nego.
   Washington, D.C. 20240

2. **In the U.S.** Write or call your Congressional offices with information about the Palau Constitution issue. The key issue is that the U.S. Congress must press the State Dept. to respect the right of Palauan people to self-determine their future free of nuclear weapons.

(Source: Pacific Bulletin, vol. 3 no. 3 May 1983)

**PHILIPPINES: PRIMER ON THE KKD PROJECT**

The government, as part of its electrical power generation scheme and strategy of export-oriented industrialization, plans to build at least forty major dams during the next 20 years. Thirty one have been scheduled for construction within the Ten-Year Energy Program from 1979-1988.

It is significant to note that almost all the dams to be built are in lands presently occupied by ethnic minorities. Since they will be built in wide valleys in otherwise mountainous areas, they threaten to submerge the best farmlands and settlements of the communities affected by the project.

The Chico River Development Project, if it pushes through, will displace approximately 15,000 families or 100,000 kalingas and Bontocs. Unable to push through its Chico Project, attention has been shifted by planners to the Abulug River in Apayao. The Abulug dams will affect some 30,000 Isnegs. In Nueva Viscaya, the giant Magat dam complex has dislocated thousands of Ilongots, Igorots and lowland settlers. In Surallah, South Cotabato, some 5,000 T'bolis are in danger of relocation in the wake of plans to tap the waters of Lake Sebu for a dam.

In Bukidnon, the waters of the Pulangi River (one of the largest river systems in the Philippines) will be harnessed to run six dams affecting an estimated area of 500,000 hectares and thousands of Bukidnons. Dams threaten to dislocate Tribal Filipinos and settlers from their land, the source of their livelihood. Funding for these projects has been significantly in the forms of loans from two international financing institutions, the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

In fact, the World Bank has gone beyond the project basis of participation. It has “suggested” to the national planners the “restructuring” of one of the key sectors of the economy
according to World Bank specifications as condition to loans. This comes in the form of “structural adjustment loans” which require the dismantling of protective tariffs to allow products of western business to flood domestic markets; the expansion of export promotions schemes to assure the same markets cheap raw and intermediate materials; and the establishment of free trade zones to guarantee low-cost production for transnational corporations’ subsidiaries. These requirements have been incorporated in the seven major components of the Philippine industrial strategy for the 80’s.

ADB concentrates in Mindanao where Japanese investments are quite entrenched. The World Bank takes care of the Luzon and Visayas projects. Four out of seven Agus dams in Lake Lanao and Agus River, the Lake Sebu dams of South Cotabato, the three dams in Agusan del Sur, etc. will be funded by the ADB. The Magat River Multipurpose Project in Isabela, the Abu- lug Dams and the Chico River Dams in Kalinga-Apayao, the Kaliwa-Kanan Dams of Tanay, Rizal, and the Wahig-Pamacsalan Dam in Bohol will have World Bank funding.

There is, in the scale of the over-all program a danger that most of the major rivers of the country will be redefined as “critical watersheds”. This would threaten the mountain homes of many minorities, and a total of more than one and a half million people.

The Case of the Kaliwa-Kanan Dam Project

Drilling operations are now going on in the barrios of Mamuyao, Laiban, and Sto. Nino near the confluence of the Limutan and Lenatin rivers, site of a dam to be built in the area. The project has been called the Kaliwa River Basin Project, or the Manila Water Supply III. It calls for the construction of a dam at Laiban, Tanay to transform the Lenatin and Limutan rivers (which drain into the Kaliwa River). The dam will have a 21-megawatt hydroelectric power plant. This is a joint effort of the Manila Waterworks and Sewerage Sys-

tem and the National Power Corporation.

The project will have the following components:

1) a 113 meter high rockfill dam (volume 9 million cubic meters);
2) a reservoir with a live storage of 50 million cubic meters;
3) a 12.4 kilometer tunnel, 3.1 to 3.4 meters in diameter.
4) a hydropower plant with an installed capacity of 21 MW;
5) a water treatment plant with a 2,400 mld (630 MGD);
6) an 80 MG treated water storage reservoir;
7) 307 Km. of primary (300 mm to 3,900 mm.) mains;
8) 1010 km. of secondary (100 mm. to 250 mm.) distribution network;
9) 250 km. of tertiary (50 mm to 75 mm) distribution network; and
10) 700,000 domestic service connections; 52,000 industrial-commercial-institutional service connections.

The dams and reservoir are designed to provide drinking water and electricity to Metro-Manila and the planned industrial complex in Infanta, Quezon Province called Lungsod Silangan. The Kaliwa-Kanan Dam is only part of the Lungsod Silangan Project which envisions the growth of the area along the Marikina-Infanta Road, all to facilitate the development of Infanta as a shipping point for exports of minerals, logs associated secondary products that can be processed.

Lungsod Silangan itself falls under the country’s general thrust towards export-oriented industrialization which relies primarily on foreign technology and capitalization. It will be the site of another export processing zone project. The projects to be put up are as follows:

1) Marikina-Infanta Highway (ongoing);
2) an export-processing zone (Infanta);
3) an international airport;
4) a container trans-shipment port and other port facilities;
5) A damsite (Kaliwa-Kanan Rivers);
6) an aqua-farming development project;
7) a marine fisheries complex;
8) a recreation center;
9) a communications/coordination center with CB and other ministries;
10) a national park; and
11) A security and defense base.

The Kaliwa Dam has been chosen to provide 1,909 million liters of water daily in order to satisfy the water needs of the Lungsod Silangan and the inhabitants of Metro-Manila.

The total cost of the project is estimated at P7.6 billion. The government needs $450 million in foreign loans if it is to build the project by 1987. The World Bank has delayed granting more loans until it is assured of the viability of the project. To date, the ADB has programmed $60 million for this project out of its country lending program.

The construction of the project is divided into three phases over a 14-year period from 1981 through 1994. Phase I will comprise the construction of the Kaliwa Dam between the barrios of Laiban and Daraitan at the confluence of rivers Limutan and Lenatin. Phase II will include the construction of Kanan Dam at the upper Kanan River in the Quezon Province. Phase III will be the construction of a series of dams, the first of which will be at the confluence of rivers Kanan and Matailla and along the Agus River. As per government planners' agenda, one barrio, Laiban will have been converted into a huge reservoir of water by 1984.

The life-span of the Kaliwa-Kanan Dam will be around 50 years.

Who Will Be Affected?

Massive dislocation awaits close to 1,500 families or 10,000 people in the Kaliwa Dam area alone. The impounded waters of the dam will submerge seven barrios, namely, Sta. Inez, Sto. Nino, San Andres, Mamuyo, Tinucan, Cuyabo and Laiban. Twenty-nine thousand hectares of land will be inundated. This could increase to around 200,000 hectares if the watershed areas are included. Part of those which will be submerged are communal irrigation systems, ricefields, and other subsistence and cash crops.

In 1956, President Ramon Magsaysay declared the mountains from Montalban to Tanay a settlement area. Similar areas were also opened in Mindoro and Mindanao for settlers, partly to ease the land tenure problems of tenants and sharecroppers in some areas in Luzon and the Visayas. From talks with farmers of the area, very few have titles to their land. This despite their 10 to 20 years stay in the area.

Around 500 families of Dumagats and Remontados stand to lose their homes and their sources of livelihood because of the project. Also some 600 Dumagat families will be ejected from their land for the operationalization of an export-processing zone, a network of highways and other infrastructures related to Lungsod Silangan. These tribes are shifting cultivators. They are also engaged in hunting and gathering forest products like rattan, honey and fish from the rivers. They have considered this part of the Sierra Madre the land of their ancestors. Take them away from their land and they will be completely disoriented.

Government Relocation Plans

MWSS General Manager Oscar Ilustre said that the agency "will pay for all expenses" in the relocation of the affected families. There had been meetings with representatives of the
barrios, according to project manager Arsenio Macaspac. In such consultation meetings (with barangay captains and some town officials) the people were supposed to have been willing to give way to the project.

The project manager, however, was quoted saying that a definite relocation site has not been determined, although proposed sites have been Doe mitochond, Rizal and in the Lungsod Silangan areas in Infanta, Quezon.

An ad hoc committee had been created to take charge of the relocation of the affected families. It is composed of the MWSS, the Ministry of Human Settlements, Ministry of Agrarian Reform and the local officials including Tanay's mayor and the provincial governor.

The People's Response

In the barrios affected and in the outlying communities, the people are meeting to discuss the measures to be taken in relation to their problem, most immediate of which is the Ka-
liva-Kanan Dam Project. Some residents of the area also had occasion to meet with government officials of the MAR and MWSS.

The people have been very cautious about believing the terms and promises offered in exchange for the dam package. A case to cite is that of the Remontado families of Sitio Ba-
yucboc in the nearby barrio of Baras. They were promised they would be paid for their fields and houses which were bulldozed by men from the Manila Seedling Bank two years ago. Until now, they have not received a single centavo. In another Tan-
ay barrio, many trees were felled, fields run over and deep pits dug in a site in which the First Lady had chosen to build a basilica. The owners of the land were promised payment; but when the project was abandoned, so were the promises.

They have also heard of the Pantabangan farmers, some of whom are relatives of some residents of Tanay. They narrated how they have to eke out a living in the hilly, stony place where they were relocated with grand promises for just compensation for their land and homes.

In a series of barrio meetings held between February and March last year, the residents expressed their opposition to the project and resolved to unite and sign a petition towards that effect. A petition was signed and passed through the seven barrios enjoining people to get unified in a common stand against the project. In a copy sent to President Marcos the following were mentioned as reasons for opposing the pro-
ject:

1) The time, money and effort that the government and the people poured into the development of these seven barrios which will be inundated by the dam will go to waste;

2) A watershed with lush forest cover is necessary for the efficient storage of water, the prevention of siltation and the long-term existence of the dam. At present, such a necessary watershed does not exist within the dam collection basin; and

3) The construction of the dam will severely upset the lives of the tribal Filipinos, the Dumagats and Remon-
tados who have been living in the area for generations.

Recently, representatives of the barrios and of Tanay, Rizal, formed the Ugangyan-Damaylan Alan-Alang sa Katiwasayan ng mga Mamamayan sa Kabundukan ng Sierra Madre (Rizal-Quezon). They have asked for the holding of a public hearing to clarify the problem related to the project. They have also asked for the fulfillment of certain promises to the people, like the titling of their lands, the compensation of the people of Sitio Mayagay, Sampaloc, Tanay in connection with the planned but discontinued basilica in the area, the electrification of the mountain barrios, the provision of doctors badly needed by the barrio folks, and additional transportation to the people of the area.
Situational Considerations

The Kaliwa-Kanan Dam Project requires massive capitalization. Because of the scale and complexity of the major energy projects, no local firm has the capacity to compete with TNCs from the industrialized countries for contracts on the projects. For some minor aspects, subcontracting is passed on to local firms; sometimes joint ventures are practiced.

Second, it is dependent on international loans and the expertise of the “owners” of such technology. It is, in other words, subject to the requirement needs of the financing sources, like the World Bank or the ADB, even if such needs run counter to the rights of Tribal Filipinos to their lands and other prerogatives of living.

Third, it is complementary, supportive technology. The hydroelectric power dams provide cheap energy sources for industrial enclaves, like export-processing zones and urban industries dominated largely by TNCs. In 1975, for instance, only around 14 per cent of Philippine electricity was consumed for household use.

Fourth, it has been pushed without meaningful consultation with the people who will be directly affected by the project, specifically, the Tribal Filipinos and the small farmers. Thus, it is being resisted in many forms.

Fifth, there is a lack or in some cases an absence of plans for the people to be displaced in the process.

Sixth, it displaces/dislocates people; and since many are located in Tribal lands, it threatens the very survival of ethnic minorities in the areas.

Seventh, its continued operation is insured by the presence of military forces in the area, or at least their availability for the protection of government agencies and TNCs in case the people affected by the project decide to take some drastic measures to defend their rights to the land.

Development for Whom?

The assumptions of the policies of development, under which technology is an important component, have to be re-examined. The government has pursued what has been termed as “an aggressive industrial strategy”. Its main features include the encouragement of export-oriented industries and foreign investments (or capital) which planners hope could provide the “market access, technology and entrepreneurial knowhow” required for such a chosen path.

Development as operationalized in the Third World still reflect the assumption that all sectors of society have a homogeneous interest in the process, and that lending institutions, such as the World Bank and the ADB, share this interest. The basic question of who benefits from government-sponsored projects remains unasked, or too often presumed.

Experience, however, reveals that there is no such thing as homogeneous interest for all segments of society. Varying sectors within a given society certainly have conflicting and contradictory interests which serve as determinants of their respective perceptions of what constitutes “development” (or “underdevelopment”) and how it could be achieved. On one hand, development could mean increased productivity and general improvement in the standards of living of elements belonging to the privileged group of society; on the other hand, it could mean increased misery for the many.

Third World countries like the Philippines have looked upon technology as a major solution to their problems like energy, communications, and the basic needs. However, it can be misdirected, like the massive construction of hydroelectric power dams in the midst of a variety of other alternative energy sources within their reach.

In the hands of the present political and economic minority interests, technology, as shown in the case of the operationalization of hydroelectric power dam projects in the Phi-
lippines, has become misdirected and at times perverted. For Third World societies, it is becoming clear that social and political restructuring are prerequisites to a successful introduction of dynamic or static technologies, that is, without the dispossessing and marginalizing effects that they presently entail.

(Source: Tribal Forum vol.III no.7 Nov/Dec 1982)

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: NOT BEASTS OF BURDEN

Papua New Guinea is a diverse society in which over 700 languages are spoken. Despite the fact that there are many different tribes, each with its own traditions, beliefs and values, there are certain common norms that define the expected roles of males and females. In general, women's primary role is food production, child-rearing and care of domestic animals. Men perform such tasks as clearing new garden sites, building houses, hulling out canoes, hunting and fishing.

Women's role within the community has been completely misinterpreted by international social scientists. Traditionally, women were neither treated nor thought of as inferior members of society. Contrary to the interpretation of many western academics who based their conclusions on a brief visit for their thesis, women's traditional role in Papua New Guinea is not that of a beast of burden.

Throughout Papua New Guinea, subsistence agriculture practices were basically the same. Everyone worked together to start a new garden - each knowing what she or he had to do. Men and youths would slash and burn the chosen site. Women and girls collected and assembled the leaves and small branches for the fire. When this was done, planting would begin. There were some crops which men alone were responsible for planting. Likewise, there were others which only women planted. Children worked closely with their parents so that the agricultural process became an educational experience where ideas, methods and gardening rituals were passed on to the younger generation. Neighbors and relatives also helped and, in return, received a share of the harvest. Everyone participated fully in the social and economic activities of the community.

Apart from producing food, women also were responsible for children's welfare. Women passed important social skills on to children at an early age. Girls and boys spent their early childhood together. When the boys reached 10 years of age, they accompanied their uncles and fathers, while the girls helped their mothers with communal or village chores.

Gardens to cash crops

During the colonial period, the introduction of western Christianity into the communities changed lifestyle patterns, beliefs, attitudes and behavior. Western missionaries traveled throughout the country, converting people to Christianity. Tribal warfare and ceremonial activities were ended. Subsequently, colonial administrators arrived, bringing with them their own system of government. Therefore, the missionaries and the government officials played complementary roles in their take-over of Papua New Guinea.

Colonial expansion had a significant impact on subsistence agricultural life. New emphasis was placed on cash crops and large scale livestock development projects. These agricultural patterns and systems were very new to a people who had had a long history of subsistence gardening. Villagers used their best land for these new crops in order to earn money. This forced women to travel some distance to grow the family's food. Villager's time, once devoted exclusively to community
activities and food production, was now divided between these activities and cash cropping. In some communities, men were taken as laborers to work on cocoa, copra and rubber plantations, far away from their own village environment. As a result, women expanded their workload by assuming the tasks usually done by men. In order to survive, women had no choice but to adjust to the changing circumstances.

In order to further cash cropping and large livestock production, the colonial government offered agricultural training. Before independence, only men were recruited into agricultural colleges. The colonial administrators ignored women because, in their own culture, women were not viewed as partners.

The changes caused by colonization were not reversible, and they still exist today. Many villagers have migrated to urban centers. Younger women leave their villages behind in search of a better life. Women whose role has been that of subsistence food producers, are now exposed to overcrowded settlements in which there is limited space for gardening. Some village women living in urban areas garden on vacant government land. However, this results in overuse of the land, so that the quality of the food grown is declining. Still, women continue to garden in order to supplement their husbands' low income. The best food produced is often sold in the market, and the rest is for family consumption. Since food quality is low and meals are unbalanced, many families suffer from malnutrition. Convinced that everything in the city is better, the little money there is is often spent on "junk" food. In general, people have the false notion that western civilization is superior to their Melanesian tradition.

Although Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975, subsistence agriculture remains a low priority in governmental development plans. While politicians talk about improving subsistence agriculture and village conditions, there has been little concrete action, such as introducing appropriate technology that will increase subsistence food production.

**Women's Problem**

Changes have been diverse and rapid in New Guinea, socially as well as agriculturally, and this directly affects traditional cultural structures and norms. Whereas in the past, the land was regularly left fallow now over-gardening has depleted the soils and caused erosion; thus women are finding it difficult to feed their families. In addition, women are facing social problems - such as men consuming alcohol and neglecting their work.

Morobe's Women's Association, a recently established provincial women's organization, recognizes the importance of subsistence food production and its reliance on womanpower. The Association has considered the problems women are facing and is attempting to address some of the profound and widespread implications that have been left by colonial policies. Heading the list drawn up by the women's organization for the government to consider in its overall provincial development plans is that women's development must proceed and be fully integrated with that of the whole community.

*(Source: Connexions, No 8 Spring 1983 Excerpted from a paper by Fungke S. Samana, presented at a seminar on women and development in Waigani.)*
LET US CONTINUE

by Paula Gunn Allen

The central issue that confronts American Indian women throughout the hemisphere is literally survival, both on a cultural and biological level. In the United States, the population of American Indians according to the last census is just over 1,000,000. Some researchers put our pre-contact population at upwards of 45 million, while others put it at around 20 million. The U.S. Government used the imaginary figure of 450,000 for almost 200 years. If, as some researchers insist, around 25% of Indian women and 10% of Indian men in the United States have been sterilized without informed consent, if our average life expectancy is, as the best informed research presently says, 45 years, if our infant mortality rate continues at well above national standards, if our average unemployment for all segments of our population is between 60 and 90%, if the U.S. Government continues in its policy of termination, relocation, removal and assimilation along with the destruction of wilderness, reservation land and its resources, and severe curtailment of hunting, fishing, timber harvesting and water-use rights, the tribes are still facing extinction.

For women, the current struggle for physical and cultural survival means fighting alcoholism and drug abuse (our own and that of our husbands, lovers, parents and/or children); poverty; affluence (a destroyer of people who are not traditionally socialized to deal with large sums of money); rape, incest, battering by Indian men; assaults on fertility and other health areas by the Indian Health Service and the Public Health Service; high infant mortality rate due to substandard medical care, substandard nutrition and substandard health and nutritional information; poor educational opportu-

nities or education that takes us away from our traditions, language and communities; suicide, homicide or similar forms of self-hatred; lack of economic opportunities; substandard housing; sometimes violent and always virulent racist attitudes and behaviors directed against us as Indians by an "entertainment" and "educational" system that wants only one thing from Indians: disappearance. They coerce our silence, our invisibility and our collective death.

A headline in the Navajo Times in the fall of 1979 said that rape was the number one crime on the Navajo Reservation. In a report published in Listening Post, a Periodical of the Mental Health Programs of Indian Health Services (v1:2 April 1982), Phyllis Old Cross Dog has reported that incest and rape are common among Indian women seeking services and that they are increasing. "It is believed that at least 80 percent of the Native Women seen at the regional psychiatric service center (5 site area) have experienced some sort of sexual assault", she says. Among the forms of abuse being suffered by Native Women, Old Cross Dog cites a recent phenomenon, something called "training". This form of gang rape is a "punitive act of a group of males who band together and get even or take revenge on a selected woman".

Certainly these and other cases of violence against women indicate that the status of women within the tribes has suffered a serious decline since contact, and the decline has gained speed in recent years. The amount of violence against women, as well as the incidence of violence, abuse and neglect by women of their children have both increased, and both were virtually unheard of among most tribes fifty years ago—contrary to popular white American opinion.

In the face of these multiple threats on our sanity, survival, and sense of self, many of us just give up. Many are alcoholics, many are addicts. Many abandon the children, the old ones. Many commit suicide. Many become violent, go insane. Many go "white" and are never seen or heard from again. But
enough hold onto their traditions and their ways so that even after almost 500 brutal years, we endure. And even write songs and poems, make paintings and drawings that say, “We walk in beauty. Let us continue.”

Media images, literary images and artistic images, particularly those embedded in popular culture, must be changed before Indian women will see much relief from the violence that destroys so many lives. Colonizer revisions of our lives, values and histories have devastated us at the most critical level of all—that of our own minds, our own sense of who we are, to the extent that American Indian men have been deluded into acting out the widespread belief that they are blood-thirsty, heartless savages who treat women with cruelty.

Native Women struggle against government and corporations, as well as against all individuals or interest groups who will stop at nothing in their dedication to obliterating Americas Indian peoples. They alter our life support base, steal our tribal lands, colonize our cultures and cultural expressions and revise our very identities.

We must work to maintain tribal status; we must make certain that the tribes continue to be legally recognized entities, sovereign nations within the larger United States, and we must wage this struggle in a multitude of ways—political, educational, literary, artistic, individual and communal. We are doing all we can: as mothers and grandmothers; as family members and tribal members; as professionals, workers, artists, shamans, leaders, chiefs, speakers, writers and organizers; we daily demonstrate that we have no intention of disappearing, of being silent, or of going quietly along with our extinction.

(Source: Conexions, Spring 1983, No.8)

VENEZUELA: INDIGENOUS REPLY TO CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY

What are they seeking in our communities? The salvation of our souls so that we will not burn in hell? Are we to blame for the sins of Western people (i.e. European and North American whites)? For the social, economic and ecological chaos that humanity is experiencing at this present time?

Was it our ancestors that crucified Jesus Christ?

Do you believe that our age-old communities need the message and life-style of a society in decay? Why do you, along with those of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, not concentrate all your love and energy on saving the soul of Ronald Reagan, Alexander Haig, Brezhnev, Margaret Thatcher, Napoleón Duarte, Pinochet, Figueréido, as well as those of the corrupt and thieves here in Venezuela who enrich themselves through the sweat of the workers? It is they who you should go and save! It is they, who possessed by the so-called Devils who are everywhere, who have to repent for their actions. It is they who you have to force to hear the voice of Christ.

Enough of the internal colonialism in our countries!

Have you not stopped to think that Catholic Christianity was utilized by the Spanish Empire to dominate us and carry off our peoples' riches? Just as today Protestant Christianity is used, in the majority of cases, by the multinationals in order to bare-facedly continue exploiting the natural resources that our native land possesses; and only to continue feeding the economic and military power of a minority who maintain the world in a state of wretchedness.

Why do you think that you are the sole guardians of the truth? There are many truths in this world.

Would you allow a group of indigenous people to go to the USA to preach to you the message of our heroes Wanady, Makunaima, Platumd, Manco Capac and others?

(Source: YAVI, No. 20 May/June 1983.)
BOOK REVIEW

"The Guaymi People and Their Future"
Edited by CEASPA and the Sponsoring Committee of the Forum on the Guaymi people and their Future.
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From the bookshops or directly from the distributor:
CEASPA
Apartado 6-133
El Dorado
Panama, PANAMA

ISBN 84-89181-01-6, 408 pages, many photos, tables and maps.

This publication brings together the most outstanding contributions presented at the "Forum on the Guaymi People and Their Future" held in Panama City in March 1981.

The book has been divided into five independent sections, with a strong central link, which is the Guaymi people's rights and their struggle to defend them.

The first section concerns the history of the Guaymi people, and includes a historical synthesis with arqueological and other evidence of continuous occupation of their current land by the Guaymi people since pre-Colombian times.

In the second section essays are included on the socio-cultural identification of the Guaymi as a people, on health conditions and the problems of bilingual education facing the people today.

The third section covers the present crisis and decomposition of Guaymi society and identity, the fight for their land and recognition of the Comarca.

The fourth section concerns the huge multimillion dollar projects which are either planned or under implementation in Guaymi areas: the Cerro Colorado copper mine, the Changuinola Hydroelectric project, and the Transisthmian oil pipeline.

They are analysed from the perspective of Indian rights and interests, bringing out the conflicts between the dynamic of transnational interests, the nation state and the Indian people's interests. This section concludes with a corporate analysis of one of the world's largest mining companies, which is planning to exploit the Cerro Colorado copper mine -the Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation.

The final section of the book brings together some testimonies by the Guaymi people and their supporters, indicative of the efforts being made by the Guaymi people to have their historical and inalienable rights recognized, to ensure a worthy future for their children. The Guaymi presentation before the IV Bertrand Russell Tribunal is published here, as are messages of solidarity and resolutions of the Guaymi General Congress.

The true authors of this publication are the protagonists of Guaymi history -the Guaymi people themselves. They have been aided by a multidisciplinary group of social scientists, religious leaders and representatives of Indian peoples, both in Panama and in other countries.

This book is a call to action, based on reflection.
Reports printed in the Documentation Series are:

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No. 6 René Fuerst: Bibliography of the Indigenous Problem and Policy of the Brazilian Amazon Region
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